



THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

Barr Smith Library
Special Collections

Professor H.E Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston, ACT 2611

6 December 1995

Dear Professor and Mrs Maude,

Many thanks for your very kind letter of 24 November. It arrived on the Monday morning soon after I began to dismount the exhibition, and it was wonderful to have the feeling that it had indeed been worthwhile. The venue poses insuperable limitations but all who found the exhibition expressed great interest.

Just this morning I had an email message from the Librarian suggesting we offer the exhibition to other institutions and I have put to him that the most appropriate place in the first instance would be the National Library. I am not sure of their policy, but we can only suggest it. Otherwise he will take the matter to CAUL (the Committee of Australian University Librarians) and offer it to those institutions that have Pacific studies. Its a slow time of year for things to happen, so it seems likely it would be later in 1996. There are no problems from our end and the receiving institution would only have to undertake to provide appropriate display and security facilities and re-pack for the next institution or for return. If you have contacts at ANU it would be helpful to raise the matter, as a request from within the History or other relevant department is the best means to urge the Library to action.

I enclose a copy of some reviews of *An anthology...* and *The book of Banaba* by H.G.A. Hughes, in case you haven't seen them. They are from *The outrigger*, no.27, Autumn 1995. This reminds me that I still have seven copies of *The book of Banaba* as none sold during the exhibition (don't be offended - only four copies of the *Guide* sold). Should I return these to you or would you prefer to forward requests for copies to the Library until our copies are sold? That way we could pay the cost of postage.

I am distressed to hear that Mrs Maude's eyesight is failing and hope that the deterioration can be stopped or slowed. It is difficult to think of you both denied the written word, after a lifetime of books and scholarly writing. On the other hand it is heartening to know that already there are people contemplating working further on the collections you have built up, and that further research papers will result as you anticipated. The National Library may indeed have a large proportion of the individual books and journals in your Library, but how do you quantify the spirit and the vision of a collection like the Maude library and papers?

With warm regards to you both and all good wishes for Christmas and the New Year. I shall keep you advised of negotiations about the exhibition.

Susan Woodburn

BOOKS

Saving Tungaru's past for the future

AN ANTHOLOGY OF GILBERTESE ORAL TRADITION: from the Grimble papers and other collections: translated by A F Grimble and T Reid Cowell. Edited by H C and H E Maude. Institute of Pacific Studies,* 1994. 289 pages. ISBN 0-646-17265-4.

Harry and Honor Maude are a team, universally respected for their scholarship, for their insistence on setting the Islander at the heart of all their work, and for their dedication in returning to the present generation of I-Kiribati (Tungaru) their historical heritage as dictated by their great grandparents in the early part of the century. So far, eight books in this project have been personally word-processed (and subsidised) by this indomitable couple.

The sixth volume, An Anthology of Gilbertese Oral Tradition (AGOT), is of cardinal importance, assembling the "memorised literary texts" of the Tungaru people themselves, with about 100 separate traditions, from Makin south to Arorae. These are mainly presented in English, by reason of cost, in Arthur Grimble's rather florid and impressionistic versions or in the more sober, meticulously-faithful translations by the late T Reid Cowell, who also served the GEIC administration.

With apposite critical comments and occasional disagreement

● HENRY EVANS MAUDE and the Pacific have been synonymous for nearly 70 years. The Cambridge scholar served, in turn, in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC) administration for 20 years (latterly as Resident Commissioner), as executive officer in the South Pacific Commission, and as a Professorial Fellow in the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University. He has written more than 100 books on Pacific history, ethnography, literature and bibliography, many of them jointly with his wife, Honor C Maude, a scholar in her own right. Here, HGA HUGHES reviews the couple's two latest volumes.

as to interpretation, AGOT marshals the "mythistoire" of the Tungaru ancestors. There are vivid accounts of the building of Tabontebike and of Nareau's return from Samoa to Tarawa; of Te Bo ma te Maki and the creation of the world; and of *anti* (spirits) and *antimaomata* (ancestors become spirits), such as Auriaria and Nei Tituabine.

The western homelands; life in Samoa; migration, and the stars that showed the way; settlement in Banaba, Beru and Tarawa; are recalled in fascinating if sometimes conflicting detail. Modern history includes the colonisation of Nui (in today's Tuvalu) and Kamoki's enforced voyage to Peru in 1863 (a story largely confirmed by contemporary documents).

Chapter X presents some of the finest ancient *kuna* (classical chants), bilingually, giving pride of place to *Kunani Moiuu* (The Song of Moiuu), an epic orally transmitted through five centuries, sensitively translated by Reid Cowell.

The bibliography contains virtually all relevant published works, and lists major unpublished collections, such as the Grimble, Maude and Simmons Papers at the Barr Smith Library of the University of

Adelaide.

The need for this rich and culturally seminal anthology is highlighted by the sad catalogue of collections of Tungaru oral traditions which have been dispersed, or have simply vanished. To Harry and Honor Maude, *kam bati n rab'a*.

*Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, PO Box 1168, Suva, Fiji.

Dictionary for Samoa

SAMOAN DICTIONARY: Samoan-English, English-Samoan. Compiled by G B Milner.

First New Zealand edition (reprint of OUP edition of 1966).

Polynesian Press, Auckland, New Zealand, 1993. Distributor (outside Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea): University of Hawai'i Press, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, HI 96822, USA. 466 pages. US\$32. ISBN: 0-908587-12-6.

Now copyrighted by the Government of Western Samoa, this is an unchanged reissue of the outstanding scholarly dictionary compiled in Samoa and London between 1955 and 1960 by George B Milner of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

For the first time in Samoan lexicography, Milner's dictionary arranged its entries according to the roots of the lexemes, with many examples of elicited sentences, proverbs or proverbial expressions. Semantically significant glottal stops and vowel length are meticulously indicated throughout.

This rigorously compiled, extensive dictionary has had a major, seminal influence in the development of modern Polynesian linguistics and is indispensable for anyone with any interest in Samoa, its language and culture. Warmly recommended for all libraries with linguistics or Pacific collections, and for everyone interested in Samoa.

From Ocean Island to Rabi

THE BOOK OF BANABA: from the Maude and Grimble papers. Edited by H C and H E Maude. Institute of Pacific Studies, 1994. 124 pages. ISBN 0-646-20128-X.

Honor and Harry Maude pioneered an anthropological study of Ocean Island, with 'The social organization of Banaba or Ocean island, Central Pacific,' (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 41, 1932, 262-301).

As phosphate extraction inexorably destroyed the viability of the island's indigenous economy, it was Harry Maude who negotiated purchase of a new home for the Banabans: the island of Rabi in Fiji.

This seventh volume of 'books on the I-Kiribati, published for the I-Kiribati' is dedicated to the Banaban people, 'hoping that they will make Rabi the happy and prosperous island that Banaba once was.' It is opportune, in that a new generation is growing up who have never even seen Banaba. For them Honor and Harry Maude have recorded all of value that they have found concerning the Banaban way of life from the first occupation of the island, over 1,000 years ago, to the fateful commencement of phosphate mining in 1900.

Oral traditions regarding Abemama, Banaba and Beru are followed by the genealogical trees of the five Banaban chiefly families, marked by use of the prefix Na, Nan, Nam and Nang, indicating affinity with Makin and Butaritari.

Part III is a lucid summary of the salient features of the Banaban culture, including *boti* (seating positions) in the *uman anti* and *maneaba*, tattooing, land and fishing rights. This section presents notes, in Gilbertese and English, by Eri, chief of Uma.

The sanguinary Japanese occupation of Banaba is outlined by means of Circular Notices of 1943 and by the eyewitness account of a survivor, Kabunare of Nikunau. Rare photographs offer a poignant reminder of a vanished society.

This remarkable work is the first to detail the settlement of an isolated Pacific island, the evolution over the centuries of a community superbly integrated into its unique environment, and its final reluctant abandonment owing to uncontrollable external pressure.

BOOKS, MAPS & PRINTS OF THE PACIFIC

Write for catalogues of books and antique maps and prints of the Pacific. Books purchased.

COLIN HINCHCLIFFE
12 QUEENS STAITH MEWS, YORK YO1 1HH
Tel: 01904 610679

AUSTRALIA & PACIFIC New and Secondhand Books

FREE CATALOGUES ISSUED

Peter Moore (Bookseller)
P.O. Box 66, Cambridge, CB1 3PD, UK

OPEN THE PACIFIC COLLECTION**THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE****MONDAY, 23RD OCTOBER, 1995**

As Visitor to The University of Adelaide and a former Chancellor, I am delighted to have been asked to open this Exhibition, which is drawn from a unique and important collection of books and papers on the Pacific. The names of Professor Harry Maude, and his wife Honor, are remembered and respected in the Pacific, as I discovered when I first went to Kiribati in 1988. Indeed, few scholars and former administrators have done more to research, record and publish on Pacific history, culture and customs. It is to their labour of love of more than sixty years that we owe this collection of materials, which is unparalleled anywhere in the world.

Harry Maude lived and worked in many parts of the Pacific, but I believe that his special affection was for the Gilberts, where he and his wife were first posted in 1929. This affection shows through, time and again, in his writings. In 1977, for example, two years before the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony gained its independence, he wrote:-

"If one draws a circle around the island world of the Pacific, at

its centre will be found the perfect models of the South Sea

Islands of romance: a necklace of sixteen low coral atolls

straddling the Equator and almost touching the 180th meridian.

These are the Gilberts Lost in an immensity of ocean, they

are blessed with a superb climate, pleasantly warm without

humidity, tempered by the constant bracing trade winds; and

inhabited by the friendly and lovable Micronesian people'.

I hope that you will forgive me if I, too, focus my remarks in a similar way.

I went to Tarawa each year between 1988 and 1990, to sit with two other Australian judges and two New Zealand judges on a Court of Appeal. Five years later, I can recognise in Maude's words the places we knew and the people for whom we felt much affection.

Of course, the pace of life in the Central Pacific is rather slower than that in an Australian city. However, it was apparent, even from our periodic visits, that the island world was changing and that the problems of modern development and population growth were beginning to intrude. On Tarawa, that boomerang-shaped atoll with its beautiful lagoon, where the seat of government is located, the signs of this change are especially evident. On overcrowded Betio, which was the site of war-time Japanese fortifications and the first great American amphibious landing of the Pacific war, the problems are especially acute. With the help of countries like Australia, the Kiribati government is doing its best to alleviate them.

Fortunately, in the other islands of the Gilberts group, in the Phoenix group to the east and in the distant Line group, south of Hawaii, traditional ways are not under quite such pressure. Those islands are still much as the Maude's would have remembered them.

^{WRO}
It is perhaps inevitable, in a society which has always set great store by sharing the gifts of the sea and the land, that the importation of consumer goods and the growth of a monetarised economy would have a significant impact. But the Gilbertese are an innately democratic people, and it has not been difficult for them to accept notions of parliamentary government and to create structures capable of addressing modern challenges. In the traditional Maneaba, or meeting house, with its coconut log or coral pillars and thatched pandanus roof, the elders still debate the issues of the village or community until a consensus is reached. These traditions have been transferred to the national Parliament. The etiquette of the

Maneaba, which is no less exacting than the rules and Standing Orders of legislatures, reveals a wise and deeply courteous people, about whom Maude and others, like Sir Arthur Grimble, have written with clarity and insight. Grimble, in his famous reminiscences *A Pattern of Islands*, refers to the Gilbertese proverb: "Small is the voice of a chief", which means that gentleness and courtesy should walk hand in hand with power. It is a worthy motto for any society.

Present generations of I-Kiribati rely increasingly on scholarly records to learn of the ways of their ancestors. Without the work of the Naudes, Grimble and others, it is very likely that knowledge of the old ways would eventually be lost. The materials which are held here in the Barr Smith Library are a vital resource for this reason alone.

A number of the issues which came before the Court of Appeal when I was in Tarawa, brought together the common law heritage, which we share, and customary practices unique to island life. Matters relating to land were frequently the subject of litigation, as might be expected in a country where land is in very short supply. The apparent absence of territorial delineation can be misleading. It was said that every coconut or breadfruit tree, wherever it grew, was owned by somebody, and that owners knew precisely which trees were their's and which belonged to others.

The sea plays a dominant part in the lives of the Gilbertese, as it does in the lives of many other island people. They regard it not as peripheral to the land, as we might, but central to their daily living. Consequently, there was considerable interest in matters which came before the Court relating to the seizure of foreign vessels caught fishing without a licence in the Fisheries Zone. When one realises that many millions of square

kilometres of ocean are under the jurisdiction of these island nations, the importance of a properly regulated and policed fishing industry becomes obvious. This was one area in which the decisions of our Court had far-reaching consequences, for they put would-be poachers on notice that these gentle people could not be taken for granted and that they had the will and the capacity to defend what was rightfully their's.

Professor Maude readily acknowledges the inspiration and encouragement which he received from Sir Arthur Grimble, with whom he worked from 1929 to 1932. He has even written that, with respect to the pre-colonial indigenous culture, he had gained more information from Sir Arthur's field notes than he ever did from his own field work. However, this modest assertion should not be allowed to obscure the fact that his own contribution to Pacific scholarship in many areas, not just in the Gilberts, has been exceptional.

It is entirely fitting that the important contribution of Honor Maude should also be recognised in this Exhibition for, as we have heard, she has been a dedicated and knowledgeable partner for over sixty years, a co-researcher and an expert in the intriguing field of string figures.

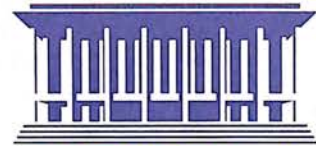
I am always very pleased when Members of Parliament and other representatives of Pacific island nations visit Adelaide and I am able to return some of the hospitality received in their Maneabas and homes.

They will always be welcome guests at Government House.

I congratulate the University and the Barr Smith Library, and especially Mrs. Susan Woodburn, Special Collections Librarian and Ms. Constance Gordon-Johnston, who have curated and designed this splendid Exhibition. It covers ten fascinating areas but provides just a taste of the

riches which are to be found on the library's shelves. I hope that it will stimulate scholarly interest in a part of the world which we need to know better, and it is with much pleasure that I declare the Exhibition open.

203/1/33
12 December 1995



NATIONAL
LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA

CANBERRA ACT 2600 AUSTRALIA

TELEPHONE (06) 262 1111

TELEGRAPHIC CODE ADDRESS
NATLIBAUST CANBERRA

TELEPHONE TYPEWRITER NUMBER
(008) 026 372

NATIONAL LIBRARY FACSIMILE
(06) 257 1703

Professor H.E. Maude, O.B.E.
42/11 Namatjira Drive
WESTON ACT 2611

Dear Professor Maude

Thank you for your recent donation of the Aimee Bright biography of J.T. Arundel and the work by Miss I.M. Fletcher on Arundel's connection with the London Missionary Society. The originals have been photocopied and are now available for collection by your assistant, Ms McIntyre. The condition you have stipulated that the Bright biography never be published will be respected by the Library.

We are most grateful to you for making available to a wider public these sources of so much factual information about Arundel, notwithstanding the shortcomings of Bright's work. They will form a valuable complement to his own papers, including diaries and correspondence, which are already held in the Library.

You may be interested to know that my colleague Adrian Cunningham has now been promoted to the Library's International Relations section, but I have informed him of the safe arrival of your documents, and he passes on his thanks and best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Graeme Powell
Manuscript Librarian
Collections and Reader Services

SUS-4

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611
8 November 1995

Dear Susan,

a Sorry but we forgot Pambu in the recent list of serials that we sent to you, however we have been sending Pambu in the past and will continue to do so in the future, herewith is the latest issue.

Yours sincerely

Harry E Maude

LIST OF FILES SENT TO SUSAN

- (1) Personal Correspondence 1988 - 1993
- (2) Correspondence and New Books
- (3) Books and periodicals:
Pacific Island Publishers
- (4) Grant of Doctorate by the University
of the South Pacific
- (5) Correspondence on the book of
Gilbertese Oral Anthology
- (6) Correspondence on Phoenix and Line Islands
- (7) Story of Karongoa
- (8) Book on New Pacific Island Organisations
- (9) New Books on Pacific Islands
- (10) Books and Periodicals: Other booksellers
- (11) Books and Periodicals: Australian Booksellers
- (12) Amelia Earhart: The death of. Parts I & II
- (13) Archival Deposits

(Philip-4)

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611
5th November 1995

more space

Dear Philip,

I remembered that your last or penultimate letter was concerned with the sale of your library. Since I have become
^ too blind to read or write I have sent the remaining books and papers of my library to Susan Woodburn, the Librarian of
2/3 the Special Collections of the University of Adelaide Library.

There were thousands of items and they apparently enthused her so much that she persuaded the University to hold an exhibition of the Maude Pacific Islands Library.

0/
on our
behalf.
The Governor of the state of South Australia delivered the opening address and our son Alaric followed with an *made an* excellent ~~peroration~~. I am enclosing a guide to the library and the way it is arranged. As you will see it now includes several editions by other Pacific specialists.

close
I do hope you are successful in disposing of your Library, as I have always felt that it is important that they should be kept in-tact and not dispersed.

Wishing you all the best for Christmas and the New Year. Honor and I are doing reasonably well considering our age and I have obtained the best Closed Circuit Reader which hopefully will enable me to do the two books and few papers left unfinished when I had my third thrombosis.

↑
Yours Ever ↑

Harry E Maude

Old Cholmeleian Society

Australia - New South Wales Section



Representative: Nick Booth
34A Third Avenue
EPPING NSW 2121
(02) 868 2197

8 November 1995

n. b. a.

file

Dear OC,

I am delighted to be able to tell you that John Coombs will be making an Ambassadorial visit to Australia in March 1996, accompanied by his wife Pat. John came to Highgate in September 1955 as Assistant Master in Biology and House Tutor in School House. He became House Master of Midgate in 1958, moved to The Lodge in 1965, and to School House in 1974. He was appointed Second Master in 1981, and held that position until retirement in 1991.

John and Pat will be arriving in Sydney on Saturday 23 March from Brisbane and departing on Tuesday 26 March for Auckland. I do not yet have their full itinerary in Australia: drop me a line if you would like a copy when it is available. They will be staying at my house during their visit.

There will be an OC function on Sunday 24 March, which will probably be a lunch time gathering at an OC's house. This was the preference expressed at the gathering on 15 October. Details will be provided later.

The last Ambassadorial visit was by Alfred Doulton in 1983, so I hope there will be a good attendance at the gathering. Do try to keep 24 March free!

Yours sincerely

Nick

Nick Booth

SERIAL-4

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611
1 December 1995

Dear Susan,

This is an attempt to list the current serials in the Pacific Islands Library and indicate the dates on which you took over from us. We hope that it is accurate but you can write and tell us if you have any queries.

Yours sincerely,

Harry E Maude.

2

(1) ATOLL RESEARCH BULLETIN

8 ① This serial does not require a subscription but only a contribution of not less than US\$20.00 pa. for incidental expenses. I have paid until the end of 1994 (see letter of 10 Nov. 94). I hope you can continue to pay this amount as from the beginning of 1995 as there are so few complete sets of the serial in Australia

(2) PACIFIC STUDIES

I am sending you the journal for June 1995 and our subscription seems to have ended with this issue (see letter dated 11 July). I hope that you can continue to subscribe as this is the leading academic journal at least for the central and eastern Pacific Islands.

(3) JOURNAL de la SOCIÉTÉ des OCEANISTES

The subscription seem to have been paid till the end of 1994 and then stopped. (see my letter 11 July and 26 Sep.)

(4) PACIFIC ISLAND MONTHLY

e/ This monthly was stopped as from the date of the last issue with you. I hope you can continue from that date. As your set is one of only 5 complete sets in the world.

(5) ISLA

It seems that we paid a subscription till the end of 1994.

(6) JOURNAL OF PACIFIC HISTORY

(see letter dated 4 Aug) It appears that my subscription has been cancelled as from the end of 1994. I hope you can continue to subscribe as Jim Davidson and I founded this journal and you have a complete set.

(7) CONTEMPORARY PACIFIC

The subscription is apparently now due (see attached letter).

(8) ISLAND BUSINESS

? e Our subscription ceased as from the date of the last issue with you. This is arguably the leading Pacific Island monthly published today.

(9) CURRENT AFFAIRS BULLETIN

We have long since ceased to subscribe to this journal as there was not enough material in it on the islands.

(10) JOURNAL OF POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

I am a life member of the Polynesian Society so you will continue to receive this journal as long as I live.

(11) BULLETIN de la SOCIETE Des ETUDES OCEANIENNES

n/ I am a life member of this society but it seems to have ceased to publish its bulletin in 1950.

(12) PACIFIC NEWS FROM MANOA

I received this serial free of charge from Kiste in the Center for Pacific Island Studies, in Honolulu and will send on to you any more that come my way.

(13) ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN OCEANIA

I am an Hon. Life member of the society and will send on any of ther serial which I receive.

(14) BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL STRING FIGURE ASSOCIATION

Yare You will receive a complete set of this serial when we send Honors string figure books of which I think there ~~is~~ about 50.

(15) BANABA/OCEAN ISLAND NEWS

A complete set of this serial will be forwarded to you in due course. At the moment it is in constant use as our current work is largely concerned with the affairs of Banaba and Rabi Islands.

(16) NEWSLETTER

This is published by the University of New South Wales, center for South Pacific Studies. You have 2 copies of each issue from commencement and any more received will be forwarded.

[SUE 4] 4

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611
24 November 1995

Dear Susan,

Thank you very much for the 10 copies of the guide, I appreciate it very much because as you suggest, the recipients will be the people who will be most interested in the books and manuscripts on the islands and I know that one is already contemplating coming to Australia to do some research in it.

I should ^{have} made a list of the few mistakes^s when the guide was being read to me but I was too enthralled at the time. When I find somebody to read it ~~thru~~ again for me, I'll send ^{through} ~~you the lot~~ ^{them}; there were only 4 or 5 and all except one were of little importance.

Honor has already told you on the phone how superb we thought the video was. We have ^{w/} ~~shown~~ ^{sent} it to several people already and it is being fetched ^{tonite} ~~for showing in by Richard & Belinda Griffith~~. I really never realised before what a detailed knowledge you must have about the Pacific collection, but ^u ~~from~~ ^{of} your remarks on the panel it was ^{are} ~~quite~~ obvious that you not only thoroughly au fait with the contents of many ^m ~~of~~ and not only the titles.

What you said about Honor and me made us blush, but it is a comfort in our old age to know that there is someone who understands our feelings about the islands and their people and the motivations that led me to decline all offers of ^{of} ~~promotions~~ and transfer so that we could continue ~~studying~~ and helping them for the rest of our lives.

We were most interested to hear that the exhibition may possibly travel and may even find itself at the National Library. I still remember the lady in charge of the Pacific Collection there saying that they did not think that there would be more than a dozen books in the Library which are not already in the National Library and that it would be hardly worthwhile purchasing the collection when all but a few would be duplicates. They didnt bother to send anyone to look for themselves.

Honor asks me to thank you for so kindly sending the photos of Alaric and Sandy which arrived today. I am told that they are very good indeed.

? Honor's eyes seem to be deteriorating at an uncomfortable rate as a result of the shingles. I sincerely hope that they will not go as far as mine for it we are both unable to read or write we shall have to find a full time carer-that is if we can find one.

Again my heart felt thanks for staging this marvellous exhibition. I know full-well that it must of been an exhausting work.

With affectionate good wishes from both of us,

Yours ever

Harry E Maude.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

Barr Smith Library
Special Collections

Professor H.E Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston, ACT 2611

8 November 1995

Dear Professor Maude,

Many thanks for your kind comments on the Guide - I am so glad (and relieved) that you liked it. I enclose an additional ten copies for you to send to anyone you think appropriate - the idea is, after all, to publicise the collection and that is best done by directing copies to those with a known interest in the area. Details of the exhibition and the Guide have been supplied to Clive Moore with the suggestion that he might include these in the next PHA *Newsletter* and (as he possibly mentioned) Peter Biskup has asked for a brief article for the next issue of *Australian and Academic Research Libraries*, which I am now preparing. I have already sent a copy of the Guide to Robert Langdon at his request and to various libraries, including the University of the South Pacific and the University of Hawaii. We printed 100 copies and have about 50 left.

The text is now also available on the Internet, thanks to the assistance Alan Kieg, one of our subject librarians with additional responsibility for Library publications. He thought it was interesting and unique enough to make widely available in this way, even though in this form it will be minus the illustrations. If you have any colleagues who might be interested in accessing the text electronically, the address (url to the initiated) is http://library.adelaide.edu.au/ual/publ/Journeys_Pacific.html. If you would like any of the mistakes in the text corrected, it would be possible to do this in the electronic format.

Thank you for your concern about the publication/exhibition costs, but the Library agreed to supplement the Foundation grant once I received a quote from the designer, as her professional fee took us quite beyond the original proposal. In the end the Guide and exhibition cost around \$5500 and we consider that well spent, both for the immediate interest created in the Collection and for the improved record we now have of it to supply to future researchers. A number of people have approached me about the possibility of the exhibition travelling and I intend to take this up with the National Library - so you may get to see it yet.

It was most pleasing to hear that Alaric enjoyed the occasion, as he certainly ensured its success. Dinner at Government House sounds impressive and no doubt Alaric would have had a lot to talk about with Peter Bassett as well as Her Excellency.

I hope that by now you will have had a chance to view the video recording of the function and something of the exhibition. Its a pity that it is a quiet time on campus from now on, with the end of teaching - perhaps we should have advertised the exhibition in the local Grand Prix visitors literature!

With warm regards to yourself and Mrs Maude,

Susan

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T 2611
Australia

8th August 1995

Howard Van Trease,
Macmillian Brown Centre for
Pacific Studies,
University of Canterbury,
Christchurch,
New Zealand.

Dear Howard,

This is a brief note to acknowledge your recent letter and to break the sorry news to you that my eyesight has given out and I am now unable to read or write.

As a result all my books, papers, and correspondence have been packed up to go to the Special Pacific Islands Collection at the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide, where they will be available to scholars from all parts of the world.

I wish you all good fortune in the valuable work which you are doing on Nauru.

Yours sincerely, →

Harry E Maude. →



Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies

University of Canterbury Private Bag 4800
Christchurch New Zealand
Telephone: 03-366 7001
Direct-Line: 03-364 2957
Fax: 03-364 2002

Prof. Harry Maude
School of Pacific and Southeast Asian Studies
Australian National University
P.O.Box 4
Canberra, ACT
AUSTRALIA

20 June 1993

Dear Professor Maude,

We have not been in contact for a number of years, but as you can see I am still floating around the Pacific. I left Port Vila in 1985 to take up the position of Director of the Extension Studies Department at UPNG. In 1991, it seemed the time to re-direct my attention to more academic pursuits and I, therefore, applied for and was given a fellowship at the Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies. One of my projects was to go to Tarawa and organise a study of the 1991 election. A copy of the result is enclosed.

I am actually now in Port Vila finalising chapters for an equivalent study of the 1991 election here. I am also taping Jimmy Stevens and President Fred Timakata with the aim of facilitating their writing autobiographies. I am enjoying myself immensely.

Best wishes and kind regards to you and Mrs. Maude.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Van Trease

- letter to thank him for his book +
explain present eye trouble.

To whom it may concern.

Sharlene McIntyre has been with me as Secretary, and general Amanuensis, for eight months. The first few weeks were far from easy for her as my wife went into hospital with a severe attack of shingles and almost simultaneously I had a second thrombosis in my right eye, which deprived me of my ability to read or write: I had already had a thrombosis in my left eye. The result of this double catastrophe was that my letters and papers were scattered everywhere.

Fortunately Sharlene was able to cope with the situation showing patience and considerable skill in finding all the documents and filing them in appropriate places. My letters were read to me and when necessary replies were dictated to her by me and then typed. This necessitated her having to learn to operate my Word Processor - which she did with alacrity.

Later, when my wife returned, Sharlene was able to help her to complete our Tax Returns; also to prepare several introductions and other material for publication.

We have found Sharlene entirely satisfactory in undertaking these and other tasks with confidence and accuracy. Her pleasant personality, quickness and enthusiasm makes it possible to rely on her ability to undertake anything required. I can thoroughly recommend her for the position she is now seeking.

J.L.M.

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T .2611
Australia
21 November 1995

Dear Henry,

Thank you for your letter of the 8 November and the great news that you should, with any luck, be granted a Wenner-Gren travelling grant and also the possibility of a deanship at the University of Hawaii. This would be a wonderful job and would give you the opportunity of being in the Centre of Pacific Studies and of having a hand in the policy direction of the 2 major centres of Pacific Island Research. As to coming here we should, of course, be delighted to see you again; but I fear that you would be disappointed in any "Observations" that I might make in my senesence. I have no books, articles or manuscripts on the Pacific here in Canberra as everything has gone to my Library in Adelaide or the archives of the University there.

For some years now my memory of names, dates, events and personalities has been fading and I am increasingly dependent on documentation to refresh my memory.

Peter Biskup of the Australian National Library has recently spent several days with me preparing the story of my life, work, and motivations for the National Oral History Project and when he has prepared the tape it might be of value to you but even more usefull would be to research in the Maude Pacific Island Library in Adelaide. They have just been holding an exhibition under the enthusiastic direction of the librarian Susan Woodburn. This was opened on the 23rd October with speech's by the Governor of South Australia and our son Alaric, and I will send you a copy of the guide which has been published since, but it all depends on what you want to know, which you dont state.

I am glad you are in touch with Ivan Brady; he was the best writer on the Tuvalu people that we have ever had, and I am sorry that his present work prevents him from further field research.

Anyway, when you have developed your plans further let me know what 'Observations' you have in mind and I will say whether I can be of any use at this late stage in my life. Meanwhile I do hope that you can get back into the Island studies and especially on those connected with the Central Pacific Atolls.

With affectionate regards from both of us
Yours Ever

Harr E Maude.

The University of Kansas

November 8, 1995

Honors Program

Professor H. E. Maude and Honor Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston, A. C. T. 2611
Australia

Dear Harry and Honor,

Many thanks for your letter of August 8th. Terrible news about both of you. It must be of some comfort to have a large group of family and friends that care for both of you. I have recently discussed the possibility with the Wenner-Gren people of a visit with you to discuss and record your personal observations. I had sought support for travel this past summer but the foundation requires a full proposal and 5-6 months for review. My next window for extensive travel is next summer. Given your situation it would most likely be an imposition for you to have a visitor even if travel funding could be arranged.

As mentioned in my last letter, I won a faculty contest for creating a CD-ROM disk combining text and images from the Pacific. The focus of this project is, of course, the Central Pacific. The project is well under way and I hope to have a prototype developed by this January. In fact, I have just committed myself to giving a talk and demonstration at the annual meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania; the meeting is to be held this coming February on the island of Hawai'i. This meeting celebrates the 25th anniversary of the ASAO (which I helped to found) and there are many very interesting presentations that I would like to hear. Also, it may be an opportunity for me to refocus on Pacific studies. I was recently recommended by our former university chancellor here for a vacant deanship at the University of Hawai'i Center for Asian, Pacific and Hawai'ian Studies. Given the budgetary cutbacks and the many qualified candidates for this position I do not really expect that my nomination will result in an offer of employment. The job would be most exciting and it is something that I feel well qualified to do.

I am now preparing for a busy week in Washington, D.C. I will be catching up on some research with the VA medical center but my principal reason for going is to attend the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association. I look forward to seeing old friends and I will explore the relative interest, if any, in my project with the various publishers that attend meetings of this sort.

I am in rather frequent contact with Ivan Brady and I told him of your situation. He sends his warmest regards and best wishes.

Best wishes and (especially)
Kam na mauri!



The University of Kansas

29 March 1995

Honors Program

Professor H. E. Maude and Honor Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston, A. C. T. 2611
Australia

Dear Harry and Honor,

I was delighted and quite surprised to receive your wonderful book about Banaba. Your dedication and productivity puts all the rest of us to shame. I hope along with you that somebody from the Gilberts will make a serious effort to continue with the kind of thorough documentation of their history and ethnography displayed in your life-long work and scholarship.

I have recently won a small award from our computer center to transform the materials from my Pacific Islands course to a multimedia/CD-ROM product. This will help me focus attention on the Gilbertese materials that have been gathering dust in my filing cabinets. I have begun the project by evaluating various authorware programs that will help with the organization and production of the course materials. The next step is more demanding in that I will have to actually create the hypertext that will allow students to navigate through the ethnographic and historical texts and images. I have enclosed a copy of the short write-up that led to the award.

The University of the South Pacific seems to have satellite linkages to both the Gilberts and Tuvalu. I have looked at some of the recent population statistics for the islands and the population has reached 77,000. I cannot understand how the islands can sustain this population size given the disappearance of overseas assistance and cash inflow from workers on Banaba and Nauru. I have also learned (from perusing sources over the Internet) that the Gilbertese now have some five political parties including a "Maneaba Party" headed by Roniti Teiwaki."

I have not enjoyed any substantial support for my research from the University of Kansas and I must confess that I very much regret accepting a position here in the first place. The 20 some years at this institution have not been pleasant. The job situation for "senior" people like myself is not promising and a host of political and economic factors make it a most unpleasant and near futile chore to apply for research funds.

I have tried without success to reach you by way of the Internet. It would be wonderful if we could correspond over the info-bahn.

I hope that this letter finds both of you in good health and in good spirits.

Warmest regards,



Abstract.

The objective of this project is to use multimedia courseware modules that will enhance the educational experience of both anthropology majors and non-anthropology students enrolled in Anthropology 370: Peoples and Cultures of the Pacific. The course now uses a traditional lecture format supplemented with the use of ethnographic films, 35mm slides, and overhead projection of illustrative materials. The proposed use of multimedia course presentation tools - - and the final evolution of the course materials to a stand-alone CD-ROM courseware product - - will facilitate better student understanding and appreciation of life of peoples in non-western cultures. The project will be developed in three phases. First, during the Spring 1995 semester, I will transfer the content of all lecture notes to a *Powerpoint* presentation format. Maps, slides, and other graphic illustrations will be added to the presentation. Second, I will develop a program module using *Authorware* to expand the *Powerpoint* course outline notes to text, integrate the text with bibliographic and visual reference materials, and create a hypertext prototype that will allow a student to navigate through different kinds and levels of information. The milestone for this phase will be to develop a module focused on data from the Central Pacific cultures that can be distributed on a diskette that students may use at their convenience on any computer at home or at the university. Third, I will develop formative evaluation instruments and procedures to assess student reactions to the materials on the diskette and subsequently revise, edit, and further develop the materials toward a true multimedia CD-ROM courseware product.

Objectives.

The long term objective of this project is to enhance the educational experience of both anthropology majors and non-anthropology students enrolled in Anthropology 370: Peoples and Cultures of the Pacific. The course now uses a traditional lecture format supplemented with the use of ethnographic films, 35mm slides, and overhead projection of illustrative materials. The proposed use of multimedia course presentation tools - - and the final evolution of the course materials to a stand-alone CD-ROM courseware product - - will facilitate better student understanding and appreciation of life of peoples in non-western cultures.

The course is taught every semester with an enrollment of about 45 students. It fulfills both a major requirement for an ethnographic or culture area course and a principal non-western civilization distribution course for students in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences.

Students generally experience great difficulty in visualizing the geographical and ecological conditions that affect the lives of island populations. Students also report problems relating to the assimilating and organization of the many novel concepts and facts that they are presented with through lectures and assigned reading materials. I believe strongly that the systematic use of multimedia materials -- and ultimately the integration in one environment (the CD-ROM diskette) of both text and visual information -- will help students move more confidently through novel types of information at a pace that facilitates a more satisfying and personal learning experience.

Innovation.

The ability to present and link readings, audio-visual materials, and lecture materials in a hypertext format will enable students to explore more material with a greater sense of direction and certitude. The development of multimedia presentations also will allow students more time and opportunity to explore the resources presented to them. Pedagogical specialists from the ASTUTE Center have offered to assist with the development of the course materials in terms of exploring the best pedagogical strategies for organizing the many subjects explored in this course. Other ASTUTE staff members have offered to assist with the technical development of the courseware. This collaboration between an anthropologist subject expert, an expert in instructional design, and one or more computer experts experienced with the development of multimedia (together with the students who will be asked to judge the quality of their experience with the products of this collaboration) is innovative; i.e., instead of having one professor (as a subject expert) basically performing several different communication functions we can create an instructional model that enables several different experts to collaborate and focus on solving the central problem of how best to teach young adults.

Curriculum integration.

The project will be developed in three phases. First, during the Spring 1995 semester, I will transfer all lecture notes to a *Powerpoint* presentation format. Maps, slides, and other graphic illustrations will be added to the presentation. Second, I will develop a program module using *Authorware* to expand the *Powerpoint* course outline notes to text, integrate the text with bibliographic and visual reference materials, and create a hypertext prototype that will allow a student to navigate through different kinds and levels of information. The milestone for this phase will be to develop a module focused on data from the Central Pacific cultures that can be distributed on a diskette that students may use at their convenience on any computer at home or at the university. Third, I will develop formative evaluation instruments and procedures to assess student reactions to the materials on the diskette and subsequently revise, edit, and further develop the materials toward a true multimedia CD-ROM courseware product.

Ancillary support.

In the final developmental stage, the team will work with specialists who have expertise in the design and development of multimedia courseware; e.g., KUMC Educational Technology staff, Spinnaker, Inc., and multimedia SIUGs in the greater Kansas City Area. I have worked with microcomputers since their first arrival on the academic scene. Most of my previous computer-related research has been in the field of medical informatics specifically involving the evaluation of many different kinds of medical expert and decision support systems. These experiences will be a great value in terms of courseware evaluation. My research and teaching activities relating to Pacific Island cultures go back as far as 1964.

Evaluation.

I have published extensively on evaluation research since 1976 using traditional qualitative and quantitative methods to assess user reactions to and satisfaction with computerized information systems. Once the module on Central Pacific Islands becomes available to students, it will be possible to compare student self-paced learning efforts using this module with their satisfaction and performance levels on the materials presented on Melanesia and Polynesia.

Timeline.

Phase I as described above will be completed at the conclusion of the Spring 1995 semester. I plan to rework the materials for Phase II during the summer and anticipate that the module on Central Pacific cultures will be ready for preliminary distribution on diskette during the Fall semester 1995. A completed module for this culture area will be ready by the January 1, 1996 ASTUTE project deadline. It is anticipated that modules for Polynesia and Melanesia will be completed during the spring of 1996. All three culture area modules will be prepared for CD-ROM production during the spring 1996 semester.

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611

8 August 1995

Henry Lundsgaard
Dept of Anthropology
University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
66045-2100
USA

Dear Henry,

a/ This is just a brief letter to thank you for yours of March 1995. The environment ~~of~~ at the University of Kansas sounds to be rather an unhappy one for you and other devoted research workers of mature status.

o/ Things have been rather unhappy for me to ~~of~~ late as I ^{suddenly} ~~suddenly~~ went blind about a month ago and now can neither read nor write. So I've had to shut up shop and have all my books and papers packed up to go to the special Pacific Islands Collection at the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide.

n/ As you can imagine this has been a traumatic experience and I'm still finding it difficult to live under such adverse circumstances. However I have led a ~~an~~ interesting life for 90 years and must not grumble at this late stage.

+three/ celebration Honor has had shingles for ~~two~~ months but was able to have a 90th birthday ~~with~~ with all the family here and our great grand son's arrival added to the occasion.

Wishing you all the happiness in the future, at least when you retire from the University.

Yours very sincerely,

most of
lost ~~part~~ at little sight I had

ROSE-4

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T 2611
Australia
15 November 1995

Dear Rosemary,

forwards

or

sig

Just a note to say that we have been having exciting times once again. The ~~farout~~ Barr Smith Library was persuaded by Susan Woodburn to hold an exhibition of the Maude Pacific Island Library which is an independant collection housed in their buildings. It was a tremendous success and I enclose a copy of the guide as it has a photo of your father and at the end a statement about the housing of the Grimble papers. I also enclose the opening speech by the Governor of South Australia (incidentally a Governess, but not so called) as she makes some kind remarks about Sir Arthur. The other opening speech was made by Alaric who, however, always talks impromptu and keeps no notes of what he said. Still Susan writes that his effort won great applause and "set the happy tone of the gathering which was to follow".

I am glad to be able to say that I have more or less got over the trauma caused by my blindness and hope to continue D.V. to finish the book on " The Settlement of Nui Atoll" as soon as my new Closed Circuit TV arrives which we pray will enable me to read again. There are various odds and bits left over in a partially finished form, including a paper by Grimble called "The Naba Naba Line " and hope very much to do these.

Wishing you all the very best for Christmas and the New Year.

Yours Affectionately

R. Seligman
28 Stanley Rd
Wimbledon
London SW19 8RF.

November 21 1994

Dear Harry:

Thank you very much for a long and interesting letter, which I was very glad to receive. Congratulations, late, for yours and Honor's 65th Wedding Anniversary. It must have been a great occasion. I hope you had a few glasses of some of your good Australian wines.

Thank you very much indeed for the Book of Banaba, first copy. I am honoured. And delighted to have this to add to my small collection of books on the Pacific. Most of them are by you and Honor, though there is one by Sir Harry Luke. It's not ethnological or anthropological, but he wrote well.

Your Banaba book is, again, a very nice production; an enticing cover and most interesting old photographs. A fascinating map on the back cover as well. I have a weakness for maps. I haven't noticed any errors so far but am amused by your comment that the islanders will probably fail to notice any at all because of criticising the text "...as being quite inaccurate." Rather like educated Greeks with their language. For them only one person speaks perfect Greek and that will be the person making the observation.

I was glad of your reassuring words about Ryan. I shall not feel guilty about him any more. I must say that the young woman I spoke to at Murray's seemed relieved that I did not wish to pursue the matter, and answered the letter for me. I think I told you.

I enjoyed hearing about H G A Hughes, and his ethnographic writings in limited audience tongues. He sounds like a person one would enjoy meeting. I don't know if he has a part in running the Mwanan Kiribati Association. Rotee^{Walsh} is Chairperson; Agnes Derby, Secretary; Timake Day, Publicity and Fund Raising Organiser; Terri Pollard, Treasurer, and Teiaia Bradbury, Co-Trustee. Rotee and Michael Walsh are our friends but I (~~never~~) met some of the others at one of the Gatherings. Rotee is from Tarawa, which is where she and Michael were married. In a note that came when they first sent papers about the Association, Agnes Derby tells me: "My former husband's mother (Henson) was half cousin to your father." I haven't a clue who this may have been.

* I don't like that word but it is how she is named

My ghost photo is now on something called CDROM. I don't know what this means but it's definitely advanced. I think it will travel at lightning speeds all over the place. Eminently suitable for a ghost, I'd say.

I'm afraid that Magic in the South Seas, original edition, is extinct. Otherwise I would happily have sent you a copy immediately. But I couldn't bear for you to have paid £50.00. Especially when you have always sent me so much. However, here are two copies of the new edition, which I was going to send you anyway. I have only just had this printed. ~~It~~ It ~~does~~ seem that minds, great or not, do think alike. And I wanted you to have two copies because a) you may like an extra one and b) because the printer made the pandanus drawing on the back too small at first but corrected it in the final print run of 1000. So the one with the small drawing (only 100) might become a rarity in due course and you, as a collector of these books, may like to have it. For you and Honor, with love. *Please feel free to do extra copies yourself.*

Of course I am now trying to flog this little book. I've sent a sample copy to the Bookshop in Tarawa ~~and~~ to the Minister for Cultural Affairs; also Education, and to their Broadcasting Station. ^{*} If the Bookshop does take it up I don't know what the difficulties are for getting paid. In advance would be the best as postage, insurance and other expenses are high. Anyway, we'll see. I do get frequent requests for the ~~spells~~ spells from out there, but I don't know how those who ask for it would feel about paying for it. *★ And to the National Library.*

I have also approached the Museum of Mankind here in London, and gave them a copy ~~and~~ as well. They have accepted the copy and are "considering" the booklet for sale in the Bookshop at the British Museum. I shall now approach the Commonwealth Institute, various Gift Shps and anyone else I can think of. A shipping line, perhaps, starting at Cooks, for possible names of any who run cruises to the Pacific.

I hope you will both like the booklet. Please let me know if you would like more. ~~(if they)~~. You are the right people to have them.

With love to you both, and thank you again for your beautiful book.

Yours

Rosemary

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T 2611
7th November 1995

Dear Mr Sherman,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th September. I am setting out below all the information that I know in reply to your queries.

When my eyes gave out and I could no longer read or write I sent all the correspondence, papers, reports, etc. on the Phoenix Settlement Scheme to Susan Woodburn, the librarian who is in charge of the Maude Pacific Islands Library at the University of Adelaide. I have nothing here to assist my memory, and I am afraid that I can remember only a little on the question of Post marks, as they were not a very important matter at the time.

I had to tell the scribes at each of the 3 occupied islands that as the postmark cancellers which had been ordered from Sydney had not arrived they would have to cancel any letters posted with them with 2 parallel lines across the stamp and their names or initials in one corner. In addition I cancelled a few myself, mainly on letters to my wife on Beru; and Koata, who I think was the magistrate on Nikumaroro Island, evidently cancelled some himself. This was in order since Koata was in charge of all official work on his Island and I was in charge of the settlement scheme.

In answer to the first question, I was not the district officer you refer to at the time but Lands Commissioner of the Colony, and my recollection is that there were no registrations facilities on Gardner so the letter you refer to would have come by ordinary mail to Beru and then the scribe would have registered it.

Cover No 1.

1. See above.

2. I imagine that it was a standard series of numbers for Beru.

3. It was my writing, i.e. "HEM"

4. I do not think any registered letters were despatched from Gardner or any other Phoenix Islands in 1939-40

Cover No.2

1. My recollection is that it was signed by Koata and that he was the magistrate.

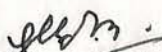
2. I don't think that the number of letters posted were ever counted on any one day in the Colony.

3. I think that it probably contained a brief letter to my wife asking her to keep the cover as a memento.

We have checked through a box of G.E.I.C. post marks and we have been able to find 9, 2 from Orona and the rest from Nikumaroro, so I expect that I sent about a dozen, as Honor remembers giving one to a friend who had a large collection of G.E.I.C stamps. We have never sold any.

Thank you for your kind words on my loss of sight, being affected by no less than 3 thromboses. The last one, in the iris of the eye, was the worst, as it destroyed my ability to read or write. Still, at the age of 90 I cannot complain that I have not been given a fair allotment of time to finish my writing for publication. Indeed I had completed all but 2 of my last series of ethnohistorical books for the Gilbertese and when my Super Closed Circuit TV arrives I may be able to do these also. The best general account of the Colonisation of the Phoenix Islands is contained in a book by myself called 'Of Islands and Men', published by the Oxford University Press, 1968.

Wishing you all the best,


Harry E. Maude.

38 Craighleith View,
EDINBURGH

MIDLOTHIAN EH4 3JY
SCOTLAND

U.K.

14 September 1995,

Dear Dr. Maude,

It was with the greatest pleasure that I read the article on the "Purchase of Rabi Island for the Banabans" in Issue No 4 of Stacey King's 'Banaba/Ocean Island News'. My delight was not so much with the content of the article (though that was really interesting) but with the discovery ~~and~~ that you and your wife were both alive and well in Canberra. It is wonderful news, for several of my most precious covers from the Gilbert & Ellice Islands were sent by H.E. Maude to his wife - the addressee - in 1939/40 and suddenly I was aware that both parties were still going strong, on reading the article.

However, this pleasurable knowledge was somewhat countered by the information in the latest Newsletter that you have lost your sight recently - I was so sad to hear of this. It was

also not a case of being able to correspond with you earlier in the hope that I might obtain a reply in your own fair hand for I have only recently joined the subscription list for the Newsletter and gleaned most of the mentioned information from back-numbers of the issues which I purchased as one lot.

However, to put all of this into context, I'll explain that I have been collecting the Postal History of the Gilbert & Ellice Islands (KGVII period mainly) for the last 20 years or so (as well as the same from British Solomon Islands and Falkland Is & Dependencies). I'm not quite sure why I ~~etc~~ started to seriously collect these areas for I spent almost 30 years working in the Middle East and Hongkong as a banker. I suppose I was drawn to them for they each had an unusual history and there was a certain fascination for them which I cannot quite explain. However, I was clear about the fact that each colony consisted of many islands and there was not only a range of different ~~of~~ post-offices/agencies but a goodly selection of postmarks and cancellations from each - especially concerning Gilbert and Ellice.

Now, having recently retired from overseas, I have been devoting quite a bit of time to ~~the~~ sorting and writing-up my collections so that my ~~addiction~~ addiction to the Gilbert & Ellice has, if anything, grown. I've also managed to add quite a bit to what I already had, since retirement for there have been several good sales of material

during the last three years. Unfortunately, having retired, I am now a 'pensioner' so that the down-side is that I no longer have the income to enable me to seize every opportunity to add to my collection, so I have to be more selective.

As far as Gilbert and Ellice is concerned, I do have quite a number of manuscript cancellations from many of the islands, particularly Hull Island from where I have half-a-dozen which is six times as many examples as I have from a number of other islands. However, the two from which I take the most pride are from Gardner Island, — or Nikomoro. These have been cancelled in manuscript on 18 June 1939 which I believe was the first day for the postal agency' and I enclose photostats of each for I'd like to ask a few questions about them and it may well be that only you, Dr. Maude, know the answers. I hope this will not cause you any inconvenience and I shall quite understand if you are unable to recollect these facts after such a long time. However, any information at all that you are able to provide concerning these, and similar covers, would be greatly appreciated.

You must have had a most interesting life in the South Pacific all those years ago and I think it marvellous that I am still able to communicate with you today and perhaps obtain a little information from you personally regarding covers in my collection.

I sincerely hope that this letter finds you and your wife

4

in line fettle although I am sure that your loss of sight must be most frustrating.

Please excuse this scribble but I am racing to get this letter off to you, prior to my departure on a week's holiday. I do hope you will be able to respond by some means with answers to my questions but there is no hurry for your reply. After all, letters used to take two or three months to reach UK from the Gilbert & Ellice Is in the 1940's and I can still wait that length of time today, for any good news that you may have.

With sincere best wishes,

Robin Sherman

C.R.O. SHERMAN.

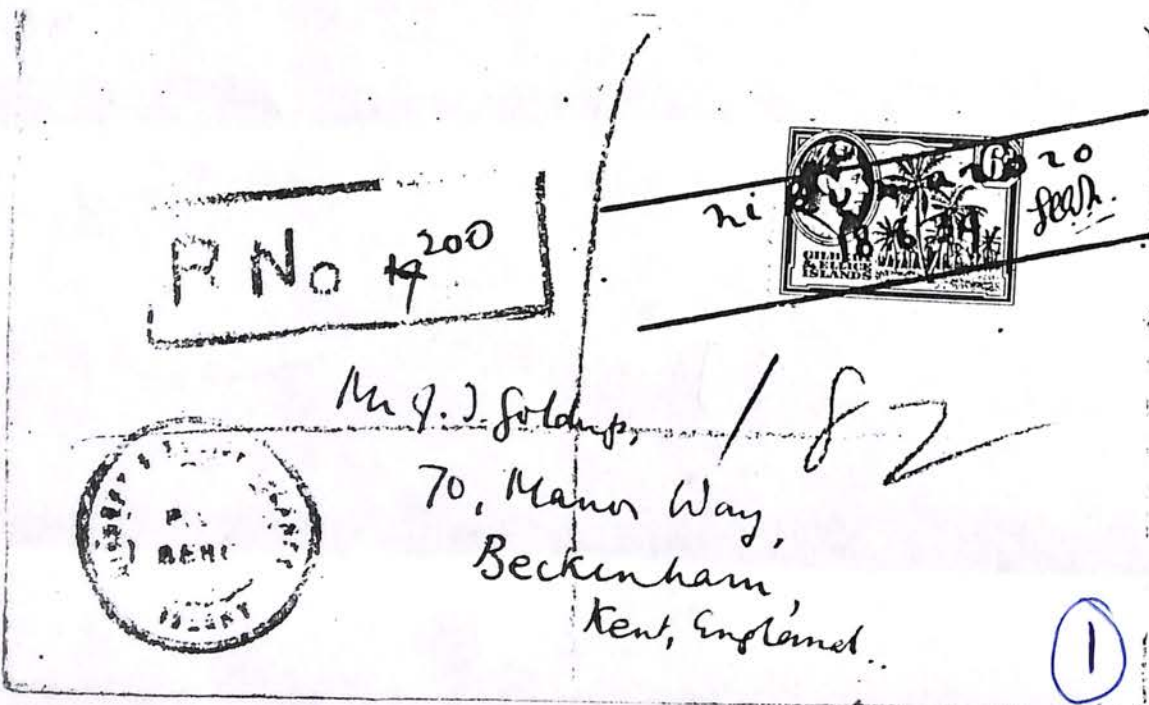
GARDNER ISLAND

Manuscript Cancellations.

Known 18 June 1939 to 16 August 40.

The native name for Gardner Island was Nikumaroro and early manuscript cancellations used this form of the name, being applied, as they were, by the local scribe, under the guidance of Mr. H. E. Maude, the District Officer for the Southern Gilberts. The latter person then initialled the cancellation.

*Is this correct?
Perhaps not!*



18. 6. 39. Unusually, this cover has been registered, although such registration was effected at Beru, there being no such facilities at Gardner Island.

The cover therefore bears the Beru Registration cachet Type R5 and the Type 12 postmark, front and back. The cover is backstamped SUVA 25 JUL 39.

The registration number itself was applied at Gardner - this is verified by the fact that contemporary registration numbers on Beru were close to 6350.

*Is this correct?
Perhaps not.*

This cover shows that there were at least some 46-71 definitives on the island when the Post Office first opened.



19-6-39

Mr H. E. Maude,

Island of Bera,

Gilbert Islands,

Central Pacific.



K.G.VI STAMPS - 'NIKUMARORO' IS THE NATIVE NAME FOR GARDNER IS. (Korua = NATIVE SCRIBE)
MANUSCRIPT CANCELLATIONS REMAINED IN USE UNTIL AUGUST 1940.

2

QUESTIONS.

COVER NO 1. to Goldup. Arrival receipt mark for BERU on face.

1. Was the registered cacher and number (R 200) applied at BERU or Gardner Island?
2. If applied at BERU, was the number 200 from a series specifically allocated to incoming registered mail from GARDNER - or was it simply the standard series of numbers for BERU that was applied?
3. What was the name of the scribe who applied the manuscript cancellation on this cover or, indeed, was it you yourself? The writing looks similar to your own and I think your initials appear to the right of the cancellation.
4. Are you aware of roughly how many registered covers were despatched from GARDNER on that first day? Were there many registered covers sent from GARDNER in 1939/40 to your knowledge?

COVER NO 2 to your wife in BERU.

1. The manuscript cancellation on this unregistered cover is in a different hand to the first one. It seems to be signed 'KOATA' - is this the correct name? Was he the local scribe? Were there others who processed mail on GARDNER during these early days?
2. How many unregistered covers were sent on this first day?
3. Was the purpose of this cover to determine the effectiveness of the mail system from GARDNER IS or did it actually contain a letter to your wife? or was there any other purpose?

GENERAL

Did you yourself keep any such covers, either from GARDNER or other islands for your own collection - or did you give them all away - perhaps many years ago?

(RAINE-4)

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611

13 November 1995

Dear Sir,

It was most kind of you to send us a copy of the first issue of the first volume of 'Raine Island'. Since my ^{Wife's} cousin Betty Butler died we have had no news of the progress of Raine Island, and are most interested to read of the ongoing developments.

Some time ago I wrote a detailed article on J.T Arundell and the Guano Industry on Raine Island, based partly on his dairies and I would be interested to know if it has since been published.

I obtained copies of the diagrams of the original construction of the Raine Island Beacon from the Admiralty Archives in Great Britian and my wife thinks she sent them to Dr. Ken Butler to be forwarded to you.

Yours Sincerely

Harry.E. Maude



RAINE
ISLAND
CORPORATION

RAINE ISLAND

Conserving a fragile outpost of nature

Vol.1 No.1

DECEMBER, 1994

Heritage beacon shines after 150 years!

THE OLDEST European construction in the Australian Tropics, and a monument of great cultural, social and historical value, this year celebrates 150 years of survival.

The Raine Island Beacon was constructed by the British Navy in 1844, using convict labour, on an important shipping lane and is the oldest surviving lighthouse outside of Tasmania.

Rated as "highly significant" by consulting engineers, Peter Spratt & Associates in a recent conservation report, the Beacon provides a sense of security, identity and community and is a rare surviving link of exceptionally high heritage value.

The Beacon requires essential conservation work as it is in danger from undermining, cracking walls due to lightning strike and stone bedding loss and has suffered natural deterioration because of harsh weather conditions.

To celebrate the 150th anniversary of its construction, the Raine Island Corporation which was constituted in June 1981 by an Act of Queensland Parliament, together with the Department of Environment and Heritage, have organised a conservation expedition to the Beacon.*cont. P2*

*Beacon a rare surviving
cultural link*



Raine Island Beacon

Photograph courtesy Dept. Environment and Heritage

IUCN The Raine Island Corporation is a Member of The World Conservation Union

Beacon a rare surviving cultural link

continued from Page 1.

According to Peter Spratt, whose consulting engineering firm specialises in conserving old buildings, the Beacon is a rare surviving link not only to European culture but also to Chinese and Torres Strait Islanders since European settlement.

"These people were linked by beche-de-mer, clam and guano mining industries on Raine Island," Mr Spratt said. "The tower also links the activity of the Navy, commercial navigation, maritime enterprise and convicts in the European context."

The Raine Island Beacon is likely to be the fourth oldest lighthouse in Australian waters.

"It was built to lighthouse standard but never lit yet it can be seen up to 13 nautical miles from Raine Island," Mr Spratt said.

"It is also unique in that it was built by the British Admiralty and not by a colonial authority. As a consequence it was never 'owned' by any State as part of its navigation infrastructure. It served as a guide en route to a destination and not as a destination marker adjacent to a port or port approach."

All other Australian lighthouses are associated with a land fall while the Raine Island Beacon is located out at sea and en route to a destination.

The Raine Island Beacon is listed on the National Estate Register and the Queensland Register.

While conservation of the Beacon is the main focus of the expedition, archaeologists have carried out the first detailed survey of archaeological relics on the island as well.

A MOST REMARKABLE FEATURE

A STONE tower, whatever age or purpose, in this remote spot, on a tiny island 170km from the coast, must always provoke wonder.

That it exists at all in this location is truly remarkable.

A structure that has survived from the 1840s is rare anywhere in Australia.

Survival from 1844 to the present, in a region lashed by tropical storms, is even more remarkable. It is cited as the oldest European-built stone structure in northern Queensland.

How the Beacon was constructed

A party from H.M.S. Fly consisting of 20 convicts (from Sydney) arrived under the supervision of Lieutenant Ince.

They erected tents and huts, quarried the island stone, fetched timbers (additional to those brought in the ship) and a water tank from shipwrecks in the area, burned shells for lime mortar, and erected the Beacon - all in the four-month period May-September 1844.

This makes it a late example of convict construction as transportation ceased in 1852.

Exactly as intended when first constructed, its height makes it unique in a flat environment of ocean, low atolls and reefs.

It must stand out in the memory of any navigator who has seen it, especially those who have been guided by it.



Consulting Engineer, Mr Peter Spratt, and Dr Koon Yuin Wong conduct tests on the Beacon prior to this year's conservation work



Aerial view of Raine Island

Raine Island has natural and heritage features

RAINE ISLAND is a coral cay 28 hectares in area (850 metres in length by 430 metres in width), situated on the Great Barrier Reef approximately 100 kilometres ENE of Cape Grenville, Cape York Peninsula.

Raine Island Entrance used to be the major shipping channel from the Coral Sea into Torres Strait.

Raine Island is of tremendous historical significance to both Queensland and Australia.

Scientifically, with adjacent cays, it is the largest green turtle rookery in the world and the principal seabird breeding island of north-eastern Australia.

Biologically, it is the most obviously productive island of the Great Barrier Reef.

The cay is a treeless sandbank two kilometres in circumference, with a broad beach from 30-100 metres in width surrounding a central rock platform 1-2 metres above the beach level.

Raine Island is a place of Torres Strait and European historical significance.

In 1985, it was declared a Reserve for Departmental and Official Purposes under the trusteeship of the then Under Secretary of the Department of Family Services.

The Island is also a Fauna Refuge under the Fauna Conservation Act of 1974.

Visits to Raine Island are restricted.

ACCESS IS RESTRICTED

TOURISM is not permitted on Raine Island.

While the Raine Island Corporation, which administers applications to visit, is required to encourage research, support and interest in Raine Island and Moulter and MacLennan Cays, it must also promote conservation on the islands.

Because turtles and seabirds are ground-nesters and are easily disturbed by people, access is restricted.

Every effort is made to minimise the impact of people, even the few permitted ashore to continue research of international importance and conservation works.



Location of Raine Island

The largest green turtle rookery in the world

RAINE ISLAND with adjacent cays is the largest remaining green turtle rookery in the world.

The number of turtles that nest each year is related to the atmospheric phenomena called *El Nino*.

At the peak of an average season, about 4000 turtles nest on Raine Island nightly.

Green turtle conservation is a global issue because turtles feed in international waters where tens of thousands are killed each year.

Turtles are being taken in larger numbers than previously because hunters use modern weapons and equipment, such as outboard-powered boats.

Female turtles of breeding age are targeted due to their larger size and taste.

Over-harvesting threatens a sustainable turtle population.

Ecologically sustainable harvesting will keep green turtles in the South Pacific region for future generations.

Research is needed to find ways to conserve the turtles by finding out more about its movements as a hatchling, studying where, why and what numbers of turtles are caught in Australia and overseas and monitoring the numbers of turtles nesting on Raine island.



During peak nesting an average of 4,000 green turtles a night crawl onto Raine Island to lay eggs

FEMALES RETURN TO SAME SITES FOR BREEDING

JUST AFTER sunset during the nesting season on Raine Island, thousands of green turtles come ashore to lay eggs.

Over 40 years old when she begins producing, each female lays three to seven clutches of about 105 eggs.

Green turtles - a global responsibility

THE successful conservation of the green turtle breeding population depends not only on the management at Raine Island, but also on the rate at which this population is being harvested through its foraging region.

Raine Island and Moulter Cay are the principal nesting sites of the largest remaining green turtle *Chelonia mydas* breeding population in the world.

It is predicted that this population will be in noticeable decline within our lifetime.

It is the goal of the Raine Island Corporation to conserve not just a representative green turtle nesting at Raine Island, but to conserve the phenomenon of mass nesting at this island as one of the world's great wildlife spectacles.

To achieve this will require concerted international co-operation in marine turtle conservation in the Australasian region.



Green Turtles nesting



Green Turtle hatchling



Raine Island is Queensland's most important nesting site for larger seabirds

Raine Island the most significant tropical seabird breeding site on the Great Barrier Reef

RAINE ISLAND is an outstanding nesting area for larger seabirds, including Brown Boobies, Masked Boobies and Least Frigatebirds.

A total of 52 species have been recorded at Raine Island since the first recorded visit in 1842.

Bird research primarily carried out independently by former Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service officers the late Mr Brian King and Dr BJ Reville focussed on a banding program on 13 seabird species and one species of landbird.

Long distance recoveries of birds banded on Raine Island have been predominantly from Brown, Masked and Red-footed Boobies.

Birds banded on Raine Island since 1979 have returned to their sites and have not been found nesting on any of the other islands in the area.

Information is now available on the breeding cycles of all the species nesting on Raine Island.

Evidence from a comparative study conducted by Dr Reville of the Least Frigatebird in the important colonies at Aldabra Atoll in the Seychelle

Islands and at Raine Island indicates that the populations on Raine Island are fundamentally more productive because of greater foraging success, a consequence of ample food supplies.

Several of the seabirds which nest on Raine Island have special significance. The island is the only nesting site in Australian waters for a small colony of Herald petrels.

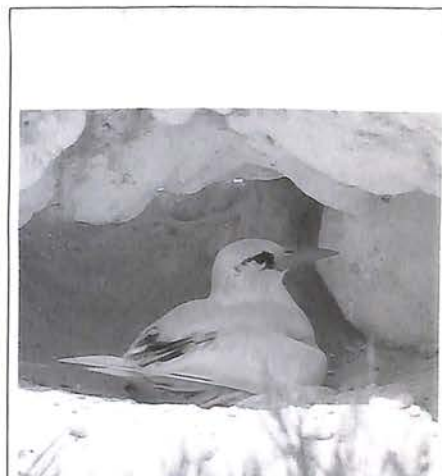
More funds are needed to study the seabirds on the island on a regular basis to determine breeding patterns and factors that affect their survival.

BIRDS ON RAINE ISLAND

- Herald Petrel
- Booby (Masked, Brown and Red-footed)
- Common Noddy
- Red-tailed Tropicbird
- Least and Great Frigatebird
- Rufous Night Heron
- Wedge-tailed Shearwater
- Great Frigatebird
- Terns (Sooty, Bridles and Black-naped)
- Crestern Tern
- Silver Gull
- Buff-banded Rail



Brown Booby with chick



Red-tailed tropic birds nest under phosphate rock ledges

In the beginning: Raine Island's discovery

THOMAS RAINE, captain of *H.M.S. Surrey*, was the first European to observe the island in 1815 while negotiating a passage to Torres Strait through the Northern Great Barrier Reef.

In 1843 the island was visited briefly by naturalist J. B. Jukes on board *H.M.S. Fly*, who described the island's abundant birdlife.

The reefs in the area posed a constant threat to shipping and after several wrecks near Great Detached Reef, the British Admiralty decided to construct a permanent beacon on Raine Island.

On May 29, 1844 the *Fly* returned, under the command of Captain F.P. Blackwood, bearing a party of 20 convicts supervised by Lt. Ince, and the naturalists J.B. Jukes and J. McGillivray.

The party erected tents and huts, and planted gardens. Stone for the beacon was quarried from the coralline conglomerate rock found on the island.

Ben Meaker: Saviour of Raine Island

WHEN 93-year-old entrepreneur, Benjamin Meaker, died in 1971 on Jersey, one of Britain's Channel Islands, he left a legacy that made the continuing protection of Raine Island possible.

Ben had made his money through property speculation and a chain of men's clothing stores in England.

His will established the Benjamin Meaker Charities Trust but he had no way of knowing that part of his fortune would be used to fund the study and conservation of a tiny, wildlife-rich island so far from his native Jersey.

In 1981, a decade after his death, money from his trust was distributed to educational, religious, cultural and conservation endeavours.

Mrs Elizabeth Butler, the niece of Benjamin Meaker, married Dr Ken Butler who was appointed a trustee to represent Ben Meaker's only sister, Ella, who was Ken's mother-in-law



Grave of Annie Eliza Ellis who lived on Raine Island during the mining operations.

and an original trustee.

The Butler family moved from Zululand in South Africa to Australia in the late seventies.

When they heard that funds were being sought for conservation work on Raine Island, Betty, Ken and their fellow trustees agreed that some \$850,000 should be used to establish, by an Act of the Queensland Parliament in June 1981, the Raine Island Corporation.

Ken Butler and his son David are members of the Corporation, together with the Director of the Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service, the delegates of the Directors-General of the Department of Primary Industries and the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, a scientist with conservation qualifications and a Torres Strait Islander.

Ben Meaker's bequest is helping to conserve precious wildlife and part of our history for the world.

Shells were burnt to make lime for mortar and some timbers were taken from wrecks in the area.

The tower was completed in four months, in September 1844 near the eastern end of the island.

It is the oldest stone building in Northern Queensland.

Other visitors to Raine Island included beche-de-mer fishermen and sailors who made heavy intermittent use of the island's huge turtle and seabird resources for food.

From 1890 until 1892 the island was heavily mined for guano by the J. T. Arundel Company of Hobart and "tens of thousands of tons" of guano and phosphate rock were removed.

About 100 Chinese labourers and 10 Europeans lived on the island. Buildings, a tramway and a jetty were constructed and a locomotive imported. No trace of these now remain, apart from the piles of discarded rock still on the island.

Since the completion of mining operations in 1892 the island has had few recorded visitors, most of whom have been participants in scientific expeditions.

The island is currently administered by the Raine Island Corporation.

Raine Island Corporation: established to promote, preserve and protect

THE Raine Island Corporation is a self-funding, non-profit organisation established under the Meaker Trust (Raine Island Research) Act 1981 of the Queensland Parliament.

The legislation followed a bequest of \$850,000 to the Queensland Government from the Benjamin Meaker Charities Trust (Jersey).

The Trustees of the Benjamin Meaker Charities Trust (Jersey) instructed that research be undertaken in relation to the nature and the environment of Raine Island and arranged for a substantial sum of money to be made available for that purpose.

The Corporation consists of seven members from both government offices and the private sector who work together to promote and conserve the island, its relics and fauna.

Project Manager, Kira Schlusser, said the Corporation had spent more than \$1 million on projects for research and conservation works over 13 years.

"This is a major achievement," Ms Schlusser said. "However one of the biggest challenges facing the Corpor-

ation is to increase its capital base in order to continue to fund projects, and be effective in its conservation role."

The Corporation would like to fund two expeditions per year to provide more opportunities for researchers to investigate Raine Island as well as Moulter and MacLennan Cays.

Funding for projects is generated from interest accrued on the Corporation's trust fund. However, during periods of low interest rates the amount available decreases and increases the need to raise funds for future projects.

"The Corporation has a long-term research plan which needs an extra \$1.5 million to ensure the conservation of the green turtle which is under threat," Ms Schlusser said.

Funds are also needed for projects such as the installation of a remote weather station and important seabird and physical sciences research.

"One of the major expenses each year is the cost of transport to the island so expeditions are limited to

In 1988 the Raine Island Corporation won the Sir John Herbert Award for Excellence in Heritage Conservation Works for the repairs to the crenellated capstones and damaged area at the base of the Beacon.

one per year. The number of researchers on that trip is limited by both the availability of funds for projects and to minimise disturbance to the wildlife," she said.

The Corporation would like to fund two expeditions per year to provide more opportunities for researchers to investigate Raine Island as well as Moulter and MacLennan Cays.

Over the past four years, the Corporation has hosted a meeting on a coordinated approach to seabird research, been represented at conservation meetings and joined the World Conservation Union.

It has been instrumental in conserving the Raine Island Beacon and, through its conservation program, aims to promote the preservation and protection of the natural and heritage values of Raine Island and its environs and to promote the conservation of the turtles and seabirds.



Members and supporters of the Raine Island Corporation, left to right: (The late) Mrs Betty Butler, Dr Ken Butler (member); Mr Edward Hegerl (Deputy Chair); Mr Robert Pearson (delegate, Dept. Primary Industries), Mr Bruce Gall (Chair, Dept. Environment and Heritage), Mr Ian Hiley (Financial Advisory Committee), Mr David Butler (member), Mr Peter Buckland (delegate, Dept. Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs), Ms Kira Schlusser (Project Manager).

Brian R King Research Award for Seabird Research 1994

A **GENEROUS** donation of \$30,000 from Mrs Helen King to the Raine Island Corporation has enabled the Corporation to continue funding an Encouragement Award in memory of researcher Brian R King.

Now in its second year the award, for seabird research relevant to Raine Island, provides an opportunity to gain experience in the study of seabirds.

The grant will be awarded to a recent graduate or student working towards an Honours, Masters or PhD, to assist with the seabird research on Raine Island. The closing date for applications is December 31, 1994.

Information can be obtained from the Raine Island Corporation.

For many years, the late Mr Brian King from the Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage, studied the birds on Raine Island and other islands on the Great Barrier Reef.

Much of this pioneering work was funded by the Raine Island Corporation and current studies are building on the results of this research.

In 1993 the Corporation set up an encouragement award for seabird research on Raine island in memory of Brian R King.

Ms Jennifer Carter from the University of Queensland was the first person to receive the award.

One of the functions of the Corporation is to promote the conservation of the area by encouraging the publication of results and research conducted.

The Corporation has funded 46 scientific papers, 84 reports, 21 articles and a video.

For further information about the Raine Island Corporation and its activities, please contact:

Raine Island Corporation
P O Box 180
Brisbane Roma Street 4003

Telephone: (07) 227 7960
Facsimile: 907) 227 7676

Raine Island research program

SINCE its inception in 1981, the Raine Island Corporation has supported 50 research projects and restoration work on the island's Beacon.

The Corporation has contributed towards the long-term monitoring of the green turtles which nest at Raine Island and in the Northern Great Barrier Reef.

More than 20,000 turtles have been tagged to provide information on their reproductive biology.

In 1990, the Corporation assessed its past and future research directions at a workshop attended by 50 delegates.

The Corporation's research program is aimed at developing an understanding of the processes that affect Raine Island and its wildlife. From 1990 to 1994, projects have focussed on turtles, seabirds and geomorphology (the characteristics, origin and development of landforms).

The Corporation has also supported studies on the population genetics of green turtles which has shown that

there appears to be little or no breeding between turtles of the northern and southern Great Barrier Reef.

A study to trace the movements of hatchling turtles once they leave the beach was also funded.

As part of an international effort to help conserve the green turtle, chair of the Corporation, Bruce Gall, prepared a paper for the IUCN Conference in Buenos Aires, Argentina which deals with the issue of hunting of turtles for food which is a major threat to turtle populations.

Other studies have looked at the shoreline changes off Raine Island and the effect of wave movement over the reef and around the island. A scale model of the island with reef, about the size of a 25 metre pool, was built at the University of Queensland for experimental work on wave action. Vegetation surveys have also been done.

The Corporation also funded research which provided the first data for Raine Island on concentrations of a range of heavy metals.



University of Queensland researchers conduct experiments on a model of Raine Island and its reef.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

Barr Smith Library
Special Collections

Professor H.E Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston, ACT 2611

26 October 1995

Dear Professor and Mrs Maude,

Please find enclosed copies of the Guide to your Library and Papers. I had hoped to include a copy of the video taken at the opening of the exhibition on Monday evening, but find it is not something I can do on our machine and I have to take the original to be copied, which will take three days, so I will post that separately early next week. As I mentioned, I added to the video the following Wednesday with some shots of the exhibition itself. Neither I or my husband (who recorded the opening) are very experienced at this but I hope you at least get some impression of the occasion.

All comments on the opening and especially Alaric's speech were very favourable. It was a genuinely warm occasion and I am sure you would have been very pleased. Alaric's speech was perfect in content and beautifully delivered - you could see the guests responding from the moment he took to the lectern. His presence and that of other members of the family, and of guests who knew you (including David Hilliard, Barry Craig, Ira Raymond and Sir Geoffrey Badger) added much to the occasion. John Young couldn't come from Tasmania but sent a very nice note of appreciation, and there was good representation from our History Department.

There has already been a lot of interest in the exhibition and our University radio station is broadcasting a segment about it on their regular program "On Campus" on Friday and including it also in their "Arts Monthly" roundup on Saturday. It was an impromptu and entirely unedited telephone interview, so I can only pray it sounds OK. We hope this all helps to generate renewed interest in using the Collection for research in addition to bringing people in to see the exhibition.

I hope you like the Guide. I was disappointed that most of the ticks on the Francis Edwards catalogue illustration (p.18) seem to have been lost somewhere between my checking the layout (when they were clearly visible) and the final printing - in fact the whole print is too pale - but otherwise I was very happy with the design, especially the imaginative way in which the bookplate and photograph were incorporated into the cover. Sir Geoffrey Badger (KBE) told me this morning that I had made an error in the designation of your MBE by leaving out the rank, for which I apologise. The Booklet is not, as you will understand, a Guide to the exhibition, but to the Collection generally, and draws heavily both upon my earlier article and on new text written for the exhibition.

The exhibition as finally formulated was in ten sections, each with a panel of text and a selection of books and documents as appropriate. The sections were titled Harry and Honor Maude, The Romance of the Pacific [fiction], Missions, String Figures, War in the Pacific, Beachcombers, Sandalwood, The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, Anthropology and The Library [a general survey of the collection]. The change to specific topics like sandalwood and beachcombers had more impact for an exhibition than attempting general themes like culture contact.

The exhibition designer we employed was just wonderful and picked up very quickly and intelligently on what we were trying to achieve. I gave her the text and showed her the selection of display material and she took it from there. Everything she did, from choice of colour for the display panels to the arrangement of the materials, was most effective. The Museum lent many relevant artefacts from the Gilbert Islands, including a suit of armour made of sinnet, porcupine fish skin helmet and a wood and shark teeth sword, which we were able to match with photographs and descriptions in books from your Library. They also lent model houses from PNG, Fiji and New Caledonia, and my husband and father-in-law attempted a structure in the spirit of a Gilbertese *bata*, referring to the design principles in Hockings though of course without the proper materials and techniques. We put a disclaimer to authenticity and a photograph of the real thing nearby, but with all its faults it has been effective as a visual focus. I had the task of chipping Heble block, which has an open texture inside the smooth outer surface, to resemble coral supports! We also got to finally display your Smith Corona, which is on a table that Constance (the designer) managed to persuade a local antique dealer to loan for the exhibition, together with a chair - rather more formal in style than you actually had in your house on Beru, but much closer than anything the Library could produce. I've tried to show something of all this in the video.

I do hope we didn't make too many mistakes in detail or take too many liberties, and that you feel we did justice to your collection in the exhibition and the Guide. Certainly it has been a great success from our perspective, and a great pleasure to make this small gesture to honour you both.

With warm regards,



Susan Woodburn
Special Collections Librarian

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T 2611

1 November 1995

Dear Susan,

E?

Thank you ever so much for your most informative and happily-phrased letter about the Exhibition. All the accounts we have heard of the opening agree that it was indeed a superb show and we congratulate you heartily on your bringing it about so successfully.

We cannot imagine how you could write to us at all so soon after the event. Speaking for myself I should have needed several days to sleep it off before I could be coherent; but we hear from every one that it was indeed a tremendous success and we congratulate you on organising it all with such eclat.

w/

The guide is certainly a beautifully composed essay on the collection and the book collectors. I had no idea that you intended to feature us so conspicuously, for you have in fact written a consise and very pleasantly composed epitome of our life and work in the Gilberts and the way in which Honor helped me so materially while concentrating on her own particular interests of string figures and material culture. Most of all I was delighted that you conveyed so well the motivations that activated my life. Many of the quotations from my writing I have no recollection of, but they certainly sound like the sort of remarks I should like to have made.

were/

There ~~was~~ a few mistakes admittedly but none of them of any consequence. The M.B.E. I have always valued particularly because it was given for the work I loved doing on Colonising the Phoenix Islands; but the O.B.E. was merely what is usually termed "the Order of the Boot End"; in other words thanks for going and not worrying the Colonial Office any more! In any case I do not use either in a democratic country like Australia where they are no longer given.

no one else has ever managed to do this before

5/ Your booklet is such a superlative guide that we really need 9 more copies for sending to authorities abroad who are particularly interested in books on the Pacific. I can easily get these done at the Rank Xerox outfit, but I feel that I should get your permission first. Which reminds me that in a previous letter you mentioned that the grant for the Exhibition was a bit tight. If so let me know and we'll rustle up a solatium to assist.

sf
on?
d/ I must stop now because to tell you the truth I am still not very good at dictating letters in fact I am beginning to doubt if I shall ever improve at my age. But once again I must congratulate you most sincerely for your magnificent effort in staging the enterprise. I was glad to hear from others that you had some very good helpers and that Alaric was one of them. He seemed to enjoy it all very much and admittedly he got a dinner at Government House for his efforts.

Honor joins me in sending our sincere thanks and renewed congratulations.

Yours very sincerely

Harry E. Maude.



Canada

Take care of yourselves!

Dr. & Mrs. C. B. Kepler
400 Snapfinger Drive
Athens, GA 30605, USA

3 Oct. '95



Dear Harry & Honour,
Just arrived back from
the Arctic to find The
Changing Pacific, Tungara
Traditions, & the Gilbertese
Moneaba, especially wonderful
since visiting Fanning Is. &
admiring so much beautiful
traditional architecture in the
villages, & such warm people.
The ^{new} moneaba could be from
the 19th century! I'm a
naturalist on cruise ships now,
in addition to other work, so
spend very little time home. off
to W. Stn. America & Antarctica now.



Harry & Honour
Maude

42/11 Namatjira Dr.
Weston, A.C.T. 2611
Australia

Mère et son blanchon
Mother with her pupp

tourists! They want me to be involved, but just heard
of an anonymous rich person who wants to buy it.

Photo: Ouellet, C02
MANUFACTURED BY (819) 425-2089
IMPRIME/PRINTED CANADA

42 Namatjira Dr
Weston A.C.T 2611
Australia

4th November 1995

My Dear Kay,

A while ago I had a letter from you letting us know about your peregrinations, present and prospective. Unfortunately it appears that it has completely disappeared; in fact I have been having some trouble with my correspondence, partly due to not being able to read and consequently find them, and partly because my amanuensis has been away on a course.

I remember however, that your last letter did not mention mine of the 11th August, in reply to yours of the 23 July which makes me think that you did not receive it. So I have enclosed a copy herewith.

I hope that Caroling Island is left in peace without either Gilbertese settlers or a European owner. But if it has to be one or the other I hope it is the former, as they are likely to do the least damage to the eco-system in the long run.

The Maude Library in Adelaide had been honoured by being put on exhibition and I will send you a copy of the printed guide to the library when the extra copies I hope for arrive.

With all good wishes,

Yours ever,

Harry E Maude.

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611
Australia
11th August 1995

Dear Kay,

i/ Thankyou for your letter of the 23 July, just recieved. I was glad that you have had an opportunity to return to several of the line islands, though sorry that you missed out in Washington; but then the boat passage there is very difficult to negoti~~ate~~ except in a dead calm.

i/ #e/ 07 sf As regards your commendable desire to preserve Caroline, Vostock, and Flint from settlement I am afraid that your desire for a supporting letter from me comes too late, as all the revelant files have gone to the archives in the University of Adelaide; and I have a ~~distinct~~ feeling that somewhere among them there is a report by me re~~comm~~ending the settlement of Flint~~s~~ and to a lesser extent Caroline, and that only Vostok was re~~comm~~ended as a bird sanctuary.

I expect that Mrs Merang has copies of this report and that my credibility with the Kiribati Government would not stand up to a second report now recommending the exact contrary to the first.

Of course I was sent to the South Line Islands especially to recommend the settlement possibilities and did not access the effect of settlement on the wild life.

join Any-way, I think you have copies of my colonization report and if I am wrong in my recollection please let me know. Speaking from a very fickle memory the only Island recommended by me as bird sanctuaries were McKean, Birnie, Phoenix, Enderbury, and possibly Canton, Baker, Mauldon, Starbuck, Jarvis and Vostok.

y/ I will not enlarge on my report because it was written man~~y~~ years ago-in fact during WW2 I believe- but, as I said, you can look it all up in your files and tell me if I am wrong.

Wishing you all the best,

KEPLER - 4

My Dear Ray,

Try for your letter of the 23 July, just received. I was glad that you have had an opportunity to return to ~~the~~ several of the Line Islands, though sorry that you missed out on Washington; but then the boat passage there is very difficult to negotiate except in a dead calm. As regards your commendable desire to preserve Caroline Vostok + Flint from settlement I am afraid that your desire for a supporting letter from me comes too late, as all the relevant files have gone to the archives in the U of A; and I have a distinct feeling that somewhere among them there is a report by me recommending the settlement of Flint, and to a lesser extent Caroline, + that only Vostok ~~is~~ was recommended as a bird sanctuary.

⇒ I expect that ~~you~~ Mrs Merang has copies of this report and that my credibility with the Kiribati Government would not stand up to a second report now recommending the exact contrary? to the ~~oppos~~ first.

⇒ Of course I was paid to do the 5th Line Is. especially to recommend ~~the~~ the settlement possibilities and did not ~~weigh up~~ assess the effect of settlement on the wild life.

⇒ any way, I think you have copies of my Colonization report and if I am wrong in my recollection

please let me know. Speaking from a very
fickle memory the only is recommended ~~to me~~
as bird sanctuaries were McKean, Birnie, Phoenix^{enix}
Island, ^{Endeavour, and possibly Canton} Howland, Baker, ~~Malton~~^{JARVIS &} Starbuck, and
Vostok

=> I will not enlarge on my report because it was
written many years ago - in fact during WWII
I believe - but, as I said, you can look it all
up in your file + tell me if I am wrong
=> Wishing you all the best,

Yours Ever

HAM



ANGELA KAY KEPLER Ph.D
PAN-PACIFIC ECOLOGICAL CONSULTING

island conservation - birds - plants - turtles - coconut crabs - natural history books

23 July, 1995

Dear Harry & Honor,

Thank you so much for your letter. I'm truly sorry to hear that you are both not doing well, and wish you all the best.

I'm sorry to ask you a favor, but I hope that you will deem it worthwhile. I just returned from visiting all the Line Islands (except Washington) and had a chance to talk with the Wildlife Unit and new LINNIX Secretary, David Yeeting. Nice fellow. all are very concerned about wildlife in the Line Islands.

As you know, for decades there has been an overpopulation problem in the Gilberts, and of course it's worse now. Since Washington and Fanning don't want too many people, the officials in Tarawa now want to settle Caroline, Vostok, and Flint!!

I'm going off for 2 months tomorrow, and don't have time for details, but I'm sending you a petition I wrote up on the cruise ship, and have sent off letters all over the place to try and stop this. After extensive research and ground-truthing, I recall that you were opposed to settling the Sthn. Line Islands even way back in the 40s.

Is there a chance you could write a letter to this Mrs. Merang, or perhaps even higher up, if you still have contacts, supporting the idea of not settling the Southern Line Islands in the best interest of both I-Kiribati and wildlife? Do you have any other ideas (beside heavy birth control?)

I'd very much appreciate this, as I know that you know how precious and beautiful these islands are.

Incidentally, I thoroughly enjoyed the new settlement at Fanning. Wonderful, traditional homes and *maneaba*, fabulous dancing, and warm-hearted people. Very 19th century-ish. I thought of you - of your times in the "old Gilberts" and of the settlement at Hull that you developed and my husband visited in the 1960s. What a shame that droughts forced them off, when all looked so promising.

Must fly. All the best, and I hope my request is not too much of an inconvenience. Get better!

Kay

23 July, 1995

Mrs. Tererei Merang, Environmental Co-ordinator
Ministry of Environment & Social Development
Bikeniaeu Village, Tarawa
Republic of Kiribati

Dear Mrs Merang,

Please allow me to introduce myself, although perhaps you may have seen my name in relation to the Southern Line Islands. Did you receive two copies of a green book on Caroline a year or so ago? There should also be information and photos of Caroline, Vostok, and Flint in your files from 1988-1992.

I am a New Zealand wildlife biologist (living in the USA) who has visited the Line Islands many times and, in 1988, initiated attempts towards their total protection. My husband and I have worked on and off with Katino Teeb'aki since 1981. I just returned from visiting all the islands again (except Washington), this time on a cruise ship, including meetings with Katino and David Yeeting. It was most disturbing to hear that the Tarawa Government plan to settle the Southern Line Islands, and hope that you are able to prevent this. Pacific biologists familiar with seabirds, turtles, reef ecosystems, and coconut crabs deem this an extremely unwise decision, both for I-Kiribati and for the islands' wildlife.

Enclosed please find a petition from passengers aboard the MV *World Discoverer*.

I would also like to offer the Kiribati Government my consulting services to discuss this matter with Kiribati officials. I have spent more time in the Southern Line Islands and studying wildlife ^{there} than any other living person (except the Falconers, who lived on Caroline for 4 years), and feel that I much to offer you - rational ideas, information, color photographs, maps, history, and comparisons with other Pacific islands.

If necessary, I am offering my services free. All I ask is a return airfare from the US and accommodation while in Tarawa. The earliest I could come to Tarawa would be next spring.

I hope that the petition helps and that we can work together for both your people and wildlife on this important matter.

Cordially,

Angela Kay Kepler
Wildlife Ecologist



ANGELA KAY KEPLER Ph.D
PAN-PACIFIC ECOLOGICAL CONSULTING

island conservation - birds - plants - turtles - coconut crabs - natural history books

23 July, 1995

Mrs. Tererei Merang
Environmental Co-ordinator
Ministry of Environment & Social Development
Bikenibeu Village, Tarawa
Republic of Kiribati

Dear Mrs. Merang,

Mauri-O. We wish to congratulate your Ministry on the important environmental work that you are accomplishing in Kiribati. We are especially pleased that Felix Urima was not granted a lease to Caroline and Flint Islands. A very wise decision.

This letter comes to you as a plea to fully protect the Southern Line Islands (Caroline, Vostok, Flint) as a triple-island reserve.

We understand that these three uninhabited islands are currently being considered for Gilbertese settlement. We would like to remind the government that Caroline was seriously considered for I-Kiribati settlement by Harry Maude, a well-known Pacific historian and highly respected colonial administrator to the Gilbert Islands for several decades. The conclusion of Government officials at that time was that Caroline, Vostok and Flint were unsuitable for settlement. Gilbertese families were taken to the Phoenix Islands, which were much more suitable, and even there the experiment failed after 20+ years due to extended droughts. This was extremely hard on the settlers and their families, and no one wants a repeat of that situation.

We strongly advise against settlement of the Southern Line Islands for the following reasons:

1. **All are extremely remote from supply ships, medical aid, and islands with Gilbertese culture.**

2. **Fresh water is only available from rain catchment.** Wells that existed on Flint and Caroline during their inhabited years (1880s to 1930s) are now dry. The family living on Caroline for 4 years (Falconers) were constantly aware of their limited water supplies, even though they had built concrete tanks. *Babai* (giant taro) growing would be possible only on a few of the 39 islets; most islets are small and rubbly, with poor soils and

very poorly developed ground water. Many are dry with no soil at all.

3. Rats are superabundant and have never been controllable.

Caroline and Flint's coconut plantations were abandoned repeatedly earlier this century on account of rats eating nuts. They persist in great numbers today and were a great nuisance to the Falconers despite constant trapping.

4. Mosquitos are abundant and a nuisance to human settlers, especially on Flint. Other pests are the abundant land crabs (*Coenobita*, *Cardisoma*), which snip off every garden seedling, making vegetable growing very difficult. Soils, especially on Caroline, are replete with coral fragments and poor in essential nutrients.

5. They harbor plant ecosystems, breeding seabirds, coconut crabs, green turtles, giant clam reefs, and undisturbed coral reef ecosystems of national and international importance. Caroline and Vostok, in particular, are considered by world-renowned biologists to be two of the least spoiled coral islands in the Pacific and the world. Together they harbor more than one million breeding seabirds of 11 species, and relatively large tracts of *Pisonia grandis* and *Cordia subcordata* forests, now rare elsewhere.

6. All three islands provide refuges for migrant shorebirds which breed as far away as Alaska and Siberia. For example, Caroline harbors a population of approximately 300 Bristle-thighed Curlews, an endangered species.

7. Caroline has no passage into the lagoon and 500 meter-wide reef flats must be traversed on foot, dragging small boats.

Flint and Vostok were not settled by Polynesians, in part because of extremely dangerous boat landings. Even during the guano and copra years, supply ships sometimes lay offshore for weeks before landing was possible. At no time did Caroline support more than a small number of families.

Beginning in 1988, recommendations for an international reserve including Caroline, Vostok, and Flint, were initiated. Today, the Wildlife Unit on Christmas Island, Mr. David Yeeting, Secretary for the Line & Phoenix Islands Development, and biologists from all over the world, are in complete accord: that these special islands are inappropriate for human settlement and are wildlife treasures both the Kiribati and the world.

We, the passengers on the cruise ship, MV *World Discoverer*, visited the Southern Line Islands and were favorably impressed with their marine and terrestrial ecosystems, as well as their crystalline waters and overall beauty. In our extensive world travels we have encountered few islands of their calibre.

We, the undersigned, fully support total protection of Caroline,

Vostok, and Flint, and hope that negotiations can begin immediately with an international conservation agency. The reserve could provide economic potential through tourism. The islands' precious wildlife resources are incompatible with human settlement.

Thankyou for your consideration of this important matter.

(please see next page for signatures)

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611

^ 7th November 1995

Dear Sister Alaima,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd October. We were glad to hear that your centenary celebrations went off so well. I thought that you had all ready had your centenary some years back and that the Bishop wrote a History for it, but I suppose this was a hundred years from some other event.

Thank you also for the book you wrote for this one, we are both sorry that the photos we sent did not make it in time, but I feel sure that you will be having a second edition prepared before long.

9
>
al/ We also have been excited when the Barr Smith Library of the University of Adelaide decided to have a public exhibition of the Maude Pacific Library. This was beautifully organised by its Librarian Susan Woodburn, and we have been told by every body that it was a great success. The Governor of South Australia gave the opening address, and Alaric followed with another. There were all sorts of objects on show besides books, including a model Gilbertese house, a suit of armour and a block of sandalwood. I will send you a copy of the fine booklet they published on the Library as soon as I receive the copies for distribution.

caf It was sad day when I got the 3rd thrombosis in the iris of my right eye which made it impossible to read or write any longer. But actually I have no complaints whatsoever, as I only asked our Lord for enough sight to finish the Gilbertese Series of books on their traditional history; and this He certainly gave me.

Maybe when the big Closed Circuit TV arrives with its magnification of 60 and its 64 inch screen, I shall be able to finish one or two extra items which are lying here almost, but not quite, ready for publication; but it is in the Lords hand and He knows best.

Meanwhile, we send our sincere good wishes that God will give you all support in the wonderful work which you are doing to help the Gilbertese people.

Yours Ever,

Harry E. Maude.

Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Convent
Teaoraereke
Tarawa
Kiribati
23 October 1995

Dear Honor and Harry,

Kam na mauri! Thank you very much for the letters dated 8 August. When I did not hear from you I knew that you were busy and also I was hoping that nothing very serious was happening to you both. Thanks be to God you are both well.

You see, we celebrated our centenary in August, from 14-20, it was a whole week of feasting, praying and being entertained. You know that South Tarawa is the most populated area in Kiribati and the maneabas here are bigger than they were to accommodate big numbers. The first Mass for the deceased was held in the cemetery where most of the missionaries' graves are located. The people were very kind not only with their prayers but with gifts. Our Mother General and one of her councillors came for the occasion, her name is Sr Mary Reginalda, Dutch, and the her councillor is Indonesian, Sr Emanuella. Our other guests were The outgoing and on coming Provincials from Australia and Indonesia, the PNG Provincial and the Regional Superior from the Philippines. There were two representatives from the early missionaries who are now staying down in Australia on account of their health came for the celebrations. I shall send you a copy of the booklet I compiled for the occasion. It was published printed here in Teaoraereke in the Catholic Maria Printing Office. It could have been better that that was the best we could manage at the time. The workers there are MSC brothers and lay helpers, not real experts. The booklet nearly did not get finished. I had to photocopy the last pages to complete five copies on the actual day, 14 August. Anyway, it is history now.

My belated happy birthday greetings, Honor. You sounded as you had a great day having all the family together. The photoes you sent are beautiful, so clear and well done. I am keeping them in our archives for the next edition of the book. It sure needs editing. Howard Van Treast told me to give myself at least 7 months if not 12. I did neither. I started in April and if the Lord did not give me all the help I received I would not have been able to manage. Anyway, that is history now.

I do not like the idea of Harry going completely blind. Perhaps, we need to say a few more prayers so that he can still walk about on his own. I met Robyn the artist, she told me that she visited you. I hope you are completely clear of those shingles. I have never had them but they said they could be very painful. Congratulations! So you are a grandmother and Harry is a grandfather. At long last! Yes, God is good to us in providing for us just when we need help. I am very happy to know that you have good people and helpful people around. God be praised.

We have had quite a long spell of sunshine with no rain. Perhaps you would say, but that's typical of Kiribati. Yes, but you see since 1990 we have more than our normal share of rain, now we are getting less and less and we are complaining as if it is the normal thing for us to have such plentiful of rain. It is very interesting to be human. The internal Air Tungaru has only one small plane left, it sometimes hires Air Marshalls to make some runs for it to the outer islands. It has not been doing well financially. We are not sure when it is going to buy some new planes. Ten days ago, an Australian 'Hercules' plane, I think that's what they call it, brought a satellite dish replace the one that was broken. Now we are back on the air again. We can ring out or send faxes. In Mururoa and Fagaleva, in Tahiti, the French had carried out some testing of their nuclear weapons, I am sure you have heard about over the air. Twice they have dropped bombs, we are waiting to see if they will continue. If what they say in newspapers is true about the effects of nuclear testing on the locals, I can't see why the French government does not have pity on the locals.

The Teburoro government is trying to fulfil its promises to the people. It is now negotiating with Australia for financial aid towards the Junior Secondary schools it is wanting to establish on all the islands. The World Bank is ready to help finance two but the government wants one on each islands. We shall see. We do not have the teachers for these schools, etc. Anyway, we will leave it to the government to work out. It is a pity, if only they could have started with the primary schools by giving them the support and help to upgrade standard. Anyway, I shall stop here for now. I always tend to talk too much. The causeway between Bairiki and Betio is fine, its sides are being built up, i.e. the sand is accumulating very rapidly and the public are now going there for picnics.

Bye for now and God bless you

A Alamin

mm

COPY

42/11 Namiat Jisa Dawa
Weston, A. C. T 2611
20.10.95

Dear Sir Geoffrey,

Harry is now blind to the extent that he can no longer read or write so I am answering your letter in his stead. He wishes me to tell you that he has not researched or written anything connected with the Tasikuan poet Gade since 1959 & he has no recollection of anything relating to the subject.

Harry's papers & correspondence have now been deposited in the Barr Smith Library.

Some years ago, Harry says, you were writing about the breadfruit taken to the West Indies & that he lent you his papers on the subject. Did you write an account of how they were faring? Harry would be grateful if you would return his papers direct to Susan Woodburn, Librarian, Special Collection.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely

Honor Maude,

copy

Ed: The Tibbo - 500 copies of
 a K.ibu = Kobungro
 1192 - 2611
 Weston
 42/11/24
 They should be (=) 1. e copies, and
 not (-) 1. e copies

Dear Sir Geoffrey,

Harry is now blind to the extent that he can no longer read or write so I am answering your letter in his stead. He wishes me to tell you that he has not researched or written anything connected with the Tasikwin post trade since 1959 & he has no recollection of anything relating to the subject.

Harry's papers & correspondence have now been deposited in the Barr Smith library.

Some years ago, Harry says, you were writing about the breadfruit taken to the West Indies & that he lent you his papers on the subject. Did you write an account of how they were farming? Harry would be grateful if you would return his papers direct to Susan Woodburn, Librarian, Special Collection.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Honor Mauds,

Over.

SIR GEOFFREY BADGER

1 Anna Court
West Lakes
South Australia 5021

21. 9. 95

Dear Professor & Mrs Maude

You may remember me. I was the Vice Chancellor of Adelaide at the time you decided to dispose of most of your library on Pacific history.

I am working on the Explorers of Australia these days and am seeking your help on a problem which may be of interest to you - the Tahiti Port Trade (on which you have a chapter in one of your books). The problem is this:

When Nicolas Baudin called at Port Jackson during his exploration of the Australian coast he managed to buy 10,000 pounds of salt pork from George Bass who was, by then, a trader. A little later he farewelled his accompanying ship on her return to France with many sick men. Baudin provided a live pig for the use of one of his officers who had scurvy. Moreover, when Baudin reached Kangaroo Island he released a boar and a cow at what is called Hog Bay, and these pigs or their descendants died out about 1880 (so it is said). The point is: Baudin must have obtained the live pigs in Sydney. It is hardly likely that he could have purchased European-style pigs from the settlers there. It seems possible that he obtained a few live pigs from Bass in addition to the salt pork. If so the pigs were probably

Polynesian (Tahitian) pigs - which are much smaller than European pigs.

I wonder if you have ever come across any information about the live pigs which Bauden managed to acquire? I should greatly appreciate your comments on this matter. It does seem likely that the pigs released at Hog Bay were Polynesian pigs.

With kindest regards

Yours sincerely

Geoffrey Bauden.



Filed 24/10/95

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

Dear Harry,

I am truly remiss in not writing sooner after receiving your letter and the Banaba and Gilbertese books. I hope I can match the concern you have shown in getting history to the people whose history it is. My strategy at present is to build up a computer database of references and documents for future Tokelau historians to work from. I suppose having promising Tokelau scholars around encourages me.

I am less than three weeks from completing a brief period of leave taken to get the big Tokelau book on the rails. It has been accepted for publication by Auckland University Press, whose directing editor has a special interest in Tokelau. I am still struggling with the history. Sometimes I think I have bitten off too much: trying to juggle the local narratives and foreign records, the quite separate historical representations of the three places, and the quite different perceptions of the various outsiders. It is very hard to create a story-line with so many pieces. In fact, it is more of a jigsaw puzzle than a narrative, more of a historical record (putting it all together) than a history. I am sure you have confronted all this many times and overcome it--Tokelau is just so very bitsy!

The work is scheduled for publication in 1996 and I see ahead several months of solid work and others of intermittent work before my hands are washed of it. At the moment I feel that writing ethnography is a breeze. Indeed, I am very satisfied with the ethnographic part of the book.

I enclose offprint/photocopy of the two chapters on Tokelau in the recent Mosko/Jolly edited volume (Harwood Academic) on transformations of hierarchy, which may give you some idea of what the book is tackling.

With most warm wishes and regards,


Judith Huntsman

42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston, A.C.T. 2611,
Australia,
6 March, 1995,

Dear Judith,

5/ Thanks for letting me know about the resolution of the problem concerning Peni, or rather the two Penis. I'll file it in the Slavers post-publication file which contains several interesting letters from Peruvian historians but not much else. I had hoped that there would have been more from island researchers pointing out some of the many faults which must exist; but maybe they will come after I'm dead.

It is unfortunate that the book never got sold in Australia, as far as I can discover, and I imagine not in New Zealand either. When that scoundrel Maxwell bought out the ANU Press, under false pretences, he ordered the work to be pulped, so I bought up the whole of the Australasian edition and sent it to the USP, where it sold out in a few months though I still have a few of the hardcover ones, which nobody wants these days.

Since then there have been I think four separate reprints in Fiji and Samoa and another scheduled for this year; and the American edition has only 30 or so left, which they are remaindering.

I am sending the two books we produced jointly last year. In the Anthology we have included brief introductions to most chapters in the hope that they may stimulate local historians to get going on detailed island histories, but the Gilbertese custom inhibiting disclosure is still powerful. Maybe when Kambati Uriam's excellent thesis on 'the history, nature and function of oral tradition in Gilbertese society' is published, I believe this year, there may be a change.

The second work was produced on request to try and help the Banabans to overcome the trauma of having lost their land and their income and being compelled to contemplate the necessity of working for their living for the first time in three generations. At the same time it is an attempt to



record what a fine society their ancestors built on a little rocky island, isolated and drought-stricken and only a tenth the size of Rabi. It gave me quite a shock to find that the majority of Banabans had not even seen Banaba, so we have given them an account of its history and former culture.

Now Honor is 90 and I shall be likewise next year, D.V., so we are thinking of shutting up shop and sending the remainder of our books to the Pacific Islands Library in the Special Collections Section of the Barr Smith Library at Adelaide.

But I hope to carry on my hobby of building up some of the School, College and Community Libraries. Last week I bought the remainder stock of Tungaru Traditions for \$5 a book and this week I am promised the 70 remaining copies of Traditional Architecture in the Gilbert Islands for \$2 each.

Wishing you many happy years of work among your own chosen people. It must be a most rewarding life, and I am always amazed at how few have taken an interest in the islands once they have got their doctorate: some perforce but others by choice. Latouche carries on year after year out of sheer interest, for he seems to seek no financial reward.

Yours ever,

Harry Z. Aude



Dr Harry Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forest, A.C.T. 2603
AUSTRALIA

Dear Harry,

With all best wishes for 1995 and belated thanks for your very useful and generous remarks on the occasion of the 100th birthday of the Polynesian Society three years ago.

I write because I think we have finally resolved the Peni conundrum. According to Tongareva oral traditionist and MA student in Anthropology (Wilkie Rasmussen), Peni of Penryn was Thomas Payne, a 'leftover' from the wreck of the "Chatham", while as we both know, Peni of Fakaofu was Ben Hughes. They are different, though this is not to say that Peni of Fakaofu did not have anything to do with the slavers. He appears to have not been a very smart man, and the both documentary and recorded oral evidence is equivocal.

All my very best,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Judith Huntsman', with a large flourish at the end.

Judith Huntsman



GHOSTS OF HIERARCHY I: THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHIEFLY AUTHORITY ON FAKAOFO, TOKELAU

Antony Hooper

Pacific Islands Development Program East-West Center, Honolulu

At some time during the closing decades of the nineteenth century (the exact date is not now known) the ruling council of Fakaofu¹ made a decision to do away with both chiefly authority and the precedents associated with rank, and to reconstitute government on gerontocratic principles. A local manuscript history (following an account of the division between the *aliki* or chiefly lineage and the majority who were of *faipule* stock) puts it this way:

The meetings of Aliko and Faipule were held... at Hakava.² It was Aliko and Faipule who made this decision, "All men of Fakaofu shall be equal, in accordance with the wish of God that all men be equal (*tutuha ia tagata uma*)." And another decision which they made was this, "As soon as a man is grey haired he joins in the governing (*pulega*) of Fakaofu, without regard to his rank (*tulaga*) in Fakaofu." Another decision which they made was this, "The oldest man, without regard to his rank, will be made the embodiment of the dignity and honour (*mamalu*) of Fakaofu" (Perez 1977, my translation).

Given the circumstances on the atoll at the time it was perhaps inevitable that the older system should collapse. It had, after all, been ineffectual against the depredations of famine, a "rescue" operation mounted by the Marist Mission in 1852, and epidemic and Peruvian slavers in January of 1863. For several months after the last slave ships left there were only six able-bodied men left on the island, together with a little more than 100 women, children and the more obviously infirm. Christian teachers had been accepted, displacing the *aliki*, prime worshipper and voice of the god Tui Tokelau. Gone also was the sway which Fakaofu once held over the neighbouring atolls of Nukunonu and Atafu. Fakaofu, *fenua aliki* "the land of chiefs", had succumbed to the overbearing forces of the outside world. The tiny seagoing kingdom had collapsed.

My concern here is not so much with the wider Tokelau polity as with the specific transformations which occurred on Fakaofu, where the prerogatives of rank were abolished and a gerontocracy formally established. Gerontocracy was not the only option. It was simply the logical one, the one which drew from older ideas of hierarchy those elements which could be set together with mission Christianity to construct a tolerable new order. Furthermore, I shall argue, that new order was tolerable precisely because gerontocracy, in its Fakaofu version, was (and indeed remains) a basically hierarchical structure.

The transformations which took place on Nukunonu and Atafu were no less far reaching, but they followed somewhat divergent courses — due, no doubt, to the discrete, if not openly contending views which prevailed on those islands about the nature and legitimacy of Fakaofu's preeminence. These are dealt with in the following paper by Judith Huntsman. Taken together, our papers give an account, from divergent points of view, of the transformation of the polity which Goldman has portrayed as more or less doomed from the outset, "an untenable political extravaganza" (1970: 342), too elaborate to be sustained by a thousand or so people with slender subsistence resources on three tiny atolls spread over a 100 mile arc of open ocean.

The key elements of this transformation are those set forth by Perez in the passage quoted above. *Pule* is a temporal notion of governance, power and authority. *Tulaga* is a broader concept denoting ideas of social position, status and role, which in this context refers to rank, more specifically *aliki* or chiefly rank, based upon descent and primogeniture. *Mamalu* embraces the notions of honour, dignity and prestige — exemplified in a contemporary dictionary by examples referring to the "dignity of chiefs" and the "glory of God". Finally there is the notion of social equality, which is carried in the phrase *tutuha ia tagata uma* "all men/people the same". The events as we describe them thus necessarily involve both of the distinct notions of hierarchy which have become established in anthropological discourse. Tokelau was a conquest state, with political and economic power clearly centred on the dominant island of Fakaofu, and these elements of stratification were obliterated during the late nineteenth century by the combined effects of conversion, slavers and the radical depopulation of the group. But Tokelau was also, in most respects, a typically Polynesian state, predicated upon indigenous cultural constructions of hierarchy involving ideas of differential worth and value which were closely connected with the cosmological order and ritual practice. These ideas were not simply obliterated. They were transformed, differentially on each of the three atolls, where their ghosts persist in the ongoing structures of contemporary life.

The Traditional Tokelau Polity

Tokelau, according to the traditional Tokelau view, maintained on all of the three islands, came into being through warfare. It was a conquest state of a characteristically Polynesian kind, remarkable really only for its diminutive scale. There were, at the outset, three distinct and unrelated polities, at least two of which, Nukunonu and Fakaofu, claimed autochthonous origin. Hostilities prevailed. The warriors of Atafu were particularly barbarous and, in retaliation for an atrocity involving the daughter of the *aliki*, Fakaofu raided the island. The population fled, never to be heard of again. Fakaofu then subjugated Nukunonu, claiming almost half the area of that atoll for itself, though sparing the population to be a source of everlasting tribute. The most important valuables brought as tribute were women and mats (made by women) for the raiment of Tui Tokelau.

The genealogical dimensions of these events hinge upon Kava the Divider (the first "historical" chief of Fakaofu) taking Nau, a woman of Nukunonu, as his consort, and the birth of a son, Pio, from this union. From Pio there comes a line of males who served as the representatives of Fakaofu in Nukunonu. The line does not, however, have rank in the *aliki* lineage, being compromised by the fact that Nau was a "slave", a "tribute woman". In a later generation Atafu, which had stood unoccupied since the original inhabitants fled in the conflict with Fakaofu, was resettled by a descendant of Pio and his Nukunonu wife. These links set up the outline of the genealogical structure of the established polity, as follows (Huntsman and Hooper 1985: 139-144).

Fakaofu	:	Nukunonu	:	:	Wife taker	:	Wife giver
Fakaofu	:	Atafu	:	:	Elder brother	:	Younger brother
Nukunonu	:	Atafu	:	:	Mother's B	:	Sister's S

The descent genealogies of the three atolls traced from these linking points each has its own characteristic form. That of Fakaofu takes no account of Pio and his descendants, and maintains its patrilineal hierarchical form. That of Nukunonu is constituted as four separate stocks, establishing a social order based upon complementary coalitions. The Atafu descent genealogy is a single comprehensive cognatic stock from a direct descendant of Pio, which is the basis of that island's social unity and its pervasive egalitarianism.

European and American records of early contacts with the group give circumstantial evidence which is more or less in accord with tradition. Byron found Atafu to be uninhabited when he visited in 1765 (Gallagher 1964: 108-109). Edwards, when he visited on HMS Dolphin in 1791, found evidence of a temporary "fishing camp", and from 1825 onwards the island

appears to have had a more permanent population. The HMS Dolphin was also the first European ship to touch at Nukunonu, also in 1791, but no contact was made with the inhabitants, who fled across the lagoon (Edwards and Hamilton 1915: 47). Fakaofu, so far as is known, was not discovered by Europeans until 1825, when the USS Dolphin was met off the shore by a supremely confident, overbearing attempt by local men to commandeer the whole ship and her crew (Huntsman and Hooper 1986).

The records of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, which had two ships in Tokelau waters for a week or so in January 1841, give a much fuller account of the relationship prevailing between the three atolls and the political system in place. At Atafu there was a well established village of between 20 and 30 houses, with a population estimated to be between 100 and 200. There were no obvious indications of rank differences among the men, and Hale was told explicitly that their high chief lived on another island called "Fakaafu [sic]" (1846: 153). After bypassing Nukunonu in bad weather the expedition came upon Fakaofu unexpectedly, having had no previous knowledge of its existence other than the reference made to it on Atafu. Here they were greeted with a highly structured formality by the old *aliki* seated among a group of some twenty old men, against a background of 100 or so other men all singing and shouting "in a state of highest excitement" (Hale 1846: 156). The expedition recorded the large *malae* or god house in the centre of the village, and the 14 foot high stone instantiation of the god Tui Tokelau which stood nearby, swathed in mats. They named the new discovery Bowditch island.

Both Hale and Wilkes record the obvious conclusion that the people seen at Atafu "belonged properly" to Fakaofu, and "were merely temporary residents at the other" (Hale 1846: 16). Nukunonu was recorded as inhabited and "belonging to the same people" (Wilkes 1845: 10), but it was only Hudson who ventured anything beyond these cautious observations. "Bowditch Island" he declared, "is the Capital of the... group and the residence of the king. His majesty gave to Mr. Hale the names of the chiefs of the two other Islands. I presume they are not under much control and that their visits to each other "must be few and far between" (Hudson MS. n.d.: 114-115).

"The Land Of Chiefs": Fakaofu In The Mid-Nineteenth Century

Later documentary sources, as well as local oral traditions, are much more explicit and direct than Hudson was about the hegemonic status of Fakaofu and the *pule* "authority" which it exerted over the other two islands. The foundation of it all was Tui Tokelau. Surprisingly, though, there are no accounts of how the god came into being, or how the massive

shore of the village islet, through the culture hero Kava Vasefenua, "Kava the Divider of Lands" in the senior line of descent. He was male and descended through male links. He was old, and he was chosen. The genealogy of the *kaiga aliki* "aliki descent group" goes back to Kava, the elder of two youths who grew from maggots which developed on the beached body of a large carangid fish which had been pierced by the beak of a Golden Plover. From Kava, there issues a line of males (between two and four in the variant versions) bearing the name of Kava; the last in this line is the first "historical" chief, Kava the Divider of Lands, who is the focal ancestor for all subsequent generations. Counting "Kava the Divider..." as generation one, the genealogy of the *kaiga aliki* spans 15 generations to the present day. In the five generations immediately following "Kava the Divider" only males are recorded. In the sixth generation there are a few female names, but no record of their issue, and it is not until the ninth generation that females appear. Membership of the *kaiga aliki*, and thus eligibility for the *aliki* title, was exclusively through agnatic links. Although the exact manner in which a new *aliki* was chosen is not particularly well attested, all sources stress the importance placed upon age (Turner 1861: 526; Lister 1892: 53; Newell 1895: 605).

Within the *kaiga aliki* there was a division made between those who belonged to the *latupou* and those of the *lafalala*. The terms have a botanical reference, *la* being the term for the branch of a tree; the *latupou* was thus the standing "main" branch or "trunk", and the *lafalala* the "side branches". Local exegeses differ, but it is most likely that the referents for these terms were shifting in nature, the *latupou* referring to the genealogical branch to which an incumbent of the *aliki* title belonged and *lafalala* to those branches which, while still being of the *kaiga aliki* were not those of the *aliki* of that particular time. The status of those of the *latupou* was conceived of as being higher than that of those who belonged to the *lafalala*.

According to traditional accounts the government of Fakaofu was managed by a series of consultations, first between the *latupou* and the *lafalala*, and then both together with a council of those outside of the *kaiga aliki* who were of *faipule* stock. Joint meetings of *aliki* and *faipule* were held at Hakava and the decisions then announced to the populace as a whole at another site near the centre of the village islet — presumably the godhouse or *mala*e associated with the god Tui Tokelau. These arrangements are attributed to Taupe, who was the *aliki* at the time of the visits of the U.S. Exploring Expedition in 1841.

What the records of the United States Exploring Expedition seem to all bear witness to is some sort of golden age of Tokelau in the midnineteenth century under the authority of Fakaofu. Atafu was established as a peaceful outpost, pearl-shell tribute circled the scalloped eaves of the god-house, the massive god was in place, and the *aliki* was old and "foremost" among a

stone slab was set in place. A local manuscript history of the island, written in Samoan during the 1930s, sets out the situation directly, with a highly characteristic chauvinism.

Fakaofu erected a stone idol, and this was the supreme god of the Tokelau group. Tui Tokelau was the name of the idol, which signifies "the supreme ruler of the Tokelau group". There can be no doubt about the dignity and honour of the island because there is a sign to prove it, and this is the stone Tui Tokelau. All the islands worshipped this idol, because all the islands were conquered by Fakaofu and were ruled by her, so they made offerings to Fakaofu and raiment for the idol (Anon., my translation).

As the *pule aoao*, the supreme authority, Tui Tokelau was the ultimate fount and controller of good fortune and the productivity of the whole Tokelau world. The theme of productivity was central to the invocation of the god, which included requests for a plenitude of the named products of sky, sea and land, all of which were referred to, in an idiom of debasement, as the excrement of Tui Tokelau. The invocation was made by the *aliki*. A further feature of the worship of Tui Tokelau was the offering of valuables and produce, the most commonly mentioned being fish, some of which were presented before the god by the *aliki* and then distributed (Lister 1892:50). Offerings of mother-of-pearl shell, shell lures, women's skirts and men's woven loin cloths were also brought annually to the god from Nukunonu and Atafu. This took place during the Tokelau month of Uluaki Hiliga (May) and was associated with the reclothing of the god by the *aliki* (Anon. n.d.; see also Lister 1892: 50).

The gathering and distribution of many productive resources was also controlled by the *aliki*, through their being regarded as *ha* "sacred" to Tui Tokelau. Among those mentioned are tridachna and *o*, a valuable bait-fish, and pandanus fruits were also kept in the house of the *aliki* "sacred to Tui Tokelau" (Lister 1892: 50). The early Samoan mission teacher Mafala stated that, "In Fakaofu Olike [Lika, the *aliki* of that time] has in his own hands the distribution of all the food of the land", this being the basis of his threat that "Whoever embraced the *lotu* of Jehovah would get no food" (Bird MS. 1863). Fire is also reported to have been sacred, though the evidence for this (Turner 1861; Lister 1892: 51) is not altogether convincing. It is also attested by independent sources (Lister 1892; Perez 1977) that there were restrictions on the planting of new areas in coconuts, which were lifted when an *aliki* died; only at this time could new areas be cleared and planted in the name of his successor.

There were also other beliefs and practices associated with the *aliki* which contributed to his position as the focal figure who embodied the "honour" and "dignity" of all Tokelau. Four of these were of particular importance. The *aliki* was descended from an autochthonous spirit-man created on the

relatively large, well-fed population devoid of weapons and unscarred by conflict. Later local accounts, both oral and written, say little about power and domination but emphasize instead the elements of "honour", "dignity" and respect. Taken together, these accounts constitute an elaborate discourse on the hegemony of Fakaofu.

Fakaofu in former days was indeed "the village of honour". It was also called the "village of *aliki*" because of the aristocratic ways of its people and the respect and compassion that they showed for one another. Behaviour was constrained and everyone worked for the honour and dignity of the village... (Anon.).

Almost every marked element of the elaborate Western Polynesian grammar of status and precedence is brought into play in this extended discourse. Autochthonous origin, direct invocation of the supreme god through his monumental earthly instantiation, agnatic descent, seniority, age, success in war, tribute, honorifics and ritual display. Power (economic, political and military) together with rank, status, "honour" and "dignity" are woven into one seamless whole.

The Transformation Of The Old Regime

All of this might in fact have been true enough. Yet it all unravelled. Not, I think, because it was intrinsically "untenable", but because the world changed, firstly by famine conditions in the late 1840s, which prompted a relief mission, perhaps well-intentioned, from the Marist Mission in Uvea. The result was the removal of over 500 people from Fakaofu to Uvea and the incineration of the god-house and the raiment of Tui Tokelau. Increasing contacts with the outside world during the 1840s gave Tokelauans the opportunities to travel, and numbers of them, from all three atolls, associated themselves with the mission stations in Samoa. From there they returned, eager to convert their fellows. In Nukunonu and Atafu they were rapidly successful, and by 1861 both islands were at least nominally Christian — Nukunonu wholly Catholic and Atafu wholly Protestant. Only Fakaofu held out for the old god, with an authority system still effective enough to banish its returned converts to other islands and to prevent two organised attempts by the London Missionary Society from landing teachers on the island. That authority was eventually broken, but only by overwhelming force. Dysentery brought on the LMS ship in January of 1863 had carried off 64 people even before the first slavers arrived on February 12th, and by the time that the last of these ships had left there were less than 100 people left on the island. Lika, the *aliki*, was one of them, and he was baptised a Christian in June of 1863 by which time the stone representing Tui Tokelau had been tumbled and broken.

These, then, were the events which created the sociopolitical context in which Fakaofu made its decision to abolish the prerogatives of rank and establish a gerontocracy. Local traditions do not, however, make any explicit connections between the historic proclamation, these violent incursions and the chaos and disruptions which followed upon them. Instead, tradition sets the change on much higher ground, connecting it with *aliki* authority and the working out of God's immutable plan. The crucial figure here is Taupe, *aliki* at the time of the visit of the U.S. Exploring Expedition and who is generally taken as the last embodiment of the order established in the Tokelau world by Kava "Divider of Lands". It was Taupe, so tradition has it, who was "the instrument of God's profound and serious purpose" (Perez 1977) when he instituted the council of *aliki* and *faipule*, thus giving some degree of conjoint authority in political affairs to those outside of the *aliki* lineage.

The attribution of this change to Taupe makes a crucial ideological point, since it was the council which he established which, presumably much later, made the historic decision for Fakaofu. The whole sequence of events is thus made both Christian and at the same time entirely Tokelauan. Tui Tokelau is simply elided. Taupe is both pagan and the (presumably unwitting) instrument of God's will, and everything follows from this. The council of *aliki* and *faipule* has both traditional and divine, Christian authority. Gerontocracy is thus not only in accord with "the wish of God that all men be equal". It is organically Tokelauan.³

Once the proclamation had been made there could of course no longer be an *aliki* in the old sense. And once the mission teachers began their work of serious instruction (all of it in Samoan) the people quickly learned that the Lord was now the only "true Ali'i". The resident mission teachers, and, later, fully trained Samoan Protestant pastors, simply assumed the role of His earthly servant — a position that was structurally identical to that of the pagan *aliki* in relation to Tui Tokelau. Thus *aliki* land was made over to the church, and the pastor established on the very ground where the ancient godhouse and Tui Tokelau once stood. He was given fish and the finest fruits of the land. Furthermore, since the island was a parish of the Samoan mission, set up according to Samoan principles, the pastor was there at the invitation of the parish and its controlling deacons — who were, in effect, simply *aliki* and *faipule* meeting together at a different venue. As foreigners, the pastors remained for generations the island's most strategic links with the outside world, as well as the people's assurance that their lives were sufficiently in accord with Christian principles to allow them to expect the mercies and grace of God.⁴

The clarity and appropriateness of this transformation is only apparently compromised by the fact that Fakaofu continued to have *aliki* or "kings" right through until the early part of this century. This, however, was a

and all distributions of water from the village tanks. It was also, together with the elected (and Administration-paid) judge, a court, with power to adjudicate land disputes, cases of adultery and other misdemeanours. Most importantly, the *taupulega* also encompassed the basic principle of its own constitution, that all (men) attained authority once they became grey-haired. Men waited for their "call" to join the *taupulega*, and if one did not come, they did not join. For some men (not, in fact, a great proportion, over the years) the call never came; more commonly, it was simply delayed, a device which gave a very clear message to a man that he should attend to his ways, or his opinions.

The *taupulega* also took unto itself the old suzerainty which Fakaofu had exercised over Nukunonu in the days of *aliki* rule. At the turn of the century Fakaofu, by now wholly Christian, a British Protectorate, and ruled by the grey-haired men, made two more attempts to assert its authority over Nukunonu. In the one case it invoked the interests of Protestantism against the Popish devil, and in the other the cause of British power against that of France. Everyone knew, of course, that it was "just Fakaofu" and the invasion plans came to nothing (Huntsman and Hooper 1985). It was not until much later, in 1916, when Tokelau became part of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, that Fakaofu finally gave up its claim to Nukunonu lands in return for the payment of 4 tons of copra.

The *Mamalu* Of Elders

In addition to the weight of historical precedent (deriving, ultimately, from Taupe) the authority of the *taupulega* rested upon a complex of ideas which are of central importance in Tokelau life and give coherence to many diverse local social forms. These have to do with gender differentiation and social roles, and the value accorded to age. Tokelauans have very explicit, consciously maintained ideas about these issues, which lie at the basis of their construction of *fakaTokelau* "the Tokelau way". To the extent that these ideas have a primary value stress they may be said to encompass (in the Dumontian sense) all other values, forming clear ideological reference points. In an analytical sense, they may be separated from *pule*, the notion of "governance, power and authority", which has many connotations appropriate to the discourse of *realpolitik*.

The point is, though, that the *pule* exercised by the Fakaofu *taupulega* was not in fact detached from the dominant, encompassing values placed upon the role of males (as opposed to females) as the appropriate actors in what may be called the domain of public affairs, and the deference and respect due to age. Fakaofu has thus sought to maintain hierarchy (in both senses) while at the same time proclaiming allegiance to the Christian ideal of all

purely civil office as head of the "Native Government" of the island created when Great Britain declared a Protectorate over Tokelau in 1889. From this point on the effective voice of Fakaofu in all official documents became a duality of "King and Rulers", "King and Faipule" or, in those written in Samoan, "Ali'i ma Faipule". The succession of these "kings" or "civil *aliki*" is clearly attested in local genealogical records. All were unequivocally from the *kaiga aliki* and, furthermore, from the agnatic lines closest to Lika (the *aliki* of 1863) which might be construed as the *latupou*. Just how much authority they had is another matter, however. Most visiting Protectorate officials dealt directly with a council, and the mission visitors with their established teachers and pastors. "Kings" were figureheads, perhaps accorded some sort of precedence on ceremonial occasions, but effectively drained of power. The "real" *aliki* was now a foreign pastor, kept and honoured by his congregation, who attended to his proper spiritual and ritual duties in a new, less elaborate sort of godhouse.

The council of *aliki* and *faipule*, now no longer made up of representatives of the two major descent units, the ranked *aliki* patrilineage and the larger category of *faipule*, was instead a meeting of *toeaina* or "male elders" — all those with grey hair. The new council was still referred to, however, as *aliki ma faipule* (as indeed the contemporary council still is from time to time, especially in ceremonial contexts.) More importantly, the elders continued to meet together at Hakava, an important statement in Tokelau terms, right through until the site became badly eroded during the 1940s. The members of the new council were probably not in fact all that much older than those who made up the previous body. Sex and age were important basic principles in the old order. When choosing an *aliki* preference was always given to an older man among the eligible candidates, and the emphasis on primogeniture and seniority within sibling sets would have meant a preponderance of older men representing both the *latupou* and the *lafalala*, as well as the *faipule*.

Whatever changes in age structure might have been involved the *taupulega*, the "ruling council of elders", simply assumed the mantle and the powers of the older pagan council of *aliki* and *faipule*. They became, in effect, the island's supreme authority, encompassing all other groups, controlling the welfare, prosperity and peace of the whole against more particular interests and enthusiasms. Everything stemmed from the *taupulega*. It controlled the weekly schedule of the whole population, decreeing the days that all able-bodied men should work together on village projects — which included communal fishing, with catches distributed equally to all. It controlled the substantial village lands absolutely and directly, and, on the seasonal occasions when it was called for, the seas and reefs of the island. It decreed the day on which the *kaiga* descent units might visit their "own" lands, and what people were allowed to bring back from them. It controlled the well,

people being equal. In the local reading, these ideas are only apparently contradictory. After all, what could be more egalitarian than a system in which everyone (for Tokelau read every man) eventually has the opportunity to gain an office associated with power and authority?

Fakaofu traditions hinge very clearly upon males. The very first humans were two brothers, and the island's encompassing genealogical structure records only the names of males in the five "upper" generations most remote from the present. The only female recorded in these generations is Nau, the captive woman from Nukunonu, who provides the linkage to the line of Fakaofu appointed chiefs of that island. Only males could be *aliki*, the *kaiga aliki* was clearly patrilineal, and the council of *aliki* and *faipule* was an all male body.

Again, within the domain of kinship and descent covered by the Tokelau concept of *kaiga* males are also accorded an overriding authority — though one that is coloured by the recognition of the special complementary rights of females and the female line. In the pre-Christian social order the population of Fakaofu was divided into some nine or ten cognatic descent units known as *kaiga*, each of which was associated with a men's house known as a *fale pa*. The *fale pa* were named and only men "dwelt" in them. Each is said to have had some sort of specialised function or range of skills, and each had its own protective spirit or deity, which was propitiated and venerated. It is likely that each of these cognatic *kaiga* descent units were internally structured in the same way that contemporary Tokelau descent groups are ordered, with a basic division into *tama tane* "children of brothers" and *tama fafine* "children of sisters", the reference point for the division being the generation of the children of the founder or founding couple. All the descendants (both male and female) of the brothers of this generation are *tama tane* by reference to the descendants (again, both male and female) of their sisters. The division is associated with a clear separation of rights and duties, the females of the *tama fafine* having clearly defined rights of inheritance, occupation and control over domestic establishments and the right to divide food and produce brought by males of the *tama tane*. These rights are, however, subject to the overriding authority of males of the *tama tane*. Then, as now, marriage was uxorilocal — to the extent that mature married men "dwelt" anywhere outside of their own *fale pa*. Each descent unit had rights to certain sections of productive land, with these rights passed on through both male and female descendants. Other sections of productive land, however, were the property of the *fale pa*, with rights to them being passed through males of the *tama tane* exclusively.

The *fale pa* themselves rapidly fell into disuse after the slavers had removed most of the men in early 1863. Christian teachers were established on the island at about the same time, thus rendering obsolete the ritual duties which had been associated with the houses. What men were left

found themselves fully involved with church activities, and the lands associated with the *fale pa* eventually became village property, under the control of the *taupulega*. The men themselves doubtless now spent more time "dwelling" in their wives' households, making post-marital residence more clearly uxorilocal.

Throughout the present century the number of separate *kaiga* of Fakaofu has steadily increased, due in part to population increase and in part to a tendency to divide land holdings into small, more manageable units. The separate rights and duties associated with the *tama tane/ tama fafine* division have, however, been maintained. Males of the *tama tane* have the *pule* "authority" within *kaiga*, and in all but the most exceptional circumstances, may exercise it without interference from the *taupulega*. Within the *tama tane* groups some precedence and authority is accorded to the senior line and *ulumatua* "first-born" status, though this principle may also contend with that of the respect and deference due to age.

Although the idea of the whole population forming one overarching *kaiga* is not a part of the rhetoric of public occasions in Fakaofu, it is plain that the legitimacy of *taupulega* authority rests very solidly upon the same principles and values that structure kinship groupings. This is made clear and explicit at the frequent (during some periods, almost daily) meetings between the *taupulega* and the able-bodied men of the island. An elder speaks first, invoking the blessings of the Almighty. From then on the proceedings are suffused with the rhetoric of "fathers" and "sons" — the "fathers" making decisions to be carried out by their "sons", the "strength of the land". At one time, according to local talk about "the old days", there was no discussion involved. The elders simply said what was to be done, and it was carried out without question. It is only more recently that potentially unpopular decisions and directions are legitimated and softened by reference to the fact that the elders themselves served their fathers in times gone by, and that those now called upon to serve can expect, in the fulness of time, to have to make difficult decisions of their own, to be carried out in turn by their sons. These meetings may be difficult on occasion, but they maintain definite canons of etiquette and propriety. Elders are situated in relation to other men as fathers are to their sons, with the same encompassing authority. Women are not present, although when they (or their organisations) are referred to, it is always respectfully, as "mothers". Since men speak for women on public occasions, the elders are thus the "voice" of the land, and the embodiment of the "honour" and "dignity" of Fakaofu.

- speaking a language closely related to both Samoan and Tuvalu. Tokelau is a "nonself-governing territory" administered by New Zealand. Over 3000 Tokelauan as now live in New Zealand.
2. This is a small reclamation on the lagoon shore of the village islet.
 3. The Tokelau account of Taupe as a mediator between the pagan and Christian worlds has structural parallels in many places. See Babadzan (1985) for an example from the Austral Islands.
 4. I have omitted from this account any reference to the factional struggles which took place between Catholic and Protestant converts on the island. Although these are historically important, they have little bearing on the argument developed here. The Protestants became dominant at an early stage, and have remained so.
 5. Angelo *et. al.* (1989) provides a fuller account.

References Cited

- Angelo, A. H., Hosea Kirifi and Fong Toy A. (1989), "Law and Tokelau" *Pacific Studies*, 12, 29-52.
- Anon., n.d. (1930s?), Untitled Manuscript Book, copy in author's possession.
- Babadzan, A. (1985), "From Oral to Written: The *Putu Tupuna* of Rurutu", in *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, A. Hooper and J. Huntsman (eds.), 177-193. Auckland: The Polynesian Society.
- Bird, G. P. (MS. 1863), Letter dated May 29, 1863, London Missionary Society South Sea Letters, Microfilm: Alexander Turnbull Library.
- Edwards, E. and G. Hamilton (1915), *Voyage of the H.M.S. Pandora...with Introduction and Notes by Basil Thompson*, London: Edwards.
- Gallagher, R. E. (ed.) (1964), *Byron's Journal of His Circumnavigation 1764-1766*, London: The Hakluyt Society.
- Goldman, I. (1970), *Ancient Polynesian Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hale, H. (1846), *United States Exploring Expedition... Ethnography and Philology*, Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard.
- Hudson, W. L. (MS. n.d.), Journal of the United States Exploring Expedition 11 August 1840 - 19 February 1842, Canberra: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau Microfilm.
- Huntsman, J. and A. Hooper (1985), "Structures of Tokelau History", in *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, A. Hooper and J. Huntsman (eds), 133-149. Auckland: The Polynesian Society.
- Huntsman, J. and A. Hooper (1986), "Who Really Discovered Fakaofu?", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 95, 461-467.
- Lister, J. J. (1982), "Notes on the Natives of Fakaofu (Bowditch Island) Union Group, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 21, 43-63.
- Newell, J. E. (1985), "Notes, Chiefly Ethnological, on the Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Islanders", *Australian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 6, 603-612.
- Perez, P. (1977), Untitled [Historical Notes on Fakaofu] Typescript, in Tokelauan, in author's possession.
- Tuner, G. (1861), *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, London: John Snow.
- Wilkes, C. (1845), *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*. Volume V, London: Wiley and Putnam.

Fakaofu In The Wider Tokelau Context

Respect and deference for older people is a pervasive aspect of all Tokelau social life and by no means confined just to Fakaofu. What is distinctive about the Fakaofu version of this principle, though, is the way it is institutionalized in village life. It is only on Fakaofu that the *aumaga* or organization of able-bodied men is in principle the unquestioning agent or tool of the elders. Most women's organizations on the island are ancillary to those of men, and women do not hold office in village-wide organizations. In sum, Fakaofu is male-centred and hierarchical.

Nukunonu, by contrast, has no meeting house at all. The village council is made up of representatives of each of the *kaiga* units, and there is no *aumaga*. *Kaiga* units and women's organizations are prominent, and women hold office in village organizations. By contrast to Fakaofu, the village organization is much less centralized, lacking almost completely the tendencies to authoritarian confrontation which are so evident in Fakaofu. Atafu presents yet another institutional configuration, with a central meeting house of modest size and pretension and village council made up, like that of Nukunonu, of the representatives of *kaiga* units. There is, however, also a *aumaga* which is by no means the tool of the council, but to a great extent selfgoverned, independent and powerful. Consensus rather than dominating authority is the guiding principle.

These distinctive institutional structures connect the atolls with their separate pasts. Fakaofu, characteristically, makes the connections explicit by its own representations of the past, in the form of its discourse on the ancient hegemony and the "dignity" and "honour" of the "land of chiefs". There is much more to this than an empty sentimentalization of the past. When the occasion calls for it, these ideas can be very directly expressed in abrupt pronouncements about the encompassing authority of the elders. For several years now, all Tokelau has been in the throes of various development projects, one of which has been to codify existing law and bring the prevailing custom, as far as might be necessary, into the scope of law. Each island has its own formulation of customary rules. Those of Nukunonu and Atafu make only glancing reference to the elders. Fakaofu's formulation, however, *begins* with an ancient, telling phrase, "Dignity and peace are controlled by the elders, who attend to matters of order in the islands of Tokelau...."⁵

Notes

1. Fakaofu is the southernmost of the three atolls of Tokelau, the group known for many years as the Union Islands, which lies about 500 kms north of Samoa. The total land area of the group is about 12 square kilometres. The population of some 1700 is Polynesian,

GHOSTS OF HIERARCHY II: TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE WIDER TOKELAU POLITY

Judith Huntsman

University of Auckland

The preceding chapter outlined the well-known "traditional" Tokelau social order. That account described that social order at two levels: in Fakaofu as "the land of chiefs" and of Tokelau as a whole. These levels tend to be confounded because Fakaofu as the "land of chiefs" encompassed all Tokelau, and so, though this account is widely subscribed to, it is not altogether sufficient for it says nothing about the internal social orders of Atafu and Nukunonu.

Hierarchy in the sense of ranked power and privilege is not particularly applicable to the internal social orders of the two subordinate polities, though in a rather simple way it does apply to these communities in relation to Fakaofu. Fakaofu had *pule* (power, authority) over them and received (or appropriated) goods and services from them. The *pule* at Fakaofu could issue decrees to Atafu and Nukunonu, and could delegate to persons *pule* within these polities. However, it is quite problematic how much *pule* Fakaofu actually did exercise. The evidence is anecdotal: striking incidents that oral narrative has retained and some documentary snippets.

The linked issues of how hierarchy might be conceptualized for the Tokelau past and how it squares with an egalitarian ethic in the present become more manageable if the Tokelau concepts of *kupu* (word) and *leo* (voice) are examined. *Kupu* is often used in the phrase *te kupu a toaina* (the elders' word) — the "elders" it should be noted are plural and their "word" is singular. "The word" is definitive and not to be questioned. A parallel and virtually synonymous phrase is *te pule a toaina* (the elders' rule), and both refer to political and economic authority. A particular usage of the lexeme *leo* is in the phrase *te leo o te nuku/o Tokelau* (the voice of the village/ of Tokelau) and it refers to "the voice" that represents the whole. That "voice", when I have heard the phrase used, is of the oldest man of either the village or all Tokelau. In other words, that person said to embody the *mamalu* "dignity, honour" of the collectivity (see Hooper, this volume). In

GHOSTS OF HIERARCHY II: TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE WIDER TOKELAU POLITY

Judith Huntsman

University of Auckland

The preceding chapter outlined the well-known "traditional" Tokelau social order. That account described that social order at two levels: in Fakaofu as "the land of chiefs" and of Tokelau as a whole. These levels tend to be confounded because Fakaofu as the "land of chiefs" encompassed all Tokelau, and so, though this account is widely subscribed to, it is not altogether sufficient for it says nothing about the internal social orders of Atafu and Nukunonu.

Hierarchy in the sense of ranked power and privilege is not particularly applicable to the internal social orders of the two subordinate polities, though in a rather simple way it does apply to these communities in relation to Fakaofu. Fakaofu had *pule* (power, authority) over them and received (or appropriated) goods and services from them. The *pule* at Fakaofu could issue decrees to Atafu and Nukunonu, and could delegate to persons *pule* within these polities. However, it is quite problematic how much *pule* Fakaofu actually did exercise. The evidence is anecdotal: striking incidents that oral narrative has retained and some documentary snippets.

The linked issues of how hierarchy might be conceptualized for the Tokelau past and how it squares with an egalitarian ethic in the present become more manageable if the Tokelau concepts of *kupu* (word) and *leo* (voice) are examined. *Kupu* is often used in the phrase *te kupu a toaina* (the elders' word) — the "elders" it should be noted are plural and their "word" is singular. "The word" is definitive and not to be questioned. A parallel and virtually synonymous phrase is *te pule a toaina* (the elders' rule), and both refer to political and economic authority. A particular usage of the lexeme *leo* is in the phrase *te leo o te nuku/o Tokelau* (the voice of the village/ of Tokelau) and it refers to "the voice" that represents the whole. That "voice", when I have heard the phrase used, is of the oldest man of either the village or all Tokelau. In other words, that person said to embody the *mamalu* "dignity, honour" of the collectivity (see Hooper, this volume). In

some respects, these usages of *kupu* and *leo* are similar — both have to do with saying or speaking,¹ however there is an important difference in that *kupu* is the word of command whereas *leo* speaks for the whole — but to whom? Logically, if it is speaking for the whole, it must speak to something beyond the whole, outside the polity, to gods and outsiders. This then is connected with the encompassing sense of hierarchy, of the one person, whether *aliki* of the past or eldest of the present, who dignifies the whole.

Perhaps there are two Tokelau senses of hierarchy, corresponding to the separate senses of rank and of encompassment, which the terms of *pule* and *mamalu*, or *kupu* and *leo*, respectively distinguish, but it is essential to realize that they are not entirely separate. In any case, the linked terms allow the apparent paradox of Tokelau's egalitarian ethic and strict structure of authority/respect to be at least partially resolved. To be equal in Tokelau is not to have individual liberty or personal freedom of action. People who act on their own, who go their own way, who do just as they wish are denigrated as people who "think only of themselves alone". Rather all individuals are members of several communal wholes, e.g., various families and their village, and are expected to act in concert with and in the interests of them. Any whole is represented to others by an older person, usually its oldest member. There is equality in that each person is equally a member of the whole, with equal rights and responsibilities in principle. No one receives more by right or gives less by privilege to the whole. This pervasive ethic of Tokelau equality was apparently a feature of both the Atafu and Nukunonu internal social orders of the past, but it did not necessarily compromise Tokelau concepts of hierarchy.

The Tokelau atolls are distant enough from one another (as well as being remote from anywhere else) that though they have periodic encounters with one another, they each may fortuitously and intentionally go their own way. Naturally, the atolls are subject to the same constraints and events, e.g., infertile soil and tropical cyclones, and all have been subjected to like foreign impacts, e.g., missionization, appropriation of people and resources, and colonialism (though of a very remote and disinterested kind). Yet looking at their past and present more closely they are far from identical, especially with regard to their innovative adaptations and responses to new circumstances. Each atoll community has done and still does things its own way, so that exploring and interpreting their distinctiveness in the past leads to greater comprehension of their present differences.

In this chapter I attempt to unravel what transpired in Atafu and Nukunonu in the latter half of the 19th century, which was in many ways the obverse of what happened in Fakaofu. While Fakaofu by constitutional edict was doing away with *aliki* and declaring all equal, Nukunonu and Atafu were asserting that they too were "chiefly lands", which meant that they had *aliki* too, even if people were fundamentally equal. The late 19th

century agendas of the subordinate atolls were quite different from that of the dominant one. Both Nukunonu and Atafu were taking advantage of new ideas and presences to deny Fakaofu's hegemony. In concert they were determinedly changing the preexisting order at the same time that Fakaofu was seeking to maintain it, albeit in modified form. Yet, though the intentions of Nukunonu and Atafu were much alike, their projects were undertaken in significantly different contexts, largely determined by the sectarian affiliations of their tiny Christian parish polities. Here I focus on the careers of their respective *aliki* during the latter half of the 19th century to highlight these differences.

* * *

A couple of visitors commented briefly on the *aliki*/chiefs they encountered in Atafu and Nukunonu before their conversion: the first commentator visited in 1841, the second in 1853. At Atafu:

When we asked for their chief, some pointed to an old portly man, who appeared to have the most consideration among them; but others declared that there was none present, and that the great chief (*aliki*) lived on an island in a south-east direction..." (Hale 1846: 152).

At Atafu:

The Ariki chief was pointed out to us the first thing as the one to be honoured before all others. He was an old man, with rather an intelligent countenance, and a *maro* [garment] of superior size and workmanship.... Otherwise there was no hedge about his royalty: he handled a paddle with the commonest.... The residence of the Ariki, whither we were first taken, seemed nowise superior to those surrounding. Republican simplicity prevailed....

At Nukunonu:

The chief was a splendid specimen of a man, with... a demeanour dignified as becomes the leader of people. He was made proud and happy by the present of a tall white hat from our captain. Undoubtedly it will go down to his successors as the crown imperial (Anon. 1861: 470-474).

On the face of it, the very existence of an *aliki* in Atafu is equivocal; people there seemed unsure that there was one at all and ones so designated did not seem particularly different from anyone else. Some years later the first mission visitors remarked that when the *aliki* told people to carry goods inland, "Evidently [he] had little authority" and indeed had to pitch in if the others were to work (Ella MS. 1861). At Nukunonu, there was a chief, though he did not seem particularly chiefly either (but more of him below).

Now consider these slight portraits of *aliki*, often referred to as “kings”, in the 1880s. According to a British Naval Captain at Atafu in 1880, the native missionary teacher (a local man) “seemed to a great extent to occupy the position of chief” while “[the] late monarch having shown himself to be a good-for-nothing sort of person, was deposed by his subjects...” (Coppinger MS. n.d.). In 1886 Marist Father Didier wrote of Atafu’s “King” that

... he was a large and handsome man already middle-aged and with a naturally forthright character.... In all the discussion which took place in this group, although himself a protestant, he always took the catholic side because of his natural feeling for right and justice. Also the protestant *aoaos* [teachers], and chiefs indoctrinated by them, did not like and even spoke of dethroning him... (Didier 1886: 342 [translated from the original French]).

Ten years later, a Protectorate official labelled the same Atafu “king” a “tyrant” and reported: “I found that a revolution was in progress and that the King, his wife, and son, were to be put in a canoe and set adrift to find, if possible, another earthly kingdom...” (Cusack-Smith MS. 1896). A priest visiting Nukunonu in 1882 reported that

... the king wished to give us an exhibition of his kingdom’s singing. He performed ten different items; he sang the verses and his people the chorus. It was charming and somewhat strange to hear this old chief singing to entertain his missionaries.... (Dolé 1885: 392–402 [translated from the original French]).

Father Didier one year later characterized the same “old king” as “the former sorcerer” with “instincts of the wild beast” who had become “mild as a lamb” under the influence of Christianity (Didier 1885: 509–517). Finally, New Zealander Frederick Moss, who visited Atafu and Nukunonu in the course his South Seas rambles during the late 1880s, wrote of the Nukunonu “King” as follows:

... the King of Nukunonu [was] the only Catholic king whom we met in the thousands of miles over which we travelled. We found this potentate a veritable King Cole, a merry old soul, playing a rude native drum with great skill, singing to his own accompaniment, full of life and action, and with a queen as fat and as merry and goodhearted as himself (Moss 1889: 128).

Each of these 1880s accounts refers to the same two *aliki*, Ioane of Atafu and Ulua of Nukunonu. Ulua is consistently characterized as a jovial, innocuous fellow — a king as in nursery rhymes. Ioane, on the other hand, is ambiguously portrayed — a “tyrant” with a “natural feeling for right and justice”? Clearly, neither seem to have had the *mana* customarily associated with Polynesian *aliki*.

Records of visits to Tokelau by outsiders are rare, because people rarely visited and none, aside from pastors or catechists, who had been born elsewhere in Polynesia, or traders, who left no records, stayed beyond a day or two. Therefore these few published remarks about *aliki* must be treated as jottings of chance or occasional visitors with particular preconceptions and biases. That outsiders referred to *aliki* as “chiefs” before 1860 and “kings” in the 1880s may perhaps indicate a change in the role of the persons so designated, but then again it might just reflect changes in the perceptions or intentions of outsiders, or the way Tokelauans responded at the time to the expectations of their rare visitors. Whatever the explanation, this problem is something of a “red herring” because Tokelauans would have simply referred to them as *aliki* as they do today when they say that Ulua and Ioane (and others) were *aliki*. Since this is what they assert, I must accept that there were men that their ancestors in Atafu and Nukunonu recognized as *aliki* in the late 19th century, but furthermore I shall argue that their ancestors recognized *aliki* strategically because an *aliki* was the “voice” of an independent politicoreligious order, and this is exactly what Atafu and Nukunonu were asserting they were in the later 19th century. Their visitors assumed that this was indeed the case and even the most informed and astute among them failed to comprehend (until Fakaofu began to tell them so about 1900) that the political independence of Atafu and Nukunonu was locally problematic. Their autonomy was something that was in the process of being achieved, and both Christian churches and *aliki* were means of its achievement.

When people in Atafu and Nukunonu today speak of the preChristian era, they fully acknowledge that their Atafu and Nukunonu ancestors submitted to the politicoreligious hegemony of Fakaofu, that they sent tribute to Tui Tokelau and obeyed the “word” that emanated from Fakaofu. Tui Tokelau was praised and placated to give abundance; Fakaofu’s “word” was heeded lest *mala/malaia* (calamity/misfortune) befall. There is no doubt that Nukunonu women and fine mats, as well as much else, were taken to Fakaofu. Nukunonu genealogists note the women who went (or were taken) to Fakaofu as spouses of Fakaofu men² and only Nukunonu women plait the fine mats from Nukunonu’s treasured *kie* (fine pandanus) which early visitors saw shrouding Tui Tokelau’s stone. Nukunonu historians relate how circumstances changed, telling of events which mitigated — but did not overturn — their subordination. It is likewise apparent from early missionary reports of Atafu (Ella MS. 1861; Gee MS. 1862) that Fakaofu appropriated Atafu timber and Atafuan labour to make their canoes. More telling is a widely told and well-known Atafu story which most saliently expresses the powers attributed to Fakaofu.

When Tonuia, Atafu's founder, was sent by the Fakaofu chiefs to repopulate Atafu, he was forbidden to fell certain trees there. After dwelling in Atafu for some time, Tonuia transgressed this prohibition, felling the forbidden trees. The Fakaofu chiefs instantaneously knew what he had done, but they said not a word when Tonuia visited Fakaofu. However, upon his return voyage to Atafu his canoe was overturned by avenging female spirits and he cried in despair: "Fakaofu is extraordinary. Its word is harsh, is disastrous".³ Tonuia disappeared.

Fakaofu was extraordinary because that atoll monopolised Tui Tokelau which sanctioned, and made effective, its "word", and because the Fakaofu *aliki* was the "voice" of Tokelau to its god.

A reading of late 19th century outsider reports informed by local Tokelau narratives of precontact contexts and events, local recountings of contemporaneous historical events, and local reminiscences about the persons involved as historical personages enables me to assemble an account of how similar political agendas, which began with Christian conversion, were played out somewhat differently in Atafu and Nukunonu, and ended (c. 1900) with "declarations of independence". In this reading of the past two *aliki*, Ulua and Ioane, figure prominently; their stories serve to illuminate the differences in the stories of their two communities, which I present as in part conditioned by their separate pasts, in part influenced by contemporary events, but all along directed by Tokelau actors pursuing their projects.

The Politics Of Conversion

The *aliki* of the late 19th century, were embedded in the politicoreligious context of parish polities which had come into being in the 1860s. In order to relate this history, two additional named actors need to be introduced: Faivalua who brought the London Missionary Society's *Tala Lelei*/"Good News" to Atafu in 1858, and Takua who brought *te Lotu Katoliko*/"the Catholic Faith" to Nukunonu in 1861.

Nukunonu

By virtue of conquest, Nukunonu had long been under Fakaofu domination (see Hooper, this volume). Although the exact nature of this domination is not altogether clear, two features are agreed upon: 1. Nukunonu conveyed annual offerings to Tui Tokelau in Fakaofu, and 2. the Fakaofu *aliki* appointed his representative to "rule" (*pule*) Nukunonu and to speak his "word"

(*kupu*) there. Yet, Nukunonu was also an ancient polity which had its own chiefly lines and gave recognition to its own *aliki*. In 1861, Ulua had been the Fakafo-appointed chief for some time (at least since 1853) and Takua's father, described by a pair of Protestant missionaries (Gill and Bird 1863) as "second in rank to the King", was locally regarded as Nukunonu's indigenous chief. According to Nukunonu genealogical accounts, Ulua was only the most recent of a patriline of Fakafo-appointed deputies in Nukunonu. These men had numerous Nukunonu matrilineal connections going right back to the Fakafo conquest and the Nukunonu woman "taken" to Fakafo at that time. Ulua's role and character is variously described in local accounts: he was or was not an *aliki*, he was or was not "of Nukunonu", he was or was not an interloper and unscrupulous land-grabber. How he is represented depends on who is representing him — people who are genealogically "attached" to him and his lands, or people who are not. But even his detractors agree that he changed his ways when he became a Catholic, and even his descendants concede that he and his patriline are not of the local *aliki* stock. Takua's father is unequivocally stated to be of that stock and, furthermore, of its senior *tamatane* branch.⁴ Nukunonu traditions supplemented by Catholic documents record that Takua left Nukunonu in late 1851, was baptised as a Catholic in Uvea soon thereafter and received training as a catechist-teacher at Clydesdale (Australia) in 1856 (Rocher MS. 1856). Takua (now also Susitino/Justin) returned to Nukunonu after 10 years abroad in 1861 as a teacher of the Faith. It is said that Nukunonu's Catholic conversion was virtually instantaneous and universal. As the story is told:

Takua arrived and told his father that very evening he wanted to establish the Faith. The other Nukunonu elders were assembled, the issue explained to them and they agreed to approach Ulua on the morrow. They all went to Ulua, Takua stated his wish to establish the Faith, and Ulua immediately decreed that Nukunonu would henceforth be of the Catholic Faith.

Shortly thereafter missionaries wrote: "The real authority evidently rests exclusively with Takua: Oulua [sic] is King *only in name*" (Gill and Bird 1863, their emphasis). This is hardly surprising since Takua, as well as being the "bringer of the Catholic Faith", was a worldly-wise *aliki* son and potential successor to his father. Both local accounts and visitors' reports from quite diverse sources support the missionary assessment. Ulua appears to have been perfectly content to play "king" to visitors and nominal *aliki* as Fakafo's appointee. He remained upon the scene for at least three more decades, an amenable, even comical, "king".

Atafu

Fakaofu's rule in Atafu was not predicated on conquest, as it was in Nukunonu. Atafu was a recently established outpost of Fakaofu; the people of Atafu were considered to be "younger brothers" of Fakaofu people, and as such expected to obey and support their elders. In contrast to Nukunonu, Atafuans had no separate heritage to distinguish them from Fakaofu. However, Atafu seems to have had its own particular communal spirit as a pioneer community. Their ethic of oneness is expressed in a genealogy of a single founding couple, whose seven children founded its "seven houses" or Falefitu, and in an egalitarian ethic exemplified by the absence of ranking among those children or their descendants. There is, in fact, programmed ambiguity about which of them was actually senior. By one account the eldest brother was so often absent on voyages that a younger one was "made eldest". The ambiguity about *aliki* and the "republican simplicity" reported by early visitors (see above) ring true — Atafu eschewed precedence and still does. One might argue that this egalitarian social order predisposed the small Atafu community to accept Protestant Christian teachings relatively rapidly. I suggest, rather, that by converting they created their own uniqueness, and simultaneously asserted their independence of "big brother" Fakaofu. Atafu was colonized as an outpost of Fakaofu less than 70 years before Christian teachers were invited there in 1861. While others may mark 1861 as the year of Atafu's conversion, Atafuans celebrate 1858 as the year when Faivalua brought the "Good News" and their forebears listened to it. Atafu's uniqueness as a place begins when they received the "Good News" before either Fakaofu or Nukunonu did.⁵ Many Atafu local accounts emphasize this primacy, particularly vis à vis Fakaofu, as in the following narrative (summarized from a much longer telling), which inverts the narrative of Tonuia's disappearance (above):

Aware that Christianity was being taught and accepted in Atafu, the Fakaofu *aliki* dispatched a voyaging party to Atafu under the leadership of his son. Enroute a prophetic spirit appeared to this son telling him to turn back because he would not find Atafu. He ignored her words and the voyagers repeatedly criss-crossed the central Pacific without finding Atafu — the atoll repeatedly "slipped past them" — and their canoe finally disappeared in the ocean wastes.

Who was this "bringer of the Good News" named Faivalua? It appears that he was a young Fakaofu man who got to Samoa in the early 1850s where he learned "the truths of the Gospel" and after some years returned to his homeland to "introduce the Gospel". When his message was rejected in Fakaofu, he betook himself to Atafu in 1858. There his message was

received and gained enough support so that in 1861 he was despatched to Samoa with the request from the *aliki* for a teacher (Ella MS. 1861; Murray MS. 1868). Faivalua never gained the repute of his Nukunonu counterpart, Takua. He died soon after 1861 and the Rarotongan teacher, whom he accompanied back to Atafu, took precedence as spiritual leader. But more important, he was peripheral to the developing Atafu polity as a man from Fakaofu who was not a descendant of Atafu's founder, Tonuia.

* * *

Both Nukunonu and Atafu quickly embraced Christianity at least partly as a political act, by rejecting Tui Tokelau the spiritual underpinning of Fakaofu domination. As the Atafu stories attest, Christianity in Atafu was more powerful than Tui Tokelau in Fakaofu, and so Atafu would go its separate way, worshipping Jehovah and no longer making offerings to Tui Tokelau. Likewise, Nukunonu would adore the Trinity without fear of retribution from Tui Tokelau. Neither Atafu or Nukunonu at this juncture blatantly challenged the political precedence of Fakaofu. As events transpired there was no need for them to, for the "slave ships" arrived in early 1863 and removed half the Tokelau population, leaving Fakaofu in utter disarray.⁶

Nukunonu too lost a large proportion of its population, but both Takua and Ulua were spared. Takua was not taken because he was seen to be a teacher-pastor and it is said that the terrified Ulua was saved by an ingenious ploy on Takua's part. After the ships had departed, Takua instigated a voyage to Apia to "inform the Bishop" of what had happened. The "slave-ship" stories told in Nukunonu repeatedly emphasize Takua's cleverness and initiative, and Ulua's desperation and dependence. Ulua does not act like an *aliki*; Takua does.

At Atafu the "slave ships" removed fewer people than at Fakaofu and Nukunonu, probably because of the intervention of the Rarotongan teacher. But they did carry away Atafu's *aliki* (the one who had sought and welcomed the teachers of the "Good News") and most other adult men. In the following years this Rarotongan teacher was the leader of the nascent parish polity, but again as an outsider he could not qualify as *aliki*, and in the end, like several other pastors, he "fell into sin". It is not until 1881 that a named *aliki* was reported in Atafu.⁷ He was Ioane.

Parish Polities

Nukunonu

Its exclusive Catholic adherence set Nukunonu apart from the other atolls after 1863. It was also the most autonomous of the parish polities in that

Nukunonu had few visitors and even fewer foreign residents. Though the Nukunonu people, under Takua's instruction, were devout Catholics, the Samoan-based Catholic mission had little presence in the atoll and was little interested in monitoring the behaviour of its converts. Years would go by without the visit of a priest and the Fathers upon their rare visits were paternalistically indulgent towards these "little people so good, so simple, so full of confidence" (Didier 1886). Samoan catechists were rarely present, and the one who stayed the longest was married into the community within a year, which delighted his Fathers. There was only one trader. He too married in, founding a large family. Since his presence was barely noted by visitors he was probably congenially incorporated into the community.

After the "slavers", the remaining Nukunonu people (well under 100 of them) were able to establish their parish polity under the leadership of Takua with little outside interference. The material symbols of this Catholic community were its limestone church, built under the direction of Takua probably sometime in the 1870s, and "a large flag with a cross and the emblem of Mary as coat of arms" (Didier 1886) which flew outside the church from a flagstaff which stood beside a large wooden cross. There had not been a sanctuary of Tui Tokelau in Nukunonu, so the cross, flag and church replaced nothing, but they did symbolize Nukunonu's autonomy. The same can be said of Takua himself.

Frederick Moss's 1887 description of Ulua as "... a veritable King Cole" (above) contrasts with his description of Takua:

The Catholic native missionary, a fine-looking elderly man... not distinguishable in dress and manner from the rest of his people... actually assist[ed] them, by words of encouragement and an occasional helping hand, to ship the copra from the beach to our vessel (1889: 129).

Takua is a character of heroic stature in Nukunonu; his return is the "turning point" in their history. He released them from bondage to Fakaofu: no longer would they bow to Fakaofu authority, no longer would the wealth of Nukunonu be appropriated by Fakaofu in the name of Tui Tokelau. But Takua also had the stature of a revered *aliki*, he embodied Polynesian chieftainship in a Christian Catholic idiom as the prime worshipper of the Almighty, and this, together with his ancestry, made him an exquisite symbol of Nukunonu's autonomy. The political order of the tiny Nukunonu polity in the mid 80s was described by Father Didier as follows:

The old king Te Ulua... was there in the place of honour.... His son [was] the permanent secretary of the kingdom ... the senators and deputies, represented by Te Lakau and Falekie ... with Susitino [Takua], the sole high judge of the kingdom (Didier 1886: 195).

These are all well-known forebears, the few remaining adult males of the generation depleted by the "slave ships" in 1863. The offices they held, as specified in the priest's report, are easily transposed into Tokelauan.⁸ Didier could not name Takua as *aliki*, given that there was already an accepted "king", but by designating Takua "sole high judge" he certainly marked him as the person with ultimate authority. Nukunonu people today have no doubt that this was the case. There was really no place in the new order for old Ulua who had treated with heathen gods and spirits; he was an anachronism, a figurehead presented to outsiders as "king". Takua was truly the *aliki* of the new order and the Nukunonu polity conferred this title upon him some 10 years later, when Ulua died. However, he was neither appointed to nor confirmed in this office by Fakaofu *aliki* and "rulers". By this act of insubordination, Nukunonu asserted political autonomy and Fakaofu reacted — but that is another story (see Huntsman and Hooper 1985). Ulua and Takua represented not only two contrasted religious orders — heathen and Christian — but also two opposed political orders which had coexisted for at least three decades. Though Ulua was well-established within the Nukunonu community and married to a Nukunonu woman, he still represented Fakaofu domination. Takua was not only of impeccable Nukunonu ancestry, he was, it is said, *te aliki tonu* "the true high chief", the embodiment and "voice" of Nukunonu's independent polity, which rejected Fakaofu's "overlordship".

Atafu

Atafu, in comparison to Nukunonu, hosted rather more outsiders and some whose mission it was to reform the behaviour of these recent Christian converts. The mission monitored the communities moral progress by annual visitations and by appointing foreign teacher-pastors, who could not marry into the community, because they had already to be married to secure appointment. The Atafu community devised various strategies to cope with these mission outsiders, specifically to prevent them from disrupting their cherished unity and equality. Though they were successful in the long-run, they were often not so in the short-run. Consequently, the recorded history of Atafu in the final decades of the 19th century is punctuated by widely divergent comments on the moral rectitude of the community and its pastors.

The Rarotongan teacher, mentioned above, was removed for moral lapses and replaced by a Niuean teacher in 1868. This is when Ioane is first mentioned by the missionaries as "a native of decided piety who was admitted to the church at Apia a few months ago" (Murray MS. 1868). He

was assigned to assist the new teacher, thereby becoming the first deacon of the fledgling congregation. When the Niuean teacher departed under a cloud in 1874, Ioane was one of two deacons appointed "to conduct the services and preach" (Turner MS. 1874), attaining the stature of spiritual leader of the parish as a senior deacon. Except for the brief tenure of a very unsatisfactory Samoan teacher, Ioane retained this position for seven years. In 1877 the missionaries in Samoa received a letter from Ioane and the soon to be deposed "king", "... saying that they did not wish any new pastor as the pastors they had formerly had been a continual source of trouble" (Turner MS. 1878). But when the missionaries visited Atafu the following year, the congregation apparently did not concur and voted to invite and host a foreign resident pastor. The report on the visit notes that Ioane abstained from voting and the "king" was indisposed (*ibid.*). There is no way now of establishing what was really going on in Atafu in 1877-78, beyond noting that Ioane was opposed to the presence of foreign pastors and that, irrespective of his motives, he could cite ample evidence that foreign pastors were "a continual source of trouble". The "king", whom two visitors (Coppinger n.d.; Davies MS. 1880) reported had been "deposed" or "forced to abdicate", was succeeded by Ioane in 1881. He was "unanimously chosen" by the people and confirmed in this position by the visiting missionary after careful inquiries into the people's feelings and Ioane's intentions.

I... asked his majesty which he preferred, to be deacon or to be King. "To be deacon" replied he. Provided he saw divisions arising concerning his royal dignity would he at once surrender it for the sake of the church & peace among his people. He answered that he held his position by the will of the people. At their bidding he would lay it down & would never retain his royalty at the expense of the happiness of those he ruled (Phillips MS. 1881).

Ironically, Ioane's confirmation as *aliki* coincided with the appointment he had opposed of a foreign pastor, so that just when Ioane formally assumed the office of *aliki*, his position as spiritual leader of the parish was undermined by the arrival of a pastor, and an exceptionally arrogant one at that (see Moss 1889:116 for an incisive caricature), who described his role in Atafu as "their leader in everything" (Marriott MS. 1883). After he had been in Atafu for three years, the pastor declared that he was "dissatisfied with the conduct of John the king who is also a deacon and who seems to think a good deal more of the latter than the former office" (Phillips MS. 1884), and begged the missionary to persuade the "king" to relinquish his deaconate. He did but "... [i]t required considerable diplomacy to bring the old man round..." (*ibid.*). So the further irony was that Ioane was persuaded to surrender his deaconate, rather than his "royalty" as he had promised,

and to step down, not at the instigation of his people but that of the foreign pastor. Ioane thereafter was only *aliki*, hardly an invulnerable or sanctified position. He remained *aliki* until his death at the end of the century. Two years after he "stepped down", was when Father Didier characterized Ioane as "a forthright character" with a "natural feeling for right and justice" whom "the protestant *aoaos* [teachers] and chiefs indoctrinated by them, did not like and even spoke of dethroning..." (1886: 342). Ioane did finally prevail over the pastor, but some ten years thereafter, a Protectorate official reported conflict between "the king" and "the government" and threats to banish the "king" (Cusack-Smith MS. 1896). This is the same official who called Ioane a "tyrant".

It is difficult to determine whether Ioane's problems were predominantly with his fellow Atafuans or with the outsiders among them, that is, pastors but also traders. Ioane clearly continued to see pastors as a "source of trouble" and perhaps was not as charitable towards them as his fellows, or rather more impatient and "forthright". Almost inevitably pastors left Atafu "under a cloud", for the elite status assumed by Samoan pastors (and all pastors after the first two were Samoan) did not fit very well within the egalitarian Atafu polity. Yet, by all accounts, Ioane was a thoroughly devoted Christian (see Marriott MS. 1898 for an interview with him shortly before his death). He had attempted to become the "voice" of the new politicoreligious order, but when he lost his "voice" as the senior deacon of the parish he had difficulty keeping his "voice" as *aliki* of the polity. Ioane tried to represent Atafu to outsiders, and it was his words and acts that were most frequently recorded in their accounts. He also has a certain prominence in Atafu oral tradition, but, as with all Atafu *aliki*, his reputation is somewhat problematic.

* * *

In the new Christian social order the position of *aliki* was an anomaly, a residue of the past. I argue, however, that the office endured, was even invigorated, in Nukunonu and Atafu for different strategic reasons. The logical transformation from the old to the new order would have been for the *aliki* to be the spiritual leader of the Christian congregation and final validating authority, or the "voice" of the polity, as he had been in pre-Christian Tokelau. This logical transformation was partially made in Nukunonu by Takua because of his ancestry and the absence (most of the time) of foreign religious leaders, but also because Ulua was content to "play king". Ioane tried to manage a similar transformation by establishing himself as leading deacon cum *aliki*, but he failed. Pastors came again and demanded or were accorded superior status, for unlike an Atafu *aliki*, whose dress and residence and style of living differed little from that of anyone else, pastors lived in special houses, wore distinguishing garments

and did the work of God rather than the work of men. So, in a real sense, the pastors usurped Ioane's position and he became their principal adversary. True, Ioane was called *aliki*, but what did this mean after he was persuaded to surrender his deaconate? He surely did not have supernaturally sanctioned authority, as had the old *aliki* of Fakaofu — plots could be hatched against him and threats could be made against him without fear of retribution.

Both Atafu and Nukunonu explicitly declared their independence from Fakaofu in the years around the turn of the century.⁹ In the ensuing years Fakaofu repeatedly tried to enlist the support of British colonial authorities of the Western Pacific High Commission to reassert Fakaofu hegemony and to accept Fakaofu's "voice" as the sole "voice" of Tokelau. But British authorities, like mission authorities, treated the atolls as independent polities — the Union Jack was raised thrice in 1889 and three Deeds of Cession were signed in 1916.

So, the projects upon which Atafu and Nukunonu embarked in mid-century were fully accomplished by the time Tokelau officially became a British colony. They were autonomous and Fakaofu's claims to the contrary were ignored. By building their own religious structures and choosing their own *aliki*, by means of Tokelau symbols and foreign institutions, they achieved their own ends and declared their independence. With the signing of Deeds of Cession in 1916 there were officially no more *aliki* in Tokelau, the *tupu Peletania* (British monarch) became the single, and remote, *aliki* for all Tokelau. This made little difference as far as Atafu and Nukunonu were concerned, their *aliki* had helped establish their autonomy from Fakaofu which the remote *aliki* recognized.

* * *

This chapter and the preceding one together present three interrelated accounts of what happened in Tokelau in the latter half of the 19th century. Why, one might reasonably ask, are there three separate histories of these remote and insignificant atolls? Why not just tell the story of Tokelau? The answer is that there is no single story of later 19th century happenings, and that the separate stories do not conjoin. These are not "versions" of the same events, but accounts of quite different events, even when they relate one to the other.¹⁰

The local specificity of late 19th century narratives and the events they relate contrast markedly with well-known panTokelau narratives set in the more distant past, in the time of "the darkness" (*pouliuli*), well before Christian conversion, which tell of the establishment of Fakaofu supremacy (see Hooper, this volume) and the nature of Fakaofu domination. Different versions (Huntsman and Hooper 1985: 137–144) may reflect local and personal interests, but all versions relate the same events and most mature

people know the story. These representations of the past are hegemonic — but they are not the whole story as far as everyone is concerned. While Nukunonu people tell of how they were the conquered and their state of subjugation, they also have their own particular representations of the past which tell of the separate integrity of Nukunonu. Such stories easily link into their accounts of their 19th century history. It is as if Takua's return and Catholic conversion were an inevitable continuation of events that came before. One might say that their unique past ultimately triumphs over the past imposed upon them by conquest.

The representations of Atafu are concerned with something else, with identifying Atafu people as different from Fakaofu people with whom they share so much of their past. The short local history of Atafu before Christian conversion is really just a prologue to that event which set Atafu upon its distinctive historical track — their early reception of the "Good News".

What distinguishes Nukunonu and Atafu local representations of the past from those of Fakaofu? Fakaofu's history between their wars of conquest and the mid-19th century is in essence atemporal, an account of a stable and dignified state where one *aliki* inevitably succeeded another. Even the text which tells of an apparently revolutionary change in the very nature of governance represents it as a dignified and sanctified constitutional act and Hooper (this volume) has convincingly argued that what was set in place was simply a different kind of hierarchy which maintained the *status quo* in new circumstances. The aura of hierarchy was sustained and celebrated in Fakaofu, but Fakaofu's hegemonic position in relation to the Atafu and Nukunonu was not and is ignored. There was patently a rupture in Fakaofu's recent past because Fakaofu lost its supremacy — but this is not the kind of story that people tell about themselves. Instead, Fakaofu accounts argue a kind of moral superiority predicated upon their ruling elders being esteemed and dignified — but this argument has no impact outside Fakaofu.

The observations above resonate with ones made by Bernard Cohn some time ago (1961). Writing of "The Pasts of an Indian Village", Cohn contrasted the "traditional past", which speaks to matters religious and cultural in support of the *status quo*, and the "historic past", which refers to local social and political action (1961: 242). In Tokelau there is a comparable contrast between the representations of the establishment of Fakaofu supremacy and those of the 19th century. The point is not that one kind of representation refers to a distant past and the other to a more recent one. The representations have different motivations. For some purposes, for instance to posit Tokelau as a totality, Fakaofu's conquests are the appropriate stories. However, for most purposes "... each is attached to its own peculiar past..." (Cohn 1961: 248) which celebrates its own actions. Cohn is writing about the peculiar

pasts of different castes, of the "traditional past" being that of the dominant caste, and of the "historic pasts" those of the subordinate castes. The situation in Tokelau is that of three related polities in contestation "...each attached to its own peculiar past...", but all subscribing as well to a hegemonic one. The local "historical pasts" of Atafu and Nukunonu tell of how they transcended the "traditional past". Fakaofu, by contrast, has in its local history transformed tradition and thereby retained its cultural inheritance.

Tokelauans in rhetoric and action are apparently ambivalent about the moral value of hierarchy and equality, and it could be argued that this is true in much of Polynesia, despite all that has been written about *ariki* and kings and chiefs. In the Tokelau case, hierarchy appears to be compromised by the very statement that constitutes it, i.e., *e tutuha tagata uma* "all men are equal" under *te pule a toaina* "the rule of elders". In support of the morality of elderly rule, Fakaofu elders are prone to disparage Atafu where, they say, younger people are in control. Indeed, Atafu is at pains to maintain a unified egalitarian polity, though ceding their elders final authority. It is Nukunonu perhaps where elders are actually the most honoured yet it is also where their separateness from others is most underplayed. Why this is so cannot delay us here. What is of moment is the continual play — in the past and in the present — between an egalitarian ethic and hierarchical *pule*. That the two do in fact coexist more or less comfortably is not all that surprising if "the word" of authority is legitimated by "the voice" of age which speaks on behalf of the whole. Equality is not the liberty to do as one wishes, and conversely, in a very small scale society, considerations of kinship compromise relations of authority however strict it may appear to be. In this situation the simple gerontocratic principle of *pule* may indeed be most democratic — Tokelauans are apt to think so, especially if they are elderly.

Notes

I have acknowledged the written sources of my material in the usual manner by citing the published and unpublished works of observers and scholars. I cannot do likewise for my oral sources because I am unable to attribute what I have come to know about the Tokelau past to specific sources. My information has been gained through informal conversations and discussions in which I was sometimes an active participant and sometimes just a listener, from formal sermons and speeches, and from self-assigned teachers who insisted that I would never understand the Tokelau present until I understood the Tokelau past. Consequently, I cannot specifically acknowledge my sources, and in fact it would be invidious to do so. What I can do is say how indebted I am to many, many Tokelau people, living and departed, in Tokelau and in New Zealand, for their companionship, help and patience. No single person would probably agree with every detail of the history I have

assembled in this chapter, and surely some would not concur with some of my conclusions, though I sincerely hope that they would recognize their past in what I have written. That my thanks is collective is I think appropriate, for it has been my experience that Tokelau people resist claiming particular expertise with regard to their *agafenua* (culture) and language; neither the *Tokelau Dictionary* nor *Matagi Tokelau: History and Traditions of Tokelau* have any attribution of authorship.

I am grateful to my colleague Antony Hooper for providing the counterpart to this chapter, and to Margaret Jolly and Mark Mosko for their editorial assistance.

1. In one notable respect *kupu* and *leo* contrast; they take A-class and O-class possession respectively. This seems significant to me as a non-native speaker, but I do not feel competent to explore this difference either in grammatical terms or in terms of Tokelau concepts.
2. What Nukunonu accounts stress is that these women resided in Fakaofu contrary to the customary rule of uxorilocality.
3. This is my summary of a story frequently told. The final words of Tonuia in Tokelauan are:
Ko Fakaofu e tukehe
Ko ona kupu e kokona, e mamala.
4. *Tamatane* are brothers and their issue vis à vis *tamafafine* who are sisters and their issue. The *aliki* stock in Nukunonu is traced back to autochthonous founders and divided in the first generation into senior and junior lines of brothers. It is not until several generations later that each of these lines is differentiated into *tamatane* and *tamafafine*, in the senior one four sisters and one brother, to whom Takua's ancestry is traced.
5. This is a fine point. Fakaofu was offered the "Good News" in 1858 too, but did not receive the mission.
6. This historically brief and socially catastrophic episode has been recorded in meticulous detail by H.C. Maude (1981, see especially Ch.9). He describes it as "a major externally induced social disaster" (170) and establishes that over half the Fakaofu and Nukunonu populations were captured, and that the Atafu population was diminished by one quarter. These figures represent virtually all the able-bodied men and then some. For Fakaofu the population loss was exacerbated by deaths from a virulent dysentery, introduced to the atoll only two weeks before the "slavers" arrived, which had already claimed 64 lives. All this happened in less than a month.
7. I am disregarding Coppinger's "good-for-nothing" monarch who seems to have made little impression on visitors or on Atafu's local history.
8. Ulua as *aliki*, his son as *failautuhi* "secretary", Te Lakau and Falekie — both of whom had been in Uvea or Samoa in early 1863 — as *faipule* "rulers", and Takua as *fakamahino* "judge".
9. Nukunonu's "declaration" was explicit; Takua was declared their *aliki*. Atafu's "declaration" is rather more obscure, partly because they periodically challenged Fakaofu's authority — as younger brothers are wont to do. However, it seems to have involved refusal to ally themselves with Fakaofu against Nukunonu.
10. Both local and outsider accounts are parochial. In Tokelau it is presumptuous for a person from one atoll to relate past events of another in any formal context (informal scurrilous yarning is something else again). Outsiders rarely connected what was happening in one atoll with what was happening in another, though they often superficially compared them with one another.

References Cited

- Abbreviations: LMS SSL = London Missionary Society, South Sea Letters
 LMS SSJ = London Missionary Society, South Sea Journals
 (Both from microfilm copies in Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).
- Anon, (1861), "A Cruise in the Pacific. — The Tokolau [sic] Group", *Nautical Magazine*, 39, 470–474.
- Cohn, B. (1961), "The Past of an Indian Village", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 3, 241–249.
- Coppinger, R. W. (MS. n.d.), Cruise of the Alert 1878–1882. Mitchell Library Q980/C.
- Cusack-Smith, T. B. (MS. 1896), Report of Visit to Manua and the Union Islands. Western Pacific High Commission Inwards Correspondence 230/96.
- Davies, S. H. (MS. 1880), Journal of a visit.... LMS SSJ. (Notes courtesy of Professor J. D. Freeman.)
- Didier, E. (1885), "Le P... au R.P. Procureur des missions", *Annales des Missions de la Société de Marie*, 5, 509–517.
- Didier, E. (1886), "Lettre du ... à son frère, ... 18 octobre 1886", *Annales des Missions de L'Océanie*, VI.
- Dolé, E. (1885), "Lettre ... au R.P. Procureur des missions de la Société de Marie. Apia, le 10 juillet 1882", *Annales des Missions de la Société de Marie [de L'Océanie]*, 5, 392–402.
- Ella, S. (MS. 1861), Letter dated Nov. 27..., LMS SSL.
- Ella, S. (MS. 1862), Letter dated August 31 ... containing abstracts of four letters received from Teacher in Atafu. LMS SSL.
- Gee, H. (MS. 1862), Letter dated Apia, 6 August 1862. LMS SSL (microfilm in A. Turnbull Library, Wellington and notes courtesy of J. D. Freeman).
- Gill, G. and P. G. Bird (MS. 1863), Journal of third missionary voyage to the Tokelau or Union group..., LMS SSJ.
- Hale, H. (1846), *United States Exploring Expedition...: Ethnography and Philology*, Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard.
- Huntsman, J. and A. Hooper (1985), "Structures of Tokelau History", in *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, A. Hooper and J. Huntsman (eds.) 133–149. Auckland: The Polynesian Society.
- Marriott, J. (MS. 1898), A visit to the Samoan outstations, June-July, LMS SSJ.
- Matagi Tokelau: History and Traditions of Tokelau* (1991), Apia, Western Samoa, and Suva, Fiji: Office of Tokelau Affairs and Institute of Pacific Studies, USP.
- Maude, H. E. (1981), *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864*, Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Moss, F. J. (1889), *Through Atolls and Islands in the Great South Seas*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington.
- Murray, A. W. (MS. 1868), Report of a visit..., LMS SSL.
- Phillips, C. (MS. 1881), Journal of a voyage ..., LMS SSJ.
- Phillips, C. (MS. 1884), Report of voyage to the northwest outstations..., LMS SSJ.
- Rocher, J. L. (MS. 1856), Letter to Mgr. P. Bataillon dated Sydney, 6 August 1856. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Oceania Marist Provincial Archives, Microfilm 26, 1.6.
- Tokelau Dictionary* (1986), Apia, Western Samoa: Office of Tokelau Affairs.
- Turner, G. (MS. 1874), Report of a voyage.. ., LMS SSJ.
- Turner, G. (MS. 1878), Report of a missionary voyage..., LMS SSJ.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

BARR SMITH LIBRARY
Office of the University Librarian

24 August 1995

Professor H.E. Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston
A.C.T. 2611


Dear Professor and Mrs Maude,

I understand that the Barr Smith Library has recently received the remaining works from your Pacific library, together with extensive papers relating to the former Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony and source materials assembled over 60 years as part of your joint research on the history, culture and traditions of the islands of the Pacific.

Since the agreement some 23 years ago on the sale of your library to the University we have been delighted with our acquisition, and I can only echo the appreciation of my predecessors for your efforts and generosity in obtaining and donating so much additional material to the collection. We hope that, with this final deposit of material, you do not feel that our long association is at an end. We propose, as you know, to celebrate this most recent addition to the collection and your own contributions to the study of Pacific history by an exhibition in October. Thereafter we will continue to add to the collection to maintain its strength and to ensure that your original collection will continue to provide a world-class resource for subsequent Pacific scholars. The Pacific Collection is considered one of the particular research strengths of the Library and we will do our best to promote its use and to justify your decision to entrust it to Adelaide.

Yours sincerely,

Ray Choate
University Librarian

 ACT Library Service
ACT Reference Library

P O Box 3717
MANUKA ACT 2603
TEL: (06) 207 5728
Fax: (06) 207 5382
10 June 1994

Mr and Mrs H.E. Maude
Mirinjani Retirement Village
11 Namatjira Drive
WESTON ACT 2611

Dear Mr and Mrs Maude

It is very kind of you to offer to the ACT Reference Library copies of books which you have published. We greatly appreciate your thoughtfulness in approaching us.

As discussed by telephone, I enclose a list of those titles which are already held by the ACT Library Service. We should be delighted to accept for the Reference Library any titles which are not already held in the Heritage Collection (including the Sir Arthur Grimble volume and *String figures of Nauru Island*). In building up a Heritage Collection relating to the ACT, we are keen to include not only material about Canberra but also the published output of writers who are closely associated with the area.

If you would like to let me know which titles are not represented in the list, I shall arrange to take them into the ACT Reference Library. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely



Charu Sood
Manager
ACT Reference Library



Titles by H.E. and Honor Maude held in the collections of the ACT Library Service and the ACT Reference Library

1. Grimble, Sir Arthur *Tungaru traditions; writings on the Atoll culture of the Gilbert Islands*. Edited by H.E. Maude. (c.1989). Two copies held in the **Lending Collection**.
2. Maude, H.E. *Of islands and men: studies in South Pacific history* (1968). Five copies held in **Lending Collection**, one in **Heritage Collection**
3. Maude, H. E. *Slavers in paradise: the Peruvian labour trade...*(1981). **Copies held in Lending and Heritage Collections.**
4. Maude, Honor. *String figures of Nauru Island* (1971). **Four copies held in Lending Collection**

Changing Pacific - ✓
Essays in Honour - ✓
Slaves in Paradise ✓
Shenig Queen's Palace ✓

Civic Library
20 East Row
CIVIC 26001

Dear Mr + Mrs Maude,

any on Oral Hist
Story of Kaeronga.

We are delighted to accept copies
of your books - especially as it took
us so long to work out how to use
the microfiche - microfilm copies

Mr Barton, the Director of the
ACT Library Service, has requested
that your books be placed in the

collection for the new Reference
Library. This library will open
in the next few years + should
be a show piece in the ACT.

Hoping we can be of assistance
to you in the future.

Yours sincerely

Brenda Thompson
(Librarian)
CIVIC LIBRARY

2075/51

Amelia Earhart
The final flight

Sun. 12 June

TNT 8pm

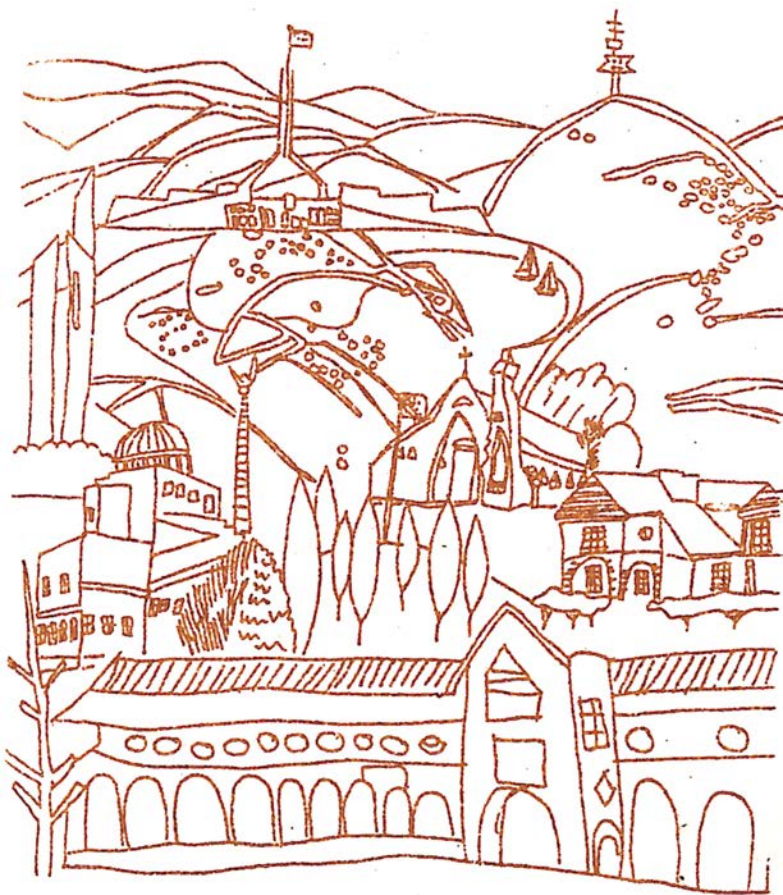
TED-TEL NETWO

12:00



DICKSON COLLEGE

Designed and made by students
of the Design/Craft Special Education
Program, Dickson College, A.C.T.



42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611

19 September 1995

Thorpe Bibliographic Services
P.O. Box 146
Port Melbourne Victoria 3207

Dear Sirs,

With reference to your letter of September 1995, I enclose a list of the I-Kiribati series. Numbers 2,3,6 & 7 appear to meet your requirements as having been produced in Australia. My wife and I are not publishers of books but writers or editors so the other information which you ask does not seem to apply. However, if you want to judge for your self I will send you copies so that you can do so.

Yours faithfully

Harry E Maude

September 1995

Australian Books in Print 1996

Dear Publisher,

Australian Books in Print is undergoing its annual update procedure.

Enclosed is a copy of your publisher report in four parts. The first is a copy of your company's details as listed on the *Australian Books in Print* database; the second is a list of all the overseas publishers which you distribute; the third lists all series; and finally the book report lists all titles in print.

Could you please have a senior member of staff check all details, making amendments where necessary.

Please pay special attention to the items listed on the verso of this page. In addition could you please advise us of any new and/or forthcoming titles by adding the data to the report.

If all data is correct we ask that you return the report to us clearly stating this.

Inclusion in *Australian Books in Print* is **FREE**.

We ask that you return the printouts to us no later than **24 September 1995**. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me.

Thank you for your cooperation,



Victoria Mathews
Bibliographic Services Manager

D W Thorpe
18 Salmon Street
(PO Box 146)
Port Melbourne Victoria 3207 Australia
Tel (03) 9245 7370
Fax (03) 9245 7395
Email dwthorpe@slim.slnsw.gov.au

Subscriptions:
Tel (03) 9245 7377
Fax (03) 9245 7395
Book orders:
NSW (03) 9245 7183
Vic (03) 9245 7191
Qld/SA (03) 9245 7182
NT/ACT/Tas/WA (03) 9245 7178
Fax 008 032 627

THORPE NEW ZEALAND
203-207 Victoria Street
(CPO Box 472)
Wellington
Tel (04) 382 9265
Fax (04) 385 1598

Publisher details

- 1 **Phone and Fax**
- 2 **Address** – Both street and postal address.
- 3 **Distribution** – If distribution of your books is handled by another company, please indicate clearly the name of your distributor/wholesaler. If different distributors are used in different states or for different parts of your list, please ensure that this information is also accurate.
- 4 **Terms of trade** – If distribution of your books is handled by your company, please indicate clearly your terms of trade. For example, what percentage discount you give to bookshops, whether you charge freight and minimum order quantity.
- 5 **Names of senior staff** – Staff name and position held.
- 6 **ISBN Prefix** – Due to the ever-increasing access to information via electronic databases it is **essential** that numerical retrieval be provided for all publishers. ISBN prefix is a unique identifier for each publisher.

Agencies/OS publishers

- 1 **Publisher's name** – If your company distributes books published by an overseas publisher, please indicate the name of the publisher.
- 2 **Country of origin and address** – In addition to overseas publisher name, please indicate the country of origin of that publisher and current contact details.

Series

- 1 **Series name** – If books published by your company are part of a series, please list the series name.

Books

- 1 **ISBN** – Ensure there are ten digits in all ISBNs.
- 2 **ISSN** – If periodical or part of a series an ISSN should be indicated.
- 3 **Title and Subtitle**
- 4 **Author** – Ensure that the full name is supplied. Editors should be marked (ed) and illustrators (ill).
- 5 **Book type** – Please indicate whether the book is hardback, paperback or spiral bound or other.
- 6 **Price**
- 7 **Date of publication**
- 8 **Out of print status** – Rule a line through any titles now out of print.
- 9 **Series** – Ensure all titles which are part of a series are listed as such.
- 10 **Imprint** – If a title is published under an imprint other than your own company name, please ensure the imprint is listed.
- 11 **Subject headings** – Up to four subject headings may be allocated to each title.
- 12 **Textbook** – Please ensure that all textbooks are marked with a 'T'

Copy

42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston, A.C.T.2611,
18 September, 1995.

Dear Jenny,

Herewith my efforts at producing a Foreword and Back Cover Blurb. I find it much easier to write these things, and then amend them, instead of dictating them.

If they don't appear to be what is needed you have my full permission to discard them. On the other hand you may be able to make any alterations which seem desirable.

In my opinion it is a magnificent book and the only one, of its kind, I think, in the world; certainly there are none in the Pacific area. I must buy copies to send to the Gilbert libraries and historians such as Sister Alaima.

Wishing the work all success and all happiness to you in your exalted station.

Yours ever,

H.E.Maude.

Foreword

Experience has convinced me that most Europeans can gain a truer picture of how the Gilbertese people think and act within their own environment, apart from a small acculturated minority, by studying their Oral Traditions than by any other means. Only in their traditions can we hear the Gilbertese talking to their fellow islanders about people who lived, and events which took place, either in their own time, or more often in the days of their ancestors. You will not get the same feeling of intimacy in works by anthropologists or travellers.

It was the superiority and apparent veracity of the Gilbertese oral tradition that excited the admiration of Horatio Hale, who in 1841 was the first scientist to visit the Gilbert Islands. And since then many of these traditions have been collected by missionaries, government officials, ethnohistorians, and latterly by the Gilbertese themselves. Many of them have been published in French, Gilbertese and English, including an anthology. What was clearly now required is an overall, comprehensive study of the Traditions: their function in Gilbertese society, classification, methods of composition, memorization, transmission and recital; and their value in the changing culture of to-day.

We are fortunate indeed that Kambati K. Uriam agreed to undertake this formidable task, since quite clearly no one else has had the ability and knowledge to do so. From infancy he was lulled to sleep by the nightly recital of traditional stories. By the time he became a teacher in a church school he was noted for his knowledge of the subject. For his Bachelor's degree Kambati chose Gilbertese oral tradition for his thesis and as a Lecturer in the Tangintebu Theological College he taught and supervised Honours students on local history.

Kambati Uriam has written an excellent book which will be read with delight by the growing number of educated middle-class Gilbertese literate in English, and discussed by them with the Elders in the village Council Houses. It will be a definitive work on the subject, as writing has

Copy'

made the composition of new oral traditions unnecessary; but it is hoped it will prove to be the proto-type for similar studies covering the traditions of other Pacific Island groups.

H.E. Maude.

Canberra, A.C.T. 1995.

Foreword

Experience has convinced me that most Europeans can gain a truer picture of how the Gilbertese people think and act within their own environment, apart from a small acculturated minority, by studying their Oral Traditions than by any other means. Only in their traditions can we hear the Gilbertese talking to their fellow islanders about people who lived, and events which took place, either in their own time, or more often in the days of their ancestors. You will not get the same feeling of intimacy in works by anthropologists or travellers.

It was the superiority and apparent veracity of the Gilbertese oral tradition that excited the admiration of Horatio Hale, who in 1841 was the first scientist to visit the Gilbert Islands. And since then many of these traditions have been collected by missionaries, government officials, ethnohistorians, and latterly by the Gilbertese themselves. Many of them have been published in French, Gilbertese and English, including an anthology. What was clearly now required is an overall, comprehensive study of the Traditions: their function in Gilbertese society, classification methods of composition, memorization, transmission and recital; and their value in the changing culture of to-day.

We are fortunate indeed that Kambati K. Uriam agreed to undertake this formidable task, since quite clearly no one else has had the ability and knowledge to do so. From infancy he was lulled to sleep by the nightly recital of traditional stories. By the time he became a teacher in a church school he was noted for his knowledge of the subject. For his Bachelor's degree Kambati chose Gilbertese oral tradition for his thesis and as a Lecturer in the Tangintebu Theological College he taught and supervised Honours students on local history.

Kambati Uriam has written an excellent book which will be read with delight by the growing number of educated middle-class Gilbertese literate in English, and discussed by them with the Elders in the village Council Houses. It will be a definitive work on the subject, as writing has



Received 9/18/95



Gathering acid Pomegranates • La cueillette de grenades acides
Tactuunum sanitatis, Lombardy/Lombardie • XIVc
Cod. Ser. n. 2644, fol. 7 v.
Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien
To benefit UNICEF • Au profit de l'UNICEF

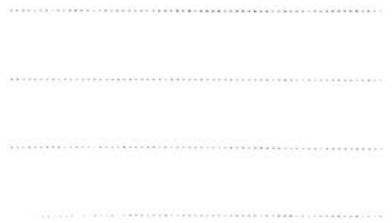
HAPPY RETIREMENT!

We shall miss
your books, and
the benefit of your
guidance in Pacific
Studies.

Enjoy life, and good
health to you both.
Kam na mauiri ao kam
na teke-raoi!

Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Infancia.
Детский фонд Организации Объединенных Наций
联合国儿童基金会
United Nations Children's Fund.
Fonds des Nations Unies pour l'enfance.

Harry & Honor Maude



6.500 Alan Hughes.

made the composition of new oral traditions unnecessary; but it is hoped it will prove to be the proto-type for similar studies covering the traditions of other Pacific Island groups.

H.E. Maude.

Canberra, A.C.T. 1995.



invoice

BANABA/OCEAN ISLAND NEWS

P.O. BOX 536,
MUDGEERABA. Q. 4213. AUSTRALIA
Ph/Fax: 075 - 350298

● TO: MR & MRS. H. MAUDE
42/11 Namarjira Drive,
WESTON. ACT. 2611
AUSTRALIA

YOUR REF: 64

INV. NO:

QTY	ITEM	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PR	TOTAL
1 issue each of	Nos. 17 - 22	Annual subscription for Banaba/Ocean Island News 1995 - 1996 <i>Paid chq no: 738 29/8/95</i>	15.00	15.00
<i>Thank you for your continued support...</i>			SUBTOTAL	15.00
			FREIGHT	inc.
			BAL DUE	15.00 Aust.

File

History Dept

22-8-95



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND

Brisbane Qld 4072 Australia

Telephone (07) 365 1111

International +61 7 365 1111

Facsimile (07) 365 1199

Telex UNIVQLD AA 40315

Dear Prof. Mauke.

This is to acknowledge receipt of the Chappell manuscript. Thankyou for sending it on to me.

I am sorry to hear that your sight is failing now.

As a relatively young (well 43 is young from your point of view!) Pacific Historian may I say how much I have appreciated your writing over many years. Your work starts with that of Davidson as the base for our modern profession.

So this is a note of thanks to you
for your many years of service to
the profession.

May I wish you every good
health.

Sincerely -

Alice Moore.

P.S.

Marnie Dunn, whom I know well
speaks fondly of her days working
with you - She is in Hugh Iver -
Brisbane now.



National Australia Bank Limited
A.C.N. 004044937

**Receipt for
Overseas Currency**

Purchased

Sold

By the Bank

Weston.

Office/
Branch

Item Description

C'cy Amount

Rate

AUD Amount

1x 20 US Dollars US\$ 20

0.74460 26-86

Handwritten signature

Customer's Signature

Date

18/8/95

Teller

Handwritten initials

Total AUD

26-86

COPY

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston, A.C.T. 2611
8th August, 1995

Dear Clive Moore,

I enclose a copy of a letter from David Chappell in which he asks me to forward this manuscript to you in the hope that you will be willing to let him know your views on it.

I am unable to read it myself as I am now too blind in my old age to read anything.

Yours sincerely,

H. E. Maude
Harry E Maude.

~~Yours sincerely,~~

Dear Clive Moore,
I enclose a copy of a letter from David Chappell in which he asks me to forward this manuscript in the hope that you will be willing to let him know your views on it.
I was unable to read it myself as I am now too blind in my old age to read anything.

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611
8th August 1995

Moore - 4

July 26, 1995

Department of History
University of Hawai'i
Sakamaki Hall A-203
2530 Dole Street
Honolulu, HI 96822-2383

Dr. H.E. Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston, ACT 2611 Australia

Aloha,

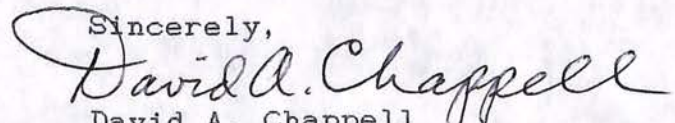
Thank you for your letter of 14 July, which I just received. I apologize profusely for burdening you with my book manuscript -- not only did I send it to you unannounced but I also failed to keep informed of your health situation. I am quite embarrassed to have asked you to look over a book when you can't read it! Please forgive me.

Perhaps you can simply consider it a tribute of sorts, that I have not forgotten the help and encouragement you once offered this novice in the field of Pacific history when I was first starting out on my path to a Ph.D. I am sure that there are many others like me who are indebted to you and will attempt to uphold the high standards that you have established in our field.

Meanwhile, you have a manuscript on your hands and have even offered to mail it somewhere for me. I feel like saying throw it away, in order not to burden you any more, and you may do so if you wish. I would like someone to read it, however, so if it is not too inconvenient, you could send to Clive Moore, History Department, The University of Queensland, Brisbane, Queensland 4072 Australia. I know him and have abused his good will before, so he may have some ideas. I am enclosing US \$20.00 to cover postage (don't spend more!), and I will warn him the manuscript is coming.

I am very sorry to have bothered you with this matter. I wish I had finished the book earlier, so you could have appreciated it. In fact, I acknowledged your help in it and cited some of your fine work. Thank you very much for your kindness and inspiration, and best wishes to you always.

Sincerely,



David A. Chappell
Assistant Professor
Pacific Islands History

P.S. If there is anything I can send you (or your wife) from Hawai'i, please do not hesitate to ask.

Stacey-4

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611
21 July 1995

Stacey King
P.O. Box 536,
Mudgerraba,
Queensland 4213

Dear Stacey,

Thank you for your letter of the 5th June.

In it you mention that you may be working on a Banaban Cultural display at an ANU function, and I hope that you are able to do this.

You also enquire about details on the construction of the Banaban canoe. There was something on this in one of Grimble's articles, but I'm afraid all my books and papers have been made ready to go to their final resting place in the Pacific Islands Special Collection at the Barr Smith Library in the University of Adelaide, so I am unable to let you know which paper it was in.

The reason for this is that I unexpectedly became blind and unable to read or write about a month ago, so we decided to deposit everything in Adelaide where it can be consulted by scholars from all over the world.

As you can imagine, this is an unhappy period for me as I had not expected to stop all my research and writing so abruptly.

So this is probably my last letter to you and I thank you for all the support which you gave to us both and particularly for the many kind things you said about "The Book of Banaba", they will linger in my memory as long as I live.

Yours affectionally,

Harry E Maude.



Banaban Researcher

STACEY M. KING

June 5, 1995

Dear Honor & Harry,

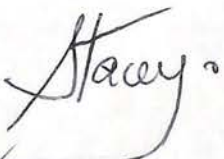
I hope this letter finds you both fit and well. I just received this great fax regarding your book from Rev. Tamaka Benaia over in Suva and thought you would like to see it. It just missed this issue of the 'NEWS', but I will publish it in next issue.

As Tamaka mentions in his fax, when he started to do his own Thesis there wasn't any Banaban material available to him. I'm happy to say that I've heard word that the new Library is now up and running and all your books are being logged in. I've also packed the beautiful fishing hook of yours to take to Rabi and hope it takes pride of place in the Library. I thought that it was appropriate to feature your story on the 'FISHING HOOKS' for this issue to coincide with the return of the hook.

As you will see mentioned in the latest copy of the 'NEWS', I'm hoping to do some research with the Banabans on their outrigger canoes, and wonder if you have any material there on the old Banaban canoes? Major Malo tells me the ones they make now are more Gilbertese in design. I also have a lovely model of one of the latest canoes on Rabi, the men made for me and posted over.

So much is happening that I'll have to fly. Oh before I sign off, there is just a chance, and I emphasise the word chance, that I might be asked to put on a Banaban Cultural display (photos, documents, artefacts etc.) down in Canberra at the A.N.U. to coincide with some Pacific conference or other in August. It's all pretty up in the air as the guy who is organising it is overseas for 12 weeks and I won't be back to July, so we won't be able to discuss details until then. In my opinion it seems to be leaving it a bit late, but if I can't make it this August, I'm sure the university will be holding other conferences later. Will let you know if it comes off, and of course, a chance to catch up with two of my favourite people.

Love & regards,

 xx
Stacey

JUNE 1, 1995

EDITOR : STACEY M. KING
BANABA/OCEAN ISLAND NEWS
P.O. BOX 536, MUDGEERABA
D. 4213
AUSTRALIA

PHONE/FAX : 075 305298

WORDS OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT TO THE AUTHOR OF "THE BOOK OF BANABA"
FROM THE YOUNG BANABANS

ON BEHALF OF THE YOUNG BANABANS I WOULD LIKE TO CONGRATULATE DR. H.E. MAUDE FOR SUCH A VALUABLE AND PRECIOUS BOOK EVER COMPLETED AND WRITTEN FOR THE BANABAN PEOPLE TO READ. THE BOOK IS INDEED A RECORD OF BANABAN WAY OF LIFE PRIOR 1900'S AND NEEDS PRESERVATION.

I, REV. TEMAKA BENAIA WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU (MAUDE) ESPECIALLY FOR LISTING MY THESIS AS ONE OF YOUR REFERENCES. WHEN I PROPOSED TO WRITE THIS PAPER (THESIS) ON PERSUING MY BACHELOR OF DIVINITY AT THE PACIFIC THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE (1989 - 1991), MY HISTORY SUPERVISOR REV. DR. MARK GALLAGHER ADVISED ME THAT THERE WAS VERY LITTLE MATERIAL AND SOURCE ON BANANA. THE SAME ADVICE WAS CONFIRMED BY YOU IN YOUR LETTER TO ME DATED 4/4/91.

"IT WOULD THEREFORE SEEM THAT IT MUST BE ADVISABLE FOR YOU TO CHANGE YOUR ESSAY TO A TOPIC WHICH CAN BE WRITTEN UP FROM PRINTED SOURCES AVAILABLE IN A LOCAL LIBRARY".

ANYWAY "THE BOOK OF BANABA" IS AN ENCOURAGEMENT TO THOSE WHO WISH TO WRITE AND CONTRIBUTE TO BANABAN HISTORY AND CULTURE. MOREOVER, THE BOOK SHOULD HELP THE BANABANS TO KNOW MORE ABOUT THEIR CULTURE, TRADITION CUSTOM, GENELOGIES, ETC. TO ME THE BOOK IS THE BEGINNING OF THE REVELATION TO THE WORLD OF THE BANABAN IDENTITY.

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE ARE IMPORTANT BUT IF WE DO NOT KNOW OUR PAST THEN WE DO NOT COMPLETELY UNDERSTAND AND VALUE WHO WE ARE. FOR EXAMPLE AS GRIMBLE STATES (THE BOOK OF BANABA, PAGE 60),

"THERE WERE CERTAIN AMUSEMENTS AND GAMES FOR WHICH PEOPLE OF TABWEWA HAD THE SOLE RIGHT FOR FIXING THE SEASON. THESE WERE THE RUGIA, OREANO, KARETIKA, AND KAREMOTU. IF ANOTHER VILLAGE TOOK THE INITIATIVE IN OPENING THE SEASON FOR THE GAMES, IT MIGHT LEAD TO BLOODSHED."

IT IS TRUE THAT GAMES LIKE THE KAREMOTU AND KATUA COULD LEAD TO QUARRELS, FIGHTS AND EVEN BLOODSHED. HOWEVER IN CONTEMPORARY BANABAN SOCIETY (RABI) THESE GAMES ARE NO LONGER PLAYED. THE REASON BEING THAT THE GAME IS BASED ON THE TRADITION AND CULTURE OF GENELOGIES (KARIETA AND KARIA) WHICH MUST BE CLARIFIED.

-2-

ONCE AGAIN I ACKNOWLEDGE WITH UTMOST THANKS AND APPRECIATION YOUR KIND WORK AND DEDICATION.

KO BATI N RABA DR. H.E. MAUDE. AM B'AI TE MAURI, TE RAOI, AO TE TABOMO (HEALTH, PEACE AND HONOUR).

MAY GOD BLESS YOU.

REV. TEMAKA BENAIA

P.S. Stacey could you confirm your coming to Fiji and your schedule. please reserve one day for our club. In reply contact me on this fax number 400198

n. b. a.

DR. AHMED BANKOSHI
TELEFAX: 234 - 1 - 2645113
TELEFAX: 234 - 1 - 5890142.

DEAR SIR,

I AM THE CHIEF ACCOUNTANT IN THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION (NNPC) LAGOS. WE HAVE US\$40.2M (FORTY MILLION, TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND UNITED STATES DOLLARS) IN MY DEPARTMENT AWAITING REMITTANCE. THIS MONEY ORIGINATED FROM OVER INVOICED CONTRACT EXECUTED FOR MY CORPORATION SOMETIME OF WHICH I AM ONE OF THE SIGNATORIES WHO SIGNED ON THE PROJECT TO THE CONTRACTORS. ON COMPLETION AND INSPECTION, THE PAYMENT VOUCHERS HAS BEEN APPROVED AND THE MONEY MADE AVAILABLE FOR PAYMENT TO THE CONTRACTORS. BUT AS A MATTER OF FACT, WE ARE TOP GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND WE ARE NOT LIABLE TO COME OPENLY TO CLAIM THIS ABOVE MONEY BECAUSE IT IS MEANT FOR FOREIGN FIRM, THIS IS WHY WE ARE LOOKING FOR A COMPETENT AND HONEST COMPANY OR INDIVIDUAL ABROAD WHOSE DOCUMENTS WOULD BE TENDERED BY US HERE IN LAGOS AS ONE OF THE CONTRACTORS THAT EXECUTED THE PROJECT.

SO AFTER DUE CONSULTATIONS, YOU WERE STRONGLY AND RELIABLY RECOMMENDED TO US, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NEVER MET OR ENTERED INTO ANY KIND OF TRANSACTION WITH YOU BEFORE AS TO KNOW THE EXTENT OF YOUR HONESTY, BUT BASED ON THE RECOMMENDATION, I PERSONALLY WANT TO BELIEVE THAT YOU ARE HONEST ENOUGH AND WOULD NOT SIT ON THE MONEY WHEN IT GOES INTO YOUR ACCOUNT. IT IS ON THIS NOTE THAT I CONSIDER IT PROPER TO WRITE YOU ASKING FOR YOUR PERMISSION, CONSENT AND SUPPORT TO TRANSFER THIS MONEY INTO YOUR ACCOUNT,. YOU SHOULD NOT FEAR ANY RISK BECAUSE WE HAVE CONCLUDED EVERY ARRANGEMENT TO SAFEGUARD YOU IN THIS TRANSACTION BUT AT THE SAME TIME WE WOULD NOT LIKE YOU TO PUBLICISE IT FOR OUR OWN SAFETY TOO BECAUSE WE ARE STILL IN GOVERNMENT SERVICES. HENCE IT REQUIRES A HIGH LEVEL OF CONFIDENTIALITY AND SECRECY.

TENTATIVELY, WE HAVE AGREED THAT 60% OF THE MONEY GOES TO THE OFFICERS WHERE THIS MONEY ORIGINATED, 30% TO THE OWNER OF THE ACCOUNT, WHILE 10% WOULD BE USED TO DEFRAY WHATEVER EXPENSES THAT MAY BE INCURRED IN THE COURSE OF THIS TRANSACTION. I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT THIS TRANSACTION REQUIRES THE MOST URGENT REPLY AND ATTENTION TO ENABLE US PULL OUT THIS MONEY SOONEST.

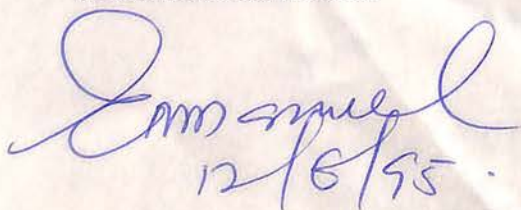
BE PREPARED THAT ON COMPLETION OF THIS BUSINESS, I WILL USE MY OWN SHARE OF THE DEAL TO PROCURE GOODS OF YOUR COMPANY OR ANY MARKETABLE PRODUCTS IN YOUR COUNTRY.

FINALLY, ON ACCEPTANCE OF THIS REQUEST, PLEASE REPLY THROUGH TEL/FAX: 234 - 1 - THE FAX NUMBERS I GAVE YOU ON MY FIRST LETTER HAS SMALL PROBLEM NOW. YOU CAN USE THE ABOVE PRIVATE NUMBER. THIS IS TO GUARANTEE THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF YOUR INTEREST.

PLEASE CONTACT ME IMMEDIATELY FOR DETAILS.

BEST REGARDS.

DR AHMED BANKOSHI.


12/6/95.

cholmelein-4

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T 2611

4th August 1995

Mr Nick Booth
34A Third Avenue
Epping NSW 2121

Dear Nick,

Thank you for your letter of 7 May 1995 letting me know that you have taken over the work of the OC representative for NSW; I wish you all good fortune in your new office.

My new address is;

Dr Harry E Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston ACT 2611
Ph: 06-2880121

Although on the eve of 90 years and unable to read or write owing to blindness I am still interested in my old school, as evidence^d by my recent purchase of Thomas Hinde "Highgate School: A History", but I cannot travel as far as Sydney so I will not be able to attend your next gathering.

Yours sincerely,

Harry E Maude.

Old Cholmeleian Society

Australia - New South Wales Section



Representative: Nick Booth
34A Third Avenue
EPPING NSW 2121
(02) 868 2197

7 May 1995

Mr Harry Maude
77 Arthur Circle
FORREST ACT 2603

Dear Harry,

At the OCs Dinner held on 2 April, Michael Kemp indicated that, after some 13 years as the OCs representative in NSW, he felt it was time for someone else to take on this role. Somehow I found myself volunteered for the position, and Michael has now handed over his records.

There is still no word from London about when (or whether) we will receive a visit from John Coombs or some other representative. In the absence of a visitation, I propose that our next gathering be at my house sometime in Spring. Please contact me if you have any alternative ideas.

I can be contacted at home (02) 868 2197, work (02) 330 2162, work fax (02) 330 1272, e-mail N.Booth@uts.edu.au

The NSW OC records show your name and address as above, home phone (06) 295 2524, work phone [None]. Please let me know if any of this is now out of date. Also please let me know if you are not really interested in the OCs, and then I won't bother you again.

Yours sincerely

Nick Booth

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611

4 August 1995

Voluntary Euthanasia Society
of N.S.W.
Canberra Branch
PO Box 4029
Kingston ACT 2604

With reference to your letter of August 1995.

I enclose a cheque for \$300 as my donation as promised in my
letter dated 12 June 1995.

HARRY E MAUDE.

P.O. Box 2027
Government Buildings
Suva
FIJI

28 July 1995

Dear Professor Maude,

Thank you for your letter of 20 July 1995 with the reference to the articles on war time experiences on Nauru and Banaba, held at the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide.

This is a very useful source which I shall definitely follow up. Most of the written material on Nauru in WWII seems to be held in archives and libraries in Australia so I will probably need to spend some time there if I am to do some thorough research.

I have obtained some information from the US National Archives in Washington and also from a few Tuvaluan and I-kiribati first-hand sources. I am planning to have a few days in Nauru in December this year to talk to some Nauruans too.

Thank you for your assistance, I shall keep in touch. Stan and Jean Brown in Lami send their regards.

All the best,



Peter McQuarrie

McQUARRIE-4

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611
Australia

20 July 1995

Peter McQuarrie
P.O. Box 2027
Government Buildings
SUVA
FIJI

Dear Peter,

When packing up the files in my ~~former~~ study I remembered a letter from you in which you said that you were about to write a book on war time experience on Nauru Island.

When doing this you may care to consult the first 7 articles in a typescript folder on war time experience on Nauru and Banaba.

The articles are in a plain foolscap folder entitled "War time experience on Nauru and Banaba Island" in the Special Collection on the Pacific Islands which forms part of the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide, at present under the care of Ms Susan Woodburn.

Yours sincerely, →

Harry E Maude. →

P.O. Box 2027
Government Buildings
Suva
FIJI

14 June 1995

Dear Professor Maude,

Thank you for your letter of 31 May 1995 and for sending me the copy of your Bibliography of Banaba.

The bibliography will be a very useful reference document for anyone interested in doing any research in this subject in the future. It is also of interest to me because it has some references to Nauru and I am interested in doing some research and writing on the WWII history of Nauru which has not been well covered before.

As requested I am enclosing some information on my book on Tuvalu. It is available in New Zealand, and in Fiji from the University of the South Pacific, but I am not sure if there is an Australian supplier.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Peter McQuarrie". The signature is written in a cursive style with a period at the end.

Peter McQuarrie

HUGHES

20.7.95 - 4

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T 2611
Australia

20 July 1995

H.G.A. Hughes
Talwrn Glas
Afonwen Mold
CLWYD CH7 5UB

Dear Alun,

Thankyou for you letter of June 95 which is full of news, particularly on the Micronesian Islands which I had never heard of before.

r/
It had to be read to me because my eyes have got worse and I am no longer able to read anything. Though your letter was interesting throughout the only direct request you put to me was for information on William Crook. I have nothing on Crook myself because I have not worked on Marquesean History for some 50 odd years and even then I was only interested in Beachcombers and the Sandlewood Trade.

However if you wrote to Dr Dominique Pechberty at:

BP364 Mata Utu
98600 Uvea
Wallis Island
South Pacific

for his recent thesis was largely based on William Crook; his life and work. It is written in French, but he has written several articles in English with a view to possible publication. I think his thesis is called "A study of the society of the Marquesas Island in the 18th Century"

This is probably my final letter to you because all my books and papers are being packed up and sent to the Pacific

i/ Island Library at the University of Adelaide. It is a sad time for me but I have been lucky to have lasten out untol the eve of my 90th birthday and with 2 books prepared and published in my last year. Incidentally, many thanks for the copies of those excellent resumés of these books which you are publishing in England.

~ I was sorry to hear that you~~own~~ health is but modest and I hope that it will improve and enable you to produce some of the many works which you are at present engaged on.

Yours sincerely, →

Harry E Maude. →

H. C. A. Hughes

TALWRN GLAS AFONWEN MOLD CLWYD CH7 5UB
TEL / FAX : (01352) 720413

8 June 1995

Dear Harry and Honor,

Herewith copies of two notices (hardly reviews) of your latest two books. These notices were prepared at the request of Dr. Christian Clerk, book reviews editor of The Outrigger, newsletter of the Pacific Island Society (PISUKI).

Both books entranced me, especially the Anthology. You elucidate many things which I had found obscure, and I am now not so confused by the genealogies as I was. Give me another twenty years or so and I'll know what I'm doing!

I've also sent notices (very similar to the enclosed), to one of my regular workplaces, Reference Reviews, edited by Stuart James at the University of Paisley (one of our polytechnics became universities). This journal is directed at librarians, who use it to evaluate works of reference before buying. I hope that the notices result in more libraries stocking your two books.

The availability of works on the Pacific in our libraries can no longer be assumed. Even the Bodleian and the British Library are failing to acquire key works. One example: I needed to consult Janet A. Pereira's two-volume bibliography of Samoa (1989) but had to get it from the University of Kansas. No copies in UK!

The bibliography of Samoa/Tokelau which I'm preparing for ABC-Clio Press Ltd. of Oxford proceeds reasonably well, slowed down by the chore of concocting reasonably sensible annotations for all entries. This is a feature on which the publisher insists. The process is so taxing that I'm having second thoughts about my promise to do Tonga when the present volume is finished.

2.

We've had Capt. Alec Bolton staying with us recently, an old friend whom I first met at Majuro in 1950. His brother, Peter, was captain of the Camano and, later, of the Chicot. Alec is now living at Kaneohe, O'ahu, and is a director of the Matson Line and a trustee of the Honolulu Maritime Museum. It was pleasant to hear of many old friends, including the still alive "Smitty" who claims to have been O'Keefe's cook.

The Mpomp land case in Pohnpei was settled, suddenly, out of court. I have no details yet. Yvette has had a heart pacemaker fitted, to alleviate the fibrillation severely affecting her — yet another reason for the settlement with Robbie. Crucial was the judge's order that Carlos Stscheit's brothers (Robert in Düsseldorf and Camille in Mallorca) and sister Ella (in France) present themselves before the court in Pohnpei, to explain why they were so determinedly backing Robbie and claiming all the land. Unsurprisingly, they all backed off. (Carl and Ella was the name given by Dominikus Stscheit to the small schooner he bought from Melander). Yvette's relief was shortlived. A few days ago, her eldest son, André Adams, was killed by his bulldozer slipping off the transporting lorry. André and Larry ^(brother) were building a road, ironically with the Nahniken of Nett (who initiated the \$2 million claim against the Stscheit lands). Incidentally, the plantation is now greatly run down. Dominikus, who bought it at auction after Kubary's suicide, would be furious. Dominikus had, in 1912, a very large plantation in Kusair, Mpomp in Pohnpei, and half of Ulul (Namonuito). Only Mpomp remains.

I'm greatly looking forward to Francis Hezel's Strangers in their own land: a century of colonial rule in the Caroline and Marshall islands, due shortly from University of Hawaii Press, and to a complementary study (also UoH): The neglected war: the German South Pacific and the influence of World War I, by Hermann Joseph Hiery of the German Historical Institute in London.

I correspond regularly with Hezel and with many

others all round the Pacific — busy men yet always courteously ready to spare me some time and ideas. I wish the young were equally helpful!

Jean-Paul Latouche is back from Hawai'i where he minutely examined all of Kath~~arine~~^{arine} Luomala's papers. His only comment so far is "intéressant"! He's probably now entering his findings into the database for his long promised Sources I wish he'd get a move on, or I'll be long dead, I'm afraid. Jean-Paul's "sequel" to Mythistoire Tongareu is also progressing, but also slowly. He might seek to emulate your rate of production.

My working week is an unchanging sixty hours, about a third of the time devoted to book reviewing, articles and translations — absolutely necessary to pay the exponentially escalating bills. The rest of the time I keep for work on Pacific subjects.

This year's Pacific Literary Competition is for Hawai'i, with Ken Kimura, John Chaalot, Steven Roger Fischer and myself as adjudicators. The entries should come to me very soon now. Last year's competition (Samoa) was a success.

Steve Fischer is finding NZ costs very high and he has had to resume teaching Cushman in Auckland. I wonder how Rongorongo Studies will fare in its new home, and whether Steve will get the (already incorporated) Institute of Polynesian Languages and Literatures successfully into orbit. Steve and I will be producing jointly an edition of William Crook's Marquesan grammar and dictionary (1797). This I found in 1947 in the LMS library in London, and copied — longhand. Not being clairvoyant, and wholly

unprepared for the McCarthyite axe which was to chop me down in 1953, I blithely announced to the world that I was producing an edition, and, indeed, had over a hundred pages of background, and eight ^{dictionary} letters of Crook: Doedillon comparisons drafted before I was cast into the outer darkness by J.R. Firth and his mentors. It may be that that premature edition will get completed after all, although I think it'll be Steve that will do the donkey work. My health can only be described as "modest". Zuzana's cancer is still in remission, but she lacks any stamina. We keep getting invitations to settle in Portugal, Hawai'i or the FSM, but the prospect of our moving seems very remote.

Reverting to William Crook (LMS), if you have in your computer any notes on him and his Marquesan period, they would be very much appreciated. Patrick O'Reilly once said that he had masses of material on Crook, but the Société des Océanistes, and Musée de l'Homme don't seem able to trace ~~it~~.

We now have a flourishing European Society for Oceanists (ESO): membership as yet free.

Members come from all over the world e.g. Klaus Neumann (U. of Melbourne) and ^{Thomas B. McCreath (UoC)}. The older generation, such as Jean Guibert and Raymond Firth, is well represented — but the Maudes are missing. Consider joining us!!! Write or fax to Dr. Verena Keck, Ethnologisches Institut, Universität Basel, Münsterplatz 19, CH-4051 BASEL, Switzerland. Fax + 41 61 266 56 05.

By separate mail, am sending you a copy of Bilder aus dem Paradies: Koloniale fotografie aus Samoa 1875-1925

Keep well! Keep busy!

Sincerely,
Anna Hughes.

H.C. and H.E. Maude, eds. The book of Banaba, from the Maude and Grimble Papers. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1994, xv, 124pp., map, bibliography. ISBN 0-646-20128-X.

Honor and Harry Maude pioneered anthropological study of Ocean Island, with 'The social organization of Banaba or Ocean Island, Central Pacific' (Journal of the Polynesian Society, 41, 1932, 262-301).

As phosphate extraction inexorably destroyed the viability of the island's indigenous economy, it was Harry Maude who negotiated purchase of a new home for the Banabans: the island of Rabi in Fiji.

This seventh volume of 'books on the I-Kiribati, published for the I-Kiribati' is dedicated to the Banaban people, 'hoping that they will make Rabi the happy and prosperous island that Banaba once was'. It is opportune, in that a new generation is growing up who have never even seen Banaba. For them Honor and Harry Maude have recorded all of value that they have found concerning the Banaban way of life from the first occupation of the island, over a thousand years ago, to the fateful commencement of phosphate mining in 1900.

Oral traditions regarding Abemama, Banaba and Beru are followed by the genealogical trees of the five Banaban chiefly families, marked by use of the prefix Na, Nan, Nam and Nang, indicating affinity with Makin and Butaritari.

Part III is a lucid summary of the salient features of the Banaban culture, including boti (seating positions) in the uman anti and maneaba, tatooing, land and fishing rights. This section presents notes, in Gilbertese and English, by Eri, chief of Uma.

Among the extracts from printed sources is an entry in the log of the Diana of New Bedford (Captain Jered Gardner) which shows Banaba to have been 'discovered' on 3 January 1801. This antedates by three years the landfall made by the Ocean (Captain John Mertho) in 1804.

The sanguinary Japanese occupation of Banaba is outlined by means of Circular Notices of 1943 and by the eyewitness account of a survivor, Kabunare of Nikunau. Rare photographs offer a poignant reminder of a vanished society.

All these elusive sources are set in historical perspective in a masterly concluding essay, stressing that, though young Banabans cannot expect to recreate the isolated, self-sufficient world of their ancestors, they can take pride in their achievements despite drought and warfare.

This remarkable work is the first to detail the settlement of an isolated Pacific island, the evolution over the centuries of a community superbly integrated into its unique environment, and its final reluctant abandonment owing to uncontrollable external pressure. It will be of wide interest.

H.G.A. Hughes.

H.C. and H.E. Maude, eds. An anthology of Gilbertese oral tradition, from the Grimble Papers and other collections; translated by A.F. Grimble and Reid Cowell. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1994, xx, 289pp., bibliography. ISBN 0-646-17265-4.

Henry Evans Maude has been involved with the Pacific since 1927, when he read anthropology at Cambridge. He joined the Colonial Service in 1929, spending twenty years in the administration of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC), latterly as Resident Commissioner. After a fruitful period as Executive Officer for Social Development with the South Pacific Commission, he began phase three (perhaps the most influential) of his life's work, as Professorial Fellow in the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University. There he was instrumental in founding The Journal of Pacific History and the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau. He has written over a hundred works on Pacific history, ethnography, literature, and bibliography, many of them jointly with his wife Honor C. Maude, a Pacific scholar in her own right and an authority on Banaban (Ocean Island) society and on string figures.

Harry and Honor Maude are a team, universally respected for their scholarship, for their insistence on setting the islander at the heart of all their work, and for their dedication to returning to the present generation of I-Kiribati (Tungaru) their historical heritage as dicated^t by their great grandparents in the early part of the century. So far,

eight books in this project have been personally word-processed (and subsidised) by this indomitable couple.

The sixth volume, An anthology of Gilbertese oral tradition (AGOT), is of cardinal importance, assembling the "memorised literary texts" of the Tungaru people themselves, with about 100 separate traditions, from Makin south to Arorae. These are mainly presented in English (by reason of cost), in Arthur Grimble's rather florid and impressionistic versions or in the more sober, meticulously faithful translations by the late T. Reid Cowell, who also served the GEIC administration.

With apposite critical comments and occasional disagreement as to interpretation, AGOT marshals the "mythistoire" of the Tungaru ancestors. There are vivid accounts of the building of Tabontebike and of Nareau's return from Samoa to Tarawa; of Te Bo ma te Maki and the creation of the world; and of anti (spirits) and antimaomata (ancestors become spirits), such as Auriaria and Nei Tituabine.

The western homelands; life in Samoa; migration, and the stars that showed the way; settlement in Banaba, Beru and Tarawa; are recalled in fascinating if sometimes conflicting detail.

Modern history includes the colonisation of Nui (in today's Tuvalu) and Kamoki's enforced voyage to Peru in 1863 (a story largely confirmed by contemporary documents).

Chapter X presents some of the finest ancient kuna (classical chants), bilingually, giving pride of place to Kunani Moiua (The Song of Moiu)a, an epic orally transmitted through five centuries, sensitively translated by Reid Cowell.

The bibliography contains virtually all relevant published works, and lists and locates major unpublished collections, such as the Grimble, Maude and Simmons Papers at the Barr Smith Library of the University of Adelaide.

The need for this rich and culturally seminal anthology is highlighted by the sad catalogue of collections of Tungaru oral traditions which have been dispersed, or simply vanished. To Harry and Honor Maude, kam bati n rab'a!

H.G.A. Hughes.

CHAPPELL - a

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston A.C.T. 2611
Australia

14 July 1995

David A Chappell
University of Hawaii
Sakamaki Hall A-203
2530 Dole Street
Honolulu, HI 96822-2383

Dear David,

I received your manuscript today but I am afraid I must dissappoint you. I agree that the subject is an important and one that I should like to have written on myself; but unfortunately a few weeks ago I received a third thrombosis and am now too blind to read anything.

I have therefore had to shut up shop and all my remaining books and manuscripts on Pacific history are being sent to the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide, where they will be available to scholars working on the subject.

It is true that I retired from the university at 64 and am now nearly 90. So I have no grumbles that my eyes should give out after 24 years of writing mainly on the ethnohistory of the Central Pacific low islands on which with my wife I have published 8 books.

I am sure you will understand the circumstance which force me to deny myself the pleasure of being able to read or comment on your manuscript, if you would let me know I could return it to you or send it to any address you would like. Unfortunately I do not know any one in Australia who would be able or willing to undertake the work of appraisal.

← Yours sincerely

Harry E Maude.

←

July 5, 1995

Department of History
University of Hawai'i
Sakamaki Hall A-203
2530 Dole Street
Honolulu, HI 96822-2383
Tel: 1-808-956-7674
FAX: 1-808-956-9600

Dr. H.E. Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston, ACT 2611
Australia

Aloha,

I hope I'm not being too presumptuous, but you were once very helpful to me when I was doing research on my dissertation. Now that I am trying to put it into book form publication, I wonder if you would care to see the result of my work on Pacific Islanders who worked or traveled on European and American ships during the first century of regular contact. Back in 1988, you noted that it was an important, neglected topic, and that it was just the sort of thing you would have liked to do yourself. Well, here goes!

If you're too busy or no longer interested in the book, I will understand perfectly. But I have great respect for your knowledge and contributions to Pacific history, so I thought this was worth a try. I would appreciate any feedback you may care to give me. Is it publishable, by ANU standards? My challenge was to present the data in readable form without over-writing and sacrificing details and leads that other scholars might find helpful. I have never been to Australia (yet), so I'm a bit at a loss in terms of contacts there, though I've met a few scholars at the PHA conferences. You are the best person, in my opinion, to judge what I've done. You could even write a preface!

I hope this letter finds you well. I know that you have retired, but I enjoyed hearing Sister Alaima present your paper at last year's PHA on Tarawa, so I'm hoping you may still be willing and able to look at my manuscript. If such is not the case, please forgive my intrusion. By the way, Rhys Richards and I have become good friends, thanks to your suggestion that I contact him -- a kindred spirit! Thank you for all your help.

Best wishes,

David A. Chappell

David A. Chappell
Assistant Professor
Pacific Islands History