

Marists and Melanesians

A History of Catholic Missions
in the Solomon Islands

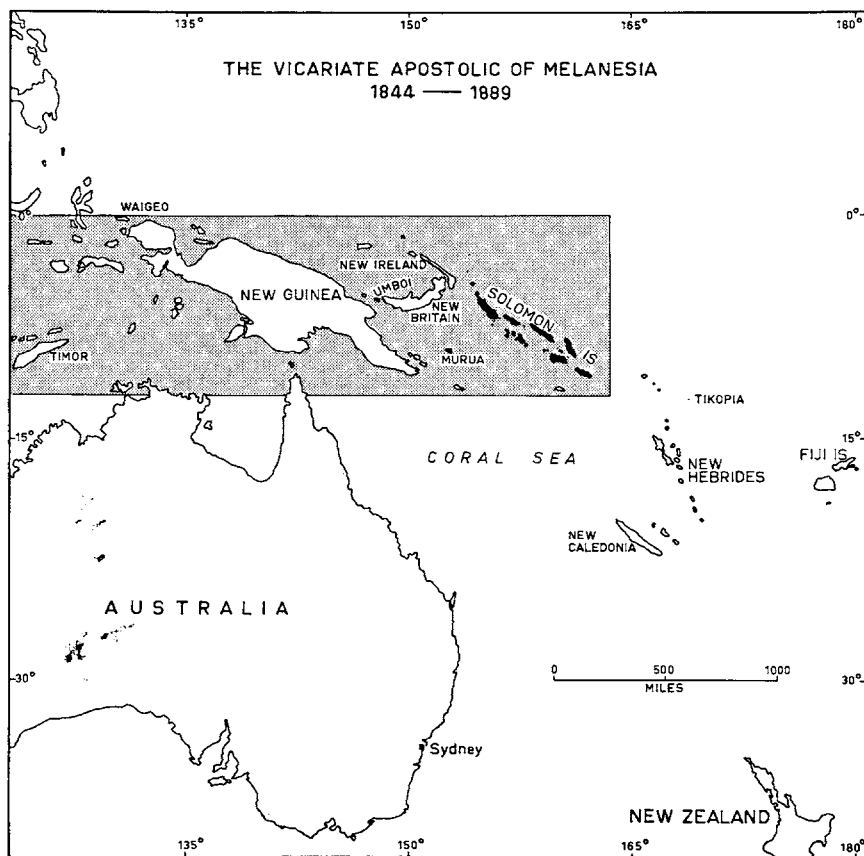
Hugh Laracy

This book was published by ANU Press between 1965–1991.

This republication is part of the digitisation project being carried out by Scholarly Information Services/Library and ANU Press.

This project aims to make past scholarly works published by The Australian National University available to a global audience under its open-access policy.

Marists and Melanesians



Marists and Melanesians

*A History of Catholic Missions
in the Solomon Islands*

HUGH LARACY

Australian National University Press
Canberra 1976

First published in Australia 1976

Printed in the U.S.A. for the Australian National University Press, Canberra

© Hugh M. Laracy 1976

This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism, or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Inquiries should be made to the publisher.

Library of Congress Catalog Card no. 73-93511

Simultaneously published by The University Press of Hawaii for sale in the Western Hemisphere

Southeast Asia: Angus & Robertson (S.E. Asia) Pty Ltd., Singapore. *Japan*: United Publishers Services Ltd., Tokyo.

To Eugénie and Bishop Dan

Contents

Preface ix

Melanesia Intacta 1845-55

- 1 *'Out of Sugar Cane'* 3
- 2 *The Vicariate of Melanesia* 11

Colonial Order 1898-1942

- 3 *Expansion* 35
- 4 *Evangelisation* 65
- 5 *Consolidation and Reaction* 89
- 6 *War* 110

Colonial Ebb-Tide from 1945

- 7 *Indigenous Challenges* 121
- 8 *Education: the Linking of Church and State* 144
- 9 *Solomon Islands Catholicism* 158

Abbreviations 166

Notes 168

Bibliography 185

Index 207

Preface

This study seeks to trace and explain the development of Roman Catholic missionary activity in the Solomon Islands. In more general terms it attempts to examine the efforts made to establish a European institution in a changing but resilient Melanesian environment. Catholicism was not planted in the Solomon Islands among a statically receptive population or as an isolated or merely religious phenomenon. It came as part of a broad range of European influences; the activities and achievements of missionaries have been shaped not only by their assumptions about their task but by the changing demands of the situation in which they were working.

Focusing on the relationship between forces of indigenous and exotic origin, the study readily falls into three parts, corresponding to three phases in the recent development of the Solomon Islands — early contact, colonial and post-colonial. In order more clearly to identify the characteristics of these phases, chapters have been organised in themes rather than by chronological order of events or geographical mission areas. In the first period, 1845-55, the missionaries were confronted by a society in which traditional values and procedures were still virtually intact and where Christianity was unable to gain a foothold. In the second period, 1898-1942, as a result of increased European contact, the situation had changed markedly and the missionaries succeeded in winning a large following in nearly

every part of the island group. Even so, their work was far from complete. In the third period, since 1946, with European dominance becoming less secure, they have been forced to pursue new goals — to offer more advanced social services than in the past and to make serious preparation for indigenous self-rule in Church as well as State.

Although scattered and fragmentary, the source material is extensive. It includes a considerable body of anthropological writing, as well as travellers' tales, government documents, indigenous writings and fieldwork in the Solomons. The main source has been papers in mission archives. Unfortunately, most local records relating to the period 1898-1942 were destroyed during World War II. A large amount of primary material has however survived in Marist Fathers' repositories in Sydney, Fiji, Paris and Rome. I am, therefore, grateful to the Australian National University which sponsored my basic research in these archives as well as in the Solomons in 1966-7 and to the University of Auckland which sponsored further research in 1970 and 1973.

The danger of relying heavily on mission material is plain. How accurately does it represent the other sides of the story — especially that of the islanders? At best the answer can only be an approximation. Yet this does not preclude the attainment of a useful degree of accuracy. There is a leavening of other sources; there is the fact that most Marist material consists of informal private correspondence in which the writers generally present their observations factually and there is the fact that the large number of correspondents ensures an appreciable spectrum of opinion on the operation of the mission and its dealings with others. While it has not been possible to give a detailed account of the effects of mission influence on the lives of islanders — such would appear to be a task for the anthropologist dealing with a small community rather than for a historian whose subject embraces a whole island group and a long time span — the material has at least been sufficient to establish its positive role in the attempt to graft Catholicism on to their society.

It would be impossible to thank personally everybody who assisted me to carry out this study. Nevertheless, I must thank the Marist Fathers who not only threw their archives open for me but were unstintingly generous with their hospitality. Especially helpful were: in Sydney, Fathers B. van de Walle, L. Mingam, T. L'Estrange and C. Butler; in the Diocese of Honiara, Bishop D. Stuyvenberg,

Fathers P. Geerts, K. Kamphuis, N. Fox, J. Roughan, J. Wall, J. Espagne, D. Moore, D. Galuia, H. Kloosterman, J. McEvoy, M. Cruickshank and F. Mauli; in the Diocese of Bougainville, Bishop L. Lemay, Fathers G. and R. Fahey, A. Lebel, W. Fingleton, F. Miltrup, J. Keady, G. Lepping, J. de Block, H. Kronenberg, J. Tangen, H. Luecken and C. Grenier; in Paris, Father Patrick O'Reilly and in Rome, Fathers J. Buckley, J. Bell, S. Bourke, J. Lambert, G. Lessard, K. Roach, Brother H. Peacock and Sig. A. Cacace.

Members of other orders must also be thanked: of the Marist Brothers, Brothers Alban, Donald, Brian and Hilary; of the Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary, Mothers Cyrilla and Hortense and Sister Emilienne; of the Sisters of St Joseph of California, Sister Robert René; of the Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere, Father Carlo Suigo and of the Order of Preachers, Bishop E. Crawford and Fathers C. O'Grady and J. McKenna.

Others who have notably assisted me have belonged to the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University. I am especially grateful to the late Professor J.W. Davidson, who directed my attention to missionary history, and to Dr Dorothy Shineberg who supervised the thesis from which this book is derived. Also to be thanked are Drs W.N. Gunson, Deryck Scarr and D.L. Hilliard. Finally, my greatest debt is to my wife, Eugénie, who assisted at every stage of this work, from note-taking to proof-reading, no less than on the home front.

Melanesia Intacta 1845-55

1 'Out of Sugar Cane'

The Solomon Islands are a segment of the island chain which extends from New Guinea to the New Hebrides. They lie between 5° and 11° south of the equator, roughly parallel with the north-east coast of Australia, 1200 miles distant. They consist, in addition to innumerable smaller islands, of seven main ones — Bougainville, Choiseul, New Georgia, Ysabel, Guadalcanal, Malaita, San Cristobal — which vary in length between 130 and seventy miles. Seas are frequently high and land surfaces, with the principal exceptions of southern Bougainville and northern Guadalcanal, are notably fragmented, with fold upon fold of hills covered by dense forest. However, soils are moderately fertile, the waters rich in fish and the climate a reasonable one by tropical standards. The greatest natural hazard faced by the inhabitants has been disease. Malaria and tropical ulcers are endemic. So were yaws, until they were virtually eradicated in the 1960s in a campaign sponsored by the World Health Organisation. The indigenous population, overwhelmingly Melanesian in physical type and culture, numbers about 240,000, including several thousand Polynesians inhabiting outlying islands. These are divided between two political administrations. The northern islands of Buka and Bougainville with a population of 70,000 are part of Papua New Guinea, while those to the south constitute the British Solomon Islands Protectorate.

The pre-European history of the Solomon Islands is still largely conjectural. Probably they were peopled over many centuries from south-east Asia. Indigenous myths tend to present a relatively static view of the past, marked less by population movement than by the growth of a way of life in a particular locality. Nevertheless the influence of a series of migrations, reinforcing the divisiveness of geographical obstacles, has undoubtedly contributed to the pattern of political segmentation, cultural diversity and dispersed settlement characteristic of the group, as of much of Melanesia.

The sectionalism of the Solomon Islanders emerges in the multiplicity of their languages — possibly seventy tongues being spoken in the group, sixteen in Bougainville alone. There were also widely varied customs regulating birth, death, kinship, land tenure, sexual behaviour and so on. Moreover, warfare between communities, even those of the same language, was endemic. Traditionally, Solomon Islands villages were more or less self-contained units, often of only a dozen people in the interior and occasionally of as many as three hundred on the coast. Although linguistic and political divisions did not inhibit trade, the absence of any supra-local authority did mean that to venture from familiar territory was extremely dangerous. It also meant that, before the imposition of colonial rule, a dispute between neighbouring villages could generate a prolonged series of bloody reprisals and that the pattern of hostility which commonly existed between 'bush' dwellers and coast dwellers was incessant.¹ On Malaita parties of women from bush and coast regularly exchanged produce, but always under the wary gaze of their armed menfolk, while in 1905 a section of troops was required to suppress an outbreak of bush-coast conflict on Buka.² Yet, despite the factors which traditionally served to keep communities apart, the various social and religious systems of the Solomon Islands were basically homogeneous. Everywhere they served the needs of people with primitive material technology, subsistence economies and little occupational specialisation.

Within communities authority was diffused. Social cohesion derived less from subordination to chiefs than from ties of kinship, reinforced and activated by a pervasive structure of reciprocal obligation rooted in the customary way of life. In acquiring a wife, building a house or making a garden, an individual drew on his relatives for assistance, committing himself to grant them equivalent service. Similarly, for the feast giving needed to acquire the renown and

creditor status that conferred leadership, the candidate was forced to rely heavily on the generosity and goodwill of his relatives, although his success was largely decided by his own talents and the respect they commanded. Leadership had to be earned competitively. It was signified and measured by the ability, first, to accumulate and then, mainly through formal, calculated feast giving, to dispose of goods valued by the community. A man who accumulated little, whose hospitality people declined to accept or who hoarded his wealth, thereby putting no one in his debt, was of little account. Even where chiefly status was hereditary, as in certain Are Are lineages of south Malaita possessing an *araha* title, the would-be leader had to earn the approval of his following before his title became effective. Even then he remained only *primus inter pares*, a 'big man', an organiser of community activity (perhaps over several villages) but not a ruler. As elsewhere in Melanesia and in contrast to Polynesia, the Solomon Islands offered no individuals to whom European governments could accredit consuls, no 'kings' who could gratify missionaries by precipitating mass conversions to Christianity and no patrons whose support guaranteed protection beyond the limits of their personal influence.

Despite limited physical control of their environment, the Solomon Islanders possessed, closely integrated with it, animistic religious systems which provided rational pragmatic guides to a familiar though difficult cosmos. They were a source of hope as well as of fear, and are not to be dismissed simply as the result of desperation and gullibility, as the Marist bishop Raucaz described them:

a confused heap of absurd but carefully observed practices. Native wisdom, the product of the fear which the belief in these invisible spirits inspires, consists in yielding to all the demands, to all the monstrosities even, of a religious code which is very often only the result of the caprice of the chiefs or of the sorcerers.³

Little detailed study has been made of indigenous Solomon Islands religions, but the information available demonstrates their affinity with the 'Melanesian religion' described by Codrington, drawing on Banks Islands informants, and Lawrence, on the basis of New Guinea research.⁴ Unlike traditional Christianity, these religions were unconcerned with metaphysical absolutes or with distinction between religious and secular orders of being. Rather, they offered causal explanations for, and ritual techniques for dealing with, all circumstances bearing on human affairs, regulating the relations between

men and the various spirits whose influence suffused the islanders' way of life. The spirits might be approached directly or, depending on the desired end, through experts in various sorts of magic. They inhabited a variety of places; some dwelt in certain trees, rocks, sections of coast and burial grounds while others were associated with living creatures such as snakes, sharks and birds.

Regulation consisted of invoking and propitiating the spirits by means of prayers and offerings and by respect for the customary codes of behaviour. In return, it was widely believed, the spirits, the basic causative agencies, would apply their power to the interests of their supplicants. This power, which underlay all human achievement, was categorised as *mana* by Codrington:

It is a power or influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural; but it shews itself in physical force, or in any kind of power or excellence which a man possesses. This Mana is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it; and it belongs essentially to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water, or a stone, or a bone. All Melanesian religion consists, in fact, in getting this mana for one's self, or in getting it used for one's benefit — all religion, that is, as far as religious practices go, prayers and sacrifices.

Raymond Firth in a discussion of *mana* on Tikopia demonstrated the danger of attributing a precise meaning to the *mana* concept unless its usage within the particular local communities said to employ it is also analysed. Indeed, the term itself is of Polynesian, not Melanesian, origin. The equivalent term in the Are Are language, for instance, would be *rete' a-na*, meaning 'strength' or 'power'.⁵ Nevertheless, at a general level, the concept described is identifiable in the Solomons as the basis of a religious 'technology'. The more successful a man was, the more adept he was assumed to be at dealing with the spirits. In proportion to their support, gardens flourished, wives were fruitful and good health was assured — provided, that is, *taboos* were observed or a rival did not invoke more powerful spirits, or exercise greater skill in his invocations. Nothing happened by chance.

An important result of the Solomon Islanders' insistence on responsible and personalised causality was the ubiquitous practice and fear of sorcery, with its attendant counter measures, antidote or revenge. Lack of scientific knowledge meant that the prevalence of disease continually provided apparent validation of the effectiveness of the sorcerer's curse. Nor was sorcery held responsible only for

natural misfortunes. In 1912, when a Malaita chief was killed while fishing with dynamite, a stranger who had recently come to the village was charged with having put a spell on the chief to prevent him from hearing the fuse sputtering. Only the unexpected arrival of a police party saved the unfortunate 'sorcerer' from being put to death.⁶

Present material well being was the test of a person's access to the spirits. It was also a measure of the status enjoyed by his own spirit after death. The spirits of notable people could expect to enjoy considerable importance in human affairs. To quote Codrington, they remained 'present in full activity in the places in which they dwelt as living men' until they were forgotten by their descendants, which might take three or four generations.⁷ Continued remembrance depended on continued effectiveness; spirits, like leaders, being obliged to prove themselves. As for the spirits of the undistinguished, they quickly entered an aimless state of being in various places of asylum.

For the Siwai of south Bougainville there were three possible abodes for the spirits of the dead: Lake Luroru (or Ru'no'no') where the spirits of those who had been properly mourned would enjoy an eternity of peace and plenty; Kaopiri, a legendary lake of fire and blood where the souls of those inadequately mourned suffered everlasting hunger and Irinoru where the spirits of those killed in fighting endured perpetual anger and frustration. In the southern islands of the group the best known abode of the dead was Malapa, an island at the eastern end of Guadalcanal where the spirits were said eventually to turn into white ants' nests.⁸ At the western end of Guadalcanal there was also said to be an equivalent of Purgatory, where delinquent spirits were condemned for a time to carry heavy loads. Since the earliest references to this belief come from Catholic sources written during a period of religious rivalry and as the place is very near the Anglican mission centre at Maravovo, the authenticity of the tradition is suspect.⁹

The anthropocentricity that marked the relations between men and spirits was also reflected in the islanders' lack of interest in logical explanations for the remote origins of things. Even among those who acknowledged a high god responsible for creation, such matters were of little moment. The creator was unvenerated. His work done, he became irrelevant and retired, or was otherwise explained away. At Koromira on Bougainville, for instance, creation had been the

work of a being named Komponing, who was reluctant to withdraw. By day, when the adults were away working in the gardens he would leave his abode on Denai, the peak behind Koromira, to visit the village and give the children food so that they were unable to eat the evening meal prepared by their parents. This annoyed the parents, who resolved to put a stop to it. One day instead of going to the gardens they hid in the bush near their home. They saw Komponing enter by uttering the magic words *tanu tanu* to make the fence round the village collapse before him, and shortly afterwards, when the children were sitting around him eating *dobe* (dough), they rushed in and drove him away. He eventually found asylum in a sago grove in a coastal swamp a dozen miles to the south. As a reprisal for their rejection he established only a few small fish in the waters near Koromira but created an abundance of them in the waters south of his refuge. Since then, apart from keeping silent when sailing past his abode lest Komponing, recognising their dialect, raise a storm to punish them, the Koromira people have had nothing to do with him. They have conducted their affairs in association with four other sets of spirits (*manari*), namely the *kasiai*, who live on the horizon whence they could be summoned as required; the *parori*, bush spirits; the *tanuang*, ancestral spirits; and the *masalai*, who live in or near inland water.¹⁰

Only currently active spirits were significant. Some people did not invoke a creator at all.¹¹ In the history told by the people of Oau in Are Are things began in the following manner. The earth and the first three men were mysteriously born 'out of sugar cane'. There was no woman, yet the man Porooa existed and he begot Ruainonipaina, from whom Mausioe was born. Then one day Ruainonipaina saw a figure standing on the shore. They started talking in signs and when the apparition pointed to its body the man felt at ease, for he realised it was a woman. He named her Mataroha, that is, 'grown wild, without being planted', and took her with him to become (it seems) the wife of Mausioe. Since then the Oau have reproduced in a less mysterious fashion, with brothers at first marrying sisters and then cousins, until the introduction of the shell money used for bride price made it possible to insist on exogamy. Far from being honoured, the founders were scorned by their descendants. Like spirits and would-be leaders, the mytho-historical figures of the past were assessed by practical benefits they had bequeathed to the present. Thus, the first three men 'knew nothing and were stupid':

[they] did not live in houses but in caves. They did not cook food with fire but ate it after it had been lying for a time in the hot sun. They did not make gardens but hunted for food in the bush, for wild food like the fruits of the trees. They did not know how to catch fish, so they gathered and ate shellfish.

This is the way these three men lived long, long ago and it was not a good life, nor did it provide a good living for their children who came after them in their Islands of Malaita.

Praise was accorded only those people who, throughout forty-eight recorded generations, were credited with introducing something of value to the local culture. Included in this progressive enrichment were fire making (in the fourth generation), gardening (sixth), invocations to the spirits to ensure good health (fourteenth), the use of stone tools (twentieth), canoe building (twenty-fifth), the use of shell money (thirty-first), the institution of the *araha* title (thirty-sixth), and so on.¹²

Lacking the support of dogma and institutionalised authority and vindicated only by tangible results, indigenous religious allegiance was transferable. It could be transferred to apparently more powerful spirits, especially when the social order was changing. The same lack of definition made the traditional religion durable. New allegiances could be incorporated into the system, overshadowing rather than replacing the old and discredited, while basic religious assumptions remained unchanged. Moreover, their permeation of the natural environment facilitated the survival of traditional beliefs, despite formal adoption of contrary ones.

The pragmatic attitude of Solomon Islanders towards their own world was demonstrated in their first contact with Europeans. In January 1568 a Spanish exploring expedition from Peru led by Alvaro de Mendaña reached Ysabel. What the people thought of the strange newcomers is unknown. Possibly, as elsewhere in the Pacific, they took them to be ancestral spirits. Their first reaction joined curiosity with caution: 'many small canoes with Indians' came out to investigate the ships, but they kept their distance. Soon, however, curiosity prevailed and some of the 'Indians' ventured aboard, where they received gifts, which they attempted to supplement by stealing more. A significant precedent was created when one man earned a shirt by repeating the Pater Noster and the Credo. Going ashore, the explorers were in turn welcomed with gifts of food, but after some days their hosts grew cold. Likely reasons for this marked (and, to the Spaniards, unjustified) change of mood are readily found. The local

chief had been offended when Mendaña, attending Mass, rejected his token of goodwill and alliance — a gift of meat consisting of a boy's shoulder with the arm and hand still attached.¹³ Moreover, the Spaniard's shortage of food would have tended to discredit them in the sight of the islanders while, at the most obvious level, the presence of 154 hungry strangers — spirits or not — represented a grave threat to the local economy.

Leaving Ysabel in order to explore and to supplement their larder from the islands to the south-east, the Spaniards again found the people unco-operative. They were received simply as predatory aliens (which they were) and their passage was marked by a series of bloody clashes over food. After six months, with his ships rotting, his crew sick and his supplies dangerously low, Mendaña turned for home.¹⁴

Later European visitors to the Solomons were to find the islanders a force to be reckoned with, no less ready to consult their own interests than in the sixteenth century.

2 The Vicariate of Melanesia

As far as is known, for two centuries after Mendaña's visit in 1568 the Solomon Islands were unvisited by Europeans. Further expeditions, led in 1595 by Mendaña and in 1605 by de Quiros, failed to find the group or any other gold bearing land and thereafter the Spanish authorities refused to finance adventures in the south-west Pacific. Thus, although the expansion of Catholicism ranked with the pursuit of wealth as a motive for Spanish exploration, the only Solomon Islanders to be baptised by the Spaniards were some that Mendaña had abducted from San Cristobal, intending that they return home as messengers of the Gospel. Instead they died in Peru, puzzled and forlorn, one suspects, 'invoking the name of Jesus many times'.¹ As time passed, map makers began to doubt the very existence of their home land, until Mendaña's discovery was ratified by English and French navigators in the eighteenth century, Carteret in 1767 and Bougainville in 1768. Henceforth, a gradually increasing volume of European shipping was drawn into Solomon Islands waters, especially with the growth of Sydney.

Beginning as a prison settlement in 1788, this port soon developed into a commercial centre with interests extending to most parts of the Pacific. Those at first relevant to the Solomon Islands were whaling and the gathering of *bêche-de-mer* for the trade with China. But while making the Solomons relatively well known to seafarers and support-

ing a limited trade at certain inlets and small islands, these enterprises did little to alter the conditions of life there. When the first missionaries reached the group in 1845, the autonomy of the islanders was still intact, despite a widespread desire for iron tools, and the security of a European settler was as precarious as it had been in the days of Mendaña.

Christian missionary activity spread westwards across the Pacific. The first in the field were Protestants of the London Missionary Society, which landed its first envoys in 1797 at Tahiti, the Marquesas and Tonga from the ship *Duff*. In the following years the L.M.S. gradually extended its influence to the Cook Islands, Samoa, Fiji and Loyalty Islands and ultimately (1871) to New Guinea. Anglicans began work in New Zealand in 1814 and Methodists replaced the L.M.S. in Tonga in 1822. Sustained Catholic evangelism dates only from the entry of the Picpus Fathers into Polynesia in 1827.

Two reasons explain why the Protestants had the Pacific to themselves for so long. The first is the decline of Spain as an imperial power during the seventeenth century; the Spanish missionary movement, which brought Catholicism to the Pacific, had functioned in close dependence on Spanish expansion. This dependence had been strikingly demonstrated in 1577. An apostolic Franciscan, fired by the reports of Mendaña's chaplains, had gathered twenty-two friars at Seville to await transport to the Solomons; shortly before their intended departure, they were diverted by royal decree to the Philippines.² The second reason is the absorption of Catholic energies, from the late eighteenth century, in the struggle for survival in Europe. The suppression of the Jesuits, the French Revolution and the conflict with Napoleon largely destroyed the Church's capacity for missionary work. However, from the struggle there emerged a powerful new evangelistic force, a revitalised French Catholicism, zealous to restore all things in Christ and fecund of the religious orders and vocations with which to do it. In the region of Lyons alone, the Société de Marie (Marist Fathers) was one of twelve religious institutes of men founded between 1819 and 1855.³

Characteristic of the new missionary movement was extensive lay participation. In 1822, Pauline Jaricot, daughter of a Lyons mill owner, founded the Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi which, by systematically gathering small donations, soon became the financial mainstay of nearly all Catholic missions. At Le Havre in 1845, Victor Marziou, a pious ship owner, was encouraged by the Marists to found

the Société de l'Océanie, a trading company whose ships were expected to provide free transport for Catholic missionaries in the Pacific and (hopefully) to make money for the shareholders. When the flag-ship of the Société, the *Arche d'Alliance*, sailed on its maiden voyage in 1846, it carried a young lay woman, Françoise Perroton, who had volunteered to assist the Marists on the island of Wallis.⁴ Other women joined her and eventually they formed the Tiers Ordre Régulaire de Marie which, in 1931, became the Soeurs Missionnaires de la Société Marie (S.M.S.M.).

Having entrusted the newly created vicariate of Eastern Oceania to the Picpus in 1833, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda), sought means of evangelising the western half of the Pacific. The Marists were recommended for the task. They were at that time an informal grouping of diocesan priests but their leader, Jean-Claude Colin, agreed to accept the mission in return for recognition as an independent religious order.⁵ Accordingly, the Société de Marie was canonically approved in April 1836 with Colin as its Superior-General and in December, Bishop Jean-Baptiste Pompallier sailed with the first Marist missionaries for a vicariate which included all Micronesia and Melanesia and Polynesia westward of the Cook Islands.[†] Groping for footholds in this vast area, Pompallier at length set up his headquarters in New Zealand, leaving other men 1500 miles away on Wallis and Futuna. Marists appointed to New Zealand were similarly scattered and isolation and hardship were likewise their lot. Pierre Chanel was killed in 1841 on Futuna by people who scorned him for having apparently been abandoned, while his New Zealand *confrères* were so ill provided that they had to beg food from the Maoris.⁶

Colin was appalled by the situation, not only because of the forced austerities, which to a large extent were due to Pompallier's financial incompetence, but because he expected the Marists, members of a religious order, to have as their primary concern not the active apostolate but the seeking of personal holiness according to the Marist Rule, for which the maintenance of community life and a semi-monastic routine were deemed necessary. Accordingly, when Pompallier ignored his remonstrances (thereby bringing into the

[†]The territorial divisions of the Catholic Church subject to Propaganda are ranked as follows in order of increasingly independent jurisdiction: prefecture apostolic, vicariate apostolic, diocese. The head of a vicariate or diocese is usually a bishop and the head of a prefecture usually a priest with quasi-episcopal powers.

open the thorny canonical problem of jurisdiction over priests who belonged to their religious superior by their vows and to the bishop by their ministry), Colin resolved to withdraw the Marists from Pompallier's control. He was, however, reluctant to forsake the Pacific Mission which had brought his order into being and recommended to Propaganda in May 1842 that Western Oceania be divided into a number of vicariates where new efforts could be made to reconcile the Marist life with missionary function.⁷

Consequently the vicariate of Central Oceania, extending from Samoa to New Caledonia was created in August 1842. Sub-dividing was accelerated when Jean-Baptiste Epalle, one of Pompallier's severest critics, returned to Europe late in 1842 to report on the state of affairs in New Zealand. Pompallier ordered him not to return, thereby thwarting Colin's scheme to nominate Epalle as his coadjutor.

Pompallier also refused to receive any new Marist missionaries.⁸ The result of his obstructiveness was that in the summer of 1843, Epalle with Colin's blessing presented to Cardinal Franson of Propaganda a plan for founding new missions in Melanesia and Micronesia. Epalle pointed to the promise the islands held for the growth of the Church on account of their supposedly vast population and the fact that they had not yet been invaded by 'heresy', although there was talk in Europe of colonising Melanesia. There Catholics had a chance to forestall Protestantism, but perhaps not for long. Franson was impressed. In July 1844 the vicariates of Micronesia and Melanesia were created and Epalle was consecrated bishop. Micronesia (which the Marists never entered) extended from 125°E to 180°N and from the equator to 13°N; Melanesia from 125°E to 160°E between the equator and 12°S — an area that included the whole of New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Not included, although geographically part of Melanesia, were the New Hebrides and New Caledonia, where Marists settled in 1843.

Epalle's scheme suggested a post in each vicariate, one at Ponape and the other on New Ireland. By December 1844 his plans for Melanesia were more ambitious and the need to head off colonising interests more urgent:

it would . . . be for the glory of Catholicism and of the Society as smartly as possible to possess ourselves of the principal groups and to send *quam primum* three or four priests and as many brothers to the Solomon Islands where there are seven large islands, the least of which is almost as valuable as Tahiti . . . three or four priests and as many brothers for New

Ireland and New Britain, each of which could be a diocese; three or four priests and as many brothers on each of the four or five principal points of New Guinea. To found immediately a single establishment strong and solid at all these places . . . [for] if once Europeans penetrate these islands the conversion of their inhabitants will present difficult obstacles, since we will have not only to combat infidelity but heresy and unbelief.⁹

Calling for about fifty men, such a scheme was hardly a practical solution to the general problem of balancing the conventual life against widespread evangelism, making a little go a long way. But Colin strained his resources to treat his ally as generously as he could. Epalle left London for Sydney in the *Bussorah Merchant* on 2 February 1845 with seven priests and six brothers. A second party consisting of Jean-George Collomb, Epalle's coadjutor-elect for Micronesia, plus two priests and a brother, left Le Havre nine months later and a third, consisting of two priests, left Marseilles in October 1847.

Like the Marists' initial entry to the Pacific, their excursion to Melanesia was made with scant reference to the environment in which they were going to work. The whole operation was viewed in narrow religious terms. For most the missionary vocation seems to have represented primarily a short road to sanctity. Apostolic success was secondary to and dependent on personal holiness and guaranteed by martyrdom. The only external factor considered relevant derived from the religious polemic of Europe: the emissaries of truth should reach the waiting islanders before those of Error and Mammon. The practical problems of coping with an alien world and its people weighed lightly. Six weeks before leaving London, Epalle questioned the propriety of 'working perhaps too much to get all possible information and [of relying] perhaps . . . too much on human opinions'.¹⁰

In view of the pitiful amount of knowledge then available to would-be settlers in Melanesia, it was a truly bizarre fear. The journals of the navigators (on which the Marists' correspondence is silent) and even interviews with navigators (the only one mentioned is Joseph du Bouzet, who sailed with Dumont d'Urville in 1837-40) yielded mainly geographic information and accounts of only brief contacts with the islanders. Nevertheless, Epalle was complacent about both security and the winning of converts. After three years' work among the Maoris he was prepared to assert that 'the Oceanian is disposed to Catholicism and nothing else is needed to win him but steadfastness and fearlessness in the face of privations, especially

hunger'.¹¹ Such a belief further reduced any incentive for the missionaries to adapt their approach to their audience. Nor did a tendentious view of 'natural law', which one of Epalle's companions later applied to the people of the island of Murua: it was 'obscured in them by ignorance and depravity' but was not effaced, 'a fire under the cinders which a breadth of divine grace can soon relight'.¹² Hence the need for holiness; hence also reason to regard as contumacy a sustained rejection of the Gospel. 'Natural law', with which the Gospel was equated, was assumed to enjoy a convenient measure of self-evident rightness. There was however some factual basis, stemming from missionary experience in Polynesia, for optimism about converting 'Oceanians'. Mass conversions began for the L. M. S. in Tahiti from 1813, when Pomare II renounced his pagan deities, and Catholic parallels were glowingly reported in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*.[†] In 1841, 2500 neophytes were baptised on Wallis; Futuna after Chanel's death was entirely Catholic by 1845 and New Zealand had impressive, though mendaciously inflated, figures to report by the end of 1841.¹³

Epalle was not without critics. The most humane of his colleagues and the most effective missionary among them, Joseph Thomassin, believed that the bishop was 'unfitted for his place. Without any talent for administration, he believed himself a great administrator because he raised and destroyed at will a thousand castles in Spain.' The least heroic of the band, Leopold Verguet, was likewise critical but his views, like Thomassin's, carried little weight.¹⁴ More influential were Jean-Pierre Frémont and Xavier Montrouzier, who shared Epalle's attitude and were in control of the mission at various times. Both stressed the primary importance of the Marists' own piety which was ultimately realised, both personally and functionally, in martyrdom. In 1842, at the seminary of Montpellier in southern France, a lecture by a visiting Marist formed Montrouzier's interest in the Pacific and roused a lasting

passion [of] impatience to break the bonds that still attach me to earth . . . [to] flee across the seas to teach savages and infidels to love Jesus and Mary. . . . The future I imagine for myself is so fine and so consoling; to suffer thirty or forty years or, rather, to be for some moments the object of the cruelty of barbarous people and after that to be able to say 'I am going to Heaven and I am leading thousands of souls there and my blood is going

[†]After a month in Melanesia one Marist complained of the 'exaggerated, coloured and over-optimistic' letters published in the *Annales*. Trapenard, 8 June 1849, A. P. M. OSM 208.

to be the seed of a host of Christians'.¹⁵

Five years later, the tone was rather more subdued, but the priorities were unchanged:

tell young people . . . who are disposed to come to the missions but are, perhaps, afraid of the apparent sterility of our ministry that the chance of martyrdom and the glory of being the first apostle of a country are well worth the pain of the renouncing, for a time at least, the satisfaction of seeing the word of God flourish.¹⁶

Epalle and his party reached Sydney on 22 June 1845. Four months later on 23 October they embarked on the *Marian Watson*, a 146-ton sandalwood ship, 'tight staunch and strong, sufficiently manned and armed for defence', for 'various places in the North and South Pacific Ocean'. Epalle's plans were not fixed. He planned to explore his domain and hoped to visit in the Solomons the two places of which he had knowledge, Makira Bay (San Cristobal) and Thousand Ships' Bay (Ysabel). The first had been recommended by a Sydney whaling captain and the second charted by Dumont d'Urville. Then he intended to land two men at Ponape in Micronesia to prepare for Collomb before establishing his headquarters on some small, safe and quickly converted island to be used as a spring-board for the conversion of New Guinea. He favoured Waigeo, near the Vogelkop of western New Guinea.¹⁷ The Marists had much to contend with before they even saw New Guinea.

Reaching San Cristobal on 2 December, they were welcomed as expected by people desiring to trade. Ten days later they were welcomed at Astrolabe Harbour in Thousand Ships' Bay. While Epalle led exploring parties of missionaries and sailors ashore, others remained on board to acquaint themselves with the people who came out to trade. It was learned that it would be dangerous for the explorers to venture beyond Maunga Point, at the mouth of the harbour, where the people were enemies of those they were currently mixing with. Epalle dismissed the warning; 'islanders', he said, 'always disparaged their neighbours', and on 16 December he led his party around the point. Two hours later they returned, the bishop with five axe wounds in his head and several others of the party with lesser injuries. The facts are clear. On reaching the shore, Epalle had walked boldly towards a group of about forty armed and threatening men. Gifts — a piece of iron and then a tomahawk — failed to mollify the leader. A young man demanded Epalle's episcopal ring in exchange for two obviously bad fruit. Epalle refused and

a *mêlée* developed. Epalle was struck from behind and his companions fled to the boat. The attackers tried to wet the firearms, which the sailors unwontedly (at Epalle's behest?) had left there, but several shots put them to flight. Three days later Epalle died and was buried on the uninhabited island of San Jorge.¹⁸

There is no evidence for attributing the attack on Epalle to the islanders' previous experience of European contact, although the possibility cannot be discounted. There is, therefore, no reason for looking beyond the obvious explanation that it stemmed from his insensitivity to the seriousness of local rivalries in Melanesia. Identification with one group of people meant incurring the hostility of that group's enemies. Stunned by the loss of Epalle and now under Frémont's direction, the Marists retreated to the security of Makira Bay, which they named Port Sainte Marie. The residents welcomed them, particularly Maimara, chief of the large village of Oné.

The way was smoothed for the buying of land by the assurance that the missionaries 'were coming to live among them, not to take their riches, but rather to give them cloth and iron'. As to the choice of site, the Marists differed. Verguet wished to live in the Oné village for protection and to strengthen relations with the villagers. The majority, moved by pious distaste for the 'scandals' of the village, preferred to remain at a decent remove from the nudity which prevailed there. Besides, proximity to the village could disrupt conventual routine. Accordingly, land was bought about thirty minutes' walk from Oné, at the mouth of a mountain stream. With the assistance of the Oné and the sailors, a solid timber house was built although not without incident. Montrouzier was speared in the back by an aggrieved husband (not an Oné) in retaliation for one of the sailors having, it was said, 'taken too much liberty with his wife'.¹⁹

Early in March 1846, with the missionaries apparently securely established, the *Marian Watson* departed. Thenceforth, for the apostles of the vicariate of Melanesia, the only regular contact with the outside world would be the vessels which J.L. Rocher, their 'procurator' (business manager) in Sydney, would arrange to provision them once a year.

With the *Marian Watson* departed three missionaries: Montrouzier to recuperate with his *confrères* in New Caledonia, a brother, and a priest who had been unnerved by the attack on Epalle and were being evacuated. Epalle having left one brother at New Caledonia on the way to the Solomons, the Marists now numbered

nine. They settled down to following 'as well as possible the Rule of the Marist mother house at Lyons'. Rising at five a.m. was followed by various spiritual exercises until breakfast at nine a.m. Then the priests and sometimes the brother set out in twos to visit the villages of the bay. By three p.m., they were back for further prayers and study. Frémont confessed that such a program might retard the growth of the mission but considered it essential 'to protect the piety of the missionaries and to shelter them from all spiritual dangers'. In fact, the routine did little harm. Regular short visits were sufficient to get to know the people and reduced the risk of boring them, a danger which Thomassin further averted by announcing himself on a horn. By July 1846, Frémont could report that the mission's influence was increasing. Progress was being made especially by Thomassin in learning the local language; those who stole from the mission were forced by their fellows to return the booty; mission medical aid was sought; Verguet had won the confidence of Montrouzier's attacker and of his village; sick children were being presented for baptism, particularly to Thomassin, whose clients frequently recovered.²⁰

At the same time, the prosperity of the mission was being undermined. From about the middle of 1846, malaria began to torment the Marists. Mindful of the danger of entering hostile territory but conscious of a duty to reconcile warring villages, Frémont decided to found a second post in a more salubrious locality. Late in 1846 a house was purchased at Pia, several miles north of Makira Bay, from rivals of the Oné for a dozen small axes but illness delayed its occupation. When on 11 February 1847 Montrouzier returned from New Caledonia with Collomb, who had become Epalle's successor, and two other reinforcements, Cyprien Crey and Brother Optat, he found his *confrères* in a torpor of resignation to the fever. Little ministry was being done, but he was consoled to discover that 'the constitutions [of the Society of Mary] were in full force'. Collomb was not attracted by Epalle's policy of having large mission establishments, as he felt the members 'would get on each other's nerves', and forthwith ordered that the house at Pia be occupied. A week later, accompanied by Verguet who was leaving the mission, he departed for New Zealand to obtain episcopal consecration.

The first stage of Collomb's return to the Solomons brought him in June to the Marist station at Balade in New Caledonia. The mission there was in a precarious state. Famine and epidemic were ravaging the north-west coast of the island and the Marists were thought to be

responsible. In so far as contact with Europeans frequently meant the introduction into Pacific communities of diseases to which the islanders had no immunity, the charge was probably not unfounded. In a world where the forces of nature were held to be subject to human manipulation, the Marists were believed guilty of malevolent sorcery. They gave further offence by refusing to distribute their own stocks of food, temporarily augmented by the large supplies Collomb was taking back to the Solomons. Finally, on 19 July, the hungry islanders attacked the station, looted the storehouse and killed a lay brother. The survivors fled to the neighbouring station of Puébo, where they were besieged for a month, until rescued by a French warship, the *Brillante*, and the *Anonyme*, a schooner belonging to the Société de l'Océanie.

Collomb reached Makira Bay on 28 August in the *Anonyme*, to find an even more dismal situation. In seven months, four Marists had died. The remaining seven were in a state of siege: the Oné were unfriendly and the bush villages were threatening to attack. The situation had begun to deteriorate a week after Collomb's departure when two priests and two lay brothers moved to Pia. The Oné were severely piqued that their rivals should thus obtain access to the iron, fish hooks, cloth, bottles and pieces of glass dispensed by the missionaries. The Pia of course were delighted and gratified their guests by their attentiveness at religious instruction although, when Crey died there on 18 March 1847 from fever and dysentery, they refused to allow his burial in their land for fear of being troubled by his vengeful spirit (*ataro*).²¹

Following Crey's death a new effort was made to find a sanctuary from malaria — a disease which the Marists, in accordance with prevailing European ideas on the subject, attributed not to the anopheles mosquito but to the dank, humid atmosphere of their surroundings. On 20 April two priests, Jean Paget and Claude Jaquet, and Brother Hyacinthe attempted to cross the island from Makira Bay to the north coast village of Wango, of which they had good reports. Unfortunately, as the Oné warned, this meant venturing into the territory of their enemies, the Toro, who lived in the mountains. Two hours walk from the coast the Marists were waylaid by the Toro and their allies, forced into a gully (for their blood would have made the track *taboo*) and killed.

Soon after arriving at Makira Bay, the Marists had learned of the enmity between Oné and Toro and resolved to steer clear of it. But

the Toro were not to be avoided. The mission site, chosen for its seclusion, lay across their path to the sea. While the house was being built the Toro regularly threatened to attack. Seeing only disadvantage in a Marist-Oné *entente*, they had determined not to let any European settle in Arosi (the north-western third of the island).²² The missionaries steadily aggravated the estrangement. Verguet had prevented a Toro named Arouteia from stealing an axe by threatening to shoot him. On another occasion Arouteia stole a pig. The following day, when visiting the mission, he was captured and bound, until his kinsmen ransomed him with another pig.²³ Such firm resistance to their frequent attempts at stealing showed the bushmen that they had little to expect from the missionaries and is itself sufficient to explain their treatment of the three en route to Wango.

The attack had an unfortunate bearing on the Oné's relations with the surviving Marists. On learning of the Toros' action, the Oné rejected appeals to join forces with the bushmen in wiping out the missionaries. Instead, hoping for a decisive victory over their enemies, they urged the Marists to lead them against the Toro: 'we will kill the wicked ones, we will burn their houses, we will cut down their coconut trees.' But the Marists, who had earlier disappointed their hosts by refusing to avenge the attack on Montrouzier, again refused. Their action contrasts with that of two beachcombers resident at Makira Bay in 1860 who joined in several campaigns against the bushmen. As a third beachcomber noted, one of the main reasons the Makirans welcomed Europeans was so that they could 'go to war with them'.²⁴ Not surprisingly, therefore, when the Marists declined to render this service, the Oné not only refused to help recover the bodies but some were said to have joined with the bushmen in eating them. For the next six weeks, however, the Marists were undisturbed until the Toro, emboldened by the lack of reprisal, again became aggressive. They fired arrows at the gardener, made an attempt to burn down the house and were rumoured to have struck an alliance with the Pia. By the end of June 1847, eighteen months after reaching Makira Bay, the Marists were keeping armed watch each night and outside of the house were hung lanterns which the Toro were persuaded were 'rifles that could see in the night'.

To make matters worse, relations with the Oné continued to deteriorate. Frémont did not help by his punctilious reluctance to give gifts lest he infringe the vow of poverty, by which it was unlawful to dispose of community property. But the Marists' final and most

serious offence was one they were powerless to avoid; they were charged with sorcery. About the beginning of July Maimara died, while in various contests with their rivals the Oné were beaten. Consequently, they began, says Frémont, 'to say that our God was turning against them and that we were the cause of their misfortunes'. These, it seems, even included an epidemic. One young man told Frémont, 'everyone says that . . . your God will make us all die and they want you to go away when the ship comes.'²⁵ Recognising the situation as hopeless, Collomb had little hesitation in withdrawing. As early as May 1847, two months before the disasters at New Caledonia and San Cristobal, he had formed the intention of restoring his men in pairs on islands in the northern part of the vicariate. On 3 September, the Marists embarked on the *Anonyme*, leaving a few fruit trees as the monument of twenty months' residence at Makira Bay. The affair was not quite finished. In February 1848 the French corvette *Ariadne* sent a punitive expedition inland to avenge the murdered missionaries. The Oné willingly supplied guides.²⁶

From San Cristobal the Marists proceeded to the island of Murua (or Woodlark) discovered about 1832 by a Sydney whaler, Captian Grimes. Situated mid-way between the Solomons and New Guinea, Murua had been enthusiastically recommended to Collomb by another whaler, Captain Cayle, who had been there three times. It was said to have three thousand inhabitants 'of very good character', to be fertile and to have abundant fresh water. The Marists soon found other advantages. The bay of Guasopa, in the south-east of the island where they settled, was less swampy and more exposed to the wind than Makira. There fever gradually became less harsh (although Collomb suffered considerably) and by late 1850 was said to have disappeared. Moreover, there was no counterpart to the troublesome Toro-Oné division to complicate matters. Shortly before the Marists reached Murua a general peace had been concluded between several warring factions. Still, there were signs — particularly the islanders' embarrassment when asked about a shipwreck, of which traces were found here and there — that visitors had not always found the Muruans amiable.

The Marist explanation agrees substantially with that given by the sole survivor from the shipwreck. In November 1843 the whaling brig *Mary* was lost at the Laughlan Islands. Most of the crew reached

the shore. At first they were welcomed but after nine months their apparent demands on food and women turned the islanders against them. They fled in a makeshift schooner to Murua, twenty-six miles westwards. There again, it seems, they were well cared for, until a visiting party of Laughlan Islanders brought word of their misdeeds. The Muruans perhaps had an account to square with Europeans. In any case, they made common cause with their allies; except for one of the twenty-eight castaways, a young man named Valentine who was later rescued by the whaler *Tigress*, which had put in to obtain water, all were killed, paying a price that might otherwise have been exacted from the missionaries.²⁷

As it was, the Marists were welcomed. When the *Anonyme* anchored at Guasopa on 15 September 1847, it was met by a large number of islanders bringing out provisions 'and inviting us to go among them'. The islanders' motives were blatantly materialistic:

Each [village] wished us to anchor near it . . . solely to have the advantage of trading with us, and thus obtain pieces of iron, for which the natives are most avid.

A man named Pako, a self-assured individual who had once visited Sydney and spoke a few words of English, appointed himself the missionaries' agent. He organised the purchase of land and the building of a temporary house. Murua seemed full of promise. Montrouzier, dreaming of an indigenous Church that would one day flourish on the island, thought the 'savages' needed only a breath of grace to become responsive to the Gospel. There was ample opportunity to test his theory. Whereas at San Cristobal the Marists had been preoccupied with the problem of survival, at Murua they were able to engage in a prolonged and explicit ideological confrontation with the islanders. But their arguments, so confidently presented, made little impression on people equally sure of the worth of their own values and assumptions. The indigenous religion, empirically validated in daily life and hallowed by usage, did not yield to the revelation of the one Creator and Saviour of all preached by a handful of white men who cut no more commanding a figure than the late crew of the *Mary*.

Within three months of reaching Murua, the Marists were making regular catechetical tours of the villages. Initially, public interest in their work was high but after seven months the novelty had worn off. The children tired of parroting Latin prayer; the adults were offended at the misuse of their language and bored by the repetition which

imperfect knowledge of it forced on their teachers. Montrouzier was sure that they 'believe perfectly all that we tell them'. He impatiently attributed their lack of progress towards obvious Truth to wilful 'levity and the grossness of their ideas'; applying the test of practical relevance to the doctrine of the need to honour God the Creator and 'Prime-mover', on which the Marists grounded their catechetical approach, the islanders would ask if Jehovah was rich in iron and axes:

When we tell them 'all the chiefs of men, all the riches of the earth are nothing compared with Jehovah!', 'Oh!', they say, 'our stomachs are sick! Write to him, asking him to come to Murua for us to see him, and tell him to bring axes and iron'.

One man asked to 'leave by the next ship for Heaven to see how things worked there'. After sixteen months, his knowledge of their language considerably improved, Montrouzier was still complaining of the islanders' frivolous approach to serious things:

We demonstrate the error of belief in *munukuans* [malevolent spirits]. They reply, 'But if there are no *munukuans* will we die?' And if you tell them it is because of the sin of Adam they shake their heads and exclaim 'I have never eaten the forbidden fruit myself, why am I sick?' Then, very proud of their objection, they laugh, make noise, and listen to nothing more. Formerly we used simply to deny the existence of these evil beings but, far from giving in, they impudently assured us that they had seen them.

Even Thomassin failed to appreciate that what was clear to him might not be clear to the Muruans, or that for the Muruans religion could be effectively treated as an intellectual exercise. He wrote:

To reason with our unhappy pagans is not to demonstrate the truth of our holy religion. They will frankly admit 'We are ignorant, we are wrong', but will not go any further. They will reply 'We act like that at Murua and our ancestors did the same'. They will say 'We live like this and we are content. If we abandon our prayers the universe will collapse, famine, plague and the *lerous* [spirits related to the *munukuans*] would not leave us any rest'. If you reason with them, they will laugh in your face.²⁸

Meanwhile, dissatisfaction with the lack of progress at Murua had encouraged Collomb to found a new post. In May 1848, after eight months on the island, he departed with three *confrères* aboard the *Anonyme* in search of more deserving souls. Montrouzier was left in charge at Murua. Having visited the south coast of New Britain, Collomb's party settled in a small bay on the north coast of Umboi (or Rooke), an island recommended by its strategic position in the straits between New Britain and New Guinea. Besides, the *Anonyme* had insufficient supplies for further exploration and the healthy appear-

ance of the people was thought to suggest that the island was free from malaria. Again the Marists were to be frustrated. The inhabitants of the bay, reserved at first, were reassured by a few gifts, but thereafter they disappointed the Marists with their sustained indifference to Christianity, although it is doubtful to what extent they understood what was said to them. Having acquired a smattering of the local language, Frémont adopted the same forthright, presumptuous catechetical style as used at Murua:

I tried to teach the natives the name of Jehovah. I taught them that it was he who was the great chief of Heaven and earth, that it was he who made and maintained everything. I spoke to them of Heaven, of Hell, of the obligation to pray, to be baptised etc. But, alas, this first seed fell on very wild ground. . . .²⁹

In any case, the Marists were a poor advertisement for the power of their Jehovah. Despite their first impressions of the island, they were soon suffering terribly from malaria. Collomb died on 16 July and four months later was followed by Gregoire Villien. When Montrouzier visited Umboi in May 1849, he found two survivors, Frémont and Brother Optat, sick, dispirited and ostracised. He evacuated them to Murua where, two more priests having arrived in April, the number of Marists was brought to eight.

Meanwhile the situation at Murua had deteriorated further. Lack of progress in the apostolate had led to greater emphasis on a monastic type of life which, under Montrouzier's superiorship, had exacerbated personal antagonisms among the Marists and alienated the Muruans. Frémont protested only in his correspondence: Montrouzier's zeal, untempered by humanity, to observe the fullness of the Rule made him so unreasonable about matters of trifling importance that he appeared 'more full of the letter of the law than its spirit'. Others protested more openly. In June 1849 a lay brother, Aristide, ended a standing quarrel with the superior by returning to Sydney while two priests, Thomassin and Pierre Trapenard, seceded to establish a new mission post on the north coast of the island. The attempt lasted fourteen months, until the difficulty of buying food during a famine forced them to return to Gausopa.³⁰ There the active ministry was in abeyance 'for fear of further disgusting the savages', but Montrouzier rejoiced that the Rule was 'observed almost as at Lyons'.[†] In fact, it had a Thebaid flavour; as an exercise in 'mortifica-

[†]The missionaries Montrouzier esteemed were 'formed men, who know how to occupy themselves in their room and do not regard it as time lost to establish houses of the Society in Oceania'. Montrouzier to Colin, 8 September 1850, A.P.M. OSM 208.

tion', he once refused his subjects any food except bananas for ten days and a penance of solitary confinement, for breach of the vow of obedience, was imposed on Eugène Ducrettet, a priest who protested. The most interesting reaction to the régime was that of Brother Optat who, becoming 'enamoured of some young girls', was tempted to become a beachcomber. A 'great pallisade built around the house to keep the women away' failed to prevent 'improper familiarities . . . in the sight of all' and the affair only came to an end when Optat departed with Ducrettet for Sydney in September 1850.³¹ Of eighteen Marists who had come to the vicariate of Melanesia since 1845, only five remained.

Montrouzier was similarly unendearing in his dealings with the Muruans. Observing that 'they wish . . . that we remain among them [only] so as to trade with the ships which come to visit us' and certain that continued obstinacy was increasing their culpability at turning from the Light, he considered that they did not deserve any mundane effort to win their affection. Thus he was able to discourse on the folly of Muruan economics, insensitive to the fact that a promising opportunity for endearing the mission to the islanders was being allowed to slip by. In August 1850 he wrote that materially the mission lacked for nothing. Its immense garden yielded an abundance of melons, bananas, beans, taro and yams; the brothers frequently shot birds and ample provisions were sent from Sydney. The islanders were starving. To Thomassin they 'seemed no more than walking skeletons, searching all day for a few shellfish and wild herbs to eat in the evening'; yet Montrouzier, he reports, chose never to give a single marrow, saying that 'if you gave once, the natives would become too importunate'. 'As if,' adds Thomassin, 'importunity dispensed from the duty of giving alms!'

What to a Christian seemed alms giving was the way to acquire esteem in Melanesia. Parsimony was an admission of unworthiness. Rather than capitulate to such people, the Muruans stiffened their resistance, assuming a patriotic air of defiance and contempt. If they caught a fish or scavenged more successfully than usual, they would parade past the mission 'tossing their heads and saying with mock laughter "so the prayer of Murua is useless!"'

Of the cause of the famine, Montrouzier wrote, 'I believe it is a chastisement from God. It is also the result of a bad system'; namely, the Muruans' fidelity to customary trading obligations. In his eyes they foolishly gave hospitality to their partners in the trading cycle

and then exchanged large quantities of food for ceremonial items, such as pigs' teeth and bones of whale and cassowary. Such a judgment ignores several facts, one of which was that Muruan commerce was not simply a matter of calculated material advantage. Trading obligations were particularly honoured through being bound up with the Kula system of gift exchanges, symbolising the reciprocity which was the highest social value of the inhabitants of the small islands east of New Guinea; as Uberoi says, it enjoined on its participants 'generosity in giving and honour in meeting debts' and set 'the tone of commercial morality'. It was not something the Muruans could casually opt out of. The established trading pattern was moreover strengthened by another imperative at least as weighty as the ritual one. In serving the vital needs of the visitors it put them in a position of dependence on the Muruans, who were renowned for producing food surpluses. For the Muruans to withhold food not only ruptured valued alliance but, above all, involved an intolerable loss of prestige. It was tantamount to admission that their *mana* was insufficient to sustain the status they claimed from their gardening prowess.

This was not a situation the Muruans had often had to face, although climatic conditions might have caused crop failure on other occasions. The 1850 famine arose from 'a kind of influenza' which ravaged the island about the middle of 1848. As a result the gardens were neglected and the harvest was poor. In spite of this the visitors were treated as usual — 'the taros were very small [and so] it was necessary to double them'.³² Thus began a recurring pattern of epidemic, famine and population decline. It did not occur to Montrouzier that the missionaries could have been responsible for precipitating the economic imbalance by introducing diseases to which the Muruans had no immunity.

By late 1850 the famine had passed. Muruan morale was buoyant. The missionaries found themselves more than ever despised as wretches whose country, it was said, must have been as worthless as themselves or they would not have left it and whose words, accordingly, were hardly to be taken seriously. This logic was still current in June 1851 when the Marists, receiving instructions to elect a prefect apostolic, unanimously 'dropped' Montrouzier and chose Jean Frémont. Occasion was also provided by the presence of a ship for Frémont to get rid of Montrouzier politely while, at the same time, making a new attempt to break the deadlock with the Muruans. Six youths were persuaded to embark for Sydney where, it was hoped,

the marvels they saw would lessen their infatuation with their island and inspire admiration and respect for European ways including religion. Montrouzier was appointed their guide. Frémont remarked that his absence 'will not prejudice the mission'.³³

Well aware of his *confrères'* feelings, Montrouzier did not return to Murua. He remained for nearly eighteen months in Sydney, where he wrote a zoological study, *Essai sur la faune de l'île de Woodlark ou Moïou* (Lyons, 1857), the first book published by a long-term resident of the New Guinea area. After investigating the mysterious (and still unsolved) disappearance of three Marists who attempted to found a mission on the island of Tikopia, he resumed his missionary career in New Caledonia, where the Marists had returned in 1851.

Meanwhile, of the six 'tourists' accompanying Montrouzier to Sydney in 1851, one deserted at the Laughlan Islands where, however, three other youths joined the party. As expected, all were awed by 'moving houses' (carriages), by numerous large ships (clear proof that the white man had more than one vessel) and especially by the shops of ironmongers and butchers (the latter proving that it was not lack of food in the white man's country that had driven the missionaries to Murua). The white man was truly vindicated. When the travellers returned to Murua after two weeks of this spectacle (7-23 August) their tales inspired much enthusiasm for 'building Sydney at Murua'. By mid-1852 the metropolis had, it was said, become 'not a town but an entire world'. In an alliance that has since become a familiar element in many Melanesian 'cargo' movements, the Muruans' material aspirations were associated with fervent esteem for the mission through which, it was probably thought, a European level of affluence was to be attained. Catechism classes were suddenly well attended. 'A conversion movement was stirring.' Five years of frustration, it seemed to the Marists, were being rewarded.³⁴

Meanwhile Colin, reluctant to continue staffing a mission where his men suffered so fruitlessly, had since early 1851 been asking Propaganda to relieve the Society of Mary of responsibility for the vicariates of Melanesia and Micronesia. They were, therefore, handed over to the newly founded *Missioni Estere di Milano* (Milan Foreign Mission Society)[†] which was seeking work in the Pacific. Colin did authorise Frémont and his companions to stay in Melanesia if their work was succeeding.³⁵ Thus, when seven Italians, five

[†] Founded in 1850, the *Missioni Estere di Milano* was renamed *Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere* in 1926.

priests and two brothers reached Murua on 8 October 1852, three of the four Marists elected to remain with them. So certain did it seem that the Muruan harvest was about to ripen that, with ten missionaries on hand, it was deemed opportune to resume the Umboi-based assault of New Guinea. Frémont returned to Umboi with four Italians including Paolo Reina, the new prefect apostolic. The others stayed at Murua with Thomassin and Brother Gennade.

Within a year, however, the missionaries' high hopes were dashed. Again Murua was smitten with a series of catastrophes. For the first six months of 1853 there was famine. One observer saw 'a starving family eat a small taro one evening, snatching it from each other's mouth and crying, and dying from hunger'. Yet offers of mission help were rejected, even when the islanders, weakened by hunger, were struck by

disease that in less than three months swept across the island wiping out a quarter of the population. A frightful illness which in a matter of three days could kill two, three and even six members of one family. It attacked the strongest. Among others, it affected eleven members of the chief's family . . . seven villages were left completely deserted.

These calamities were enough to revive the resentments of 1849-50. The missionaries widened the breach by ascribing the Muruans' misfortunes to divine displeasure at their tardiness in becoming Christians. This was an argument that could easily backfire; it offered grounds as valid for destroying the agents of the tormenting deity as for capitulating to them (as Presbyterian missionaries, G.N. Gordon and his wife, found to their cost in the New Hebrides in 1861). The Muruans, not wishing to lose a resident source of iron, restricted their protest to the plea 'tell your Jehovah to leave us in peace. . . . You have your religion, we have ours.' Perhaps they were also restrained by the suspicion that Jehovah's sorcery was not entirely to blame for, as deaths multiplied, old rivalries were reactivated: 'One village storms another. A third and a fourth take revenge on the first and second and by now there are already some twenty victims.'³⁶ This was in November 1853. The same month the three Marists withdrew, to join their fellows in New Caledonia.

During 1854 peace returned to Murua but the fragile *rapprochement* between islanders and missionaries had been irrevocably destroyed. Desperate to avoid occasions of dispute, the Italians adopted a policy of complete isolation and ceased making gifts of iron, but only succeeded in worsening their situation. The

Muruans, having nothing more to lose, began to talk of attacking the mission. Similarly on Umboi, the mission was faring no better than had the attempt five years earlier. The people were interested only in iron, and the missionaries (obviously incompetent to deal with the spirits that were said to be afflicting them) were constantly racked by fever. In January 1855 a priest, Giovanni Mazzucconi, left for Sydney to recuperate and in March Brother Giuseppe Corti died. In May the survivors returned to Murua.

Seven weeks later, having decided their situation was hopeless, the Italians abandoned Murua also, 'not leaving behind a single heart that was truly regretful'. The truth of this comment was demonstrated some months afterwards. On 18 August, five days before his *confrères* reached Sydney, the recovered Mazzucconi departed for Murua aboard the *Gazelle*. Near Guasopa the vessel ran on a reef and the islanders, undesirous of further European company, looted the vessel and killed all aboard.³⁷

Of the surviving Italians, one (Carlo Salerio) returned to Italy in 1856 and another (Angelo Ambrosoli) remained in Sydney until his death in 1891. The three others left Sydney for Manila in August 1856, instructed by Propaganda to resume their attack on the vicariates of Melanesia and Micronesia from the east. They were to be assisted by Carlo Cuarteron, a Spanish priest charged with opening a mission in Borneo and former sea captain, who had a ship at his disposal. He recommended Dorei Bay in the Vogeltop of western New Guinea as the best place for them to recommence but became impossibly immersed in his own work. The Italians stayed a year with him at Labuan in North Borneo before in 1858 retreating to Hong Kong where they hoped to find more helpful captains. Instead, they became so absorbed in missionary work there — Raimondi became the first vicar apostolic of Hong Kong in 1874 — that the task in Melanesia and Micronesia was allowed to lapse.³⁸

The ten years of Catholic activity in the vicariate of Melanesia are a cautionary tale against faulty technique and recklessness. Preoccupied with their own spiritual life, the missionaries made little effort to accommodate themselves to the habits or thought of those whose souls they sought. They were peeved when people did not respond quickly and they deliberately disregarded indigenous political boundaries. Of one of the victims of the Toro, the prudent Verguet recalled, 'Father Paget had incomparable zeal but, like Bishop Epalle, he did not see the thousandth part of danger.'³⁹ Such risk-

taking was self-defeating. Eventual withdrawal after a toll of eight lives had been taken, five in acts of violence, was harsh proof that the blood of martyrs could not be relied upon to be the seed of Christians. Yet it may be doubted whether anything the missionaries might have done could have overcome the dangers inherent in their environment. They had no defence against the malaria of San Cristobal and Umboi. At Murua, had Montrouzier been less offensive, no amount of technique could have prevented introduced disease from raising a storm which the missionaries, far from the protection of their fellow Europeans, were in a poor position to ride out.

Colonial Order 1898-1942

3 Expansion

When Catholic missionaries, again Marists, returned to the Solomon Islands in 1898, it was as part of a well established and steadily growing movement of European contact. Their security was less problematical than half a century before and points of contact with the islanders had multiplied. The Solomons were politically divided between the empires of Britain and Germany, the growth of trade ensured regular shipping contact with Australia and European settlement had begun. Between 1893 and 1896 the number of resident traders rose from a dozen to about fifty, centred mainly on the north-east coast of Guadalcanal, New Georgia and in the Shortland Islands.¹ Among the islanders, many of whom were already Christian, there was considerable knowledge of Pidgin English, Fijian and Samoan. There was also a widespread addiction to tobacco, which fostered a dependence on Europeans, as well as an awareness that attacks on Europeans would meet with harsh reprisal. Even malaria was somewhat less severe, for the returning Marists unlike their predecessors were abundantly supplied with quinine. Favoured by the changed conditions, they were able to win effective footholds in various parts of the island group. Even so, the receptiveness of the islanders was not to be taken for granted, and the competing interests of other Europeans had frequently to be contended with.

Missionary activity in the Solomon Islands resumed some years after the Marist withdrawal of 1847. In 1856 the *Southern Cross* brought the Solomons within the ambit of the Melanesian Mission founded in 1849 by the Anglican bishop of New Zealand, G.A. Selwyn. Thereafter, the vessel returned regularly to collect young men for a central school, situated first at Auckland and later at Norfolk Island where they could be trained in Christianity. It was a leisurely method of operation. Relatively few islanders were contacted directly and the returned pupils, deprived for long periods of the guidance and support of their missionaries, easily reverted to heathenism. After nearly half a century of evangelism, Anglican influence was slight except on Gela and Ysabel. The first permanently manned Anglican post was founded at Siota, on Gela, only in 1895.²

The dominant European impact on the Solomons was exerted through the labour trade which from 1870 recruited islanders for work on plantations in Queensland, Fiji and Samoa. As the trade developed, instinct for adventure, desire to escape punishment and above all demand for European goods for themselves and their relatives led young men to sign on with enthusiasm. By 1904 almost 19,000 Solomon Islanders had been taken to Queensland while the Fiji trade, which continued until 1911, took almost 10,000.³ As well as stimulating the appetite for axes, knives, cloth, muskets and tobacco, the labour trade had profound religious and political effects. By demonstrating the white man's affluence it prepared the way for the adoption of Christianity while, by bringing the islanders to the notice of other religious bodies, it contributed to the breaking of the Anglican monopoly in the Solomons. Contact with the labourers in Fiji fired both Marist and Methodist interest in the area. The Methodists founded a mission in New Georgia in 1902. Many Solomon Islands recruits who went to Queensland, mostly from Malaita, were converted to Christianity by the evangelical Protestant efforts of the Queensland Kanaka Mission. From the Q.K.M. sprang the South Sea Evangelical Mission, founded in 1904 to follow the labourers back to their islands, consolidating and extending in the Solomons the work begun in Australia.

Increased European activity in the Solomons through the labour trade also contributed to the British Government's desire to oversee relations between British subjects and Pacific Islanders; the Western Pacific High Commission was set up in 1877, with the Governor of Fiji doubling as High Commissioner. The flag was beginning to

follow trade. At first it flew only from the masts of men-of-war which paid periodic visits to the group partly to protect the islanders from Europeans but, more conspicuously, to take reprisals for attacks on Europeans. Britain was resolved not to go further and assume territorial responsibility for the group. Her hand however was forced.

In 1884, Germany turned to an active, mercantilist colonial policy (complementing a return to protectionism at home) and laid claim to north-east New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago, where German traders had been active since the 1870s. This claim aroused Australian fear of foreign neighbours, compelling Britain to shelter her *protégé*. Consequently in 1884 the Solomons were divided, north from south, into German and British spheres of influence, which in 1893 hardened into protectorates; Britain formally claimed the southern part of the group to forestall possible French annexation. The German share of the Solomons extended as far south as Ysabel until 1899, when the boundary was redrawn south of Bougainville, giving Ysabel, Choiseul and the Shortlands to Britain in return for her disavowal of interest in Samoa, which became a German possession.⁴

As Britain had feared (and Germany, planning to promote large-scale settlement in Melanesia, intended) annexation led to administrative responsibility. In 1896 a Resident Commissioner, Charles M. Woodford, settled at Tulagi, near Gela, in the British Solomons, and in 1905 August Doellinger was appointed Stationsleiter at Kieta in the German Solomons. Armed with a troop of police, each zealously continued the work of the warships, punishing assaults on Europeans and suppressing violence among the indigenes — 'the most fundamental action of colonial rule' and the prerequisite for economic development.⁵ By 1913 about 5000 labourers were employed on plantations in the British Solomons; in 1915, the non-indigenous population exceeded six hundred, twenty-seven of them Marists. Development was slower on Buka and Bougainville, which remained largely recruiting grounds for enterprises elsewhere in German New Guinea, particularly in New Britain. By 1915 Buka and Bougainville counted only forty-five Europeans, twenty-three of them Marist missionaries.⁶

The suggestion that the Marists might return to the Solomons is first implied in 1875, in a reminder from Propaganda that the vicariates of Melanesia and Micronesia were still without Catholic missionaries. The Marists were too busy elsewhere in the Pacific to take

the hint and so, following the Marquis de Rays's abortive colonising expedition in 1880 to New Ireland, which again stirred Propaganda's interest, the vicariates were transferred to the *Missionnaires du Sacré Cœur d'Issoudun*, whose first party began work near Rabaul in 1882. The M.S.C.s were too few to extend their operations quickly to the Solomons; in 1891, therefore, Propaganda suggested that the Marists assist them. The Marists demurred. Divided authority was not to their taste. Instead, on the advice of Julian Vidal, Marist bishop of Fiji, they proposed to return to the Solomons on condition that they have sole jurisdiction for the mission which was, moreover, to include the whole group.⁷ This was a considered reply; for some time Vidal had contemplated resuming the attack on the Solomons, mindful of the link between Epalle and Ysabel and in 'fear of seeing the Protestants go first to plough their furrow in the soil soaked with the blood of Marist martyrs'. He was encouraged by Cardinal Moran of Sydney and by the possibility of following up contacts with Solomon Islands labourers in Fiji, of whom about 120 had been baptised by the end of 1891.⁸

Despite the reluctance of the M.S.C.s to surrender the German Solomons, propaganda favoured the Marist proposals but delayed acting until it had assuaged German nationalist sensitivities, already offended by French predominance among the M.S.C.s in New Britain. The Society of the Divine Word (S.V.D.), a German order, was appointed to begin work on the north coast of the New Guinea mainland in 1896⁹ while, in deference to the political situation, two prefectures apostolic were erected in the Solomons — the British Solomons in 1897, administered from Fiji, and in 1898 the German Solomons, administered from Samoa. The ecclesiastical boundary was, however, not brought into line with the redrawn political map of 1899. Rather, to avoid anomalies of nomenclature, the names of the prefectures were changed in 1904 to the North Solomons and the South Solomons respectively.

The pattern of diffusion of Catholic influence in these areas varied in detail according to local circumstance. Nevertheless, there was a basic similarity. Diffusion was marked by the growth of a network of mission stations, each station a complex of institutions built up around a resident priest. The emphasis placed by the Marists on the construction and maintenance of stations was not merely for convenience but reflected Catholic doctrine. Although priests were vital to the sacramental system on which Catholic religious life is based, the

rigid, European-based standards of their discipline and education prevented ready delegation of priestly office to people as culturally different from the Marists as the Solomon Islanders. Effective evangelisation, and initiation of converts therefore required numerous stations, to keep large numbers of people in sustained proximity to the priest. The developed mission station consisted of a church flanked by a presbytery and a convent ('the Fathers' side' and 'the Sisters' side') presiding respectively over a cluster of classrooms and dormitories for boys and girls. There was also a dispensary, a 'feast day village' to house visitors and a plantation to provide funds for running the establishment. At the time of its destruction in 1942, the station at Visale on Guadalcanal was said to be the largest group of buildings in the Solomons; it boasted a bishop's house, a printery and a novitiate for indigenous nuns.¹⁰

Rivalry with the Protestant missions accompanied the expansion of Marist activity through the Solomon Islands. The desire to forestall heterodoxy, which had brought Marists to the Solomons in 1845 and in 1898, encouraged a competitive spirit just as powerful as the missionary inspiration to convert the heathen.

Bishop Vidal led the first party of returning Marists to Tulagi, the 'capital' of the British Solomons, on 21 May 1898 aboard the *Titus*, the regular steamer from Sydney. With him were three priests and nine lay assistants from Fiji. His first problem was to establish a base. Considering Woodford's warning that Malaita was too dangerous for settlement and that land purchases would be disallowed in localities 'where there is already a mission in effective operation' (which ruled out Ysabel) and having visited New Georgia, Vidal decided to settle on an island off the north-west coast of Guadalcanal, where there were already four trading stations. He purchased the uninhabited islet of Rua Sura for £100,¹¹ from Samuel Keating, a trader, and returned to Fiji in August. Further supervisory visits were made in 1899 and 1901. In 1903 he was succeeded as Prefect Apostolic of the South Solomons by Jean Ephrem Bertreux, former director of the catechist school in Fiji.

Unlike the traders, who welcomed the Marists, the people of the coast opposite Rua Sura were antagonistic. They announced plainly that they had no wish to be interfered with. The villages of Rere and Susu refused to send children to school at Rua Sura and Susu even refused to sell yams to the mission. The reasons for resistance were

both traditional and circumstantial. Recent deaths at the Anglican school at Siota had brought the word 'school' into local disrepute, while Rua Sura, having been used at one time for burials, was regarded by the people as an unsafe place for such an institution.¹² The main source of disaffection however was the Marists' claim to ownership of Rua Sura, which the islanders disputed. Keating had bought the island from Wylia, the chief of Susu, about 1894 and had never lived on it; the islanders had no reason to think that they had alienated the land, much less the right to gather coconuts or use it as a fishing base. Now the situation had changed. A pre-fabricated house was erected by the Marists, work was begun on clearing the bush and (adding insult to injury) a fishing party of about thirty people was told officiously by the Fijians that in future it would be necessary to ask permission before landing on Rua Sura. Increasing the islanders' resentment was a mood of frustration. They were still smarting from the punitive expedition Woodford had led into the district in September 1897 after a would-be planter had been killed in another land dispute. As happened elsewhere in the islands, resistance was stiffened by the presence of traders, who ensured a ready supply of trade goods and freed the villagers of any economic dependence on the missionaries.¹³

Rebuffed by their neighbours, the Marists directed their apostolate elsewhere. Their isolation on Rua Sura was first broken in August 1898 by the trader Lars Svensen, who recruited twelve labourers for them from Tangarare on the west coast of Guadalcanal, and then by the journeys of Pierre Rouillac, the outstanding figure among the founding Marists. The son of a Breton fisherman, a superb seaman and a querulous individualist who believed, not without reason, that Vidal had sent him from Fiji to the Solomons to get rid of him, Rouillac spent most of his time at sea. From 1898 to 1902 he voyaged tirelessly, first in a small cutter and later in the eighteen-ton schooner *Eclipse*. By the end of 1898 he had been twice to the island of Savo and to the south coast of Guadalcanal, and once to Makira Bay.¹⁴ Everywhere he was welcomed, and was offered land.

Returning to Makira Bay in March 1899, however, he was told that the mission was not wanted. Retracting their promise to sell land, the people said that death was striking wherever Europeans settled; since Rouillac's first visit several villagers had died and others had fallen ill. In contrast to this resistance, at Haununu, twenty miles south of Makira, Rouillac received four boys for the school at Rua

Sura and easily obtained land, for which (to impress the turncoats of Makira) he paid the munificent price of five cases of tobacco and two cases of pipes. In so doing, he incurred the displeasure of Woodford, who wrote,

asking him in future not to pay in tobacco but in cash in the case of further contracts. Every box of tobacco put out means so much loss of business to the traders. Complaints have been made to me by a certain trader that he has been unable lately to buy yams on San Cristobal as the Marist Fathers, had been giving a stick of tobacco for two yams, whereas the recognised figure has always been ten.¹⁵

Returning to Haununu, a month later, Rouillac found that there too the people had had second thoughts about receiving a missionary; the land purchase was not finalised — although the tobacco was not returned. Rouillac apparently continued successfully to ignore Woodford's attempt at price fixing. By June 1899 even Rere and Susu, while still refusing to sell land or to patronise the school, were keen to trade with the Marists, who needed large quantities of food for the scholar-labourers (eighty in number) who had been brought to Rua Sura, mostly from Guadalcanal. The traders' sympathy for the mission declined as they found recruits and supplies being reserved for their open-handed competitor.¹⁶

Rouillac also visited Malaita in 1899 and 1901, on the latter occasion bringing sixteen youths from Bina, in the Langalanga Lagoon, to Rua Sura for five months. In 1900 he visited Yasabel and, following directions provided by Verguet, recovered Epalle's remains from San Jorge.[†] The skull, broken in five places, was readily recognisable.¹⁷

Too few to follow up Rouillac's initiatives, the Marists decided to concentrate their efforts on Guadalcanal. The decision was made easier by the loss in 1902 of the *Eclipse* on the reefs off Tangarare and by Rouillac's withdrawal when his plan to obtain a much larger craft was rejected. The *Eclipse* was not replaced by an adequate inter-island vessel until 1909.

The Marists' first success was on the storm-racked south (or 'weather') coast of Guadalcanal, where traders rarely visited. On his second visit in December 1898, Rouillac's boat at Moli 'was surrounded all day by native canoes bringing yams to exchange for plugs of tobacco, pipes and matches'. To secure the supply, the people

[†]Epalle's remains were finally lost in 1942 during the bombing of Visale.

pleaded for a resident missionary and, to support their plea, sold land which sixty men immediately set to work clearing. Rouillac obtained a further foothold in the district in April 1899. He had met in Svensen's store at Marau a labourer who had known the Marists in Fiji and directed him to Avuavu (or Longu) fifteen miles west of Moli, where more land was bought and thirty-six pupils obtained for Rua Sura. The people of Avuavu were delighted when two priests arrived to build Rua Sura's first out-station in October 1899; the missionaries stayed only six months. The cupidity of the local villagers, who attempted to deny their neighbours access, led to a series of violent disputes which induced the Marists to return to Rua Sura until tempers had cooled. They resumed the post in 1901.¹⁸

A more certain beginning was made at Tangarare, on the western end of the weather coast. Rouillac bought land there in May 1899 and two priests occupied it in June 1900. They were warmly welcomed. Bile, the leading man of the district, proudly declared himself their protector and, when he died some months later, his responsibility was claimed by Samu, chief of the village of Ravu. Samu had developed a taste for tobacco and cloth while labouring in Fiji, a taste which he clearly expected the missionaries to indulge. He also wanted a cure for his failing sight. For most Ravuans however the trade motive was dominant. In March 1901 there were at Tangarare forty-three boys aged between ten and fifteen years whose main concern, Ferdinand Guilloux, the founder of the station, lamented, was not religion but 'tobacco, pipes and other baubles'. Neither did regard for the mission inhibit the Tangarare people from looting the *Eclipse* when she ran aground in 1902, nor from threatening Rouillac when he attempted to stop them. However, the death of Guilloux on 27 May while trying to free the vessel — and the consequent need to placate the dead man's spirit — inspired a change of heart. Beginning in the villages to the north of the station, near the scene of the wreck, the adoption of Christianity throughout the district dates from that incident.¹⁹

Not all the leaders of Guadalcanal were as complacent as those of Tangarare and Avuavu about the encroachment of missionaries, despite the services they might render. One such was Sulukavo, a powerful bush chief from the western part of the island. Since 1894 he had resisted Anglican efforts to acquire a foothold but was unable in May 1900 to prevent the settlement of a well armed party at Maravovo. In September, as a gesture of hostility towards all mis-

sions, he burned down a house owned by the Marists on land bought recently at Vaturanga near Maravovo, and threatened 'next time' to have blood. Woodford responded by burning a bush village, promising severe reprisals if there was a 'next time'. There was not, although Sulukavo continued to make threats. In July 1901 all but two of the boys at Tangarare suddenly fled because their spirits had announced in a dream that the bushmen were going to destroy the station. For some time afterwards the coast people, attempting to exploit fear of Sulukavo for their own material advantage, made a business of giving the Marists spurious 'warnings' of impending attack. Police action had had its effect; except for trouble at Avuavu in 1904, when Joseph Chatelet intervened to save a party of Queensland returnees from being robbed by Gona, the former owner of the mission land, the Marists were never again in obvious danger from the islanders.²⁰

As for the land at Vaturanga, the Marists never occupied it, not from fear of Sulukavo but because Woodford disallowed the purchase on account of its proximity to the Anglican post at Maravovo. He defended his action by pointing out that he had similarly thwarted an Anglican attempt to enter the Shortland Islands, where the Marists of the North Solomons were newly established. Woodford's actions betokened no hostility towards the missions. Rather, he welcomed them and, while concerned to reduce opportunities for sectarian conflict, was determined that their 'civilising' influence (an aid to administration and an assurance to investors) should be widely distributed. He 'endeavoured, therefore, to get the various Missions to agree upon separate spheres of action'.²¹ Where agreement was not reached, the end was achieved by disallowal of land purchases, he advised Vidal in 1897.

For Protestant missions (except the Seventh Day Adventists) the territorial problem scarcely arose for there was substantial recognition of common ground. Methodists and Anglicans readily came to a 'comity' whereby the former confined themselves to the western part of the protectorate and the latter to the eastern part, while the S. S. E. M. and the Anglicans agreed not to compete against each other on Malaita. The Marists would enter no such pact, although it seems that in 1900 Woodford offered them a monopoly on Guadalcanal if they would do so. There were sound practical reasons for the Marists' refusal: to accept formal limitation of their field of work could curtail the future expansion of the mission; one mission could obtain a more advantageous sphere than another and, anyway, there was no guaran-

tee that the spheres would be kept intact with the arrival of new missionary bodies which had not originally been party to them. The basic reasons were doctrinal — denial of any religious affinity with the other missions, and denial that the civil authority was competent in such a matter.²²

Such beliefs (though compatible with the total Catholic monopoly the Marists aspired to in the North Solomons) did not occasion serious disputes with Woodford. His policy was in practice flexible and, as the protectorate became more settled and the plantation economy developed (the B.S.I.P. Administration was financed from internal revenue by 1906), he became noticeably less concerned to keep the missions apart. Marists and S.S.E.M. became neighbours on San Cristobal in 1909; a Marist challenge to the Methodists in New Georgia was frustrated in 1912 but was permitted in Choiseul in 1913, while the S.D.A.s were in 1914 permitted to obtain land in New Georgia.

Nevertheless, the situation produced strife. The precedent had already been set when Woodford allowed a Marist station to be founded in 1904 at Visale, twenty miles east of Maravovo; the western end of Guadalcanal saw an unabashed contest for possession of souls. Marists and Anglicans vied to install 'teachers', erect chapels in uncommitted villages and dissolve other allegiances. Of an Anglican enclave near Visale, the Marist Joseph Pellion wrote, 'we are trying to force a breach there, convinced that these Anglicans are not inconvertible'.²³ No violence is recorded but the followers of each mission waged a battle of abuse and misrepresentation. Much turned on the question of prestige. Marist sympathisers were acutely embarrassed when Anglicans boasted of the Melanesian Mission's steamship and claimed that the Marists, being French, had no place in a British colony and were likely to be expelled.

The Marist response to this telling line of attack both reflected Bertreux's penchant for the impressive and accorded spectacularly with Melanesian procedures for establishing status. Unable to afford a steamship, the Marists decided to build a stone church at Visale, adopting a role like that of the indigenous 'big man' outshining rivals while providing his followers with a rewarding sense of participation in a notable achievement. Catholic sympathisers of the district organised by Kokobi, the baptised Visale leader, enthusiastically supported the project:

[even] pagans came — each village in its turn, some carried on their shoulders or on their heads the large stones for building the walls, or enormous trunks of trees for burning the lime, while others went along the shore looking for the coral stones . . . to be turned into lime by the . . . fire.

Opened in October 1910 after a year's work, the church — the only stone building in the Solomons at a time when timber buildings still attracted attention — was widely and deservedly admired. Catholic status was further enhanced by a feast for 1200 people given to celebrate the opening. The sting was effectively drawn from the expulsion rumour when Woodford attended the celebration and warmly praised the work of the Marist, thereby disposing of a canard that an English man-of-war was going to bombard the station.²⁴

The main Marist advantage in the evangelisation of Guadalcanal was superior numbers. For most of the period up to 1920, when crucial impressions were being made, the Anglicans had only one European missionary, compared with eleven Marist priests, two lay-brothers and four nuns, the first of whom had arrived in 1904. Guadalcanal was steadily ringed with mission stations, which eventually claimed over half the population. In addition to Rua Sura, Avuavu, Tangarare and Visale, there were other posts abandoned mainly because of sickness — Soumakarea near Aola (1905), Moli (1903-7), Marau (1904-15) and Savo (1909-11).

Concentration of Marist resources on Guadalcanal brought the total of baptised Catholics there to nearly 1300 by 1912. The same year the prefecture was elevated to the rank of vicariate and Bertreux was consecrated bishop. Bertreux was a fastidious person noted for an exaggerated sense of his personal and episcopal dignity. He was said to be 'very pleased with his mitre' and always insisted on correct 'etiquette, the genuflections, the ceremonies, the addresses of letters ("The Right Rev. Doctor")'. Such foibles give credibility to the charge that, in order to honour the South's change of status, he induced Propaganda in 1912 to transfer Ysabel, the 'martyr' island, from the North Solomons to the South.²⁵ Still, it is improbable that the acquisition was intended merely as glorification, for Bertreux was a vigorous expansionist. While dependent for transport from 1903-9 on the *Verdelais*, a schooner of scarcely five tons and suitable only for coastal waters, he had not sought to occupy points beyond Guadalcanal but in 1909, on acquiring the thirty-ton *Jeanne d'Arc*, he again directed the Marists' attention to San Cristobal, New Georgia and Malaita.

Had World War I not stopped the supply of missionaries, it is likely the Marists would also have attacked Ysabel.

After Rouillac's rebuff there in 1899, the Marists next visited San Cristobal in 1906, following advice from Fiji that a labourer, baptised Joseph, had returned home to the village of Veuri, inland from Wanoni Bay on the north coast of the island. Emile Babonneau, who had previously worked in Fiji, embarked for San Cristobal on a trading vessel, to urge Joseph to be patient until a priest could come regularly. By his second visit in 1908, Joseph had returned to Fiji. Meanwhile, the religious configuration of the island had started to change. The S.S.E.M. had established itself at Risunga in Wanoni Bay and nearly all the villages of the north-west coast were occupied by catechists of the Melanesian Mission. Eight youths were, however, recruited for Rua Sura, where three were baptised but with little overt effect. Babonneau, unappreciative of the pressures of the indigenous environment, noted that 'men of little will . . . when they returned to their villages [two years later] they abandoned their holy religion and returned to paganism'.

More fruitful was advice received in 1908 from the Marists in Fiji that a party of labourers was returning to Wanoni Bay. Visiting aboard the *Jeanne d'Arc* in September 1909, Bertreux found a baptised twenty-year-old woman named Selina leading the children of Kahua village each morning and evening in Fijian prayers and hymns. Land was purchased nearby (about two miles from Risunga) for £56 and two cases of tobacco. In December 1909, Babonneau was stationed there with four youths from Guadalcanal. Six months later he was joined by Samuel Moreau and in 1914 two nuns arrived to open a girls' school.²⁶ A second station which operated in 1937-41 at Faumera (Star Harbour) at the eastern extremity of the island has since 1950 been maintained on the south coast, first at Mami, then at Manivovo.

Despite rivalry, personal relationships between Marists and European members of the Melanesian Mission (which had a strong Anglo-Catholic bias) were always courteous, even on Guadalcanal. On San Cristobal they reached a peak of warm friendship with exchanges of hospitality between C.E. Fox and Babonneau. Fox promised 'always [to] pray for your work and rejoice sincerely in your success' and, recognising a 'common Catholicism', passed on to Babonneau a request for baptism from the people of Makira Bay. The Roman Catholic Babonneau was not however deterred in 1917 from persuading the village of Apenawai to retract its promise to accept a

teacher from Fox. Nor was his successor, J.B. Podevigne, discouraged in 1935 from entering the island of Ulawa where there were already about 700 Anglicans and only 300 pagans, 'about 120 [of whom] appear to want me'.²⁷

Marist rivalry with the S.S.E.M., in contrast, was not leavened by mutual respect. It was embittered, on one side, by scornful incomprehension of a 'strange sect' undignified by a place among the historic churches and, on the other, by intolerance of Rome, 'the grossest perversion of pure Christianity', flawed by idolatry, mariolatry and disdain for the Bible. In 1915, Donald McMillan of the S.S.E.M. contributed to the attack on idolatry by snatching a religious medal from the neck of a Catholic and throwing it into the fire, an action which earned him the censure of the High Commissioner and the threat of expulsion from the Protectorate. It also inspired an official circular advising the islanders, both Christian and pagan, that, while 'Christianity stands for all that is good, no matter by whom it is taught', it was unlawful for the missionaries forcibly to interfere with beliefs.²⁸

Distributed mainly through the missions, the circular could have meant little to the islanders. It certainly did not restrain Norman Deck, a nephew of the S.S.E.M. founder, who came to Risunga in 1916 and demedalled Catholic necks, on one occasion earning official rebuke for browbeating a woman into withdrawing her son from the Catholic Mission. Ordered by the D.O. to return medals he had taken, he wrote to Babonneau, 'I should also request that you in your turn will return the books taken from the former adherents of the S.S.E.M.' Shortly afterwards he was again in trouble, threatened with prosecution for advising a planter at Santa Ana that Catholics 'never deal fairly', were utterly without scruple and were unrestrained by 'honesty or truthfulness'. Incidents ceased after Deck's transfer to Malaita in 1923. Open hostility between the rivals gave way to indifference and avoidance, momentarily relieved in 1929 when H.J. Waite, captain of the S.S.E.M. vessel *Evangel*, was summoned to operate on an abscess threatening the life of one of the Marists. When however in 1937 Waite's sister proposed the observance of 'comity' in the district, she was curtly rejected.²⁹

In 1911 the Marists entered New Georgia, at the invitation of Norman Wheatley, a trader who sought to counterbalance Methodist power in those parts. Bertreux promptly sent two Marists to New Georgia, withdrawing a priest from Savo and temporarily stopping the mission's printing press; Louis Raucaz, leader of the

expedition, was also the printer. A third priest was despatched in 1912 but in the same year, after fifteen months of frustration, the party withdrew. Based on the island of Himbi in the Roviana Lagoon and the centre of Methodist influence, they had found the people sullen and unco-operative and, with only a whaleboat at their disposal, their mobility had been restricted. Woodford delivered the final blow by refusing to approve their purchase of the only piece of suitable land offered. When the Marists withdrew, Wheatley called the Seventh Day Adventists to his aid.³⁰

From New Georgia, the Marists turned to Malaita where, Miss Young, founder of the S.S.E.M., had herself created an opening for them. In 1909, she gravely offended Araiassi, the local *ramo* at Tarapaina, an Are Are-speaking village at the north-east of Small Malaita. As *ramo*, or professional fighting man and law enforcer and spokesman for Iava'o, the hereditary *araha*, Araiassi was the most conspicuous dignitary of the district. Miss Young was no respecter of persons; she roundly castigated the *ramo* for his crimes, which extended from the murder of his own child to smoking aboard her ship. Araiassi did not take kindly to such treatment and, consulting Iava'o, called for the Marists, whom he had met among a colony of Are Are migrants at Marau.

Bertreux answered the call in 1910; he bought land at Tarapaina for £50 and a quantity of tobacco and distributed medals, with unexpected results. Miss Young, revisiting Tarapaina in 1911, again outraged local feeling by snatching a medal from the S.S.E.M. teacher's neck and casting the 'idolatrous' emblem into the fire. Jean Coicaud, who had been stationed at Marau since 1905, was assured of a welcome when he came to Tarapaina, a month later, but found the steep clay terrain unsuitable for a station. Through Araiassi however he contacted Arisimae, *ramo* of Rohinari in the northern part of the Are Are district, who sold him a large piece of flat, well-drained land for £80, four sacks of rice, two cases of tobacco and two pigs. Coicaud settled at Rohinari in July 1912.³¹

Coicaud acknowledged the initial alliance with the *ramo* as one of mutual practical advantage. The mission obtained powerful protectors (Arisimae, said a trader, was 'known and feared over one half of Southern Malaita and Guadalcanal'), while the *ramo* obtained a source of gifts, medical aid and protection should the Government decide to punish him. This last consideration became irrelevant when Arisimae was pardoned in 1916 during the systematic pacifica-

tion of Malaita begun under the zealous and often ruthless hand of W.R. Bell.

Not so Araiiasi, anxious to acquire money for feasts in order to advance his prestige, who continued to confront breakers of customs with the traditional alternatives: 'your money or your life'. In 1918, Coicaud cleared him of a false charge of murder, but Bell readily found a valid one. In October 1916 a young man of Tarapaina, accused of some sexual misdemeanour, was on Araiiasi's orders held captive for thirty-six hours to give his relatives a chance to redeem him. When payment was not forthcoming, he was thrown into the sea and killed with blows from spears and canoe paddles. Learning that Bell knew of this incident, Coicaud again intervened:

I pleaded extenuating circumstances for my old friend. He had only acted according to the code of the country Moreover no one wished to plead for the victim.

The *ramo* was paroled for four years, at Visale and Rohinari, where he was baptised in 1922; in keeping with his baptismal name, Petero, he directed his ambitions into the new role of proselytiser: 'I wish to be the pillar of religion because it is I who have brought religion to Malaita.'³² He regularly accompanied the missionary on visits, never ceasing, records Coicaud, to talk religion. Each evening he harangued the villagers until they fell asleep and early each morning he ran into their huts urging them to accept the medal. Arisimae, less indebted to the mission, remained true to his spirits until baptised on his deathbed in 1947.

Six months after founding the Rohinari station, Raucaz began another at Buma in the Langalanga Lagoon, where in 1909 Bertreux had bought land. Thereafter, the Marist field of action on Malaita slowly increased. Rokera station was founded in 1929 to supplement Rohinari and Takwa begun in 1935 to serve the Suava speakers of north Malaita, contacted about 1920 from Buma by Donatien Coicaud, brother of Jean.

Marist resources, however, remained concentrated on Guadalcanal, somewhat surprisingly considering that in 1920 Bertreux (who died in 1919) had been succeeded by Raucaz, an experienced pioneer with first-hand knowledge of evangelistic opportunities on Malaita. In 1921 and again in 1923, Raucaz wrote that Malaita, with a population he accurately estimated to be about four times that of Guadalcanal, was the hope of the mission,³³ yet in 1931, of sixteen priests in the vicariate, only four were stationed on Malaita, together with two of

the seventeen nuns.† Possible explanations for Raucaz's lack of acumen are the rule against stationing Marists singly and the inflexibility of the station system. Resources once committed to Guadalcanal could not readily be diverted elsewhere.

The station-centredness of the Marists' operations, especially in view of the ill luck that attended their efforts to train catechists, meant that to close a station or reduce its staff could, wholly or partly, withdraw Catholic influence from a district. A further possibility, suggested by consideration of the situation in the North Solomons during the same decade, is that, with the Protestants already firmly established in the vicariate, Raucaz decided against scattering his forces in order to counter them.

Even so, as his critics charged, Raucaz could have increased Marist representation on Malaita at little cost to Guadalcanal. He had opened his episcopate by stationing Jean-Marie Aubin, Bertreux's former secretary, at Ruavatu on the mainland opposite Rua Sura and in 1923 moved the mission headquarters from Rua Sura, which had outlived its usefulness as a place of security, to Visale. Rua Sura was leased to a neighbouring planter.

Aubin was rather ineffectual (though he later succeeded Raucaz as vicar apostolic) and made little impact at Ruavatu. Although the Marists had been able to buy land there in 1911, local resentment was still strong against them. Evangelistic prospects were also limited by the fact that Anglican influence had spread along the coast after the villages near Tasiboko were converted by their Gela allies in 1902, although from the late 1920s Ruavatu was a useful base from which to counter Anglican and S.D.A. efforts to win the bushmen at the eastern end of Guadalcanal.³⁴

The German Solomons were proclaimed a prefecture apostolic in May 1898, nine months after the British Solomons. Propaganda, sensitive both to the nationalistic and religious factors in German politics, and with two Catholic missions already working in German New Guinea, had delayed creating a third until Bishop Broyer of Samoa could visit Berlin in 1897 to consult the German Director of Colonies. Broyer, though a Frenchman, was *persona grata*, thanks to the Marists' consistent support for German rather than British interests in Samoa, and reported the desired assurances:

† Convents were opened at Tangarare 1904, Visale 1908, Rua Sura 1911, Avuavu 1913, Wanoni Bay 1915, Ruavatu 1927, Buma 1928, Rokera 1933 and Takwa 1937.

The German government would be pleased to see Catholic missionaries undertake as soon as possible the evangelisation of these still cannibal islands. In this case, the German government would forbid protestant sects to establish themselves in these islands. If not, the island would be given to a Protestant sect to evangelise and access to them would in future be forbidden to Catholic missionaries.

The mission began precipitately. Broyer, in Sydney in November 1898, was advised by Bishop Couppé of New Britain not to delay; it was rumoured in Berlin that the Government intended to prohibit the Marists from entering the Solomons, ostensibly to avoid Catholic Centre Party pressure to found a Marist house in Germany where, since the Kulturkampf, the growth of religious orders had been discouraged. For some years Marist requests to enter Germany had been repeatedly refused. To present therefore, a *fait accompli*, Broyer instructed two priests to proceed from Samoa to the Solomons immediately.

No difficulties arose. The German New Guinea administration, valuing the missionaries as auxiliaries in developing the protectorate, gave full encouragement. Moreover, in April 1899 the Marists were authorised by the Imperial Government to open a seminary at Meppen, near Osnabruck in northern Germany, for the specific purpose of training German missionaries for Samoa and the Solomon Islands.³⁵ This reversal of religious policy coincided with moves consolidating German colonial possessions in the Pacific. Responsibility for German New Guinea was transferred in April 1899 from the Neuguinea Kompagnie to the Imperial Government, while Germany's claim to sole rights in western Samoa were accepted later in the same year by Britain and the United States.

Broyer's envoys, Eugene Englert and Charles Flaus, reached the Solomons in March 1899. On the advice of Fritz Rose, the German consul in Samoa, they had set their course for the Shortland Islands, in the Bougainville Straits, then the only area of European settlement in the German protectorate (but soon to be transferred to British control). There they were welcomed by C.N. Tindal, an English-born trader and representative of the Mernshein company. Tindal readily negotiated their land purchase on Poporang Island from Ferguson, the main Shortland chief, and recruited labourers from the Shortlands, Bougainville and Choiseul to clear it. Work was well under way when Broyer arrived in July, by which time the six gold sovereigns Englert had paid Ferguson had also found their way into the trader's pocket.

Although long familiar with Europeans, the Shortlanders were impressed by the Marists and their accoutrements. They 'marvelled at the sight of so many things they did not understand' such as a prefabricated house and the sight of Broyer in his official robes. Seeing a group of religious statues, 'they just stood there, mouth agape, speechless in admiration'. Delighted by the response and noting that, thanks to Tindal, all the Shortlanders, even the children, wore the loin cloth, the Marists rejoiced that Providence was favouring their enterprise. They lamented only that the Buka language they had learned from labourers in Samoa was not understood by the Shortlanders. With premature optimism, the only difficulty they reported after six months was that of attracting adults to the *lotu*, the principal reason being the teaching that polygamy was incompatible with Christianity. As Ferguson replied:

we old ones have our wives, we do not wish to destroy or abandon our customs, but [he continued] take our children and instruct them in religion. When the sisters come they will instruct our young girls and you will marry them in the European fashion.

Polygamy could not readily be forsaken. It had vast social ramifications and was a basic prop of the traditional social structure throughout the Solomons, where the labour of several wives was a key means of producing wealth and hence obtaining high rank. For that reason Ferguson's father, the renowned Gorai, had told Cuppy as early as 1882 that he had no wish for missionaries to settle in his islands because 'they would insist on his giving up nearly all his wives'. Polygamy was of particular moment in the islands of the Bougainville Straits, where it seems to have been practised on a scale unequalled in other parts. Elsewhere, leaders rarely had more than three or four wives and for most men monogamy was normal. In the Shortlands, Gorai's death in 1894 created perhaps a hundred widows and his son Kopana, who died in 1901, left fifteen. At Mono, thirty miles southwest of the Shortlands, Mule in 1882 had between twenty-five and thirty wives, while the majority of men had two. In 1903, of the four leading Shortland chiefs one had twenty, another fifteen and the others ten, while lesser men commonly had two.³⁶

The precise reasons are not clear. It is likely that the growth of polygamy owed much to the plentiful supply of European goods obtained through extensive contact with whalers and later labour recruiters. The people of the Bougainville Straits acted as middlemen for the supply of cloth, knives and axes to their trading partners in

south Bougainville, who generally lived far from the coast. Privileged access to these goods and ready markets among the more numerous inhabitants of the mainland surely increased the islanders' traditional purchasing power. By 1900 the Shortlanders were maintaining the system by regular purchase of girls and occasionally boys from Bougainville with cloth obtained from Tindal and the Marists themselves.³⁷

Twelve years later the system was in disarray. The inflow of women from Bougainville had diminished with the result that, while older and richer men were still able to obtain extra wives, younger men were frequently unable to obtain even one. Assisted by disease, the local birth rate apparently declined sharply. Again, the reasons are obscure. Woodford suggests that fewer women were available on account of German efforts to stop migration from Bougainville to the British territory. It might also be suggested that the economic base of the system had been weakened by the decline of the labour trade and through increased direct dealing by traders with the people of south Bougainville. Certainly by 1913 the Shortlanders appeared less prosperous than fourteen years before. They were also more ready to adopt the *lotu*. A conversion movement began in 1909 with the baptism of Gorai's blind son, Bitiai, and accelerated after 1913, when a number of leading men succumbed to joint government and mission demands to forsake polygamy in order to halt the population decline.³⁸

To challenge polygamy at the Shortlands in 1899, then, was to challenge a 'peculiar institution', which a very large proportion of the community had a personal interest in preserving. Broyer therefore took Ferguson at his word: the mission would concentrate on influencing the young people and nuns would be sent to attend to the women. But the implications of the thin end of the wedge were not lost on the Shortlanders. When two nuns, Sisters Claire and Ignace, arrived from Samoa in April 1901, they were refused all access to the women and girls. Boys also were in short supply. In September 1901, Poporang school held seven girls, all from Bougainville, and fifty-two youths, all but four from Bougainville and Buka. Even so, the Marists were satisfied with Poporang. Coconuts flourished in the sandy soil (by April 1902 nearly six thousand trees had been planted) and the island itself was, like Rua Sura, a convenient base from which to launch a vigorous north-directed program of reconnaissance, recruiting of pupil-labourers and land buying. They were dependent for

transport on local traders, until Rouillac delivered an eight-ton cutter in December 1901.³⁹

As in the British Solomons, the Administration encouraged mission expansion, viewing it as an exponent of economic development. In 1899, Rudolf von Bennigsen, the Governor of New Guinea, authorised Broyer 'to acquire in the Solomons all the land reasonably necessary for the mission'. A year later, visiting Poporang and seeing 'the extraordinarily active agricultural work' the Marists had done there, he was even more encouraging, urging them to proceed to Bougainville.

I am disposed to cede to the mission, in the port of Kieta, a piece of land . . . from 400-500 hectares on condition that work is done there not as mission but that it be agricultural work, as is being done at Poporang.

Albert Hahl became Governor in 1902 and was similarly generous.⁴⁰ Government encouragement was complemented by a widespread willingness among the islanders to sell land — a disposition of which the Marists took full advantage. In 1900 an initial thirty-five hectares were bought at Kieta, on the east coast of Bougainville, from Sarai, chief of Pokpok, the island at the mouth of the harbour, for ten axes, ten work knives, twenty lengths of cloth, a box of beads and a six-oared whaleboat. In 1901, opening Marist contact with Buka, land was bought on the west coast islet of Pororan and in 1902 more was obtained at Patupatuai on the Buin coast from the villagers of Kihili, who wanted mission protection against an expected attack from the Shortlands. By 1913 the Marists held 500 hectares at Kieta, 1000 at Buin, 120 at Koromira, 200 at Torokina and 125 at Buka, in addition to land at seven other places.^{†41}

Occupation of the sites was slow, owing mainly to malaria. Of ten priests who worked in the prefecture between 1899 and 1904 seven, including three who died there, remained less than two years. By 1904, when the prefecture became canonically independent of Samoa and Joseph Forestier was named prefect apostolic, there was only one Marist post, Kieta, outside Poporang. Nor had that been founded without difficulty. To start with, Sarai's right to sell the land had been disputed by Apotu, the leader of Rigu, a harbourside village, as well as by bush people. When Englert and his curate,

[†]Other dates of acquisition were Torokina 1904, Koromira 1908, Burunotui 1908, Rerebere (west Buin) 1909, Borobere (east Buin) 1914. At Rerebere and Borobere were later built the stations of Turiboiru and Muguai, respectively.

Pierre Meyer, arrived in October 1901 to take possession at Kieta they found Sarai apprehensive and their mainland neighbours resentful.

Englert, harsh and overbearing in character, made no effort at conciliation. He directed that a Rigu garden fence on mission land be dismantled to provide material for a house for fourteen youths the missionaries had brought from Poporang. He threatened to poison, and on one occasion shot at, the Rigu pigs which invaded the mission garden. Further offence was given in May 1902 when six youths returned to the bush villages of Toraurua and Tavidua, disappointed with the pay they had received after three years at Poporang.

Local grievances against the mission were mutually recognised in an exchange of pigs between Rigu and Toraurua, and on 7 July a group of bushmen headed by Sietai of Toraurua and Akuaku, one of the disgruntled ex-recruits, attacked mission boys clearing bush some distance from the house and killed two. It is unlikely that this was the prelude to an attack on the missionaries, as the Marists at first thought. Had they intended to do more than register a protest, the bushmen would probably have killed Meyer while he was visiting Toraurua the day before the attack. Nevertheless, the missionaries kept to their house, maintaining armed watch day and night, until withdrawn to Poporang by Forestier a week later. The bullying Englert, his nerve broken by the affair, returned to Europe in August, bid good riddance by his *confrères*.

The same month Meyer returned to Kieta. He found the mission house and its contents undisturbed and the people repentant, fearful of reprisals; Englert had made no secret of the fact that he would summon a man-of-war to punish them. Within a week, Sietai and Akuaku presented Meyer with a pig and implored his protection. They received their answer on 13 March 1903 when the promised vessel, the *Cormoran* arrived. The captain declared himself 'ready to undertake any reprisals, punishments and expeditions' but was assured by Meyer that it was no longer necessary. To the islanders' profound amazement and relief, the *Cormoran* steamed out of Kieta harbour within an hour without having fired a shot, leaving the mission confirmed in local favour.

The significance of Meyer's action was not lost on the people of Numanuma, forty miles north of Kieta, whose reputation for ferocity gave them much reason to fear a man-of-war. Visiting in April 1903, Meyer obtained eleven boys and in June obtained land,

on condition that he intercede for Numanuma also should occasion arise.⁴²

Warships were an infrequent, ponderous and often ineffective means of creating peace. The likelihood of punishment for violence and consequent value to the Bougainvilleans of mission protection increased with the establishment in September 1905 of the administrative post at Kieta (seven months after François Allotte and John Rausch began the Marists' second Bougainville station at Patupatuai).[†] The first to suffer from the systematic enforcement of 'law and order' were the Nasioi people of the mountains behind Kieta, against whom the administration officer, Doellinger in 1906 found it 'necessary to take the field no less than seven times'. Chastened by his severity and preferring not to attract similar attention, the Buin inland from Patupatuai began regularly to allow Allotte to mediate in inter-village disputes.

When however in 1907 he gave asylum to a notorious sorcerer, whom men from the important village of Moro had attempted to kill, local feeling turned against the threatened, the Marists appealed to Kieta and Doellinger led an expedition against Moro, killing two men and burning several houses. The expedition was only grudgingly undertaken; Doellinger and later Hahl accused the Marists of bringing the trouble on themselves through needless interference with native custom. Since the murder in 1904 of ten Sacred Heart missionaries in New Britain the authorities had, it seems, become critical of the risks taken by missionaries; it is also likely that they disliked being forced to divert to Buin any part of the limited resources committed to developing the settlement around Kieta. German policy was to concentrate on pacifying areas small enough to be administered permanently or of particular economic significance. Nevertheless, the display of force the Marists had been able to summon was sufficient to impress the Buin with the danger of actively opposing them. Allotte summoned a meeting of local leaders, assuring them that asylum would be granted anyone who required it, and all agreed to accept his invitation to resume diplomatic relations. The agreement was sealed by the grant of land for a chapel near Moro.

The Marists subsequently moved freely throughout the Buin plain, despite continued feuding between villages. Police were next

[†] A previous attempt to found a station at Patupatuai had failed in 1903, when J. B. Perpezat died of blackwater fever after three weeks' residence.

despatched to Buin in 1913, not to protect missionaries but to ensure peaceful conditions for recruiting labourers to new plantations which had grown up since 1908 on the east coast of the island.⁴³

Marist expansion was steady though uneventful. Further stations were founded at Koromira south of Kieta in 1908, at Burunotui on the west coast of Buka in January 1910 and at Torokina on the west coast of Bougainville in 1911. Recognising the progress in the German protectorate, although the Marists had only about 350 baptised converts there by 1910, Forestier transferred his headquarters at the beginning of that year from Poporang to Kieta.

In the British section of the prefecture, however, Marist progress was slight. Forestier had accepted an invitation to visit the north-east coast of Choiseul in 1903 but when the people, who were hoping for a resident missionary to defend them against warlike neighbours, refused to provide children for Poporang, the contact lapsed. A second Marist visit there in 1909 fared no better than the first, while in 1907 and 1908 Marist visitors were also coldly received at the island of Mono. The Mono people were unwilling to accept a mission identified with their rivals in the Shortlands. Their reluctance was strengthened by the fear that to do so would stimulate traffic between the two islands, which could lead to the Shortlanders reclaiming land rights abandoned by their forebears, who had migrated several decades earlier from Mono.⁴⁴ As for the Shortlands themselves, despite the conversion movement begun there in 1909, the new Christians remained apathetic. Nevertheless between 1910 and 1914 the station at Poporang was of singular importance as a base from which the Marists fought the first round of a struggle against the northward advance of Protestant influence.

Directing the Marist effort was Maurice Boch, left at Poporang when Forestier moved to Kieta. Boch was the most colourful Marist in the North Solomons. Born in Alsace, he had in 1897 been a subaltern in a French cavalry regiment, when a sermon preached by Bishop Broyer at Sedan aroused his interest in Pacific missions and inspired him to join the Society of Mary. The decision was bitterly opposed by both his apparently bigoted German Protestant father and his French Catholic mother, counting on a military career to boost the family fortunes — to no avail. Boch reached the Solomons in 1908 and soon became a popular figure with a reputation for open-handedness. In 1916 the European residents of the Shortland Islands district petitioned Forestier not to transfer him to Buka.

Among his colleagues he was known for his fondness of classical music, his carefully waxed moustaches and his urbanity, well illustrated in this musing on being alone:

Does solitude depress me? Not at all! For despite having no *socius* I have a companion, my pipe, my very dear pipe which, humanly speaking, satisfies me completely. There was a time when, sporting a mane like a horse and with natural teeth, I was well equipped to conquer pretty features and fine qualities. But were I still marriageable, instead of being a Marist, and was my hair still elaborately done, and did my mouth contain an ivory keyboard instead of black, worn stumps, I would prefer my pipe to the prettiest girls in the world Would it not be wise for the next Chapter to prescribe the pipe for all Marists? This move would at once double our forces, and would thus provide a *socius* at all stations.

Boch was also a man of combative dislikes whose detestation of Germany (understandable in view of his background) was exceeded only by his horror of Protestants. A rumoured Methodist occupation of Mono induced him to revisit the island in 1910 to install a catechist, unsuccessfully, however; in 1911 Mono accepted the Methodists. Three years later Boch was more successful, winning two of the three villages on Fauro, thirteen miles east of Shortland, an island the Marists had neglected until the Methodists showed interest.⁴⁵

Choiseul, which the Methodists had reached in 1905, saw the most heated competition. An opportunity for the Marists to enter occurred when a youth from the north-west coast committed some offence in his village and found his way in 1911 to Poporang. In February 1912 he was sent home, laden with gifts for his elders, and in September Boch followed him, distributing tobacco and briskly 'opening fire on the Methodists'. He obtained an option on land at the mouth of the Tambatamba River, opposite an islet occupied by a Tongan Methodist teacher. Returning in November, however, he found the owners unwilling to sell. The reason was soon apparent.

Two weeks after Boch's visit, John F. Goldie (chairman of the Methodist Mission and in Boch's view 'a heinous miscreant', 'the demon of Rubiana') had returned the fire. He rebuked the trader who had taken Boch to Choiseul, snatched medals from people's necks and brow-beat the sellers into retracting their offer. Turning to the Resident Magistrate in the Shortlands, N.S. Heffernan, he reported the retraction, charging that Boch had bribed men to 'sell' land they did not own. If the Marists should move into Choiseul, he threatened to station European missionaries at Tambatamba and on Shortland, in which event, trouble could be expected. Taking Goldie at his

word, Heffernan asked Boch to withdraw, only to be told that Catholics could not in conscience accept 'spheres of influence'; to do so 'would [make Choiseul] our Fashoda, and its few thousand inhabitants would be forever lost to God!'⁴⁶

A court of inquiry supported Boch's stand, finding Goldie 'quite in the wrong and the facts . . . not as [he had] stated'. The land had been freely offered by its rightful owners and the retraction, as the Tongan teacher deposed, arose from Goldie's threats, the Tambatamba people being prepared to 'tell [Europeans] anything for peace sake'.

Victory was largely lost in the peace. Concentrated on Bougainville and Buka, the Marists were unable to keep the Choiseul post effectively manned. From January to September 1914, Joseph Bertin resided at Tambatamba, until invalided to Sydney. For the next six years Choiseul's few Catholics were ministered to from Poporang. In 1920, a chapel at Warisi was violated by Methodists and Albert Binois was transferred from Buka to Tambatamba, but was retransferred to Poporang in 1925. Choiseul again received only sporadic Marist visits until Binois was permanently restationed there in 1931.⁴⁷

Religious rivalry, meanwhile, was reaching a peak in Bougainville. Six weeks after the outbreak of war in Europe in August 1914, Australian troops overwhelmed a token force at Rabaul to take control of German New Guinea. A military administration remained in charge until 1921, when Australia received the territory from the League of Nations as a Class C Mandate.

Direct impact on the Marist mission of the change from German rule was slight. The missionaries, even the French ones, resented the Australians' suspicion of them but only one, a German lay brother named Franz Gickshaff, refused to take the oath of neutrality and was deported. In 1924 two minor land claims were disallowed, but in 1925 two leases (Muguai and Turiboiru) were converted to freehold and three new freeholds (Monoitu, Mamaregu and Sovele) acquired in south Bougainville in consideration of the mission ceding a large part of the Patupatuai property to the Administration. In 1926, in accordance with the German Missions Ordinance, title to all Marist property reverted to the Administration, which forthwith relinquished control to a board of mission trustees.⁴⁸ German traders, in contrast, were expropriated and deported.

In the records of the Marists, however, the transition to Australian rule figures as a major disaster, allegedly bringing a change of policy

whereby Protestant missionaries were allowed in the 1920s to enter Bougainville and Buka. The validity of this charge is doubtful. It is extremely unlikely that Protestants had ever been officially excluded from the German Solomons; the reported promise in 1897 of a monopoly to Broyer was not repeated by any of the Governors of New Guinea and the main precedent for monopoly, the 'spheres of influence' allotted to Catholic and Methodist missions in New Britain in 1891, was abolished in February 1899, a month before the Marists reached the German Solomons. Forestier was in fact apparently unsure of guaranteed monopoly in 1905 and wrote, "It is necessary that our missionaries occupy the chief parts of Bougainville and prevent the infiltration of Protestants".⁴⁹

The Marists certainly enjoyed a long *de facto* monopoly which may be explained by the fact that their immediate rivals, the Methodists, were too busy elsewhere; until 1916 the German Solomons were within the short-staffed New Britain Methodist district. It was not until 1914, with the progress of Goldie's mission in New Georgia, that the Methodists seriously began to consider extending their work to Bougainville. With the taking of Mono they were assured of a good reception in the Siwai district west of Buin, with which Mono had close trading relations. (Shortland, on the other hand, whose trading route the Marists had followed to Bougainville, traded with Buin.) They appear moreover to have had the approval of the German authorities for the planned advance, which began in 1916. In that year Methodist boundaries were altered to include the former German Solomons in the New Georgia district and the first indigenous Methodist teachers entered Siwai from Mono. Theirs was a brief sortie; following their advance into Buin in 1917, the involvement of one of them in a local feud led to their expulsion in March 1918.

The Marist respite was likewise brief. Teachers returned to Siwai in 1920, soon followed by European missionaries who occupied ports in several parts of the territory. In 1922, A. H. Cropp and three Fijian teachers settled at Skotolan, on the west coast of Buka; in 1924, H. G. Brown settled at Teop Island opposite Numanuma and in 1926, A. H. Joyce began a station at Tonu in Siwai. A third mission came to Bougainville in 1924. From Lavelai, a village on the south-east coast, one Sekata disenchanted with the Marists, called in the S.D.A.s on the recommendation of a local man who had come under their influence while working at Tulagi.⁵⁰

In concentrating their work on Buka, the east coast of Bougainville

and south Bougainville, the Protestant missions entered areas where contact with the Marists was already extensive: Patupatuai, with over seven hundred living Catholics in 1920, had by that time recorded a total of 985 baptisms, fifty-two of whom were Siwai baptised between 1912 and 1917; Koromira, where ninety-five boys were at school in 1912, recorded 688 baptisms by 1920, as compared with 616 at Kieta; while in 1915 priests at Burunotui began installing ex-schoolboys as catechists in the main villages of Buka, which by 1922 had 530 baptised Catholics.⁵¹ The Protestant advance therefore met vigorous resistance.

Boch had returned temporarily to France in 1918, anxious, as he said, to help return Teutonic glory to the past and to avenge the destruction of the Cathedral of Rheims, where he had been ordained.⁵² He enlisted in the French army but the armistice was signed before he reached the battle lines.

On returning to the Solomons in 1920 as prefect apostolic (Fores-tier having died in 1918), he found ample scope for unexpended belligerence. Forewarned by the 'raid' of 1916-18, he anticipated the main Protestant attack. Disregarding the celebrated rule that Marists should not be deployed singly, he broke up communities and increased the number of posts occupied on Bougainville and Buka from six in 1920 to twelve in 1924. He abandoned the coast station of Patupatuai and scattered missionaries through the less accessible but more populous inland areas of the south Bougainville plain — Muguai in 1921 and Turiboiru and Monoitu (Siwai) in 1922. Leon Chaize, at Torokina since 1911, was appointed in 1921 to Sipai on the then unpacified north-west coast of Bougainville but, finding the people menacing and unfriendly, withdrew after some months and went on to Buka. There, as in Buin, the original station, Burunotui, was replaced in 1922 by three new posts — Gagan in the centre of the island and Lemanmanu and Hanahan on the cliff tops of the north and east, respectively. In 1923 one of the two priests at Tinputz, a station begun in 1920 on the north-east coast of Bougainville, was placed at Teop a few miles to the south. Taking advantage of traditional trading links with Lemanmanu and Hanahan, Boch also extended Marist influence to the outlying islands of Nissan and the Carterets. The first, which he had visited in 1917, received catechists in 1926 and the second in 1928.⁵³

Having redeployed his forces, Boch proceeded to augment them through systematic catechist training. Burunotui was reopened as a

school in January 1924, and sixty-five pupils embarked on a three-year course of catechetics and the 'three R's' under the direction of Thomas Wade, a newly arrived American. He was the mission's first English-speaking priest and later its first bishop. The outstanding feature of the school was that, to counter the prestige the Methodists enjoyed through knowing English, Wade also taught English. The Protestant monopoly of this language had been an obstacle to the appeal of Catholicism and became more so on the arrival of the S.D.A.s, who made a point of teaching it; as more English-speaking Marists joined the Mission, Boch employed them similarly. A second American, John Conley, arrived in 1926 and was appointed to begin a second 'English' school at Patupatuai, drawing his pupils from the stations of south Bougainville. The plan foundered when Marist authorities in Europe insisted that he be placed with a *socius*. Accordingly, Conley was stationed at Turiboiru here, until he replaced Wade in 1928 at Burunotui, he was forced to operate a purely local school; boys from Kieta, Koromira and even Siwai refused to dwell inland amidst people they distrusted. Emmet McHardy, a New Zealander who arrived in 1929, was put to teaching English at Tunuru in order to combat S.D.A. influence in the mountains behind Kieta. James McConville, an Irishman, conducted an 'English' school at Katuka in Siwai from 1931 to 1932, when, the pressure of competition having eased, all catechist training was centralised under his charge at Chabai in north Bougainville.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, to make the most effective use of catechists (numbering 356 by 1935) Boch directed that every station district be subdivided into sectors, each under the control of a head catechist assisted by a number of subordinates. Each catechist was to instruct the people in the village in which he resided and to resist Protestant influence in the neighbourhood, in return for which head catechists were paid ten shillings per month and their assistants five shillings, supplemented by payments in kind — two loin cloths monthly and two sticks of tobacco weekly.^{†55}

The Marists also challenged their rivals directly. Boch fired the first shot in 1922. Emulating Goldie's action of 1913, he protested to the authorities that Cropp had used threats to acquire land from the Skotolan people, rivals of those at Burunotui. As on Choiseul, an official investigation disproved the charge. He is also alleged to have

[†]During the 1930s depression, wages were reduced to a single rate of ten shillings per four months, plus ten sticks of tobacco and three loin cloths.

claimed that the Marist *lotu*, belonging to the days of German rule, had no place in an Australian territory. Apostolic opportunism flourished on both sides. In 1925, while Cropp was temporarily absent in Australia getting married, Leon Chaize at Gagan welcomed the chance to 'make a series of excursions into his little domain'. In 1929, Charles Seiller manhandled S.D.A. teachers out of a Catholic village near Kieta, while in 1939 at Konua, on the north-west coast of Bougainville, a Marist, Adam Mueller, reported that, finding a newly built but unpaid for Methodist chapel in a village, he 'paid for it, made an altar and blessed it as a Catholic chapel'. In 1929, Boch found it expedient to send McHardy around the vicariate 'as living propaganda to show that the Catholic Church really can embrace a Britisher or two'. The Marists were also embarrassed by the rumour that when Cropp's followers knew English, they would be exempted from government taxation. In 1931, McHardy complained that a disastrous earthquake in which the New Zealand Marist seminary was destroyed, was being tellingly represented by the S.D.A.s as proof of divine displeasure with the Marists.⁵⁶

Feeling ran highest in Siwai. The Methodists, who eventually attracted half the population, were reinforced in 1928 by an influx of teachers from New Georgia. The Marists were ready for them. The year before, Boch had equipped a squad of catechists in south Bougainville with bicycles in order that they might more quickly visit threatened villages, challenge Protestant emissaries and report back to their priest. In November 1928 he issued instructions that forceful catechists, 'even insufficiently trained ones', be placed in each village and station work subordinated to visiting, even if it meant making the schoolboys 'a troop of peripatetic scouts accompanying the [priests] . . . from village to village'. Visiting Siwai two months later and observing the bitter sectarian competition, the Government Anthropologist, W.P. Chinnery, suggested to Boch that the missions reach a *modus vivendi*, only to be told, 'If the Protestants wish to have peace with us, let them go where we are not . . . where our influence is established . . . there will be a fight for each individual village if necessary.'

Fighting did break out shortly afterwards; Methodist and Catholic factions destroyed each other's chapels at Osokoli and Hukuha. A judicial commission was appointed to investigate the situation and, though its only official outcome was the restriction in 1930 of the entry of 'foreign' Melanesian and Polynesian missionaries to the

mandated territory, it did consider the Marists most to blame for arousing the animosity of their followers.⁵⁷ The display of government interest in mission activities (and the threat of further action it was thought to contain) did, however, have a pacifying effect. Rivalry in Siwai continued into the 1930s but it was more discreet, and decreased as the number of people unconverted to one side or the other declined.

Conducive to the lowering of tension was the less truculent lead given by Wade who, succeeding Boch in 1930, was consecrated bishop: the North Solomons were elevated to the status of a vicariate. Like Boch, Wade continued to scatter missionaries singly, less to hold ground already won than to extend Marist influence in hitherto neglected areas which in the 1930s were being opened up by government patrols completing the task of pacification. Thus were founded stations at Sovele in the Nagovisi district in 1930; at Sipai and Kuraio in north-west Bougainville in 1934 and 1941 respectively and at Asitavi in 1935 to serve the mountainous areas behind Numanuma. Attention was given as well to the remoter parts of the vicariate; in 1939 John Conley was stationed at Nissan, where he was joined by Florent Waché in 1941.

By 1942 the Marists' net had (except for the Anglican and Methodist heartlands in the centre of the group) spread throughout the Solomon Islands, an impressive feat involving about 120 missionaries stationed at thirty-four posts — twenty-two in the North Solomons and twelve in the South. It was, however, an essentially limited achievement; the maintenance of the network remained almost wholly dependent on the continued supply of European resources. Nevertheless when Marist missionaries next fled the Solomon Islands they left behind them a considerable flock calling itself Catholic.

4 Evangelisation

In 1942 well over 30,000 Solomon Islanders were baptised Catholics, two-thirds of them in the North Solomons. Another 50,000 were adherents of one or other of the four Protestant missions. All had been gathered by a broad movement in which almost half of the total population, especially those in the younger age groups, had turned from paganism to Christianity. Catholicism had entered the Solomon Islands at a time when Christianity generally was in the ascendant; the denomination Solomon Islanders accepted depended less on theological differences among missions than where they happened to be located.

The increase in the number of Catholics followed steadily Marist expansion. In the South Solomons by 1918 nearly 3000 Catholics were claimed for Guadalcanal, nearly 300 for San Cristobal and only 136 for Malaita. By 1936, Catholics exceeded 5000 on Guadalcanal and had risen to 3000 on Malaita, while by 1947 Malaita, with nearly 6000, was ahead of Guadalcanal. Meanwhile, from about 1920, the increase in the North Solomons outstripped that in the southern vicariate as the Marists, with twenty years start on their Protestant rivals and a less dispersed population to deal with than in the South, intensified their activities in Bougainville and Buka. In 1920 the North had just over 4000 Catholics, but by 1936 it had more than 21,000. By 1942 growth rates were tending to stabilise although early

effort and competition encountered are still reflected in the varying religious structure of the islands.^{†1}

How did the Marists obtain their following among the Solomon Islanders? Why did missionaries who returned to the Solomons in 1898 succeed where their predecessors had failed? The immediate answer is that conditions of life there had changed: the islanders' needs were different and the status of Europeans had been elevated. Explanation, therefore, requires that conversions be seen within a wider framework of complementary Melanesian and Catholic ideologies and European impact on the Solomon Islands.

In its most literal sense 'conversion' implies 'turning from something to something else: you put earlier loyalties behind you';² the Solomon Islanders accepted the religious authority of the missionary and rejected, at least nominally, the behaviour and elements of a traditional system of spirituality, now disallowed, a process formally signified by baptism. Despite differences of language and culture, Catholic and Melanesian beliefs could both conduce to the islanders' sincere and valid adoption of Catholicism, if not to an understanding of it. The islanders saw religion as an assortment of assumptions taking validity from custom and the ability to provide solutions to problems of the temporal order and were apt to adopt new and more effective allegiances in response to new situations. Catholicism, on the other hand, focused on beliefs and behaviour dictated by an authority which transcended circumstance. This did not impair its comprehensiveness. Within the terms of their theology the Marists could easily accommodate a wide range of motives for conversion. The essential condition was faith in the rightness of Catholic doctrine (in practice, assent to the missionary's teaching) and required a minimum of theological appreciation, which was readily satisfied. Sacraments effective *ex opere operato* could, it was believed, make their sanctifying impact on the soul regardless of deficiencies in the neophyte's understanding. The islanders' conversion was made to appear less a break with indigenous custom than adaptation of it by use of overt similarities between Catholicism and traditional religious beliefs: the externalisation of spiritual power in material objects such as the Eucharist, blessed medals, Holy Water and rosary beads, the

[†]In 1970 Catholic proportion of total population in the main islands was as follows: Bougainville and Buka 72 percent, Choiseul 18 percent, Malaita 19 percent, Guadalcanal 35 percent, San Cristobal 32 percent, Groenewegen 1970: 328-35; Diocese of Bougainville, Statistical Summary, 1970.

belief in life after death and the practice of honouring the dead.

Ideological aptitude for conversion to Christianity was activated by social factors: the reduction of the islanders' traditional control over their world through the introduction of new problems of disease, economic dependence and fear of European wrath. Alternatives to traditional ways were being demonstrated, and Europeans were established on a level of authority, well being and knowledge far superior to that of the indigenes. In making European goods available as never before, the labour trade had (like the Muruans' visit to Sydney in 1851) provided irrefutable evidence of the white man's affluence and had yoked the Solomon Islanders to European commerce.

Social cohesion and confidence in customary nostrums were weakened by the advent of epidemic diseases such as whooping cough, dysentery, measles, influenza and respiratory infections. The scale, course and effects of their impact have not been and probably cannot be fully evaluated. Nevertheless, a dispiritingly high incidence of sickness was undoubtedly widespread. According to Woodford, dysentery was comparatively unknown in the British Solomons in 1897, yet in 1914 inter-island recruiting was officially restricted in order to limit the spread of the disease. San Cristobal was particularly hard hit. In 1916 it was reported that 'fully one-third of [its] population have died within the last three or four years principally from dysentery and chest complaints'. In 1920 the island was estimated to have three deaths for each birth. Such a desperate situation, as Guiart noted in New Caledonia, created a need for new rallying points of protection and hope, a role easily filled by the Christian missions.³

The need also arose from experience of European power. In helping free the islanders from fear of their neighbours, pacification generated a painful respect for 'government' and 'police', and a compelling reluctance to incur displeasure or even attract attention. In 1906, Raucaz found villagers near Tangarare trembling at his approach simply because he had equipped the crew of his whaleboat with red caps like those worn by Woodford's police. From Marau in 1915, as from Buin in 1934, Marists reported that the threat of police action effectively inhibited the practice of infanticide. Not that the new maladies, cupidity and fear invariably impelled people towards the missionary; he could be blamed for illness, spurned if goods were available from other sources and resented for punitive actions. The Marists at Marau were severely embarrassed in 1913 when two

leading men fell ill after attending Mass, the illness being attributed to the fact that their spirits did not wish them to become Christian.⁴ However, individual demonstrations of the spirits' power did not inhibit the general tendency to identify with a mission.

This tendency cannot be explained in purely secular terms. Welcoming a missionary, even when motivated by the desire for tobacco, could have religious implications. For, as contact increased, Europeans acquired a mystique. John Renton reported disdainful opinions from Malaita, where he lived as a castaway from 1868 to 1875:

The whiteman only presented himself to them as a nomadic race eternally roving about over the sea in his big canoes.

If the whiteman had any island at all, they argued, it must be a very small one — much smaller than their Malayta — their magnificent Malayta — otherwise they would not require to leave it and come trading for yams and coconuts.

This prejudice was soon replaced by such a passion for recruiting that the cessation of the Queensland labour trade was a cause of lasting bitterness on Malaita. Not only did the white man's 'island' come to be respected; more remote and awesome parts of his world such as heaven and hell came to be included in the Solomon Islanders' expanding universe. As early as 1882, Gorai voiced the changing values, deprecating the inferior position of his race with the remark, 'White man, he savez too much. Poor black man! He no savez nothing.' Wonderment at the sight of church statues and European buildings revealed a similar respect. The symbols of European power were feared and admired, and the missionary profited from his association with them.⁵ Even the worldly wise Shortlanders were said to be impressed with the Catholic religion when in 1908 the Resident Magistrate from Gizo attended Mass at Poporang.

Most of the Marists on Guadalcanal at the time had completed a two-year term of military training in the French army and were acclaimed for having been soldiers, a distinction which helped offset the disadvantage of not being British imputed by Anglican sympathisers. Jean Boudard wrote in 1909:

one of the first questions which is often asked of you is this 'Have you been a soldier?' Good for you if you can reply affirmatively. You will immediately be classified as 'a strong, brave man'. Your prestige will be established. Everywhere it will be said 'He has been a soldier'.

Ex-soldiers were esteemed for the courage they were thought to display in visiting strange villages and for not being deterred by difficulties of terrain: 'often people have said to me [continued

Boudard], "You walk well, you cross rivers in fine style, but then you have been a soldier". The Solomon Islanders' respect for superior power was (for the Marists somewhat embarrassingly) reflected in the North Solomons by scorn for Germany after her defeat in World War I. The strength of this feeling, and the esteem for the victors and (by association) for their language, made it expedient for Boch to appoint his German missionaries to work among less sophisticated villagers. His own anti-German prejudice does not seem to have affected relations within the mission. He informed his superiors,

The Germans can be used in the south and in the west of Bougainville and in the east as far north as Kieta . . . but it is important that all the northern part be worked by the Anglo-American element. . . . As to the English part of the prefecture (Shortlands and Choiseul), there again priests of the English language are desired by the natives. The heads of these people were so turned against the Germans by the war that the arrival of missionaries of that nationality would be seriously prejudicial to the mission. . . . The Germans can succeed very well among the bushmen, but for the civilised natives it is necessary to increase the English element.

In the Solomon Islands, admiration for the white man's attainments entailed recognition of the superiority of his religion and a corresponding loss of confidence in the traditional one. As Freytag has it, in a world where secular and religious are fused, 'the presence of the white man and all the new things and conditions which accompany him are of religious significance'. He was more powerful and more prosperous than the indigenes and un beholden to their spirits, a fact which made conversion desirable when circumstances were deemed suitable at the family or village level. The young were surrendered for mission membership as acquaintance with the missionary increased, their elders following as the need arose. Loyalty to kinsmen generally ensured that members of the group adopted the same allegiance as their fellows. Mass conversion movements were comparatively rare and it is significant that the most notable, in south Bougainville and Buka, involved a large population closely settled on easy terrain and possessing larger political units than were usual in most parts of the Solomons.⁶

Conditions in the Solomon Islands had changed; so had the Marists. Those who worked from 1898 onwards were cast in a different mould from those of the 1840s. Concern for their own sanctity had become far less conspicuous and, while they still viewed their vocation in strictly religious terms, these were of a less naive, less enthusiastic, less hopeful and more pastoral kind. By the end of the

nineteenth century, the Society of Mary had six decades of practical, sobering experience in Pacific missions. The difficulties of the missionary situation were known. The exhilarating prospects of martyrdom and mass conversion had been replaced by the example of long and patient careers like those of 'Captain' Breh  ret in Fiji and Father Breton, 'the hermit of Vavau', in Tonga. At the same time the Society of Mary had grown and, spreading beyond France, was recruiting members in many countries of Europe and the English-speaking world. There was no fear that the supply of Marists for the Solomons might dry up.

Such a missionary approach remained paternalistic, pragmatic and minimal, unambitious beyond the task of evangelisation. In 1848, the Marists had been hopeful of success at Murua and Montrouzier had written:

all the future is in the young. We are working zealously to instruct them so as to make catechists. And who knows if later it will not be given us to realise the wishes of the Holy See and form priests among them, and thus naturalize the Catholic Church in these parts.

After about thirty years on Guadalcanal, however, Jean Boudard was unconcerned that 'it needed three generations at least to bring the true meaning of Christianity to the people'. As for developing an indigenous clergy, the possibility was not seriously voiced until 1939 in Wade's report to Propaganda. In 1928, Boch stated that the Melanesians simply lacked the intelligence for priesthood, declaring himself, however, more than satisfied with their unquestioning if uncomprehending belief.

They love the Catechism, especially the illustrated Catechism; they accept the Faith without difficulty because it is sufficient to believe, '*beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt*' . . .

Since baptism guaranteed membership of the True Church, little was expected — or asked — of aspiring Catholics.⁷

Marist tolerance owed little to anthropological study. With few exceptions they were, in the Solomons at least, strikingly indifferent. Studying the native cultures was a hobby, a foible individuals might indulge if they chose. Shortly after his transfer from Buka to Nissan in 1939, John Conley wrote, 'I am interested in ethnology in so far as it *directly* effects my work but have no desire to collect native stories, songs etc., except as a favour for someone else.' He gladly left such diversions to 'our anthropologist, Father Montauban'. Not surprisingly, Marist contributions to the scientific knowledge of the Sol-

omons — publication of a few grammars, vocabularies and legends — was extremely limited. They did however have the benefit of a high level of formal education, which fostered a generally intelligent and practical outlook. Dr C.E. Fox called the Marists 'the best linguists in the Group' and asserted that there have been few Europeans who have known so much about the people.⁸

The steady multiplication of mission stations thus served the Marists well. It put them as closely in touch with the villages as their numbers would allow, an objective they also sought (in accordance with established Catholic missionary practice) by using local languages as far as possible in their dealings with the islanders. A different language, and sometimes more than one, was used at each station. In the North Solomons vernaculars began to give way in the 1920s to pidgin-English for preaching and school work, in response to the Protestant challenge, while the separation of Marists made it difficult for newcomers to learn the indigenous languages from the veterans. In the South Solomons vernaculars were employed almost exclusively until 1942, and since then have yielded to English only in the schools.

The Marists fostered further *rapprochement* with the islanders through the tendency for missionaries to remain for long periods at the same post, particularly if they had helped found it. Jean Boudard remained at Avuavu from 1907 to 1942; Donatien Coicaud was at Buma from 1917 until 1957 (except for a break between 1942 and 1946), while his brother Jean was at Rohinari from 1912 to 1942. In the North Solomons, J.B. Poncelet served in south Bougainville from 1913 to 1950 (except for the period 1942-6), while Leon Chaize, at Torokina from 1911 to 1920, was on Buka from 1921 to 1942. Relations were further strengthened by the Marists' life-long commitment to their task.[†] The villagers, as a Marist reported from Tangarare in 1908, were flattered that a white man should take a personal interest in them and were convinced of the genuineness of that interest by the spectacle of a young missionary growing old, perhaps dying, in their midst.⁹

Another powerful means of making contact — and inducing conversion — was the Marists' paternal indulgence of their parishioners' material desires. Joseph Pellion wrote from Tangarare in 1903:

to keep and increase [their] good dispositions . . . it is necessary to join

[†]Vacations for Society of Mary missionaries were introduced only in 1925 — six months leave in their homeland after fifteen years service. In 1947 the term of service was reduced to seven years and the right to a vacation was extended also to nuns.

with the natives, to be one of them, to take part in their festivals But one cannot go there empty handed: it is necessary, according to the number of guests to take 100, 200, 400 sticks of tobacco, sometimes even a whole case.

The year before, Jean Coicaud at Avuavu had noted, 'To win a little tobacco . . . [the Solomon Islander] will promise whatever you wish. In his honeyed language he will regale your ears with the names "friend". . . "brother". . . "chief." . . ' Filling the pipes of thirty-five bushmen, he reflected, 'it is by these little gifts that the missionary wins the affection of the natives'. The lesson was effectively applied on Malaita where he began work in 1911 and where in 1966 people still fondly recalled, '*Patere* Coicaud loved us with tobacco and calico.' The scale of his generosity is indicated by the fact that, raiding Araiassi's village in 1918, W.R. Bell confiscated a twenty-five-pound box of tobacco given to the *ramo* by Coicaud.¹⁰

In the North Solomons benefaction was stimulated by the Protestant incursion, particularly in Buin, where J.B. Poncelet was known to bolster wavering faith not only with tobacco, calico and tinned meat but with gifts of money. Such tactics were prudently discouraged by Boch who had himself once been censured for excessive liberality. Poncelet later adopted less extravagant measures. Observing the Methodists gaining influence among the mountain people (who were without copra income, and hence had difficulty paying their tax) by arranging the sale of handicrafts for them, he did likewise. From 1935 until the end of the decade he encouraged curio-making, bought the products himself (mainly plaited belts and bracelets) and marketed them through Marist houses overseas.¹¹

Instrumental in attracting a following was the Marists' considerable restraint in interfering with native custom. This did not preclude, of course, the staging of what Tippet has called 'power encounters', where the Marists verified their *mana* by directly affronting the spirits, throwing a medal into Lake Lururu, an abode of dead souls in Buin, or assisting in childbirth a Malaita woman whose husband was forbidden by *taboo* even to point in her direction.¹² Tolerance never extended to violence, however. Only customs explicitly contrary to Catholic teaching were proscribed for the baptised, notably polygamy and direct invocation of the spirits. The latter ban, to police which no effort was made, included actions such as sacrificial offerings of food and the Are Are practice of *pa'ahou*, whereby soon after marriage a wife was obliged to confess to her husband any previous

sexual experience to prevent harm to their children.

In general, the Marists were complacent about the pervasiveness of the spirits' influence. Their real enemy was Protestantism, not an outflanked and retreating paganism. They did not challenge exercises such as garden magic and never made intensive efforts to define the moral compatibility of Catholicism and native custom. Practices such as bride price, marriage and funeral feasts, cicatrisation and tattooing, the segregation of women in menstruation and in childbirth, and *siwa* (the adoption or purchase of a child as a replacement for a dead person) all remained outside the field of mission regulation.

Nudity inspired little indignation except, characteristically, in Bertreux and certain of the nuns, who seemed to find it an affront to their sex. The wearing of light clothing — skirts for females and loin cloths for males — was generally encouraged, from a vague sense of propriety. Moreover, it was in accord with the indigenes' new taste for European fashions. 'I hate to see my future Catholics clad only in a small medal,' wrote Jean Coicaud in 1925, when six hundred people around Tarapaina had enrolled as catechumens on his promise that all who did would receive a length of cloth. An urgent appeal to the readers of the *Annales de Marie* quickly provided the cost of six hundred 'suits' and Coicaud honoured his promise the following year. He later reported, 'all is going well here, a conversion movement is growing in south Malaita'.¹³

Other examples of accommodation may be cited. In 1930 the curate at Ruavatu accompanied a dancing troupe on a tour of feasts so that they could both fulfil social obligations and advertise their Catholic allegiance. In 1914, Jean Coicaud cut down three coconut trees as a sign of mourning for Arisimae's wife; in 1935, Bishop Wade allowed the cremation of Catholics in south Bougainville rather than offend and perhaps alienate the people by insisting on the burial of the dead. Contumacious pagans, though argued with, were rarely upbraided; where possible, they were drawn into informal adherence by being given medals; in 1918, J.M. Aubin ordered twenty-four gross.¹⁴ Reception of a medal was without sacramental importance. Like having a chapel erected in a village or allowing children to attend a mission school, it was a recognised gesture of sympathy for the Marists and rejection of their rivals.

Conversion statistics suggest the effectiveness of the Marist approach. Protestant missionaries were often disdainful; John Metcalf, the Methodist, thought Marists 'listened to native custom too much',

particularly that of bride price. Norman Deck of the S.S.E.M. was appalled by the Marists' 'low standards', while the Anglican Bishop Wilson lamented, 'It is such an easy religion that the people are greatly attracted.' As the *Melanesian Mission Report* for 1909 complained, 'some of our people cannot see why they should not work or fish on Sunday, as the Romans do.'¹⁵

The Marists, like all missionaries, generally found adult pagans — those most committed by habit and interest to old religious allegiances — reluctant to adopt Christianity. In both vicariates, therefore, children were regarded as the hope of the mission and the Marists' efforts were mainly directed to drawing as many as possible into the stations schools, where study was a novelty, discipline generally light, calico and tobacco regularly obtained and the spirits impotent.

Pupils eventually received baptism almost as a matter of course. Normally, their catechumenate lasted about eighteen months, although in the North Solomons during the years of Marist monopoly, it often extended to three years. Pupils usually returned, directly or via the plantations, to their villages. There some acted as teachers and prayer leaders, but most helped diffuse awareness of the *lotu* simply by their conversation, whetting the interest of their fellows with tales of what they had seen and learned. Infants were baptised whenever the parents approved. The baptism of adults, where there were no matrimonial impediments, was at the priest's discretion. A catechumenate of six months, including a period at the station, might be required to test an adult candidate's sincerity and to extend his knowledge of Christianity; especially once mission influence became established in an area, a request was sufficient to obtain baptism.

Concentrating on schools as their main evangelistic tool, the Marists did not try to gather their followers into special mission villages. Except for an early and half-hearted attempt to settle newly wed school pupils on the mission station at Poporang, they made no attempt to form those *réductions* or *chrétientés* — Christian communities living, working and praying under mission aegis — which figured prominently in Catholic missionary work in Paraguay, the Congo and New Caledonia.¹⁶ General sympathy for Christianity among the villagers and the protection of European rule made segregation unnecessary. Moreover, the absence of any significant class of 'second rate citizens' such as slaves, who, being especially access-

ible, could absorb a notable part of the missionaries' message, reduced incentive to build new communities.[†]

An important role in evangelisation was played by nuns, who attended to the chapel, cooked priests' meals and ran a dispensary. Their main task was running a girls' school to bring island women under mission influence and produce Christian wives for graduates of the priests' school. In 1903, Bertreux lamented the absence of girls from his three Guadalcanal stations and appealed for nuns, to overcome the islanders' refusal to entrust their daughters to male staff. The following year Sisters Irénée and Bartholémy of the T.O.R.M. arrived at Tangarare. By 1907, a 'good number' of the girls who frequented their school had been baptised and a second convent was planned for Visale.

The extent to which pupils intermarried is unknown but it grew with increasing school attendance, although arranging of marriages remained the affair of the families, subject only to the prohibition of polygamy and a general ruling that Catholics should marry Catholics. Marriage between Catholics and Protestants was strongly discouraged, though not always successfully if required by traditional obligations. To unions between Catholics and pagans the Marists offered little resistance; they extended the limits of Catholic influence and generally resulted in conversion of the pagan party, usually the woman. Even if the pagan avoided conversion, it was assumed that the offspring would be saved from Protestantism.¹⁷

Girls were more difficult to obtain for school than boys and more expensive gifts were required by relatives. The reason was plain. Nunly chaperoning, while protecting girls against infringement of sexual *taboos* and preserving their marriage value, could not compensate for loss of labour to the village economy. The Marists were often constrained to buy them. In 1902, Forestier purchased several for about £4 each from Buin; they were not freely offered to the mission until 1918.¹⁸ Particularly when founding stations, the Marists purchased not only girls, but also boys and even adults, to obtain an initial following and create a core of assistants (for those purchased depended closely on the mission). Girls were usually given as wives to catechists, often themselves purchased, whose work

[†]Christianisation has, however, been associated with significant population shifts from the interior to the coasts. For converts, change of residence often signified rejection of pagan religious loyalties. It also provided easier access to the religious, medical and material benefits available from the mission and made it easier to visit children at school.

had impeded earning sufficient capital or goodwill among their relatives to obtain a wife in the normal fashion.

The art of evangelisation by purchase was most notably demonstrated by Jean Coicaud. In 1902, appalled at the rampant infanticide, he and Emile Babonneau founded a crèche at Avuavu and announced their willingness to buy children for pipes and tobacco. Coicaud continued the practice at Marau, where he was stationed in 1904, and at Rohinari, where he founded a station in mid-1912 and made his first inroad on local society by providing a sanctuary for refugees and a place for disposing of social undesirables. In January 1913, he was given Petero Kaihione, a ten-year-old boy covered with sores and near death. Under Coicaud's care the child recovered and became the priest's main mentor in the Are Are language and, on 25 December 1915, the first adult baptised at Rohinari. Petero married Adela Poikana, bought from her father by Coicaud for a quantity of shell money; at fifteen, she had fled to the station to avoid punishment for uttering a curse. By 1924 the couple were working as catechists at Takataka on the south-east coast of Malaita. Meanwhile, Petero's family had followed him to Rohinari, anxious to escape a feud which had already killed several of their kinsmen, and sought asylum with Coicaud, asking him to adopt their remaining children, two girls and a boy. These three and their eventual spouses also became catechists.

Another refugee to what Coicaud sometimes called his 'orphanage of widows' was Petero's 'aunt', Elena Losioa, who made a distinctive if unintentional contribution to the foundation of Catholicism in Are Are. On the demise of her pagan husband and threatened with death according to custom, she fled her village and asked Coicaud to buy her. He did, sending her to Visale school, where she was baptised and wilfully insisted on marrying a Malaita labourer named Alik. The couple returned to Rohinari, but subsequently absconded to the S.S.E.M. station at Onepusu. Soon afterwards, and on the same day, they died, a dramatic event which served the Catholic cause well, being widely interpreted as an act of divine retribution, a belief Coicaud assiduously fostered.

His most famous *protégé*, however, was Senoveva (Genevieve), an orphan he obtained new-born and for nothing in 1914, saving her from having her brains knocked out against a tree by a young man annoyed at her crying. He took her to Rohinari where she was suckled by his nanny goat for several weeks and placed in the care of

the nuns at Visale. Senoveva married a catechist and lived on Buma station. Her eldest son became a priest and three of her daughters nuns.¹⁹

The bulk of Marist converts, however, were drawn steadily and willingly from society at large, from people well disposed to the white man's religion. Parents offered their children for baptism and, with conspicuous frequency, 'big men' encouraged their followers to join the mission while holding staunchly to their own heathen customs. Arisimae, whose most memorable religious act was lighting his pipe from the Mass candles at Rohinari, was one such patron, Sulukavo another. In 1906, less than a year after a police party had burned his village, he came to Tangarare to announce

that henceforth he wished to live at peace and to do no harm to anybody. From now on he accepts religion not for himself exactly, because he is too old; but for his people. He wished that all be made Catholics.

In 1907, Torelala, the main Savo chief, made a similar announcement but his sincerity was cast into doubt the following year when he was arrested for killing a child on the advice of a sorcerer.²⁰

The case of Samu of Ravu illustrates a common motive for conversion: the cure of physical ailments. Although the Marists disappointed the hope that they could restore his sight, a variety of other factors ensured his continued esteem for the mission. He was gratified when, about 1903, Pierre Bouillon attended the traditional funeral rites of Paoura, deceased chief of Ravu. On succeeding Paoura, he found alliance with the missionaries a useful prop for his own prestige, diminishing with his poor sight and the decline of warfare, which restricted opportunities for strong leadership. He hoped also to obtain some relief from the dysentery which harassed Ravu. Consequently, infants were early baptised and children sent to Tangarare school. By 1907, Samu himself was repeating Catholic prayers and expounding Catholic doctrine, but only women and children gathered in the village chapel to hear him.

By 1913, Ravu counted 150 converts. The men held aloof and it was not until a wooden chapel, then a feature of some distinction in any village, was blessed at Ravu in 1918 that their resistance subsided. Even so, despite his penchant for catechetics, Samu did not follow them; he had too much to lose. He had, he said, seven wives who were necessary to tend his gardens and care for his pigs. He was afraid too that to abandon the spirits would perhaps bring retribution and further reduce his people's respect for him. Besides, he argued, as a

Catholic he would have to go to Confession but, old and blind and being fifteen miles from the priest, he would find it difficult. He promised to accept baptism just before dying, when such considerations would lose their force. About 1920 he fell seriously ill and was duly baptised. He later recovered, but remained faithful to his new religion until he died in 1926.²¹

The islanders tended to see the missionary in the dual role of evangelist and physician — 'cure me and I will become a Catholic'. Nor was such confidence always misplaced. The missionaries, disinfecting sores and, from the late 1920s, giving injections against yaws, were often strikingly effective. Emmet McHardy writes of a tour across central Bougainville in 1931:

In nearly all the villages visited the routine was pretty much the same . . . First came a bit of a rest, then the checking off of all the little ones baptised in the village, then the baptism of new babies and after that the attending to their physical wants, washing of sores, giving of injections, etc. This latter was by no means the most unimportant feature of the trip. In the fortnight I gave just under two hundred injections. It requires a deal of coaxing to get quite new people to submit themselves or their children to the needle, but once one has already had a trip through the district, and the people know the value of the N.A.B., † they are very keen on it. In the more sophisticated places they are a bit of a nuisance, for they want injections for almost everything — from framboesia to a cough.

The health services expected of the mission extended also to prevention. Baptism was commonly expected to ward off disease and the mission station became a sort of sanctuary. In 1914 the Marists at Wanoni Bay won a foothold in their first inland village (Roga) when a father brought his five children to the station so that they might be safe from a malevolent spirit, which he believed had just killed the sixth. Fortunately, his regard for Babonneau's power was confirmed by the station's relative immunity to diseases ravaging the village. Babonneau, however, gave credit to the nostrum with which he dosed his charges, laudanum and flour cooked in red wine.²²

As well as the superiority of European to indigenous remedies, the latter often had the disadvantage of being more expensive, especially when the illness was long and spirits invoked through an intermediary. Mission assistance was (and is) gratis.

Desire for European protection was another fruitful stimulus to conversion. In 1909 attempts by planting interests at Kakabona (near present day Honiara) to grab land inspired the villagers to couple a

†Novarsenobenzene, 'miracle' drug of the 1930s.

request for catechists with a demand that the Marists intercede with the Government to prevent further land alienation in the area. The move succeeded and Kakabona became Catholic. A similar reaction occurred in 1916 near Suu on Malaita; villagers, fearing the encroachment of the Malayta Company, which had close links with the S.S.E.M., turned to the Marists for help and baptism.²³

More dramatic were conversions inspired by fear of police action. Following an expedition to Wanoni Bay in 1915 to arrest the murderers of Jack Laycock, a labour recruiter, a rumour swept San Cristobal that 'the government' required everyone to become Christian. Babonneau noted that villagers rushed to place themselves under the patronage of one mission or another. A similar phenomenon was observed in October 1927 during the pacification of Malaita, when resentment against the administration erupted in the killing of a tax-collecting party led by District Officer Bell to Sinerango in the Kwaio district. A Marist, Joseph Halbwachs, received thirty-five Kwaio boys to take to Buma station and some weeks later, in the bush behind Uru, enrolled nearly two hundred adult catechumens. In August 1928, after a severe punitive expedition, more than eight hundred people around Sinerango were wearing medals; however the concentration of Marist resources on the west coast of Malaita impeded efforts to follow up the contacts. In 1958, only 187 Catholics were claimed among the Kwaio of east Malaita.²⁴

The most spectacular flight to the Marists occurred in Buin. It arose from a feud sparked in 1909 by the adultery of Kaleba of Bagui with the wife of Kunkei of Moro. By 1913 the feud had claimed thirteen lives, including Kaleba's. The police attempted to crush it. Kunkei was captured and taken prisoner to Kieta but soon escaped to Buin, only to be killed by three *kukurai* (government-appointed village headmen), Kopana, Mota and Kisu, at the instigation of the Bagui. Retaliation began in June 1915 when Kisu was killed at Kikimogu. Several police expeditions to arrest those responsible were unsuccessful. Buin remained relatively undisturbed however until the Australian authorities began systematically to impose formal administration. Thereupon the Moro-Bagui feud became part of a much wider conflict between the indigenes and the Government. In April 1918 census-taking, preliminary to taxation, aroused great agitation. Representatives from most Buin villages gathered at Patupatuai and, offering children for the school, begged the Marists to obtain the repeal of the new policy. Pleas were ineffective and

agitation increased sharply when tax-collecting began in June. The houses of defaulters were burned by police at Artsini, Ibirei and Barilo, while at Kaitu two policemen and three villagers were killed and one seriously wounded when the villagers fought back.

Opportunities for combining protest against the Government and avenging Kunkei coincided in 1919. In May, Mota was sent with two police to Moro to amalgamate several dispersed hamlets into one administratively convenient 'line' village, as had been done elsewhere. Recognising a common threat, Moro and Bagui and their allies joined forces. Perokana of Moro, like other hereditary aristocratic leaders (*mumira*), resented being subordinate to a government appointee like Mota, a man of no traditional status. In this instigation the three were killed. Antonio Kagaba, the Marists' only catechist in the interior, tried to shield Mota and was also killed. Government retribution was harsh; Moro was destroyed. So were club-houses of other implicated villages, notably an enormous one at Kikimogu, apparently built to rally the Buin under Tiperau, most renowned of the *mumira*. Numerous people were arrested. The three main assassins, including Babala, the son of Kunkei, were tried in Rabaul and publicly executed at Moro between January and May 1920.

Living inland from the harbourless coast, the people of south Bougainville were little disturbed by Europeans under German rule. Social stability was also fostered by the real authority and respect enjoyed by the *mumira*. Accordingly, conversion was slow. Baptism figures for Patupatuai station mounted from two to fifty-seven per year between 1906 and 1915. They were boosted in September 1916 by Posenā, *kukurai* of Muguai, one of the first pupils at Poporang, who had married Api from the sisters' school in 1904 and now announced the wish of some three hundred of his people to join the mission. Baptisms numbered 107 in 1916 and 168 in 1917. A week after the third execution, however, all the men of Moro attended Mass at Kugumanu and a host of villages clamoured for catechists. By the end of 1920 nearly every Buin village possessed a chapel school and the whole district from Lavelai to the Mivo River (as well as several villages in neighbouring Siwai) was occupied by mission catechists. Baptisms numbered 188 for Patupatuai in 1920; with the founding of the inland stations inspired by the Protestant threat, 172 were baptised in Turiboiru and Muguai in 1921, 218 in 1922, 223 in 1923 and 392 in 1924.

The conversion of Buin reflected the people's gratitude for mission

protection. The assiduity of missionaries who accompanied police patrols as interpreters ensured that innocent people were not arrested. None of those who followed the advice of the Marists and the example of the Christians, in readily acknowledging submission to the Government, came to any harm. Being in the Christian camp assured being on the right side of the police. The matter was simplified by the fact that no Christians had been involved in the attack on Mota; the plan had been kept secret from them and was entirely the affair of pagans led by the *mumira*. The conversion movement following the defeat of the *mumira* and burning of the club-houses should not be understood as an expedient reaction to reprisals. It was part of a wider movement, involving the disintegration of the traditional order of things, and the wholesale acceptance of European values.²⁵

Something of the broad social nature of the change was glimpsed at San Cristobal two years after Laycock's murder at Manogear. A trader was told by local inhabitants:

All place here he been get saved along Christian Gospel, belong Rome. Some place they like Jesus belong Roman Fadder, and some they like Jesus belong Miss Young and Docketer Deck. Close up this place all same Sydney now! No gammon! More better you come, put one store along this place, then altogether man he can get wash along soap.

In Buin too the old life gave way to the new. As a local tradition has it, 'Tiperau's thoughts stayed in his mind and he did not finish the plan.' Taxes were paid, new villages formed (although not always lived in) and roads and bridges built under direction of the *kukurai*. Recruiting agents flocked to Buin and found young men avid to sign on. The values and preoccupations reflected in the people's songs changed sharply. In 1908, the anthropologist Thurnwald records, they had sung of feasts and feuds, of sacrifices to the spirits and the mysteries of nature. Twenty-five years later, having become Christians, they sang instead of the wonders and the wealth of the white man's world, expecting Christianity to help them procure them.²⁶

Mission membership was encouraged too by worldly considerations. The missionaries spoke authoritatively of hell and heaven, mainly in terms of physical pain and pleasure, and these eschatological absolutes were often persuasive arguments for conversion. Adults were regularly prepared to signify their trust in 'the water that makes me happy' by welcoming it when they were dying and had nothing to lose and by having their children (who had everything to gain) baptised, as the following conversation between a stubborn

polygamist and a Marist illustrates.

'I have two wives. I am satisfied with that'.

'And the great fire?'

'Yes, I will be in the great fire . . . It is my business'.

'At least give me your baby so that I can baptise it'.

'Willingly, so that he will go to Heaven, but leave me alone'.²⁷

The conversation suggests that, with fine disregard for the refinements which steer Catholic orthodoxy away from such expedient solutions, the Marists encouraged the belief that hell was the certain fate of the unbaptised. Warnings against God the 'unlovely tyrant', to use Hogbin's phrase, were more noticeable than honouring of God the comforter. A Marist contentedly reported from Kieta in 1905 that the *lotu* was thriving; that the people, impressed by the pictures of hell in an illustrated catechism, had no wish to go with the devil when they died. The year before, the same consideration had made Kokobi, the Visale chief, a Christian before any other of his people.

He was one day mute and absorbed in contemplation of the picture of Hell. Suddenly, fearful, he gave the book back — 'remove that picture, it makes me afraid'. Sometime later when I [Joseph Pellion] was speaking to him of baptism he replied, 'Do to me what you will, but I do not want to go into the fire'.

Of those who spurned Christianity he always said, 'that is because they have not seen the fire'. Every Sunday he would ask, 'Show us the fire so that the new-comers will see it and will be afraid of it and will follow the *lotu* faithfully.'

The effectiveness of the threat of hell was limited. It was only one of a combination of factors that contributed to the conversion of Visale. Kokobi's was a personal reaction; he was a widower and had already been impressed by the power of Christianity, demonstrated by the impunity with which the baptised boys Pellion brought from Rua Sura had defied Visale *taboos*, decorating the chapel with leaves from a sacred palm tree and eating forbidden shellfish. Kokobi's people, however, were slow to follow their leader's example and required more immediate reasons for conversion. The death of several children in 1904 and 1905, shortly after baptism, temporarily deterred other candidates. The spirits remaining impotent against an epidemic which took a heavy toll in the area, baptisms resumed in 1907.

Visale, once a group of villages with a population of possibly 1000, contained by 1909 only 200 people, 177 of them Catholics. A decline was observed also in the popularity of an annual feast in honour of Puraka, a great *tindalo* (spirit) who inhabited the high peak behind

Visale. It was held formally for the last time in 1905. In succeeding years fewer and fewer people bothered to commemorate their patron even informally. Yet the *coup de grâce* was sudden and unexpected. At Easter 1910 the sacrifice site at the base of the hill collapsed into the sea. Puraka, it was believed, had taken his leave. At the opening of the stone church at Visale later in the year, the last notable follower of a discredited deity adopted the new religion.²⁸

Disease and fear certainly prompted many Solomon Islanders to become Christians. Conversion may however still be seen as a positive movement rather than an escape from traditional evils or the rough edges of the contact situation. It appears to have had overtones of millenarian expectation, as it did for the early Christians and many other Pacific Islanders. The islanders hoped to achieve a way of life free of frustration and deprivation and characterised by equality with Europeans. The latter aim particularly involved the missionary as teacher, as intellectual access to the white man's world was available only under mission auspices.

The Marists early encountered keen interest in European knowledge. Sarai asked for a school at Kieta in 1899 and in 1905 (when fear of hell was reportedly strong) it had a roll of fifty boys and six girls. In 1901, when Guilloux's pupils temporarily fled Tangarare, the leader of a neighbouring village asked the missionary to conduct services and classes there, lest the boys forget what they had learned.²⁹ By 1920 the desire for literacy had become an important factor in the spread of Christianity. The ability to read and write, particularly in English, seemed to be the crucial difference between Melanesian and European, the key to the latter's astounding prosperity and a means of dealing with him on his own terms. Acquisition of European educational skills could bring tangible advantages leading to appointment as government headman or, during the 1930s in the B.S.I.P., employment as native medical practitioner, wireless operator or clerk. The rarity of such appointments indicates how optimistic was the widespread enthusiasm for education.

Most Marists prior to 1945 were French and were embarrassed by the demand to learn English. In 1911 the Tangarare pupils showed 'incredible' concern for learning English, 'the language of Sydney'. Sydney was the port which supplied Europeans throughout the south-west Pacific with most of their goods and the association of English with affluence is obvious. Indeed, Sydney, as a symbol of material well-being, was not uncommonly identified with heaven.

Berteux lamented, in 1917, on a tour of his vicariate, 'a knowledge of English is absolutely necessary for the missionaries . . . everywhere [I was told] . . . the pagans esteem our mission but do not come to us because we do not know English'.³⁰

The problem became more acute from the 1920s, especially in the northern vicariate, where Protestant missionaries made English more accessible than it had been since the days of the labour trade. In the South Solomons, the Melanesian Mission taught no English until 1931, while the S.S.E.M., though using pidgin-English from 1920 to instruct trainee teachers, gave no encouragement for teaching it at the village level. Not so the Methodists and Adventists. In 1927, Boch complained to Propaganda,

The taste for English aroused among the natives by the Protestants is the most serious obstacle they set for us . . . it is necessary that the priests and nuns who are going to join us be able to speak and teach this language. Some months ago the Adventists were attempting to win followers in our villages, using the argument 'We have not come to disturb your *lotu*; but as you are very ignorant, we have come to hold classes here and we will teach you all that the white men know.'

In 1925 evening classes in English were instituted for the labourers at Poporang, to forestall the Methodists. In 1931 McHardy described a proposed 'English' school in Siwai as 'the most dangerous thing they [the Methodists] could do'. The Adventists brought the same threat to Guadalcanal and several Catholic villages near Ruavatu defected to them. Changes of mission, however, for any reason, were relatively rare throughout the islands. Conversion was for pagans, for the uncommitted. The chance to learn English could exert a strong influence however as to which mission they chose.³¹

On Buka, the Marists were well-known but by 1920 few had committed themselves to mission membership, and the Marists feared the desire for English. The Protestant challenge was defeated, but the triumph contained the seeds of a spectacular rejection of the mission four decades later. Nine Buka youths had been obtained from Pororan in 1901; however the deaths of three of them deterred others from coming to Poporang and mission contact with the island remained spasmodic until Burunotui station, opposite Pororan, was founded in January 1910.

Buka had been steadily recruited since the 1870s and European goods were relatively easy to procure, so the offer of Christianity was met with sceptical indifference. Of fifty youths at school at Burunotui in 1915 (thirty-five of them baptised) it was predicted that 'all without exception will sign-up with Europeans and will quickly lose the little

religious instruction we took such pains to give them'. The Bukas also developed a resentment at having to earn their pay from Europeans. At first, says Montauban, who worked on Buka from 1914 till 1958, they welcomed Europeans as ancestral spirits, a conclusion supported by the similarity of sound between *sine*, local abode for souls of the dead, and Sydney. As familiarity established the mortality of Europeans without reducing the disparities between them and the islanders, they were seen as misappropriating goods produced by the spirits and intended for Buka. This was a religious problem and required a religious solution. The first recorded attempt, in 1913-4, involved Muling of Lontis in sorcery to obtain the Bukas' entitlement. Meeting Montauban on the beach near Lemanmanu, Muling drew a circle in the sand around him and declared that from it he could bring forth all the wealth he wished. The popular excitement aroused by this claim so alarmed the German authorities that they quelled the movement, imprisoning the 'prophet' and his associate, Novite.

Meanwhile, interest in the missionaries grew slowly. By 1918 six important villages possessed chapel schools and in 1919 land was offered to the Marists at Gagan, Hanahan and Lemanmanu, posts taken up in 1922 and powerfully reinforced by the 'English' school at Burunotui. In 1925, Boch estimated that this school 'saved' Buka. The ninety-one 'promising and enthusiastic' pupils confirmed Buka confidence in the Marists and helped ensure major gains for the conversion movement unwittingly launched by the Methodists and boosted by epidemics which attacked the island in the late 1920s. In the year ended June 1924, 509 baptisms were followed by 1014 the next year, with a peak of 1357 being reached in 1929. In 1931, Buka was adjudged 'the most Catholic part of the whole vicariate' and, in 1936, 6144 Catholics were claimed of a total population estimated at 6810. Except for a handful of pagans the rest were Methodists located in the south-west of Buka and the north, where in 1931 Tanamalo village chose the same mission as its allies on the island of Petats.³²

In 1927 the large village of Lemanmanu decided to be baptised *en bloc* while at Hiltopan Hanahan, 150 people attended *lotu* each morning and evening. Boch rejoiced; the 'eagles' and the 'fowls' (totems of the two Buka clans) were, he wrote 'beginning to fly above the pagan superstitions which [hitherto] . . . had held them bound'. That their course might not have been orthodox is suggested by Wade's observation in 1928 that the people were very interested in Sydney, 'for some time [according to local rumour] the future abode

of good people'. This identification caused no concern; Wade even sought to exploit it. Noting islanders worried by never seeing 'a real, practising white Catholic other than missionaries', he attempted to allay their disquiet and strengthen the attraction of mission membership by displaying photographs of Sydney Catholics attending Mass and receiving Holy Communion. He had sought to impress by showing pictures from Chicago, but without success; 'they know nothing of the place, nor are they interested'. He even considered paying for 'five or ten good Sydney Catholics to come here and publicly practice their faith'.³³

A more powerful incentive to religious fervour swept the whole of Buka a few years later. In 1932, Pako of Malasang, assisted by his relative Muling (the 1914 'prophet'), both pagans, and Terasim, the Catholic catechist of Pororan, inaugurated a new line of preaching. The zealous practice of the *lotu* would bring to Buka ships laden with cargo for the islanders, to make them as rich as the Europeans. The Catholic *lotu* became dominant; frequent attendance at prayers and reception of the sacraments was required, customs disapproved by the missionaries were abandoned. Sacrifices to the spirits were forbidden but the spirits were still approached directly, a fundamental operation of pagan religion reinforced and sanctified by the Catholic practice of seeking divine assistance through the mediation of the 'Holy Souls in Purgatory'. The adopted practice of interment also made the dead more approachable than the former custom of sinking corpses in the sea; village cemeteries were cleaned and decorated and people gathered in them at night to pray.

In an atmosphere of intense anticipation, the arrival of ships naturally sparked great excitement. Several times the islanders attempted to claim the cargo they carried or to tax the passengers and, when that failed, to prevent them from landing. Again the authorities feared for law and order. In November 1932 the three leaders were arrested, and imprisoned in Madang, where Pako died.

During 1933 the movement was quiescent. In 1934, Sanop, a pagan ex-*tultul*, revived it at Gogohe. From there it gradually spread through Buka and down into northern Bougainville. Excitement intensified in April 1935 when Sanop moved into Pako's residence at Malasang and declared that he regularly heard, coming from the house, the mysterious voice of Pako's spirit;† its message was more

†The voice was, in fact, produced by an accomplice of Sanop hidden in a secret compartment of the house. O'Reilly and Sédès 1949: 196-7.

aggressive than before. The cargo would include a quantity of arms with which to rid Buka of all Europeans, including missionaries, who had deliberately withheld the knowledge and ritual needed to acquire goods and had continued the subjection of black men to white.

Faith in the *lotu* itself was still strong. 'Pako' instructed that deficiencies could be overcome by more fervent observance and by rejection of customs such as pottery making, which would be needless when the cargo came and which represented a link with a life the islanders aspired to escape. 'Pako' also announced a significant theological innovation. Emancipation from the missionaries, who had failed the people, was to be anticipated by the abandonment of Confession. Christ's death, it was said, had expunged sins once and for all. There could be no suggestion that the Bukas were unworthy of the things they yearned for.

In July and August 1935, during a month-long tour of the island, Montauban found everywhere the belief that a new age of ease, affluence and black supremacy was about to dawn. The signs were familiar. The cemeteries were adorned. Most striking was the zeal with which the *lotu* was practised and the extraordinary desire for baptism 'among the old, including Methodists'. He returned 'with a rich booty of 200 baptisms and a considerable number of first communions and regularised marriages, etc.'. However, he found a sharp division drawn between the missionaries and the *lotu* when, in the centre of the island, he met Pako's spokesman among the Solos-speakers. Kisu, a pagan and self-styled 'Master Hell', claimed that cargo originated in hell and that the missionaries had deliberately painted hell in black colours to conceal the fact from their converts. His followers were expected to genuflect on entering a cemetery and special emphasis was placed on winning the support of the spirit of Bishop Wade, 'chief of the *lotu*'; banners carrying the legend 'Pako, Bishop, Master Hell' were flown from masts in the cemeteries and the sign of the Cross was performed to the invocation, 'Maria, Jesu, God, Bishop'.

The crisis came in October. Rumours that leaders at Tiniputz on Bougainville were planning 'liberation' even before the cargo arrived—'one rifle is enough for us'—precipitated government action against the whole movement. Numerous arrests were made and Pako's house was burned. The excitement subsided. The Bukas returned to their neglected gardens, but did not lose hope. Cemeteries continued to be well-kept, churches were filled, the

Bishop was honoured and when Japanese troops occupied Buka in 1942 they were enthusiastically greeted as the harbingers of fortune.

The incidents on Buka from 1913 to 1945 show the continuity of Melanesian 'cargo cults' in the face of continuing social dissatisfaction. They exemplify equally well the enduring social role of Melanesian religion and its ability to transform Christianity in its own image. The *lotu* adopted in the 1920s was clearly expected to achieve what Muling's sorcery had failed to; in the 1930s supporters became increasingly impatient. An institution based on the temporal eminence of Europeans was to be judged by the same criterion as the religion it superseded: was it effective? At the height of the 1935 agitation, Montauban wrote, 'the steamers are constantly expected, as long as that belief lasts . . . the danger for religion is not too great . . . 'when these grown-up children realise that the purpose of religion is not to obtain cargo for us here below how will they behave then? There will surely be a reaction . . . ' The reaction was beginning; Sanop and Kisu, exempting no European, were preaching distrust of the missionaries. It reached a climax a generation later. Three thousand Bukas rejected government authority and entirely severed their connection with the *lotu*.³⁴

In other parts of the Solomons converts were by 1930 far from complacent about their lot. Life in Christ proved cold comfort amid social discontent. W.C. Groves in 1939 remarked the pervading mood of disappointment among the people of Gela who had enthusiastically embraced Christianity several decades earlier and who had responded enthusiastically to abortive political efforts to improve their situation. Marist sources abundantly attest the resentment and disillusion among converts as the missionary ceased to appear as a benefactor. A protest by unpaid catechists on Guadalcanal in 1914, school strikes at Poporang in 1928, 1929 and 1931, a short-lived refusal by Kieta Catholics to attend Mass in 1928 and a three-year boycott of the mission begun by Tangarare Catholics in 1933 all made the point that to be a Christian was not enough. Solomon Island converts wanted more than a creed.³⁵

5 Consolidation and Reaction

Marist evangelistic activity in the Solomons up to 1942 was relatively simple. Success was easily measured once converts were ensconced in Christian marriage beyond the reach of Protestantism. Their religious development beyond a minimal level was not a pressing concern; nor was improving standards of mission education and medical care, except where necessary to sustain Marist influence against encroachment by competition.

The Marists were not alone in having a simple conception of their task; they closely resembled both the British and Australian administrations. The main aim of government was to keep peace, and to tax the copra industry to cover the cost of so doing. There was little money left for social services or a 'native policy'. The Marists too were short of funds. Little money was raised internally (nothing was asked of the islanders and mission copra production, mainly through the labour of school boys, was rarely efficient), and most was spent hand-to-mouth maintaining a large European staff and their pupils on mission stations.

Economic stringency however is insufficient to explain the modest scope of Marist and government activity; it lacked sense of purpose. The Marists' objective was a Church run by Melanesians and the administrators expected that eventually their charges would control their own affairs. Neither was aware of any 'sense of time running out'

for the achievement of these ends and had therefore little incentive to pull threads from the fabric of European ascendancy.

For the most ambitious approach to indigenisation, education and medical work, one must look to the Protestant missions. Fully equipped hospitals were opened in 1927 by the Methodists on New Georgia and in 1928 by the Anglicans on Malaita, while by 1934 the few indigenous clerks in the B.S.I.P. administration were all from Methodist schools. The first indigenous Anglican priest was ordained in 1901 and by 1928 there were as many Solomon Islands priests as there were European. The first S.D.A. pastors were ordained in 1935 and the first Methodist in 1938, while by 1940 the village leaders trained by the S.S.E.M. were virtually independent of the European missionaries.¹

In the British Solomons a small government hospital was founded in 1913 at Tulagi. It was mainly for the convenience of European residents but served the islanders indirectly through the practice from 1922 of training 'dressers' there. Small government grants were also made in support of mission medical activities. The situation was similar on Bougainville; the Germans had stationed a doctor there and the Australians set up hospitals at Kieta and Buka Passage. For the Marists, rendering first aid was a normal mission function, an elementary expression of Christian charity which did much to improve village health. Priests and nuns often devotedly nursed sick islanders and Maurice Boch earned a considerable reputation as a surgeon (self-taught) while Bishop Raucaz instituted a child-endowment scheme in an effort to promote better child care.² But against such efforts must be set the opinion voiced in 1936 by Bishop Aubin, that special training, which would make it possible to provide more sophisticated medical services, was inadvisable for prospective missionaries:

Some missionaries have no aptitude for it. Others, on the contrary, strongly risk, once in the mission, giving themselves too exclusively to the practice of medicine to the detriment of their duty of state. That is, the ministry of souls. . . . Besides this loss of time there is the possibility of spiritual danger for the missionary. There are some treatments that a priest ought not to give to women and young girls and even, in some cases, to young men, because the virtue of chastity is here involved. His sacerdotal dignity and his reputation forbid him.

Aubin felt that the missionary had 'no need of very profound medical knowledge' and could easily obtain as much of it as he required on the spot. Such thinking reflects a lingering trace of the self-centred piety

which suffused the Marists' early venture into Melanesia.

The prevailing view was that the missionaries' obligations to the islanders were of an essentially spiritual kind — a view which almost certainly owed much to the once current opinion that the native people of the Solomon Islands, as of other islands in the Pacific, were a dying race. In 1912, a Marist on Guadalcanal had seen his role as trying 'to send to Heaven the relics of the race', while Raucaz wrote in 1925, 'We seem to be assisting at the death agony of this race.' Such an opinion accorded neatly with other factors, such as the high level of training needed for priesthood and the assumption that the colonial situation could endure indefinitely, tended to restrict the Marists' definition of their task and emphasise the urgency of evangelisation. People who were dying needed a minimum of instruction and baptism.³

When in the 1930s an effort was made to improve the quality of Marist medical services, it represented not a change of policy but a response to the Protestant advance. It was occasioned by the opening in 1928 of a baby care centre at the Methodist station at Skotolan on Buka. J.B. Poncelet observed, 'It was necessary to resist this propaganda by employing the same means.'⁴ Boch commented in 1927, 'the danger I most fear is the establishment of hospitals', and in 1928 observed, 'It is their nurses, alas, who are beginning to present us with a problem on Buka on account of their effective care of the sick and of little children.' To defend the standing of Catholicism, in 1930 he established a convent of nuns at Lemanmanu and directed fruitless appeals for doctors and nurses to a German medical missionary organisation.† Wade, newly appointed vicar apostolic of the North Solomons and anxious to bring lay people into the mission, took up the cause with greater success when he went to Sydney in October 1930 to be consecrated. The first person to answer his call was a nurse, Amy Richardson, who left Australia for the Solomons in March 1931. Later the same year she was joined by three others. Together they founded an efficient hospital at Hahela in the south of Buka. In 1933, they were reinforced by an Australian doctor, J. Luxford Meagher, who spread the benefit of his services continually through Buka, Bougainville and the Shortlands until ill-health forced him in 1936 to withdraw. Hospitals staffed by nurses were set up at

† Other convents in the North Solomons were founded at Poporang 1901, Kieta 1905, Patupatuai 1908, Burunotui 1912, Koromira 1912, Torokina 1915, Tinputz 1921, Gagan 1922, Turiboiru 1922 and Monoitu 1933.

Patupatuai in 1934 and at Poporang in 1935. To ensure continued support for this new activity, Wade inspired a number of prominent Sydney Catholics to form the Marist Mission Medical Society in 1935 with Nurse Richardson as organising secretary. She recruited five more nurses for the North Solomons and in 1937 appointed two others to the South Solomons, where they opened a hospital at Buma on Malaita. Unfortunately, the work was soon halted by war.⁵

In promoting education, the administrations of the Solomons were even less active than in organising public health. This might have been less true of Bougainville and Buka had they not passed out of German control, aborting the German scheme for a thorough-going economic development of New Guinea, with plans for training islanders as artisans and clerks to serve the large settler community envisaged. Subsidies had been paid to missions which taught German and in 1907 the Government set up a school at Rabaul to teach German and give trade training.

The significance for Bougainville of these developments lies in the determined resistance they met with from the Marists. They appeared to challenge the principle that education was a prerogative of the Church and not the State and, since evangelisation focused heavily on schooling, were also feared as subversive of the whole mission enterprise.

When the question of teaching German was raised, the Marists insisted firmly on teaching only the local language. Eugene Flaus put the case to Doellinger in 1909 with such vigour that he was fined fifty marks for offensive behaviour; Forestier in 1910 transferred him to Buka and moved his own headquarters from Poporang to Kieta. Yet Forestier's views were no less pronounced than Flaus's. He denounced the extension to Bougainville in 1910 of recruitment for the 'neutral and atheistic' school at Rabaul and sought to discourage the foundation of government schools on Bougainville, planning to found a school which satisfied government standards at Kieta where, to avoid government surveillance, no subsidy would be accepted. He directed urgent appeals to the Marist Brothers for trained German-speaking staff[†] but the scheme lapsed with the ending of German rule in 1914. As a defence of mission interests in education it was however a fruitful precedent.⁶

Between the wars the question of interference did not seriously

[†]The Marist Brothers [of the Schools], a specialised teaching congregation, were originally part of the Society of Mary, from which they separated in 1852.

arise. Government initiatives were few, half-hearted and easily discouraged. Missions set their own standards. The main external influence on Marist schooling in the North Solomons was the Protestant challenge, which diverted Marist energies from the mission stations to the villages. For most of the period, far fewer pupils attended station schools in the North Solomons than in the South. On the other hand, the catechist training that resulted did compensate at village level for the deficiencies of station schooling. No such compensation redeemed village schools in the South, where there was little in the quality even of station schools on which the Marists might pride themselves, illustrating clearly the environmental and human vagaries which impeded education in the Solomon Islands situation.

The main objective was less to transfer knowledge than to foster a sense of identification with Catholicism, and to achieve it the pupils were kept at school for as long as possible — until they married. As Raucaz put it,

the sole means of rearing and training the native children as Christians is to keep them away, at least for a certain number of years, from their heathen surroundings and the corrupting influences of the older people, even Catholics, who just know enough catechism to save their souls.⁷

A scholastic career might last ten years. There was no curriculum to follow and little equipment and, since each station superior was his own director of education, instruction tended to be informal and haphazard. At Avuavu in 1909, Jean Boudard gave his pupils three half-hour classes each day: reading in the morning, writing in the afternoon and catechism in the evening. At Tangarare in 1912, the policy was to hold class until the pupils became restless, and then send them off to work in the plantation and gardens; in 1933 little had changed.

Each holds school according to his mood and some extravagant things are seen: hours of class prolonged indefinitely then suppressed completely; some classes cut so short and so often without surveillance that the people complain 'We deprive ourselves of our children to send them to school and they are not taught.' It is also certain that the average of three classes of catechism per week of 25 minutes maximum, often less, is not sufficient to produce savants, when it is necessary to learn everything word for word.⁸

Efficient school organisation was further impeded by the impermanence of scholars. On a tour of the villages the priest's bearers or boat crew would be drawn from the school boys. Some pupils absconded to work on plantations. In 1907, Bertin wrote from Tangarare

They wish, like those who return from Queensland, to have many clothes which they do not always know how to wear, but which they change ten times a day. With this they would also have an old rusty rifle, some bottles of scent, some combs etc. The prospect of all these riches easily makes them forget that they have to prepare for baptism or first communion. They will come back proudly to display all this and others will leave to try their luck in turn.

To make it more difficult for pupils to abscond and at the Marists' request, Woodford in 1907 issued 'strict orders that no natives [were] in future to be recruited from [Catholic] stations'. He did not, however, go as far as Doellinger, who assisted the Marists to enforce the unofficial contract for three or five years' schooling truants or their relatives had entered into, a method regularly employed in the German Solomons at Kieta and Koromira to ensure a measure of stability. But the attraction of the plantations remained. In 1932 sixteen of the thirty-two pupils at Ruavatu left suddenly to seek their fortunes. Recurring complaints in station journals suggest that recruiters tempted pupils by anchoring near mission stations. The charge that it was deliberate must be considered together with the fact that pupils were easily tempted and that, since mission stations were generally sited near convenient anchorages, a desire for shelter and for social contact with the missionaries also attracted ships to the locality.⁹

A greater threat was shortage of food at the mission stations. It was often necessary to send pupils back to their villages; particularly during the 1920s on long-established stations like Guadalcanal, where school rolls increased and the age-level of pupils dropped. The first pupils had been young adults, aged 'twelve, fourteen, sixteen years and more', to many of whom school was a prelude to or substitute for recruitment. Their maturing physical strength was invaluable for gardening and copra-making and they cost the mission little to maintain except when the gardens failed. The situation changed as evangelisation advanced; as more infants were baptised at birth, the missionaries acquired a claim to more and younger children, insisting that they come to the station at the age of seven or eight when they were more impressionable but when their capacity for hard work was limited. As a result, mission finances were strained by a growing need to buy rice. In 1920, when the price of rice trebled, it was necessary to close the school at Rua Sura, where the coral supported a fine plantation but no gardens. Sixty girls and 130 boys were sent home. Tangarare and Avuavu were also hard hit at the

time. Expulsions occurred also in 1939, when the copra market collapsed; visiting Wanoni Bay that year, W.C. Groves found a school of only eleven boys and eight girls. At the beginning of 1940 there were six boys and six girls. Between 1929 and 1938, said Aubin, 4175 children had attended station schools in the South Solomons at a cost to the mission of £13,400, in addition to the expense of providing for construction and staffing.¹⁰

Despite its deficiencies Marist schooling was sufficient to ensure that after several years a pupil possessed some familiarity with Catholic doctrine and had a smattering of literacy. The range of literature available however was extremely limited and offered no real access to the wider European world. Marist policy in both parts of the Solomons was to provide books of catechism, hymns, prayers, Sunday Gospels and Bible stories in the vernacular of each area. In the North Solomons, where a press was installed at Torokina in 1927, such works were all the mission did produce for its scholars. The situation was slightly different in the South where, at Rua Sura in 1910, a press was set up which, in addition to the usual devotional works, printed a mission newspaper, *Turupatu*, bi-monthly from 1911 and in 1924 selections from the *Fables* of La Fontaine. Both were in the Gare language which, owing to the Marists' early success at the western end of Guadalcanal, had been espoused as the official language of the mission.¹¹

It was hoped that Gare would become the *lingua franca* throughout the mission, but this was not achieved. Nevertheless, the language was considerably diffused in various ways: through use in the catechist schools, which drew students to Guadalcanal from other areas; through the sending of Malaita children to Guadalcanal, until the 1930s when the Malaita stations became adequately staffed with priests and nuns; and by the use of Guadalcanal catechists in other islands. Gare thus has its place in one of the main achievements of mission schooling — the extension of communication and peaceful contact between the members of Solomon Island communities. Contributing factors were the enthusiasm for letter-writing that schooling often inspired and the intermingling of pupils at mission schools. Among Marist pupils only one serious breach of order is recorded, a pitched battle, bush versus coast at Buma station in 1927. One young man was seriously injured, but there were no fatalities.¹²

On beginning work in the Solomons, the Marists had brought Pacific Islands auxiliaries. Perhaps a dozen Samoans were taken to the North

Solomons before the practice was discontinued in 1903. In the South, eight Fijians from the catechist school at Wairiki and a Malaitaman, Brother Venasio, a member of the Fijian sodality of the Little Brothers of Mary, came with Vidal in 1898. Eight more came from Wairiki in 1899 and it was said that about thirty Fijians, including some women and children, had come to the Solomons by late 1901. No more assistants were imported until two Fijians, two Wallisians and a Futunian arrived in 1909 as crew of the *Jeanne d'Arc*.

The reason for abandoning the policy of importing catechists, labourers, cooks and boat crews from Samoa and Fiji was their tragic susceptibility to malaria, a condition the Marists suggest was encouraged by their intense fear of the Solomon Islanders. Many died and most had to be repatriated shortly after arrival. In 1912, Bertreux recalled the sad fate of some Fijians.

Teofile came here from Wairiki with his wife and four children, and saw them all die only a few months after his arrival. He lives now with the savages of the interior [of Guadalcanal], more savage than them and barely possessing the use of his reason.

Another victim was 'Atanasio, a charming young man from Wairiki, very pious and of limitless devotion [who] went insane and on returning to Fiji [in 1905] did not regain his reason'.¹³

From the beginning the Marists were forced to find local assistants. Unlike the indigenous teachers employed by Protestant missions in the Solomons and elsewhere in the Pacific, these were seldom used as the spearhead of evangelisation and had little scope for individual initiative. They were used to follow up contacts established by the European missionary and to lead prayers and give instruction in villages that had already signified their interest in the *lotu*. Each priest was expected to find among his pupils boys willing to represent the mission in villages other than their own, and it was hoped that ex-pupils would be prepared to serve as catechists when they went home.

Some attached themselves to the mission and served with stalwart fidelity. One was Bitiae, son of Gorai, of the Shortlands. Another was Petero Supara, who spent thirty years as a roving evangelist on Guadalcanal and Malaita. When the two priests at Marau died in 1915 during a dysentery epidemic, Petero took charge of the station, baptising the new-born and the dying and preaching regularly in the chapel.¹⁴ Natural selection, however, produced few Bitiaes or Peteros, so it became necessary to try to procure them systemati-

cally. Circumstances in the North Solomons have already been discussed. In the South, where the Protestant challenge was present from the beginning, the Marists attempted formal catechist training much earlier. Their efforts failed spectacularly but are significant, for, like the Buka affair, they show the deep tensions inherent in relations between mission and followers. They also reveal the Marists' limited appreciation of those tensions, and an insensitivity to indigenous values that contrasts strangely with their tolerance of local religious custom.

Bishop Bertreux's episcopate, notable for the geographical expansion of the mission, was marked by a lack of success in developing other facets of mission work. His practical grasp of the situation was weakened, as several of his *confrères* recalled after his death in 1919, by a proneness to make grand but ill considered gestures and promises, any criticism of which he regarded as a grave affront. Henri Graton, who had been in the mission since 1907, mostly at Visale, marked the bishop's death with a long obituary cataloguing what he considered to be the pretensions and blunders of Bertreux's episcopate. Bertreux made 'magnificent promises' about teaching English to half-caste girls in a school which operated at Visale from 1910 to 1919, but no serious effort was made to fulfil the promise. In 1916 Father J. Nicolas, head of the Marist province of Oceania, was constrained to observe that the school was inadequate not only in its English teaching but also in the general training in cooking, washing, sewing and child care the European fathers of the girls had wanted for their daughters and which Nicolas thought appropriate to their status.

Another failure was a native brotherhood Bertreux attempted to found in 1912 at Rua Sura. The venture collapsed within months, when the 'brothers' tired of being treated as unpaid plantation labourers. A similar fate met the 'English' school for boys, mainly half-castes, which Bertreux proudly opened on Rua Sura in 1918. The teacher was Brother George Dwyer, an Australian who had first joined the mission in 1911 as a layman. Most of George's time was taken up with his duties as mission printer while the children, like the 'brothers', were discouraged by the amount of time given to copra-making. Doomed by neglect, the school collapsed in a year.¹⁵

Completing the pattern of fiasco Bertreux's essay at formal catechist training was launched early in 1910 at Rua Sura with a class, drawn mainly from Tangarare, of seventeen married couples and eighteen

youths. The course, lasting two years, was begun under Raucaz and, after his departure for New Georgia, completed under Pierre Bouillon. From Rua Sura catechists were posted to villages in western Guadalcanal to help hold the line against Anglican influence. A second class completed the course in March 1914, and old and new graduates gathered at Tangarare for a retreat. Whatever satisfaction Bertreux may have felt at this event was not shared by the catechists, who found it an occasion for seeking redress of material grievances.

The course at Rua Sura had been far from agreeable. Food was scarce and plantation work heavy, leaving so little time for instruction that the catechists learned no more than school children and were disappointed at being little more than unpaid labourers. When they graduated, their resentment was aggravated when the £6 per annum which Bertreux had in 1910 publicly promised to pay catechists was not forthcoming. Frequently since then they had been heard to complain, *Na patere are perogami* ('the fathers deceive us'). During the retreat, they presented the bishop with a petition, reminding him of his promise and requesting an annual salary of £12 plus £8 for their wives. Bertreux's reaction was wholly negative. Outraged by the request, he stormed aboard the *Jeanne d'Arc* and set sail. The catechists dispersed to their villages and the school was not resumed. A legacy of distrust remained at Tangarare.¹⁶

Even allowing that the catechists' demand was excessively mercenary, and recognising that the mission's financial stringency tempted him to take advantage of available cheap labour, it is not possible to absolve Bertreux from major responsibility for the failure of the catechist school. He had disregarded the advice of his *confrères* in siting it at Rua Sura, which already had a bad name as a school, his promise of £6 per annum was obviously rash and his reaction to the complaint needlessly added insult to injury.

Most trenchant of Bertreux's obituarists was Raucaz:

His death, to tell the truth, leaves few regrets among the confrères of the Solomons. Our mission had a certain exterior appearance of life and prosperity but at bottom things have been stagnant, have vegetated. The bishop wished to follow his personal ideas against those of the fathers of the mission. He would hardly accept advice, and still less warnings. This is not my personal opinion, it is that of the majority of the fathers of the mission. Our catechist school has been a complete fiasco because the bishop was determined to put it at Sura, against the advice of everyone. . . . We have lost thousands of pounds in the exploitation of [Rua Sura]. Nothing has been done to remedy this and all the stations of the mission have suffered. . . .

The Bishop, coming from Fiji [after twenty-three years there], never liked the Solomons. May we not be given in the future a superior coming from another mission, or at least so attached to his former mission as to make much misery for himself and for his missionaries.¹⁷

Raucaz was appointed to succeed Bertreux as vicar apostolic in 1920. He had come to the Solomon Islands in 1903 directly from France and had been spared few of the practical hardships of the pioneers at Tangarare, New Georgia and Buma. He had notable artisan skills; even as bishop he was responsible for maintaining the engine of the mission ships. The Resident Commissioner described him in 1934 as 'a born engineer' and cited 'a water supply, electric light and a cathedral at Visale [as] marks of his ability'.¹⁸ Above all, unlike Bertreux, he was respected by his *confrères*, who welcomed the positive leadership they expected him to bring to the mission. To a large extent this hope was disappointed. Raucaz's attempt to re-establish the catechist school ended in chaos and laid bare flaws in the conduct of the mission as grievous as those for which he had castigated Bertreux, revealing a grim side of Marist paternalism.

The decision to resume catechist training was taken at the Marist retreat in 1926. Raucaz looked first to Visale and Tangarare to supply married couples willing to work in heathen villages. None were forthcoming. Resentment at Bertreux's breach of faith fourteen years earlier was still keenly felt and potential candidates insisted on a clear undertaking on salaries before they would enroll. Raucaz did nothing to dilute their suspicion by promising payment but refusing to say how much it would be.

The appeal for trainee-catechists was redirected to unmarried people and extended to other districts. When the school finally opened in May 1928 at Gausava, thirty minutes' walk from Tangarare, its pupils were twenty-one young men from Avuavu, Buma and Rohinari, who accepted the terms Raucaz eventually offered: on completion of the two-year course they would work among heathens and would receive £ 3 per annum if they remained on their home island and £ 4 per annum if they worked on another.

The offer was, however, rescinded at the retreat in 1929. Straitened finances curtailed evangelism. A majority of Marists in the vicariate, wary of committing even a small proportion of funds to meeting new fixed obligations, opted for employing the new catechists in Christian villages, where the practice was to pay them according to the discretion of individual missionaries. Raucaz yielded to the

judgment of his priests and the mission again broke faith with its people.¹⁹ *Na patere are perogami*.

A final attempt to redeem the situation was made early in 1930, a few months before the first class was due to graduate, by the director of the school, Rinaldo Joseph Pavese. Pavese circulated among his *confrères* a proposal for forming the catechists into an association to give them recognised status within the mission and, arguing that 'the labourer is worthy of his hire', attach them by means of a firm economic link. Disenchanted, only twelve of the twenty-one candidates completed the course. They were succeeded by a second intake of thirty-five, including some from Tangarare. A third group of twenty-five was at the school when it collapsed in May 1933.²⁰

The central figure in the collapse was Pavese. He was an extraordinary person, a man of exquisite religious sensibility — emotional, overwrought and often acutely conscious of being in direct communication with God and the Blessed Virgin. While a student at the major seminary at Asti in northern Italy (1901-6), he read in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* of the drowning of Ferdinand Guilloux at Tangarare in 1902 and resolved to take his place. He joined the Society of Mary and volunteered for 'the missions'. Providence, he believed, favoured him. He was appointed to the South Solomons and in October 1910, after spending the usual six months' familiarisation period at Rua Sura, was stationed at Tangarare. Except for six years (1922-8) spent at Visale, he remained there until June 1933. During that time he became the mission's acknowledged expert in the Gare language, visited the villages tirelessly and saw most of the district become Catholic between 1910 and 1917.

Among the islanders Pavese was venerated. They responded warmly to his expressive piety and appreciated the humane interest he took in their affairs. Former pupils interviewed in 1966 confessed to standing in awe of him. They recalled his tears when he preached and the 'miracles' he worked, such as bringing a 'dead' boy back to life. Their dominant memory however was that he had closely and naturally shared their life; working in the garden with them, eating the same food and attending to his own laundry. He had no 'house-boy'. If they were sick he nursed them and gave them special food. He was, they felt, 'number one'.

His colleagues respected his zeal but generally regarded him as a figure of fun, which may well have reinforced his sense of identification with the islanders. In 1966, Joseph Halbwachs, who arrived in

the Solomons with Pavese, recalled with some scorn his former colleague's propensity for casting medals overboard to ensure calm seas. 'Pavese left a chain of medals from Beaufort Bay to Cape Hunter.' Still less conducive to winning the respect of his *confrères* was Pavese's grandiose preoccupation with offering himself as a victim for the welfare of the Church, rebuking his fellow-Marists, from the Superior-General down, for supposed deviation from the ideals of the Society laid down by Father Colin. His fears were quickened in 1923 by rumours that, in response to the world-wide expansion of the Society, an American English-speaking Marist would be elected Superior-General. Such a choice, breaking a succession of Frenchmen, would, Pavese feared, destroy the essential humility of the *esprit mariste* by introducing its antithesis, *américanisme*, which he defined as

that worldly spirit, that love of well-being, of the bourgeois life, of noise, of fame, that 'bluff', that *sensualisme*, that concern for appearances which reigns in some degree throughout the world, but especially in the United States.

Desperate to avert such a scourge, Pavese laid his soul open to the acting Superior-General, L. Dubois:

in the month of May 1912 I offered myself as victim . . . for the triumph of the Church over its enemies. Thanks to the happy solution of 'the Roman Question' and for the development of our dearly beloved religious family God did not judge it opportune to make me die that year, because there still remained much for me to do . . .

[But] today I really believe that the time has come for me to leave this earth and go to Heaven . . . not for the sake of celestial repose and beatitude but because of my certainty . . . of being better able to procure the glory of God, the honour of Mary, the good of the Church and of our Society and the salvation of souls.

He implored Dubois to join with him in offering his life to the Divine Mercy and Justice.²¹

As it happened, a Frenchman, Ernest Rieu, was elected. Pavese was however soon extremely disquieted at the *américanisme* which led Rieu in 1925 to build a 'palazzo', instead of a smaller dwelling, as the new Marist headquarters in Rome. He was even more uneasy about affairs in the South Solomons mission. Returning from Sydney in 1926 after his 'second novitiate', a six-month period of spiritual stocktaking and physical rest which heightened his 'holy nostalgia for Heaven', he was scandalised by his *confrères'* over-indulgence in tobacco, their habit of public bathing and the worldliness of their conversation. In April 1931, the vicariate received an American

priest, an enterprising young man named Albert Lebel. Pavese was aghast: the wolf was in the sheep-fold. Disposed to find fault with the newcomer, Pavese's conviction of the mission's spiritual decline intensified when Lebel was permitted to start a boy scout troop at Visale in 1932. He was shocked by the religious 'indifferentism' of Lebel's statement in *Turupatu* that Baden-Powell 'was a Protestant and put all religious on the same footing'. Early in 1933 he saw an insult to the Saints when Lebel gave the impious name *Scout* to a new launch bought for Visale. The upshot of accumulating irreverence was that Pavese felt called to purify the mission. During Holy Week 1933, he again made his oblation and dramatically won his pupils.

I . . . proposed that they sign a paper upon which I had written 'We the pupil-catechists of Gausava consent that God may take our Father, so that our Religion may live in the Solomons'. Quite spontaneously . . . they all put their signature . . . I had said to them 'If I die, I will protect and will help you from on high. If I live, I will protect and aid you from here below, but it is necessary that things change, because they can no longer continue as they are'.

From this time onwards, claimed Pavese:

I acquired over my dear pupils an authority, an ascendancy, an absolute prestige. They listened to me as they would have listened to Our Lord himself.

When God did not claim the sacrifice, Pavese decided that he was meant to employ more direct methods. Most of his graduates had quickly abandoned their posts for more remunerative employment, but not before, on his instructions and with great prurience, they had reported the conduct of the various missionaries. He learned that women regularly entered presbyteries in the course of household duties without a blouse and without a companion, that Donatien Coicaud at Buma had told a catechist that children might go naked and that some priests performed 'indelicate' medical operations. Construing such incidents as rampant immorality, Pavese reported his findings to Raucaz shortly after Easter and instructed him to gather all the priests for a retreat which he himself would preach. The order was ignored. On 10 May 1933, Raucaz came to Tangarare on the *Jeanne d'Arc* to collect the S.M.S.M. for their retreat at Visale; learning of his arrival, Pavese marched dramatically with the school-boys to the station, confronted the bishop on the verandah of the mission house and repeated his demand for a retreat. When it was rejected, he ordered the bishop to surrender his episcopal ring. Raucaz refused and ordered the seven pupils from Gausava to board

the *Jeanne d'Arc*. Pavese returned to Gausava.

Four days later, on 14 May, several bands of people passed through Gausava on their way northwards, intent, Pavese reported, on closing the Tangarare station schools in retaliation for Raucaz's removal of the seven trainee-catechists. The same evening, Samuel Moreau, the superior at Tangarare, arrived weeping at Visale. He reported that a group of men brandishing knives and sticks and shouting had threatened him and dismissed the children. A week later the Visale schools were also deserted, while at Tangarare a total boycott of the mission was in operation. Pavese had not instigated these developments but he did support them. Recalled to Europe in June 1933, he readily obeyed in the expectation that his case would be conceded by higher Church authorities. He urged the people not to send children back to school until he returned, repeating the injunction in letters over the next twelve months. In fact, he never returned but was constrained to spend most of 1934 in a Trappist monastery in France as penance for his insubordination. The last twenty years of his life were spent teaching at a Marist school in northern Italy.²²

In the Visale district the reaction against the mission seriously affected only a few villages centred on Kakabona. Most were easily persuaded to abandon all forms of boycott. But Kakabona, where Pavese's outstanding former student, Karolo Tsilivi, had appointed himself *curé* and preached, taught and baptised in what he called the *Lotu Gausava*, resisted until May 1934.²³

At Tangarare, nearly all the Catholic population of 1400 remained in revolt until late 1936. No one came to the station except for medical treatment. The sacraments were spurned. A number of girls, some aged eighteen and twenty, who chose to remain with the nuns, were forcibly abducted by their relatives. Visiting southward from Tangarare in April 1934, Aubin was refused hospitality in village after village and was everywhere told, 'We will not return to the *lotu* until Pavese returns.'

A more aggressive line of resistance to the mission emerged and reached a peak in March 1934 at the village of Sugu. A *koti* ('court') organised by ex-catechists, attended by several hundred people and presided over by the local headman, 'tried' the bishop and declared him 'guilty' of improper interference with Filomena Ngaovova, a former schoolgirl at Visale. Her father, Toma Boko, former catechist at Ravu, celebrated the indictment by gathering crucifixes and ornaments from eight neighbouring village chapels and depositing them

in the *luma* (canoe house) at Sugu. The District Officer from Aola investigated the charge and found it absurd. Indeed, the Resident Commissioner was about to have Batista Quri, former catechist of Labi, tried for defamation of character, having circulated a letter calumniating Raucaz's morals. Word was received however that Raucaz, whose health had been failing for some months, had died on 22 July in Sydney and at Aubin's request the trial was cancelled.²⁴

The Tangarare affair was a negative movement, a withdrawal from the mission rather than reversion to 'custom' religion or rejection of Catholic teaching — although a number of Catholics did take second wives. It was a protest rather than an effort to construct a new doctrinal or institutional synthesis. There was no move to adopt Protestantism; an S.D.A. teacher invited to Ravu by Toma Boko was ignored for the duration of his stay. Nor was there any general effort to discard other forms of European authority. Four Tangarare leaders convicted in 1934 for their part in the abductions refused early in 1935 to pay their taxes but it was an isolated occurrence. It did however move the local District Officer to the disquieting reflection that 'the native is growing up very fast . . . is thinking for himself and is critical alike of government and mission'.

The movement had a positive content despite the generally accepted Marist interpretation that the people were simply led astray by an erring priest, an explanation which accords too neatly with the passive role in which the Marists cast their converts and ignores the possibility that the rebels had considered reasons of their own and were protesting against genuine grievances. Nor were the catechists responsible for the revolt. Certainly they took the lead in rallying the villagers' resistance to the mission; Paolo Kole, Guilloux's companion when he was drowned in 1902, the first Tangarare person to be baptised and the chief catechist of the district, became the nominal leader of the movement, and ordered the abduction of the schoolgirls and the attempt to smear Raucaz. Yet the catechists were in no position to command unwilling obedience from the people.

The enthusiastic unity of the movement is explained by the fact that the people sympathised with the catechists' resentment at the mission's refusal to pay them a salary, a sympathy sustained by disappointment that mission membership had brought hardship instead of material benefits.²⁵

Hope for Pavese's return had taken on overtones of millenarian vision: when he came back, he would make bountiful amends for the

mission's parsimony and dishonesty. In 1934, Aubin recorded an allegation that the missionaries, who were said to be paid from Rome and to have deposits of money in Sydney, had misappropriated funds from the Propagation de la Foi which should have been distributed to Catholics and school children. Graton observed the same distrust.

the people expect to receive from him [Pavese] the money and gifts of which we have [reputedly] deprived them . . . because of our white skin these people do not believe that we could be short of money.

In May 1935, Paolo Kole advised a Visale leader (who had urged him to submit to the new bishop Aubin) not to sell his allegiance for a few *omea le* (little gifts without value) 'or you will not see the things which we demand . . . [for] he [Aubin] will make impossible the return of Pavese'.²⁶

As Pavese failed to reappear, hope gradually gave way to disillusion. Between late 1935 and late 1936, the Tangarare people were urged by an energetic Dutch priest, Emery de Klerk, and, frightened by a series of earthquakes taken as a sign of divine displeasure, drifted back to the mission. In July 1935, de Klerk noted that people were speaking less of Pavese and that 'one of the worst leaders, Abaramo, catechist of Sunavutu [had] made his submission'. In January 1936 the Tangarare school reopened with twenty-two boys and twenty-eight girls; by February Sunavutu had rebuilt the chapel it had destroyed. In July, Paolo Kole admitted to de Klerk 'you have won the battle', while in September, de Klerk blessed the renovated chapel at Avisi, where

Before Mass, Toma Boko . . . made a public retraction . . . and promised to build a new church at Ravu . . . and the girl who had calumniated Raucaz, likewise made a retraction, declaring that she had spoken under duress and that Raucaz was absolutely innocent.²⁷

Another reason for resistance to the mission was more pressing than the belief that the Marists were cheating them. Resentment of mission demands made in a particularly harsh manner by Samuel Moreau at Tangarare helps explain why the revolt was less marked in the Visale district.

Moreau had arrived in the Solomons in 1908. In 1910, he was appointed curate to Babonneau at Wanoni Bay, where he spent nineteen years. A flock of about 450 Catholics was gathered during this period, although for the last half they received little pastoral care. Villages were rarely visited, owing to Babonneau's poor health and because Moreau preferred to concentrate his energies on the mission

station, erecting buildings of permanent material including, in 1923, a fine cement church. The cost of development was high. The Wanoni school became a plantation 'where the pretended scholars made copra' and supplied cheap labour, while their overseer earned an unenviable reputation for irascibility. He enhanced his reputation by threatening parents who withdrew their children from school and retrieving runaway pupils with the aid of the police. The school, which had about forty boys and more than thirty girls in 1921, had but four boys in 1930.²⁸

His *confrères* were not aware of the ill feeling at Wanoni Bay and considered Moreau 'firm', a man who got things done. Early in 1931, after a holiday in France, he was transferred to Tangarare, where the people were thought to have grown slack. Besides, Tangarare needed a new church. Moreau there introduced what his curate, Graton, disapprovingly called 'the Wanoni system'. Copra production increased; so did the already strong resentment parents felt at losing the labour of their children, particularly daughters. The prolonged residence at the station of large numbers of girls placed a strain on village economies throughout the district that Pavese regarded as 'absolutely cruel'. In 1932, when Tangarare had 120 girls and as many boys, Paolo Kole petitioned Raucaz 'to allow the school girls to return to their villages after Confirmation so as to help their families, instead of staying to make copra and tend the cows etc.' Raucaz refused the request. Moreau worsened the clash between mission and village interests by rebuking Kole ('you are preventing us from doing our work') and refusing him Holy Communion.

Moreau's unpopularity increased with his severity. In protest, a number of the older boys left the school in March 1931 and a month later the priest was assaulted by a youth from Malaita. To avenge a broken rib suffered in this attack, Graton reports that Moreau 'had the boy tied to a post and beat him with a stick, feet and fists until he asked for mercy' before turning him over to the D.O., who sentenced him to three months' prison.

Moreau's behaviour also destroyed whatever incentive the villagers might have had to contribute to the new church fund. In his 1932 Christmas sermon Moreau berated them for their lack of generosity and, regardless of the seriousness with which Melanesians regard cursing, further offended by calling them *tinoni mobuli* (rotten people). A complaint requesting Moreau's removal was sent to Raucaz but was again rejected, whereupon, the catechists resolved to call a

boycott of the schools at Easter. Pavese claimed he talked them out of this decision but events of 10 and 11 May 1933 took the matter out of his hands. His breach with Raucaz highlighted indigenous dissatisfaction and the missions' failure to take constructive remedial action.²⁹

The 1930s were also marked by positive Marist efforts to advance beyond simple evangelism. In each vicariate indigenous sisterhoods were founded to supplement — in a menial capacity — the work of European nuns. In 1932, Raucaz founded the Daughters of Mary Immaculate, whose first two members took their vows in 1935. Much cajoling by the missionaries and payment approximating to a bride price was often necessary before parents would allow their daughters to enter the congregation, yet by 1942 it had twelve professed members, four novices and two postulants. Similar progress was also made by the congregation of the Little Sisters of Nazareth in the North Solomons. Begun in 1937, it had ten professed members by 1941. That sisterhoods developed with relative ease is easily explained. Life as a nun had much to attract women who, unlike men, had little alternative to village life; it was more comfortable and offered a means of satisfying relatively sophisticated tastes developed during several years at the station school. Moreover church laws imposed on nuns none of the educational qualifications which impeded the development of an indigenous male clergy.³⁰

Even in education, the Marists could point to some improvement during the 1930s. In the North Solomons the Protestant boost helped generate an internal dynamic by raising standards; towards the end of the decade Propaganda began to insist that the Marists take steps to create an indigenous clergy. In 1936, the catechist school at Chabai in the North Solomons was placed in the charge of James Hennessy, a diocesan priest from Boston who had responded to an appeal by Wade by volunteering to spend five years in the mission. A further advance occurred in 1941 when Hennessy was replaced by three Marist Brothers from Australia, all trained teachers. After several years' intensive schooling, four Chabai pupils, two in 1939 and two in 1940, were deemed ready for the minor seminary opened in 1938 at Vunapope in New Britain. Two of them, Aloysius Tamuka from Buin and Peter Tatamas from Buka, were ordained priests in 1953.

In the South Solomons, educational improvement was a reluctant response to an awakening official interest in native welfare. In 1931 the missions were encouraged to produce more candidates suitable

for training as 'dressers' and medical assistants by government offers of grants-in-aid to schools which conformed to prescribed standards. However the grants offered, equivalent to the headtax for each pupil aged over sixteen years, were too small to provide any real incentive. Raucaz considered them 'derisory, to say the least and the conditions impossible'. The Marists' main task was pastoral, not pedagogic, as Raucaz lamented in 1932; 'to concern ourselves seriously with education [is impossible]'. As a gesture of goodwill, he incorporated the suggested curriculum in a *Program of Studies for Catholic Mission Schools*, printed and circulated to all stations and, Pavese complained, ignored.³¹

Adopting a stronger line in 1934, the Resident Commissioner, F.N. Ashley, issued a draft Education Regulation empowering him to close any school deemed unsatisfactory. Raucaz's reaction to the draft betrayed his preoccupation with the Tangarare revolt. Instead of insisting on the organisers' duties it should, he complained, insist on the duties of those for whose 'improvement' the schools existed and organisers of school boycotts should be punished, recommendations which were rejected by a conference convened at Tulagi to discuss the draft. The Marists also had more apposite objections to the regulation, and made them known to Archbishop Myers, Catholic representative on the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education, whose sub-committee sustained the objections late in 1934. The power the regulation accorded the Resident Commissioner to control every aspect of education in the B.S.I.P. was too sweeping, while the curriculum, with its emphasis on academic skills, had scant bearing on local needs.³²

Faced with the sub-committee's report and mission opposition (the Marists were not alone in resisting government intrusion), Ashley dropped the regulation but did not allay fears that another was imminent. Anxious to put the mission's school structure beyond reproach and aware of the sub-committee's recommendation that education should aim at improving the quality of village life, Aubin set up a new catechist school at Marau in 1936, aiming at a solid general education for potential village teachers and leaders. Only boys between fourteen and eighteen who could read and write were accepted for the two-year course. The language of instruction was English and academic learning was balanced by craft and garden training. There were fifty boys (none from Tangarare) at the school in 1938 when it was handed over to three Australian Marist Brothers,

who soon raised its roll to seventy. Two youths were sent to Fiji in 1940 to begin preliminary studies for the priesthood at the Marist college at Cawaci, but did not persevere. The same year a very successful two-year catechist course for a dozen married couples — none from Tangarare — was launched at Rohinari.³³

Solid progress seemed to be crowning the Marists' work. In 1940, W.C. Groves, who had been commissioned to advise the Administration on educational policy, judged that the Marau school, 'in the matter of adapting its work to local conditions and relating its program to native life, and in the quality of the scholastic side of its teaching. . . is the outstanding educational institution in the Protectorate.' The same year, as the Marists were being forced to close their schools because they lacked money to buy food, the High Commissioner authorised an *ex gratia* grant of £ 250 to help keep that at Marau open,³⁴ a well-meant but paltry gesture betokening no sense of urgency.

The time for gestures was passing; World War II put an end to the tentative broadening of interest by mission and Administration in the education of the Solomon Islanders.

6 War

Outside impingement on the Solomon Islands reached a climax in 1942 when they became a battlefield in a global war. After attacking Pearl Harbour in December 1941, Japanese forces drove rapidly southwards. Early in 1942 they captured Singapore and Rabaul and bombed Buka Passage, Kieta and Tulagi. With the fall of Singapore, the Solomons (indeed the whole south-west Pacific) were virtually undefended against invasion; the bombing was the signal for European civilians to be officially advised to evacuate the group. The edifice of European dominance was quickly dismantled.

Among those who heeded the voice of prudence were most of the commercial community (except the Chinese who were not given the opportunity) and a number of missionaries — all the Adventists, and most of the Methodists and S.S.E.M. Anglican missionaries remained, although Bishop Baddeley took the precaution of moving his headquarters from Taroaniara, near Tulagi, to Auki on Malaita.¹ The Resident Commissioner of the B.S.I.P. did likewise, while the District Officer at Kieta led a flight from the Australian Solomons. The Marists did not move at all. Bishops Wade and Aubin, encouraged by a missionary tradition that did not disdain martyrdom, and believing that the Japanese would be tolerant of non-combatants, hoped to reach a *modus vivendi* with the invaders. Recalling the parable of the hireling shepherd, they instructed priests, brothers and nuns to stay

at their posts.² In both parts of the Solomons a skeleton staff of administrative officers, with a sprinkling of planters, traders and missionaries, remained to form a network of coast watchers, whose main task was to observe enemy movements and report by radio transmitter to Australian and American military authorities.

Native reaction to the European retreat was generally undemonstrative, with notable exceptions. Houses and stores were looted at Buka Passage, Kieta and at Tulagi, while an observer in North Malaita noted in April 1942 a grim fatalism among people fearing themselves abandoned and due for destruction, who feasted extravagantly, lest the Japanese deprive them of their pigs and gardens. On Buka, there was a sense of elation and the cargo cult revived. Passing aeroplanes sparked rumours that Pako was aboard, coming with the cargo. Later, the Japanese were welcomed in the expectation that they would confer the wealth withheld from the Bukas first by the German régime and then by the Australians. Hope and excitement subsided after May 1943 when the Japanese beheaded three cult leaders who it seems had planned to hasten the millennium by human sacrifice.³

Missionary contact with the Japanese began on 8 March 1942, when Japanese warships visited Carola Harbour on the west coast of Buka. Percy Good, a planter, and Father James Hennessy of Lemanmanu were placed on parole on condition that they did not communicate with the Australian or American authorities. Marists on Bougainville, including an Australian and an American, were similarly treated. Wade's hopes, it seemed, were being realised. However on 15 March, following a radio broadcast from Australia which imprudently announced the news of their visit to Carola, the Japanese returned to punish the betrayal of their movements. The news had in fact originated from a coast watcher located in north Bougainville. Good was beheaded and Hennessy taken captive to Rabaul where, at the end of June, with 1100 other prisoners (including D.C. Alley, the Methodist missionary from Teop on Bougainville), he was put aboard the ill fated *Montevideo Maru*, for Japan. Off the Philippines the ship was torpedoed by an American submarine. None of the prisoners survived.⁴

Japanese occupation of the Solomon Islands began at Buka on 30 March 1942 and, extending southwards, reached Tulagi on 2 May. Treatment of the islanders, whom they hoped to have as co-operative members of the Greater South Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, was con-

siderate and even flattering. Food was paid for, women unmolested and a policy of generous fraternisation followed, particularly on Buka, where the largest Japanese base in the Solomons was located and which was not seriously disturbed by American bombing until late 1943. The Japanese represented themselves and were widely accepted as liberating the islanders from white misrule. Native officials were given new insignia of office and were regularly consulted on matters of local interest; schools teaching Japanese customs, language and songs were set up and enthusiastically attended and the cult of ancestors was encouraged.⁵

The appeal of Japanese ideas was explained by F. P. Archer, leader of the first administrative patrol into Buka after the war and a former planter there.

In religious matters the Japanese used to ask the natives why they should at the bidding of the white missionaries, embrace the faith of the white man's God? They stated that the white man's God was a God of wrath whom they could not see, but who because of merely natural sins, condemned sinners to everlasting damnation. Why not, they asked, worship our own SUN God, who can be seen every day and who when he rises brings light and warmth which causes crops to grow and people to feel happy This SUN the Japanese maintained, was something tangible and friendly, and worth worshipping. Further, said the Japanese, the SUN was the God of the dark skinned races . . . and why had the white man's God not sufficient strength to save the English from defeat . . . ?

In a number of village houses, mainly on the east coast, were observed small shrines made of white wood and nicely fitted together. The front would be approximately 10" high by 8" wide and 10" in length, fitted with an angle roof, also of wood. The top half of the front was fitted with a door on which was drawn a rising sun. The bottom half contained a drawer in which was the carefully wrapped lower jaw bone of an ancestor of repute. The name of this ancestor was printed in English at the top of the front door. On a shelf fitted to the front of the shrine stood a small round enamel bowl in which were a few pieces of cooked kaukau. Asked about these KAMISIMA[†] houses, natives informed me that the Japs introduced the idea to them, saying that the spirit of the departed ancestor would come to the shrine and eat of the food offering and give the owner of the shrine additional strength and support. They were convinced that the ancestral spirit had saved them during the intensive air attacks by the allies Certain ceremonies in connection with the shrine had to be observed regularly such as bowing to it etc.⁶

At Kieta, where a school was founded, local sympathy for the

[†]A Japanese word meaning 'object of veneration'.

Japanese was enhanced by certain German Marists, who expressed approval of the new régime. In the circumstances this action was not unreasonable; the Axis powers were still in the ascendant in Europe, Africa and Asia and the mission could gain little from antagonising those who might well become permanent rulers of the Solomons. Wade's neutrality, however, was linked with firm faith in eventual Allied victory and he thought otherwise. He insisted that missionaries refrain from speaking in favour of Japanese rule and was later pained to learn that, as a result of the Germans' action, 'U.S.A. aviators forced down over Bougainville were instructed to avoid Catholic natives and to confine their chances to Methodists'.⁷

Japanese treatment of the missionaries was at first conciliatory. Radios and a little food were confiscated, but the operation of mission stations was undisturbed, although village visiting was curtailed. Nevertheless, as Hennessy's fate demonstrated, neither the forbearance of the Japanese nor mission neutrality could guarantee non-involvement in hostilities. Missionary detachment was dependent less on their own decision than on combatants subject to the contingencies of war.

Bishop Aubin realised the precariousness of the situation on 3 July 1942 after his first visit from a Japanese officer at Visale, and, afraid of being labelled a *collaborateur*, resolved to have no dealings with the Japanese except in the presence of three assistants, a Dutchman, a Canadian and a New Zealander. On 5 July, when the Japanese began to build an air field at Lunga, twenty miles east of Visale, Aubin refused to communicate orders to the people of Guadalcanal or help recruit labour. T. Ishimoto, a former carpenter at Tulagi and a Japanese officer with responsibility for civil affairs, had some days earlier returned linen Japanese soldiers had stolen from the mission. He did not press the point but employed his own efforts in labour recruitment, although Visale was used as a recruiting centre.⁸

At Marau, on the eastern end of Guadalcanal, relations between the Marist Brothers and a small camp of Japanese were relatively amiable until the American landings on Guadalcanal on 7 August 1942. The landings were the signal throughout the islands for Japanese attitudes towards missionaries whose countries were at war with Japan to change sharply. Once Japanese dominion was challenged the missionaries, formerly tolerated as harmless, were regarded as potential fifth-column agents of the Americans. The Marist Brothers at Marau, wrongly suspected of having radioed information to Ameri-

can ships on the eve of the landings, were acquitted only after intensive interrogation. Even so, they were to be removed to a prison camp but their guards were called away in an attempt to dislodge the Americans from Lunga airfield, renamed Henderson Field in honour of an American killed three months earlier in the battle of Midway Island.⁹

The missionaries at Ruavatu station, between Lunga and Marau, were less fortunate. On 31 August two priests, Henry Oude-Engberink (a Dutchman) and Arthur Duhamel (an American), with two nuns, Sisters Sylvia and Odilia (both French), were taken to the Japanese camp at Tasiboko and killed. A third nun, Sister Edmée, was permitted to stay behind to supervise the station and found shelter with coast watchers in the interior. The circumstances surrounding the Tasiboko incident are obscure. A week earlier the Ruavatu missionaries had been asked by the Japanese to go to the Americans and persuade them to surrender. Probably the request was made again and again and again refused; on the morning of 3 September the four were taken into the bush and bayoneted. The Japanese had clearly lost patience.¹⁰ There is no evidence that the nuns were raped, as has frequently been alleged.

As the battle for Henderson Field — the focal point of the Guadalcanal campaign — intensified, Visale became increasingly unsafe. At the beginning of September, the station was bombed and Aubin and his staff moved to Tangarare, where they remained until the commander of the American forces, General A.A. Vandegrift, ordered the evacuation of all missionaries. Between October and December 1942, ten Marist priests, eight brothers and nineteen nuns left the war zone. With Vandegrift's reluctant consent, Aubin was permitted to stay with a staff of six priests on Malaita and two on San Cristobal. The Wanoni Bay station remained at full strength; the third priest and two nuns there refused to leave. Another Marist recalcitrant was Emery de Klerk of Tangarare, later commissioned by the Americans and decorated for his work as a Labour Corps recruiter and intelligence adviser.¹¹

By mid-November 1942, the Japanese counter-attack on Guadalcanal had been repelled and their whole southern thrust brought to a halt. The Marists of the South Solomons were out of danger. In the North, however, the changed fortunes of war were reflected in Japanese treatment of the missionaries. Those from 'enemy' countries were weeded out. On 15 August 1942, a week after the first

battered aircraft from Guadalcanal returned to Buka, the three Australian Marist Brothers were taken from the catechist school at Chabai. They were never seen again. A week later the five Buka missionaries were gathered at Hahela where, wrote one,

We were all to live together . . . and discontinue our mission work: we were forbidden to have any contact with the natives; they were not allowed to come near the station. Human wisdom reproaches us for not having escaped at that moment. But even at that time we trusted the Japanese and had hopes of being able to minister to the spiritual needs of our natives. We could not abandon our priestly work in order to seek security in escaping.

Towards the end of the month they were transferred to Sohano, a small island in Buka Passage; in December, three of them, Frenchmen, were transferred to Gagan in the centre of Buka. The other two, Americans, remained at Sohano until August 1943 when, American bombing increasing, they were moved to a prison camp at Rabaul, where they met clergy from all over New Guinea as well as their own *confrères* from the Shortlands and Buin.¹²

On Bougainville, where the Japanese were more easily avoided and nationalities more mixed, the responses of the Marists were more varied than on Buka. The priests and nuns of Buin, all French, were deported to Rabaul in October 1942, while in December those from Koromira who were German were taken to Kieta. With the work of the mission now facing complete disruption, Wade found the continued presence of missionaries in such a dangerous situation increasingly unjustifiable. Most of the remaining nuns were therefore evacuated by U.S. submarine on the last night of 1942. However, three nuns (evacuated in March 1943), eighteen priests and five lay-brothers were still at liberty when, in February 1943, the Japanese ordered all missionaries to report to Kieta. Those speaking English prudently ignored the order but the Germans, hopeful of being able to salvage something of their missionary role, complied. They were joined in April by two priests from Nissan charged with communicating with the Americans, Florent Waché, a Frenchman, and John Conley. In January 1944, Waché died in an American bombing raid on Kieta and Conley was beheaded.

Meanwhile, Japanese patrols were operating farther and farther afield, to the dismay both of the recusant missionaries and the coast watchers, who feared disclosure of their whereabouts if the missionaries were captured and therefore ordered their withdrawal. The removal of one danger only accentuated another; the missionaries

had done much to smooth relations between the coast watchers and the islanders, on whose goodwill the practicability of coast watching depended. They had endorsed the coast watchers' requests for carriers, placated villagers from whose gardens food had been taken, and counselled against revealing coast watchers' whereabouts to the Japanese. Following the retreat of Wade and his remnant in May 1943, there was a marked decline in native sympathy for the coast watchers, although mounting Japanese pressure and the islanders' pragmatic deference to the stronger power were important factors. In July the coast watchers too were evacuated. However they returned in November to Bougainville with some previously evacuated missionaries, now military chaplains with American forces landing at Torokina, to establish a base from which to attack New Guinea and begin mopping-up operations.¹³

The Japanese made considerable use of German missionaries for liaison with the islanders. By December 1943 the eight German priests and two brothers were divided between camps in Buin and in the mountains behind Kieta and were frequently assigned to accompany patrols, interpreting, advising on terrain and helping procure food. At times, though regarded as prisoners, they were accorded opportunities for pastoral work.¹⁴

As the tide of war ran more strongly against them, Japanese regard for the feelings of their subjects declined sharply. Concern to retain indigenous goodwill was eroded by the need to ensure survival as the Allied advance towards Japan cut supply lines and left Japanese in the Solomons to fend for themselves. Many starved. Of a company of 140 men stationed at Pankama near Kieta for two years from mid-1943, only twenty-nine survived; 'twenty-two were killed in fighting and eighty-nine died from starvation or sickness mostly caused by starvation'. Others attempted to supplement the yield of their inadequate gardens by gathering mangrove roots and coconuts and stealing food from the indigenes — with dire results. The natives were equally prepared to accept Japanese, Australian or German overlordship but, as Feldt observes, they did not surrender the vassal's right to ensure his own subsistence. Adam Mueller, stationed at various garden-camps behind Kieta until rescued in March 1945, dates the rise of guerrilla war against the Japanese from July 1944, when a Japanese patrol to Orami village failed to return and a patrol of seven men subsequently ordered to inquire into the matter was wiped out at Guava. In some places, says Mueller:

practically all the pigs of the natives were killed, [and] the coconut palms and sago palms cut down. In some few cases whole gardens of whole villages were stripped . . . and even not-bearing plants were uprooted. This was now a question of life and death for the natives. And when here and there a case of cannibalism became known there was no more holding them. 'Ju Tink Mipela kilim nating ol Japan? Me no kilim nating,' I was told.

The increasing desperation of the harassed Japanese affected their treatment of the missionaries. By 1945, German nationality was no longer protection against suspicion of communicating with the enemy or conniving at the activities of the islanders. Such suspicions possibly explain why Gerhard Weber was beheaded in April 1945 after a patrol in north Bougainville. With the surrender of Germany in May, the plight of the remaining missionaries became even more precarious. They were frequently threatened with death and several who had the opportunity gratefully escaped to the Allied lines. The surrender of Japan in August 1945 brought the war to a close.¹⁵

In terms of personnel the war had cost the Marists dearly. Two priests and two nuns were killed in the South Solomons, while the northern vicariate lost four priests, six brothers and two nuns. In the South Solomons the stations at Visale, Ruavatu and Marau were totally destroyed and others deteriorated from lack of maintenance, while in the North Solomons all but one of the mission stations, Poporang, were levelled. The problem of reconstruction was immense and mission resources inadequate.

For the Society of Mary, the war proved a fruitful stimulus both to missionary vocation and to the generosity of Catholics in Australia, New Zealand, Holland and, particularly, America. Fifteen years after the armistice, when vegetation had long since covered most of the evidence of battle, all the stations had been rebuilt or repaired and the missionaries were more numerous than ever. But there was no return to the status quo. Locally and internationally, war had profoundly shaken the foundations of the colonial situation in which the missions had been planted.

Colonial Ebb-Tide

7 Indigenous Challenges

In the political and social evolution of the Solomon Islands World War II is of crucial importance. It marks the beginning of a positive, though unspectacular, process of reinvesting Solomon Islanders with responsibility for their own affairs. Internationally, it introduced an era of decolonisation; locally, it sparked a powerful proto-nationalist movement.

The immediate local effects were far from uniform. In the southern part of the group, where large numbers of American troops had been based following the early defeat of the Japanese, war brought unprecedented prosperity, which made the return to pre-war conditions unwelcome. There the British authorities had to contend with the sustained protest of 'Marching Rule'. In the northern and central islands, which for the most part lay within the war zone until 1945, return to normality was less eventful. The Torokina base never offered the islanders the same advantages as Guadalcanal or Manus, in the Admiralty group, where a movement similar to Marching Rule began in 1946, and the replacement of American troops on Bougainville by Australians at the close of 1944 helped prepare the way for the smooth return to Australian administration.

Yet, although the war did not create new problems there, neither did it dissolve old ones. Marching Rule became part of a many-faceted pattern of indigenous reassertion against the colonial order,

and was characteristic of the post-war years. In 1960-1 a large part of the Methodist following in New Georgia rejected European religious leadership and in 1962 the long-standing discontent on Buka erupted in opposition to both the Australian Government and the Catholic missions.¹

Concomitant with these reactions were more positive mission and administration responses to the post-war situation. Political and economic development programs of various kinds were introduced and Protestant bodies virtually completed the transition from mission to Church. The Catholic response was most clearly marked by improved standards of mission education and efforts to secure a share of the temporal benefits for the islanders.

The Marching Rule protest — 'Marching' being a corruption of the Are Are word *māsina* meaning 'brother' or 'brotherhood' — was centred on Malaita. It aimed at improving the quality of native life and asserted Melanesian worth. Its roots lay in commonplaces of the pre-war colonial situation — the obvious disparities between Europeans and islanders and the disregard for indigenous values evinced for example by the trifling penalty enforceable for adultery and indifference to the difficulties of the aged when too many young people recruited for plantation work. Precedents in the 1930s may be found in the bellicose tone of Buka cargo cultists, in political demands voiced by the Fallowes movement on Ysabel and Gela, in the tax 'strike' in New Georgia and in the Pavese movement. It may be found in attacks on government officials in the 1920s. It may be sensed in the resentment of Solomon Islanders excluded from Queensland after 1906 and in the fear of the European residents of Tulagi that white prestige had been dangerously lowered when in 1908 the American Negro Jack Johnson beat an Irishman Tommy Burns in the world boxing championship.²

Prospects of achieving a new order did not arise however until the sudden collapse of non-indigenous authority in 1942. The retreat of the British authorities at Tulagi from the Japanese was a damaging admission of inability to defend their subjects, confirmed between 1942 and 1949 by non-collection of the annual poll-tax. Payment of the tax signified not only submission to the Government but, in accordance with Melanesian reciprocity, constituted an entitlement to protection. When protection was not provided, the islanders might well argue that the contract was dissolved. Moreover, in

comparison with Americans, the British were of very minor account and the advantages of propitiating them appeared dubious.³

About 3000 Solomon Islanders, most from Malaita, met the Americans on Guadalcanal as recruits in the Solomon Islands Labour Corps. There a wage of one pound per month — twice the standard pre-war rate for a labourer fixed by the British authorities — was often impressively augmented by side earnings and gifts. Others who remained in their villages profited through the sale of fruit, curios and native building materials. Not surprisingly, in February 1944, the priest at Rokera noted that 'the people speak only of dollars and Americans'. The lack of reserve with which Americans treated the islanders, the sight of Negro soldiers enjoying perquisites hitherto reserved for white men in the Solomons,[†] and the anti-colonialist, anti-British strain of much American talk together with the advice that the islanders should have a chief of their own opened up a new realm of possibility for the islanders.⁴

In the middle of 1943 members of the Labour Corps attempted to 'buy' American rule by contributing to Red Cross funds. The Resident Commissioner had this practice stopped in 1944, about the same time that the American commander disclaimed any permanent United States interest in the group. The islanders, however, were not deterred from 'going it alone'. Open resistance to government authority was first noticed at Ataa in north Malaita early in 1944 and late the same year in the Are Are district a definable movement first showed itself. Under the leadership of Hoasihau, the district headman and a nephew of Arisimae, a series of meetings was held to collect money to set up a chief who would be responsible for all dealings with Europeans. Early in 1945 two other notables, Alik Nonohimae and Nori from Waisisi, also began collecting money, to buy a plantation and hire European experts who could satisfy the people's need for improved housing, agriculture, education and medicine.

Such ideas spread rapidly. Discontent in north Malaita coalesced with the movement in the south and by the end of 1945, Malaita was divided into nine Marching Rule districts, largely corresponding to official administrative districts. Each had a 'head chief' assisted by various categories of subordinates. In all districts the leaders ordered

[†]On San Cristobal the Negroes were thought by some to be descendants of the people abducted by Mendaña in 1568, an opinion which may well have encouraged the islanders' desire to enjoy similar privileges. Interview with Fr J. Espagne.

the drawing-up of codes of laws for the proper ordering of society in accordance with what was thought to be indigenous custom. They also encouraged the practice of compiling genealogies (or 'generations') in order to establish the villagers' prescriptive right to land and to affirm their faith in associated cultural values.

Complementing this conservative strain in Marching Rule was a forward-looking one. In 1946, on their chiefs' orders, Malaitans started leaving their hamlets in the bush and off-shore islands to live a new life in new large villages called 'towns' on the coast. During the year large meetings were held at various towns before, in November, Marching Rule came fully into the open with a mass rally at the Government station at Auki. The reformist nature of the movement is suggested by the fact that the principal demand made was not for political independence, but for a minimum wage of £ 12 a month, which would confer a measure of social independence. With higher wages, it was argued, fewer young people would need to leave their villages so there would be more money available to pay for social services. To the chagrin of the administration, desperate for labour to rebuild the Protectorate's economy, the wage claim was backed early in 1947 by a call for a general strike.⁵

1946 saw Marching Rule begin to affect other islands. Following traditional lines of communication, it spread from Are Are to Ulawa, where Catholics and Anglicans, bitterly divided in January, were by May reported to have sunk their sectarian differences in open opposition to the Government. From Ulawa it spread to San Cristobal. From Are Are it entered Guadalcanal, through Marau, and from there infected Gela and Ysabel. The latter outbreaks were, however, crushed when in August 1947, the Government (persuasion and threats having failed to enforce submission) began to arrest rebel leaders charged by the Resident Commissioner with seeking 'to establish an organized terrorism and robbery of the native people'.⁶

On Malaita and San Cristobal, thanks to close links with the S.S.E.M., Marching Rule was more strongly organised and resistance was only hardened by government aggression. Fences were built around the 'towns' and 'sentries' posted at the gates. In June 1949, 2000 men were serving sentences, mainly for refusing to pull down the fences. Some months later, when plans were announced for reintroducing the poll-tax and a census, a Marist observer at Buma noted that 'all the natives are now feverishly working their gardens in preparation to go to gaol for five months'. Nevertheless by late 1949,

although outward resistance was still unbroken, morale was beginning to crumble. Food supplies had dwindled owing to the effort expended on erecting new buildings and attending meetings and because of mass arrests.⁷

Disappointment, however, also fostered more extreme protest. Rumours of impending violence began to grow in strength and in February 1950 a policeman was fatally wounded in a skirmish with Marching Rule supporters in north Malaita. Moreover, as the likelihood of attaining success through secular effort receded, the millenarian strain in the movement became more marked. As early as March 1949, Rokera missionaries reported the prevalent belief that death was about to ravage Malaita, preparatory to the second coming of the beneficent Americans. Consequently people were neglecting their gardens and cutting down food trees, for they would no longer be necessary. Instead they were building beacons to guide the transports ashore and digging air raid shelters for protection against the expected American bombing of the British and their sympathisers. By January 1950 similar ideas were current in north Malaita.

This growing hysteria was offset by mounting disillusionment and willingness to submit. In June 1950, sensing a change of mood, the Resident Commissioner released nine head chiefs imprisoned since August 1947 on condition that they renounce their opposition to the Government. His terms were accepted. By the end of the year recruiting revived and the Government had obtained most of its taxes. Marching Rule was over, although pockets of resistance remained until 1955.⁸

Assessments of Marching Rule have been remarkably varied. To C.H. Allan, an administrative officer, it was a lamentably negative and anti-aculturative movement. To Peter Worsley, an anthropologist who stressed its practical side, it was 'a political party'. To the missionary writer, A.R. Tippet, 'religion was not a basic drive' in it.⁹ All the opinions are inadequate. Tippet's is quite without foundation, while Allan and Worsley fail to recognise attempts to preserve Melanesian identity. Marching Rule was socially and culturally reintegrative, not just an acquisitive and anti-British movement. A heavy and pervasive influence was placed on asserting the dignity of Melanesians and on ensuring recognition of the islanders' own worth, an aim heightened by Christianity.

Marching Rule arose among people whose responses had been

profoundly influenced not only by traditional values and recent experience but by missionary influence, to which it owed most of its leadership, ideology, perceptions and an anthem. 'Jesus he say "Yes" for Marching Rule' was a popular song of the day.¹⁰ In 1942 nearly half the population of Malaita was Christian — 9000 S.S.E.M., 5000 Anglican, 4000 Catholic. San Cristobal, with about 4000 people, was fairly evenly divided between the three missions.¹¹

Not surprisingly, leadership and lines of communication were supplied by the S.S.E.M. Eight of the nine head chiefs — the exception was Nonohimae, a pagan — were or had been S.S.E.M. teachers. Chosen where possible from the sons of village notables, trained in the exercise of leadership and empowered to levy money from their followers for religious purposes, S.S.E.M. teachers frequently enjoyed an importance in the village exceeding that of government headmen. Accustomed to keep in regular contact among themselves they formed a ready-made and effective fifth column.¹²

Mission influence was prominently reflected in the principles professed by the movement and suggested by its name. Christian ideals coincided with the indigenous custom of recognising a sort of honorary kinship between those engaged in common cause; despite the traditional divisions and belligerence that had characterised Malaita, the ideal was realised in the sense of unity Marching Rule created among people of the island and in the lack of violence which marked its proceedings. No doubt fear of reprisal (the savage aftermath of the Bell massacre of 1927 was not forgotten) also acted as a deterrent to violence, yet a conscious and respected ideal of brotherhood was demonstrated in the Marching Rule 'towns' where language barriers, bush-coast antagonisms and religious differences were of little account.

During a six-month sojourn on Malaita in 1933, the anthropologist H.I. Hogbin reported that he 'never once had the slightest response from the Sermon on the Mount, which appeared to be regarded as a passage of no particular relation to native concerns'. A document said by its provider in 1966 to show 'how we work inside Marching Rule, along 1947, 1945' contained however, in outlining a general program of improvement, the following statement of social norms:

We must show works of friendship among ourselves and show it to others as well. We must show works of charity, works of mercy and works of sympathy. We must show to other people. Whatever good we can do for ourselves and others as well. We must be hospitable to foreigners, kind to the poor and be honest in whatever we do or say. If we do that then we are

sure that many other good people will respect us, our lands, our money, our children and whatever belongs to us. But most of all we must keep the ten Commandments of God which are well respect in our Customs by our ancestors, who although they may have broken them, have preserved them by words of mouth which is called *Tradition*. †¹³

It is important to notice that this new social love-thy-neighbour dimension was awakened in Solomon Islands Christians not by missionary teaching but by the Americans, the first white laymen the islanders had seen openly professing Christianity. This catalyst, according to a Catholic informant at Tarapaina in 1966, made people from 'Are Are, Saoti, Kwara'ae' meeting on Guadalcanal agree that they 'must be one brother . . . yumi must go one way, alsame Gospel'.¹⁴ American treatment of the islanders implied a severe condemnation of the British, and a religious interpretation of this political situation is strikingly expressed in a document emanating from Are Are and found circulating in north Malaita in 1949. The familiarity it evinces with the scriptures and, above all, the confident way in which it applies them literally indicate S.S.E.M. origin.

It begins by cataloguing grievances of the Solomon Islanders. The basic one is the 'great distinction between them and us'. Under British rule, it complains, the islanders have never enjoyed the friendship, love or sympathy of white men and are never likely to:

We are never allowed in their houses — never to eat or drink out of their cups or plates etc., never to sit on their chairs — not even those of us who were advanced and educated and were above the standard of the majority.

Life on the plantations has 'been hard going and for the benefit of the exploiter'. 'We have been used as beasts of burden or engines for work' and 'If it happened a [court] case was raised between Native and White it mostly fell on the native side to be the guilty party *and punished with imprisonment*'. Moreover, 'we have never had the White man's best or ever [been] taught or shown anything above the ordinary'. Yet 'the Scriptures (God's word) say man was created equal'. God was 'no respecter of persons' and 'shared his love toward all mankind equally'. Not so the British who, when the war came' left the Solomon Islanders to their fate.

†The linking of 'Custom' and 'Tradition' as valid moral authorities suggests Catholic influence, and also suggests a line of teaching stressed by the Marists in countering S.S.E.M. claims for the self-sufficiency of the Bible. However, the quality of the English (and the fact that it could be written in English at all) suggests that in the form in which it was sighted the document was not produced until some time after the Marching Rule period. Most likely it was translated from an Are Are original, by a pupil from the Marist Brothers' school Tenaru. Interview with Fr P. Geerts.

The document continues; with 'the natives' hopes utterly gone, a new dawn broke. American bravery freed us from our fears'. Until the Americans came 'we never [knew] . . . the true love and friendship mentioned in the bible'. They gave their lives: 'Greater love hath this than no man'. They shared what they had: for it is better, 'Not to love in thought nor in words but in deed and in truth'.¹⁵

Marching Rule respect for Christianity did not always extend to missionaries. S.S.E.M. personnel, whose war-time evacuation hardened the pre-war estrangement, were sometimes shunned by their people. Besides they were no longer needed. The fundamentalist religion they taught, stressing the over-riding authority and adequacy of the scriptures, their immediate relevance and the validity of individual interpretation, was inherently subversive both of subjection to a supposedly unjust political régime and of their own religious authority. As the people of Suwabona in north Malaita told Norman Deck in 1947, 'You have taught us all that was in the Bible. You have taught us to read. Now let us manage our religion ourselves.'¹⁶

The Anglicans also lost ground. They opposed Marching Rule as representatives of the unofficial established religion of the British Protectorate, but they did not have an entirely free choice in the matter. In Marching Rule the appellations 'British' and 'English' acquired a severely pejorative sense. Members of the Church of England were forced to choose between the movement and their church.¹⁷

Such embarrassment did not confront the Marists. In contrast to the Bible-centredness of the S.S.E.M., the crucial importance of priestly ministry in the Catholic religion confirmed rather than eroded the dependence of the people on their missionaries. Nor were members of the Church of Rome caught in the dilemma that troubled those of the Church of England. The Marists' capital of goodwill was increased by a number of factors: the large number of American Catholics, the baptism of Nori in 1947 and, above all, explicit Marist approval of Marching Rule.

Jean Tiggler of Rokera, a Dutch priest who died of blackwater fever in 1945, may have helped prepare the ground. He is fondly remembered in Are Are for having, like the Rev. R.P. Fallows on Ysabel a decade earlier, criticised the meagre improvements Europeans had made in the Solomon Islanders' lot. It is said that, with Arisimae's approval, he set up three Catholic 'chiefs' (each of them catechists) to

settle all disputes involving Catholics in the Rohinari area. A few minor cases were settled before the Labour Corps recruits returned and Catholics were enthusiastically absorbed into Marching Rule.¹⁸ As the movement gathered momentum, the Marists rejoiced, recognising a coincidence of interests with the islanders. The new 'towns' were a blessing that far outweighed concern for any embarrassment Marching Rule might cause the Government. They facilitated the ministry to Catholics and contact with heathens and reduced the need for arduous tours of the bush. In October 1946, the Resident Commissioner likened Marching Rule to 'a military despotism like those of Nazi Germany and Japan which recently threatened the world'. Bernard van de Walle of Rohinari wrote, six months later,

The Marching Rule has done only good for the advancement of our religion. The lagoon is ripe. There are fine villages of sixty to eighty people where formerly there were only one or two families.

In 1948, when fear of arrest was tempting some to abandon the 'towns' and communal gardens, Peter Geerts of Rokera urged the people to stay where they were and assured them they were breaking no laws.¹⁹

Marching Rule showed reciprocal sympathy for the Marists. Large crowds of three and four hundred flocked to the mission stations on Malaita and San Cristobal for feast days; the missionaries were frequently given gifts and money was regularly offered for masses to be said for the release of nine chiefs.²⁰ Despite the religious tolerance of the Marching Rule ethic, the Marists made numerous converts. The baptism rate doubled in San Cristobal and trebled on Malaita, where Catholic numbers increased by 42 percent, rising from 5410 to 7694 between 1946 and 1950. Many Anglicans also changed their allegiance. In 1948 an order circulated through San Cristobal that everyone should enter the Catholic Church. Probably emanating from the catechist Monita, who tended to become the leading Marching Rule spokesman on the island after the arrest of O Bi Ezechiali of the S.S.E.M., it had its greatest effect at Star Harbour, where about two hundred Anglicans complied. About the same time, a similar movement occurred on Malaita, most notably among three hundred Anglicans (and some S.S.E.M.) near Takwa, who obeyed a Marching Rule order to return to their ancestral homeland at Hautonima in Are Are. Melanesian Mission authorities protested indignantly at Marist 'sheep-stealing' but the charge was in fact ill founded although the Marists had few qualms about accepting the windfall and resolutely

added insult to injury by re-baptising the converts.²¹

Despite the goodwill of Marching Rule, Marists were not immune to the islanders' refusal to be beholden to Europeans, a sometimes advantageous assertiveness, as emphasis was placed not on obtaining an exchange or settling debts, but demonstrating the fact that the islanders were calling the tune. In July 1946, the Buma sawmill crew refused to renew their three-year contract but did not disdain day labour. Volunteers freely brought gravel for the new Buma church. In August, the people at Kwa in the Langalanga Lagoon refused to sell food, insisting that the mission accept three hundred pounds of *pana* (taro) for nothing. At Rokera in August 1947, Marching Rule members were willing to help the mission, but not to work for money. In October the system was modified. They would work two or three weeks for money, and then help for one or two weeks without pay. In accordance with the movement's tendency to foster formal codes and procedures, however, hours of work were precisely fixed: when paid, men would work from 7 a.m.-11 a.m. and from 1 p.m.-5 p.m.; when unpaid, from 8:30 a.m.-11 a.m. and from 2 p.m.-5 p.m. As late as January 1950 the people were still exercising a very gracious role in building a new station at Tarapaina. Peter Geerts wrote, 'Last week the Marching Rule sent thirteen men to help me. Tomorrow thirteen others will come. They work only for their food and for some notebooks, ink, kerosene, rosaries and calico.'²²

The Marists were less complacent when Marching Rule, seeking to integrate all facets of life under Melanesian auspices, turned to church discipline. At Takwa, Rokera and San Cristobal the missionaries firmly opposed attempts to implement sets of rules (similar to those drawn up for use in the custom courts) that catechists had formulated for the behaviour of Catholics. The fullest was promulgated on 5 April 1947 at Rokera. Its author was John Apui, head catechist of the district, who the year before had led the anti-Government agitation on Ulawa. It opened with a concise statement of Marching Rule's purpose: 'Now that we have the "Marching Rule" it is as if we are working on our own for a good way of life.' This was an objective, said Apui, with which the Government never seriously concerned itself; belonging to a foreign country, its officers (in sharp contrast to the Marists) rarely stayed long in one place and considered private interests paramount. The aspect of this dereliction central to Apui's charge was the Government's indifference to 'the good running of the Church'. Marching Rule, in contrast, aimed at ensuring

the welfare of both body and soul, through the Church and Council respectively. Consequently Alikī Nonohimae and Hoasihau approved a plan proposed by two catechists, Michael Asipara and Juliano Kaihoa, both of whom had been involved in Tiggler's scheme, for 'all the catechists of the Catholic Church to put a penalty on any Christian [i.e. Catholic] who might do anything wrong in Church'. The common identity of the social and religious communities, their unity of personnel and interest, was recognised by according the Council jurisdiction over serious offences, making disobedience to a catechist a Council matter and sharing revenue from fines between Council and Church. Thus the catechist might impose five shilling fines for truancy, irreverence in Church or eavesdropping, while the Council could impose £ 12 fines for pig stealing, adultery, polygamy and abortion.²³

For about two months, Apui enforced 'The Teaching of the Catholic Church', as the code was known, until Geerts forbade the practice. Apui retained his office until January 1949, when he was dismissed for calling a strike of the Rokera catechists, his demand for a salary of £ 12 a year having been rejected. A month later at a meeting called by Geerts more moderate counsel prevailed. The catechists agreed to resume their duties, at £3 a year, on the release of Alikī Nonohimae.²⁴

Further warning that mission interests might not coincide with Marching Rule activities was contained in the mood of frustration emerging by 1950 in the movement. While 'cargo' expectations and talk of impending violence mounted, religious enthusiasm seemed to be declining towards indifference. S.G. Masterman, District Commissioner of Malaita, fearful of the danger of bloodshed, in January and February sought van de Walle's aid in crushing Marching Rule; the missionary was at last ready to assist. Conscious of the risk of being scorned by his flock for using 'missionary work to further the Government's work', he exhorted the catechists to take the initiative in urging the people to submit. But their urging was ignored. The catechists reported that it would be necessary to provide an alternative to Marching Rule.

Consequently the Catholic Welfare Society (C.W.S.) was founded in March 1950 under van de Walle's direction, to secure the spiritual and material welfare of its members. The headmen and the new District Commissioner of Malaita, C.H. Allan, were informed and, it seems, raised no objection. Membership was restricted to Catholics,

who paid a small fee and agreed to '(1) listen to the Priests, and obey all the laws of the Catholic Religion, (2) follow all the Kings Regulations or Laws'. Each village was to elect a committee to ensure that both communal and private gardens were planted, villages kept clean, suitable shelters built for women in childbirth, adequate pig fences built and cash incomes obtained from increased copra production and sale of artifacts. It was a practical scheme for improving the quality of village life by providing a simple organisational framework to give focus to the existing demand for improvement. The response was instant. By the end of April the catechists had persuaded nearly all of Rohinari's 825 Catholics to comply with the census and agree to pay the tax, the conditions of membership. Those who had no cash they organised for copra-making; from others they collected the tax themselves and presented it to the headmen.²⁵

Success begot imitation. Learning of van de Walle's project, Geerts founded on his own initiative a similar society with similar results at Tarapaina. In May, despite pressure from Marching Rule diehards who claimed that to join the C.W.S. was tantamount to selling out to the Government, 820 members were enrolled. A few heathens and Anglicans even decided to become Catholics in order to join.²⁶

As Are Are enthusiasm for the C.W.S. increased, Government tolerance declined. The Society was apparently feared as a potential 'front' for Marching Rule, if not an actual form of Marching Rule, recharged and in new guise. It is also clear that the Government was reluctant to accept any intermediary in bringing the islanders to heel. Surrender was to be unconditional. Such considerations explain why a counter-movement, *Patana*, proposed by the Anglican Fox, was disallowed in 1948²⁷ and why the Government, having obtained the co-operation of the nine chiefs released in June 1950, at last began to reimpose its authority directly. In July Allan forbade anyone but headmen to take any part in collecting taxes, thereby revoking, as van de Walle stoutly alleged, the approval given just a month earlier for catechists to assist in the work. The political point was made.

Still the Government was uneasy. In September the newly appointed Resident Commissioner, H.G. Gregory-Smith, visited Rohinari and instructed van de Walle that the C.W.S. would have to be dissolved. The reasons given were that the catechist at Hautonima had refused to pay his tax until ordered to do so by a missionary; that another man, when asked what the Society's funds were for, had replied 'might be for schools' and, finally, that various C.W.S. mem-

bers had stated they wanted one of their number on the Malaita Council, a proposed local government measure. Van de Walle countered that the catechist's breaking C.W.S. rules was no reason for ending the Society; the funds of the C.W.S. were to be used for buying such items as tools, seeds and water tanks and, should the Society later concern itself with education, it would offer no threat to law and order; finally, C.W.S. members were surely entitled to elect whomsoever they wished to the Council.²⁸

Gregory-Smith's reasons appear to have been little more than pretexts but he was not to be dissuaded. He advised Bishop Aubin that he 'wanted the C.W.S. to cease, because of the circumstances prevailing on Malaita'. Aubin complied at the end of November having obtained, he said, Gregory-Smith's firm assurance that the demise of the C.W.S. would be announced by those who had founded it. In fact this did not happen. Before receiving Aubin's letter the missionaries, like the Are Are, were advised of the dissolution by the government headman, acting on Allan's instruction.²⁹

To the end, the Government persisted in imposing a political solution on a social problem, an approach possibly vindicated by the fact that Malaita's political development, after the shaky beginning of the Malaita Council in 1953, proceeded steadily, although self-help and social improvement at the village level, at least in Are Are, were slow to make comparable advances.

Ironically in view of their earlier popularity, the Marists have had appreciable reason for disquiet on Malaita only in post-Marching Rule years. Few of their land titles have been precisely surveyed and their limits are therefore open to dispute,[†] most notably at Tarapaina. In 1948 certain non-Christians of the area, encouraged by Marching Rule to retrieve what they regarded as their own, began claiming part of the station land. The agitation persisted and spread to the Tarapaina Catholics, who by 1954 were threatening to join the Anglicans if the mission did not give way. The matter was finally settled in 1958 when a court decision awarded the land to the claimants.³⁰

[†]For example, the Buma land was bought in the following fashion: 'There was no possibility of exploring the neighbourhood; even those who sold the land were unwilling to venture on shore. We had to be satisfied with rowing along the coast and fixing the limits of the land by trees visible from the sea' (Raucaz 1928: 209). Regarding 'fixing the limits', Fr J. Wall writes: 'Bishop Aubin says that he climbed the masts of the *Joan of Arc* with the natives to do this. Presumably, the same method was followed at Tarapaina.' Evidence submitted at Tarapaina land dispute hearing, 14-15 February 1955 ('TS in possession of Fr J. Wall').

The same land consciousness, stimulated by increasing pressure on coastal lands, has contributed to disputes presently brewing around other mission stations; the Marists are by no means exempt from widespread suspicion that their interests, like those of other Europeans, are contrary to the islanders'. In 1962, after the first delivery of food received under an American aid program designed to augment the diet of school children, Bishop Daniel Stuyvenberg, who had succeeded Aubin in 1958, wrote:

On my arrival in Buma the people made trouble. They said that now at long last the food-supplies from America had arrived but that after all this waiting the Mission had taken it, but that it really belonged to the people of Malaita.³¹

Aware of the potential danger of their situation, not wishing to be outdone by the Anglicans (who had recently founded the Church Association), and prompted by the encyclical *Evangelii Praecones* of 1951, the Marists agreed in 1953 to a request by the Are Are catechists to make a second attempt at improving social conditions.³² With the approval of the High Commissioner, the Malaita priests agreed to revive the C. W. S. on a more ambitious scale and a complex economic base: all the Catholics of Malaita were to be enrolled in producer and consumer co-operatives, set up in each station district and co-ordinated. In each village or group of villages a committee was to organise the co-operative production of livestock, garden produce, tobacco, copra and cocoa. Consumer co-operatives were to consist of stores at various mission stations, with a number of subsidiary stores scattered throughout the district. Profits were to be spent on health and education.

The history of the venture is less grand than the conception, although it started well enough. By the end of 1954, stores, each with a co-operative bakery, had been founded at Rokera, Rohinari, Buma, Dala and Takwa. Business boomed. In July 1955 its directors — the missionaries — decided that the C. W. S. needed its own vessel for supplying the stores. Their ambition subsided as profits became deficits, owing to the readiness of indigenous storekeepers to give credit. With the demise first of the village and then of the station stores, the basic revenue-producing stage of the venture failed and the whole scheme, inexpertly supervised and inadequately grounded in village life, collapsed. Only the stores survived in the 1960s. Since then the mission has tended to avoid direct involvement in economic development.³³

While immediate problems of post-war readjustment in the Australian Solomons were few, the situation was far from settled, especially on Buka. Shortly after the war an indiscreet *kiap* (government official) raised in the Bukas false hopes of receiving vastly increased wages — 4/6 or even one pound a day was spoken of. The official fixing of plantation wages at fifteen shillings a month, plus food and tobacco was, therefore, a bitter blow. By 1950 no Buka was willing to work on local plantations. Yet bitterness was considerably mitigated and the post-war years made relatively affluent by the policy of the Australian authorities who, unlike the British, paid compensation for war injuries and damage to property. Many Bukas attempted to invest their money and the first years of the 1950s saw a remarkable growth of co-operative societies for the production and marketing of copra and even the emergence of native entrepreneurs. But enthusiasm un-leavened by skilled management could not ensure success. By the middle of the decade, economic frustration was again widespread on Buka.³⁴

In 1954, John Tiosin, a seventeen-year-old youth and son of Patrick Soles, a Catholic catechist of more than twenty years' standing, was recalled from high school in Rabaul to assist in the financial management of one of the faltering concerns, that headed by Koruats, the *tsunono* or hereditary leader of Hahalis. During 1955, Tiosin also taught in the mission station school at Hanahan. In 1956 he returned to his mother's village of Basbe, near Hahalis, to concentrate on the task of social improvement. From Basbe, under Tiosin's leadership, grew a new co-operative, the Hahalis Welfare Society. Its members included the villagers of Hanahan and Ielelina although until 1960 its funds were spent exclusively on Basbe, which was transformed into a model village and earned the praise of officials and missionaries alike for its cleanliness, efficient working of copra and new chapel.

In 1960, a further trait began to be observed among the members of the Welfare, as the society became generally known — increased sexual licence. During 1960 the numbers attending confession at Hanahan decreased sharply while the number of unmarried pregnant girls rose. By Easter 1961, licence had become institutionalised in the so-called 'Baby Garden' located near Hahalis village. There about two dozen girls, generally with the approval of their relatives, were available for the satisfaction of any man who chose to avail himself of the service. The rationale of the institution is many-faceted and difficult to define. The institution itself strongly suggests a line of

continuity between the Welfare and earlier cargo-cult thinking in the area, an assumption that the old way of life must be abandoned before the new can succeed; hence the cessation in 1932 of pot-making at Malasang. Indeed, Hahalis had in 1938 and 1943 been the centre of cult outbreaks associated with the rejection of restrictive sexual morality and, on one occasion, with a planned human sacrifice. Tahaha, one of the three cult leaders beheaded by the Japanese in 1943, was the mother of Tiosin's wife, Elizabeth.

Whatever its ritual significance, the Baby Garden also had other functions. For some, opportunity for freer sexual experience was an inducement to support the Welfare. The Garden is commonly represented by its protagonists as a sort of trial marriage, enabling young people to contract relationships for which they are personally responsible. A further reason given by Welfare supporters in its defence is that — equating numbers with strength — it is an attempt to 'fill up the land', to produce more people and replace the numbers lost during earlier decades of population decline.

At a more complex level, it was an expression of change within the traditional authority structure and represented the reaction of the young men against the power of older leaders, a motive which led the Welfare to abolish bride price, ending the *tsunono*'s exclusive privilege of access to a number of women and their traditional right to control the marriage and sexual life of their subordinates.

No reason could win mission approval for a venture which so clearly transgressed the Christian moral code. The issue occasioned the final break in July 1961 between mission and Welfare. Early in the month, addressing a public meeting of Welfare members, the Hanahan missionary Joseph Lamarre denounced the Baby Garden as being against the laws of God, the Church, the Government and their ancestors. But they were unmoved: 'Mipela i laikim dispela pasin' ('We prefer to behave like this'). Told that it was sinful, they replied: 'Maski, mipela i laikim peccato na mipela i laik go long hell' ('No matter, we like to sin and are not afraid of hell').

From scorn for the ultimate penalty the missionary could invoke to formation of an independent *lotu* was but a short step. In the second week of July, Francis Hagai, Tiosin's second-in-command and former mission teacher, came to Lamarre to discuss it. On the following Sunday, 16 July, the Welfare, apparently recognising that its members were in missionary eyes excluded from the established *lotu* through mortal sin, began its own *lotu*: 'we [will] pray to God in our

own way, so that he may be sorry for us when we die'. The Welfare also withdrew its children from the mission school and its sick from the mission hospital.³⁵

Congregationalist in structure and with services consisting of hymn-singing and Bible-reading, *sori lotu*, as the Welfare sect is known, is believed to put its adherents more directly in contact with God (conceived as a kind father) than worship led by a priest. Success for the petitioner is more likely if God has compassion on his suppliants not only at death but in the midst of their temporal poverty, an attitude clear in Welfare hymns:

*Lotu bilong ol Welfare Society
Ol i kalim sori long im.*

Sunahan [God] you brought up our villages,
now hear our prayer and send us all the
things that we need.

And again:

Hahalis Lotu

Let us bow down,
O God we are here,
We are nothing,
We are bowing down before you.
You enlighten our mind,
And our will,
And our work,
So that we will get
Everything that is good on earth.

Such sentiments suggest a cargo-cult element in the Welfare. There is, however, little evidence to indicate that the liturgy of *sori lotu* is anything more than a form of petition. Nevertheless, it assisted the Welfare to tap the residual religio-millenarian sentiments of the community, particularly the older people, and channel them into support for a program of secular efforts at amelioration.

The main emphasis of Tiosin's and Hagai's operations has been on practical economic measures. Since 1960, coconut plantations have been extended; as the Welfare has spread numerous villages have been equipped with roofing iron and water tanks and several stores have been opened. In 1966, the Welfare was registered as a private company and the same year Hagai attended a course in business management in Sydney.³⁶

Yet *sori lotu* still has much in common with the traditional religious

system. Priestless and co-terminous with the Welfare, it gathers the social and religious dimensions of indigenous life together under wholly indigenous auspices. In this it bears a marked similarity to Marching Rule where, although ecclesiastical autonomy was claimed especially among the S.S.E.M., Christianity was not disavowed. Indeed, in each case Christianity furnished much of the ideology for the assertion of indigenous claims. However, the adepts of *sori lotu* are mostly Catholics cut off from the priest, the centre of their former religious system, and have shown a greater propensity for theological innovation than the adherents of Marching Rule. While still claiming to be Catholics and insisting that they are excluded from the Sacraments not by choice but by mission injunction, they stress the superior worth of *sori lotu*. Indeed, according to Tiosin, an independent *lotu* became necessary because the Marists withheld part of God's teaching; they did not provide the people with the Bible which, through an increasing knowledge of English, had become more accessible, but only with the catechism.

This criticism of Marist policy in terms of a wider Christianity reinforces the Welfare's basically social grievances and provides a convenient focus for distrust of missionaries who, since the 1930s, have been censured for failing to enrich their followers and for deceiving them to keep them subordinate — thus offending God. Flawed by mistranslation and misunderstanding of Buka culture, the catechism is said to be wrongfully interposed between God and man, contravening the command 'my will be done on earth', not that of the missionary. The moral precepts it prescribes are said to constitute a denial of the doctrine that whatever the good God created must be good — a principle which both frees the individual to will and approves the objects of his willing, absolving the Welfare of any guilt about the Baby Garden. Hagai is reported to have said,

I believe that man was born with desire. If God made us like this, we should be able to satisfy desire. If a man wants a girl and the girl is willing, nothing should stop him from taking his pleasure. If there are children the Welfare Society should be able to look after them.³⁷

Beginning as the affair of several neighbouring villages and at first virtually ignored by the administration, which regarded it as a mission problem, the Welfare became a Buka-wide movement of major political significance in 1962. In January a mass meeting was held at Basbe, attended by visitors from even north and west coast villages, to advertise Welfare ideas. The audience was told that, since the

missions (both Catholic and Methodist) had done nothing for the people, they should have their own *lotu* and, since the Government had done nothing for them, they should refuse to pay the poll tax.

The advice was enthusiastically received. A month later a police party of 155, attempting to arrest Tiosin and other tax defaulters, was met by a belligerent crowd of about a thousand people and was forced to retreat after a bloody skirmish. Subsequently four hundred police were rushed to Buka to arrest the rebels, 256 of whom were sentenced to between three and six months' gaol. As with earlier displays of force against Buka assertiveness, the Welfarers temporarily came to heel. Tiosin paid the tax through the missionary at Hanahan within hours of the clash. After the arrests his followers returned to religious services at the mission and sent their children back to school.

The situation changed dramatically when in May, following a successful appeal, the rebels were released after serving two months of their sentences. They returned to Buka, triumphant: 'we fellow winnim government'.³⁸ Welfare prestige was instantly restored. Subordination to European civil and religious direction was again renounced and between August and Christmas 1962, the 700 Welfare members of the Hanahan district were joined by about 3000 of their clansmen (including 3000 Methodists) from the Lemanmanu district. By May 1963, 250 Catholics from Gogohe had also joined. Lemanmanu, formerly one of the most populous parishes of the vicariate, was left with only 400 Catholics, while Hanahan retained 1500 and Gogohe 1600. Gagan was unaffected.³⁹

Why all Buka did not join the Welfare is far from clear. In part it seems to have been due to varying degrees of economic dissatisfaction and in part to factors of personality and village politics. There may even be significance in the tendency for the Welfare to be identified with the *Nebu*in (crow or fowl) moiety; the *Nakarib* (eaglehawk) moiety tended to retain mission allegiance, in the adoption of which clan rivalry had also figured, and was inclined to support the government-sponsored improvement agency, the Local Government Council.⁴⁶ Clearly, religious identity is not defined and sustained simply by abstract religious belief.

This was conspicuously the case with the Lemanmanu defection. From mid-1959 to August 1962, Gerard La Pointe, an American priest, was in charge at Lemanmanu. A tall dark-haired man, he bore some resemblance to John Conley, the former Lemanmanu pastor, an American beheaded by the Japanese, and was even rumoured to

be a reincarnation. The considerable amount of building he did at Lemmanmanu ensured that he inherited Conley's popularity, largely attributable in the 1930s to the fact that deliveries of building materials at the station were welcomed as advance instalments of cargo from America. Conley's church was always crowded. When in 1961 a new church with a capacity of four hundred was completed, it was filled to overflowing twice each Sunday. Gratified by the attendance but unaware of the expectations evidently focused on him, La Pointe roused the hopes of his parishioners by discussing a scheme for buying a plantation and forming a co-operative. The plans were dashed early in 1962 when Bishop Leo Lemay, who succeeded Wade in 1960, refused a £ 30,000 loan, doubting the practicability of the scheme and in any case lacking the means to finance it. Shortly afterwards six-sevenths of the most fervent Catholics in the vicariate turned to the Welfare.⁴¹

Reaction against the mission was not confined to Buka. On Bougainville, several resembled the Buka cults of the 1930s in emphasising ritual solutions to economic problems. In 1959, at the village of Pateaviavi inland from Tearouki, the fruitlessness of cemetery-centred devotions led by the catechist culminated in a plot to kill the local missionary, whose prayers were assumed to be obstructing arrival of the cargo. The plot collapsed when the leaders were arrested. A more serious outbreak, centred on Akopai village, began among the Keriaka people late in 1960. Again the missionaries were blamed for the cult's ineffectiveness and in May 1961 Roland Dionne, resident at Kuraio for almost twenty years, fled in fear of his life while the mission station was looted by angry villagers. Again the leaders were arrested and the movement subsided.⁴²

It was the Buka incident, however, that forced both Government and missions to adopt more constructive measures to allay unrest. In 1963-4 the Government removed immediate economic frustration on Buka by building an all-weather, vehicle road, the first in the Bougainville district, around the east coast of the island from the Buka Passage to the port of Kessa. Though copra could now be marketed more easily and a cash income readily obtained, the Welfare, more affluent and less belligerent, continued to flourish.

The Marists' response to the problem was to organise economic development projects, beginning at Lemmanmanu under Paul Demers, who succeeded La Pointe. From the remnant, Methodist as well as Catholic, who had not joined the Welfare, Demers in 1962

formed a co-operative timber milling society. A hundred members contributed capital of £600 while the Methodist mission and the Marist mission, joining in a gesture of expedient and sincere ecumenism, contributed £100 and £300 respectively. The £1000 gathered bought a portable sawmill. The initial objective of the project, largely achieved, to provide the members with the means of obtaining European-style houses, built on concrete piles, with timber or fibro-cement walls, windows and a detached cook-house, aluminium roofs to catch rain water and concrete tanks to store it. Houses built by Demers's Haku Development Society have important advantages besides that of prestige over native-style houses. They are more hygienic and, of greatest value to people whose future is increasingly bound up with cash economy, they are more solid and do not occasion the drain on time and labour required by houses built of soft-wood with sago-palm roofs, which need constant maintenance and have a life expectancy of about five years.

Following Demers's example, priests at other stations on Buka organised similar timber-milling and house-building co-operatives. On Bougainville however, where indigenous coconut plantations were less extensive than on Buka and problems of communication greater, the emphasis has been on building the basis of a cash economy. Projects have tended therefore to be more ambitious, much more dependent on aid from international development agencies and requiring a greater degree of missionary direction. Most notable are those in the backward and isolated west and south-west of the island. In 1966, Sovele and Moratona stations in the Nagovisi district each received a bulldozer from German international aid agencies for road-making, to enable the district to have regular links with the port of Jaba in the west and with the Buin-Siwai road in the east. By that time Moratona already had five sawmills of American provenance producing timber for houses and helping clear land for proposed agricultural development and stock raising. At Torokina, where few coconut trees survived the war, the mission project took the form late in 1964 of a systematic replanting scheme. Seed nuts were at first supplied *gratis* from other mission stations and when this source of supply was exhausted, in 1966 Oxfam granted \$7000 for the purchase and transport of additional seedlings.⁴³

On the north-west coast of Bougainville at Kuraio a development program was begun in 1962 by William Mentzer, Dionne's successor. With a boldness inspired by the desperate mood of the Keriaka

people, Mentzer assumed the role of a cult prophet, assuring them of wealth if they followed his instructions. Between 1962 and 1966, 1400 people moved from the mountains to new villages on the thinly populated coastal plain, where they planted 300,000 coconuts and 70,000 cocoa bushes. A similar scheme financed, like the Kuraio one, by a \$5000 grant from the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, was begun in the neighbouring Sipai district in 1963. There, over 1800 people (1400 Catholics and 450 Methodists) were resettled on the plain. By the beginning of 1967, they had planted 250,000 coconuts and began planting 500,000 cocoa bushes. Each district had a sawmill producing timber for driers, fermentaries and storesheds and a road of about twelve miles linking the plantations with a shipping point near the mission station. The mission tractor was employed to haul the crop to the coast, to be collected by a mission ship.⁴⁴ The development societies later acquired a vessel of their own.

Marist determination to identify the mission more closely with the interests of the islanders has also shown in their outspoken defence of indigenous land rights against government encroachment in the 1960s, owing to the resumption of large areas of native land on Bougainville for timber-milling and mining enterprises directed by Australian commercial interests. To the Australian Administration, seeing development of the island in the wider Papua New Guinea context, the enterprises were necessary for a national economy capable of eventual self-government — but that consideration could not console the owners for the loss of their land. Their indignation was increased by the reluctance of the Government to pay royalties from the profits. The missionaries came to their aid, helping publicise their grievances and pleading their cause. In 1965, the Marists severely criticised the terms of a timber lease granted at Tonolei Harbour in southern Bougainville, but the Administration stood firm. In 1967, however, Marist protests were influential in bringing the Government to concede royalties to villagers whose lands were required for the vastly more important copper-mining project at Panguna near Kieta.⁴⁵

It would be unfair to suggest that considerations of advantage alone brought the Marists to promote the material interests of the islanders. Bishop Lemay was probably overstating the case when he told the Administrator of Papua New Guinea, 'If there is a conflict with the Administration [in the mining dispute] it can only be because the Administration is not being fair to the people.'⁴⁶ Protection of native

rights is of course closely bound up with the securing of mission interests. Other Marists, more fundamental, stressed the practical need to retain the good-will of the islanders: 'The Australian administration is planning to leave the territory, but we wish to stay; obviously, therefore, if forced to choose, we should identify ourselves with the people rather than with the Government.' A certain ambivalence also surrounds the development projects; reflecting acceptance of a moral obligation to help the people obtain improved material welfare, it is nevertheless clear that they originated as insurance policies.

Economic measures provide no complete solution to the problem of establishing Catholicism in the Solomons. By 1973, when Papua New Guinea became self-governing, mission support for commercial development on Bougainville was dwarfed by the development of the copper mine, which brought new affluence, disruption of traditional life and (by providing massive incentive for Bougainville 'nationalists' to secede from Papua New Guinea) the threat of political instability. Economic development could not advance religious knowledge or make Catholicism any less dependent on the services of expatriate missionaries. Yet the missionaries cannot be indifferent to social change. Rising Melanesian consciousness in the Solomon Islands is obvious in the land disputes, in the growing mystique attached to the preservation of 'custom' on Malaita and Guadalcanal and in political thinking. Any Catholicism resisting this movement would be in danger of being swept away.⁴⁷

8 Education: The Linking of Church and State

Up to 1942, mission schooling was a secondary adjunct to evangelism. This became less so in the post-war years as education became more professional in style and political in purpose. By the mid-1960s most of the Marists and their new allies the Dominicans were spending the greater part of their time in the class-room. Many held recognised teaching qualifications and their services earned substantial Government subsidies; they followed Government curricula and the usual medium of instruction was English; they were assisted by numerous lay volunteers and by qualified indigenous teachers, graduates of both Government and mission training establishments. By the mid-1970s there were almost no European primary teachers. Highlighting these developments was the opening of a Catholic high school with a fully graduate staff at Aruligo near Honiara in 1967. It was the second such school in the B.S.I.P., the first being the Government high school which grew out of the Government primary school between 1958 and 1962.

With these changes have come changes in relations with the Australian and British administrations and with Protestant missions. In the first case a negative relationship has become close, if qualified, partnership. In the second a spirit of antagonism has largely given way to respect and sympathy reflecting not only the growth of ecumenism but the fear that the interests of all missions in education

are at odds with those of the administration.

The development of Government interest in education, precipitating an improvement in mission education, presents a new departure rather than the working-out of tendencies operative before the war. Pre-war education policies were of the vaguest kind; that stated for the Mandated Territory in 1922 was to train natives for their 'general betterment' and to produce a 'certain number' of artisans and clerks. These modest objectives were pursued with so little vigour that a member of the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission remarked in 1939 that 'she knew of no territory under mandate in which education progressed so slowly'. In the B.S.I.P., influenced by the advance of education in other parts of the British colonial empire, official impulse was somewhat stronger, although the purpose remained ill-defined. In 1940, W.C. Groves reported,

Where education will lead these people to in the long run it is impossible to know. . . . [However], we know there is an educational job to do. Our educational philosophy and our belief in the evolutionary improvability of human social life demand that the challenge be accepted and the task grappled with.¹

Despite the emphasis on 'evolutionary improvability', this view reflected a static conception of the Solomon Islands. Education was concerned less with taking the islanders towards some new and remote goal than with helping them get the best out of their present situation.

Post-war thinking has been different, dominated by the recognition of political rather than social objectives and by international pressure for greater educational and political development in the islands. For this the war was largely responsible, weakening the capacity of Britain and France to maintain empires, and confirming the world leadership of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Their ideological anti-colonialism was enshrined in the United Nations Organisation, which solemnly enjoined its members to 'respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live', an injunction containing the further obligation of helping subject peoples acquire the educational prerequisites for self-government.

Since former German New Guinea was more open to direct pressure from the U.N. than the B.S.I.P., which Britain held on her own account, the Australian Solomons were subjected to a more ambitious education policy than the British. The ruling notion of the Au-

stralian Administration was 'uniform development': education was to be diffused evenly throughout the indigenous community so that the whole population might share the benefits of development and participate in the political process. It accorded well with the mission objective of achieving the widest possible contact. Serious Church-State conflict over education has therefore been notably absent. The policy followed in the B.S.I.P., in accordance with standard British colonial practice, inclined to the training of an élite rather than to the development of universal education, to the education of leaders rather than of an electorate, and preferred to concentrate educational resources on post-primary schooling.

Positive educational progress under both administrations was at first slow, owing to problems of reconstruction and to the lingering assumption that there was still abundant time in hand. 'Native policy' had a predominantly social welfare bias, and showed an overwhelming concern for public health rather than education. Government spending on health far exceeded that on education; in 1946 and 1947, when Government aid to mission schools was insignificant in the Australian Solomons and non-existent in the B.S.I.P., fully Government-financed leprosaria staffed by Marist nuns were set up at Tetera near Honiara and at Piva near Torokina.² Even so, both governments, recognising the obligations imposed by a changed political situation, assumed formal responsibility for education almost immediately after the war, bringing Church and State into unprecedentedly intimate contact. Lacking the resources and the will to build complete education systems of their own, they found it both necessary and advantageous to obtain the assistance of the missions which, in addition to possessing schools and staff, commanded a clientèle with an established habit of school-going.

Before the war, except that the presence of a government helped ensure suitable conditions for evangelisation, government and mission generally were functionally independent of one another. The Marists, conscious of the anti-clericalism that had frequently afflicted Catholic missions in French-ruled territories, counted themselves fortunate that the governments of the Solomons took so little interest in their affairs, and were usually careful not to antagonise officialdom.³ There were sporadic protests when British and Australian officials (in contrast to the Germans), heeding indigenous custom rather than church law, permitted divorce or polygamy for Catholics and when the Australian administration in 1936 sold to the Methodist mission part of the land on the Buin coast purchased in

1925 from the Marists, but none of these issues produced any significant conflict. The comment of a Colonial Office official who visited the B.S.I.P. in 1912 was applicable in both vicariates and lost little of its force in the following three and a half decades:

The French Mission appears to be viewed with most favour by the local white community. It has confined itself strictly to missionary and educational work and has not interfered with 'political' or outside matters.⁴

There was sufficient precedent to indicate that, with government involvement in education, the Marists would cease to be so conspicuously apolitical, although prepared to co-operate. While determined not to surrender their basically religious educational role, they were aware that the new policy of indigenous development could not be reversed and that they must come to terms with it. Besides, to adapt advice written for Catholic missionaries in Africa, they realised that whoever owned the schools would own the Solomons. Catholic effort in training potential leaders was seen as an investment to ensure the security of Catholicism when European overlordship was taken away. To aim at no more than turning 'agrarian animists into a Catholic peasantry' would weaken Catholic representation among decision-makers of the future and, in the short term, alienate Catholics who looked to education as the way to advancement. Post-war Marist educational policy thus compares with efforts to ensure the economic well-being of the Catholic community.

Religious and political incentives to educate coincided in the realisation that improved educational standards would facilitate the growth of a native clergy, both the fulfilment of European missionary work and the most reliable insurance for the future of Catholicism. As early as January 1946, Bishop Aubin sent twenty Solomon Islands youths to Fiji to continue their studies with the Marist Brothers at Cawaci.⁵ Three, who did not complete the course, were candidates for the priesthood. Several became Native Medical Practitioners. In the Solomons, actual improvement in mission education was however mainly response to government initiative.[†]

[†]The outstanding exception to this pattern was the Catholic high school at Aruligo. Founded with a minimum of Government encouragement and unsubsidised — for such an establishment was officially deemed unnecessary — the school was a deliberate effort both to ensure a high proportion of Catholics among the better-educated Solomon Islanders and to avoid disappointing able graduates from Catholic primary schools who were unable to secure places in the Government high school. It was also hoped that the school would produce better educated candidates for the priesthood. Interviews with Bishop D. Stuyvenberg and Major G.F. Bovey (Chief Education Officer, B.S.I.P.).

Post-war educational development of the Australian Solomons began in October 1946 at a conference in Port Moresby between representatives of the Australian Government and various missions working in the Territory of Papua New Guinea. The missions welcomed the Government proposal to pay a subsidy for their schools, but were disturbed by the plan of W.C. Groves, newly appointed Director of Education for the Territory, to fit mission schools into a four-level school structure: village, primary (or station), district and secondary (or teacher training) — in which secondary was to be a Government monopoly.

Strong protests were led by Bishop Wade and the Anglican representative at the conference, anxious to preserve the integrity of their school systems, and the missions' right to operate secondary schools was conceded. Aubin, apprehensive of the extent of Government ambition in the B.S.I.P., enviously hailed the concession as a great victory. In fact, it was of little moment. The principle of the Church's unlimited right to educate had been successfully defended, but the Marists were far from founding training schools; when they did so it was at the instigation of the Government.⁶

For almost a decade after the war, Marist schooling in the North Solomons proceeded at a leisurely pace. In accordance with the Government's hope of achieving universal literacy in English — considered a prerequisite for uniform political advancement — a smattering of English was taught in all station schools. Very few pupils reached standard six, the end of primary schooling according to the nine-class curriculum issued by the Government in 1950 and the attainments of those who did so were low. Village schooling remained haphazard and was served, as before the war, not by trained, regularly paid teachers but by catechists. The 'district' school which the Marist Brothers reopened at Kieta in 1949, like the pre-war schools at Burunotui and Chabai, saw its *raison d'être* in catechist training. Instruction for the annual intake of about thirty boys was, however, geared to the Government curriculum for classes five to nine.

The systematic mobilisation of mission educational resources by the Government began with the demand of a United Nations visiting mission in 1953 that the Australian Government pay 'particular attention to the creation of a large and competent corps of elementary school teachers' to combat illiteracy. The same year the Government instituted a teacher-training course for students who had completed

two years' post-primary schooling (given only in certain Government schools). Even so, post-primary pupils and teacher-trainees together totalled only ninety for the whole of the Trust Territory at that time. Consequently, emergency teacher-training schemes, drawing on a wider range of students and subsidising the missions to train primary school graduates as village teachers, were instituted in 1954.[†]

The Marists welcomed this development for two reasons: first, because it provided a useful form of professional employment for pupils who had completed their education and, second, because they feared that inefficient village schooling by the mission represented an invitation to the Government to set up village schools of its own. Government intervention at the village level, argued the Marists, militated against continued identification of 'school' and 'mission'.

They observed a marked tendency for mission and government to be regarded as opposing principles, loyalty to one being strained by service to the other. They claimed that Government employees, such as police and clerks and their families, had significantly poor attendance at religious services and showed a preference for sending their children, when possible, to Government schools; the children, subsequently, tended to describe themselves as 'belong government' rather than 'belong mission'. The Marists also feared the possibility that the growth of Government primary schools, whose pupils would be drawn to Government secondary schools, would reduce the proportion of future leaders intensively exposed to Catholic influence. As it was, the inadequacy of village school education was partly compensated for by conducting classes one and two (the village school) at the station schools, a palliative which did nothing to improve village school standards and severely strained station resources. Accordingly, in 1956, the Mission Education Officer (M.E.O.) issued the following warning:

Our present system is not in the interests of the Mission. Our foundations are not solid. The present policy of overloading our Mission Station schools with Village School pupils, with our present inadequate staffing facilities is leaving the door wide open for the Government to set up Village Schools. Within certain Mission Station areas there are noticeable gaps inviting Government attention. If we do not fill these gaps (remember, when education becomes compulsory no child will be obliged to travel more than three miles to a school) the Government will. Until now

[†]In addition to the existing two-year training course (course C), two new courses were established: course A, for pupils who had completed class six, and course B for those who had completed class eight.

we have enjoyed an open go, but the day is getting closer when we will no longer have this field of Village School Education to ourselves.

As trained mission teachers became available, they were appointed to areas where it was suspected Government schools were to be set up.⁸

Teacher-training in the vicariate was begun in 1954 by the Marist Brothers at a second school opened in 1953 at Tarlena in north Bougainville. At first, only the A course was taught but from 1961, after further substantial increases in the subsidies paid for trained indigenous teachers, candidates were regularly accepted for the B course. The same year, also in response to the new subsidy incentive, the Brothers extended their teaching at Kieta to the secondary level; in 1963 the first trainee started on the C course.^{†9} Meanwhile, in complement to the Brothers' work, a teacher-training school for girls had been started in 1957 at Asitavi by the S.M.S.M. By the end of 1968, when teacher training was organised on a national basis, a total of 516 students (175 female) had been trained as teachers by the Marist mission.

A further device for harnessing the missionaries to the Government's education program was the S grade teachers' certificate, awarded in 1957, 1958 and 1960 on the passing of a qualifying examination to Europeans with three years' teaching experience in mission schools. Most priests and nuns in the North Solomons, judging liability to Government inspection a small price to pay for the subsidies they could obtain as qualified teachers, procured the certificate. From 1960, when the S certificate examination was discontinued, till the end of the decade, new missionaries usually attended a six months' training course in Rabaul.¹⁰

In the B.S.I.P. the Administration aimed at creating a unified education system rather than co-ordinating several different ones and was less inclined than the Australian authorities to concede the essential independence of mission schools; the co-operation of Government and missions in the matter of education was thus initially more difficult to achieve than in the Australian Solomons. The Administration's first straw in the wind was a draft Education Regulation circulated in 1946 claiming for the Government the right to control all education in the Protectorate. According to a Marist

[†]The Marist Brothers operated their school at Tarlena from 1953 to 1961, but teacher-training was transferred from Tarlena to Kieta in 1958.

source, 'It was not seriously discussed except that the Government was told semi-officially that we did not like it.' Government interest resumed after the arrival in the Protectorate in June 1947 of a Director of Education, C.A. Colman-Porter.

A joint conference of all concerned with education was called for November of that year. The Marists were extremely uneasy about its portent. An agenda circulated six weeks before the meeting drew from them a detailed, six-page reply of a type often repeated before mission and Government interests were eventually reconciled seven years later. The agenda announced, 'The Director will address the conference on the proposed educational development scheme.' To the Marists it was 'a grave injustice' that anything as concrete as a 'proposed educational development scheme' should even have been formulated at such an early date. They feared they would be presented with a *fait accompli*. The conference was scheduled to 'draft points to be incorporated in an education ordinance', presumably in one afternoon, and this was considered to be an 'unjust' attempt to stampede the missions into a situation they could not control.

Readiness to attribute sinister intentions could hardly, in short, have been more pronounced, yet in the circumstances it cannot be dismissed as carping. The agenda was, after all, an official document and the willingness of the Government to compromise an unknown quantity.¹¹

When the conference eventually met, the Director of Education, despite having announced that no binding decisions would be taken, faced a wary audience, members of the five missionary bodies working in the Protectorate. It was the first time that all missions had gathered for any common purpose (indeed, the first admission that there was one). The core of the proposed Educational Development Scheme was a plan to set up a multi-course college to produce practitioners of the various skills required in the Protectorate: teaching, engineering, fitting, agriculture, commerce, medicine and so on. Students were to be housed, according to religious denomination, in a series of 'constituent colleges'. The colleges would be established with Government funds and maintained by fees and an education tax. Other proposals were that schools would remain 'primarily a mission function' and that the members of the conference should constitute themselves into a General Education Assembly which would meet annually to decide policy, and whose executive organ, the Central Education Council, would include one nominee

from each educational body and meet quarterly.

The reaction of the missions to these proposals was one of guarded approval. They agreed 'to full co-operation with each other and with the Government' for the purpose of raising educational standards, accepted the idea of the Central Training College and approved the Assembly, but under the name of 'Advisory Council for Education'. They refused, however, to surrender control over their particular activities to the Central Education Council and insisted that any draft education ordinance be submitted for consideration to the Advisory Council.¹²

However, it was a false start. Neither Colman-Porter's grandiose scheme, nor his willingness to accept mission demands were well received by his superiors. Consequently, he resigned in April 1948 and the draft submitted the following August to the individual missions took little account of the agreement reached at the November conference. Emanating from Fiji, it placed every detail concerning education in the Protectorate under the direct control of the Resident Commissioner and set stringent standards for the quality of school amenities.¹³

It roused the missions to concerted protest. The Melanesian Mission declared it denied the 'essential principle' that missions might freely establish their own schools. The Methodist Synod felt it was the work of 'a dictatorial Administration', while the Marists, in a detailed commentary on each section of the draft, denounced as illegal the assumption of complete authority by the Government. In the face of this opposition the draft was withdrawn, to be followed later by the adoption of an even firmer Government line.¹⁴

In March 1949, Howard Hayden, Director of Education in Fiji, visited the Solomons in the capacity of Education Adviser to the High Commission for the Western Pacific. His declared purpose was to secure mission co-operation with future government education policies. According to the official minutes of a conference between Hayden and representatives of the various missions, agreement was reached on a wide range of topics including a new condition of eligibility for grant-in-aid (that a mission undertake to supply a certain number of students to the newly founded teacher-training college at Nasinu, (Fiji) and recognition of the Government's right to prohibit the establishment of a school in any area where it thought existing education facilities were inadequate.

The unanimity of the meeting is doubtful in view of the fact that

Hayden's recommendations were not voted on and involved no concessions to the missions which had so vehemently opposed the 1948 proposals. This is the observation of the Marist representative, D.J. Moore, who reported that the discussion amounted to little more than a statement of the recommendations Hayden would make to the High Commissioner as the basis of a new education regulation. Moore told Archbishop Myers, still the Catholic representative on the Colonial Office Advisory Council on Education, that Hayden had begun by saying the Government had been 'dilly dallying' with the question of education in the Solomons and that, as it had 'hung in the balance for so long, the Missions would not be allowed any further opportunity to express their views on any proposed regulation'. Writing within three weeks of the event to a *confrère* in Fiji, Moore also alleged that

When I pursued my point [i.e. questioning the right of the government to forbid the establishment of a mission school] by stressing the natural right of parents to have their children educated according to their consciences [Hayden] became quite heated and dismissed my case with the words 'you must not insist'.

Also objected to was the Nasinu scheme with which the Marists in Fiji, loath to entrust their students to a secular educational institution, had already refused to have anything to do. Besides, argued Moore, since Nasinu could take only two Solomon Islands Marist candidates each year, the benefits resulting from their training would be insufficient to make an appreciable impact on education in the Solomons. It was, therefore, not worthwhile for the Marists to submit their school system to Government control for such a small return. In any case, he continued, the standard of school accommodation required in order to qualify for a grant-in-aid was higher than the Marists could afford to provide and the Nasinu condition was, therefore, impracticable. It was not included in the new draft regulation issued in December 1949.¹⁵

That was the Government's only concession. Again the draft stipulated that no school could be established without the approval of the Resident Commissioner, and the fullness of Government authority was maintained. No conference was called but the missions again submitted protests. The Government remained adamant. When yet another draft was issued in 1950, it conceded the missions only the opportunity to express their opinions on education policy and practice in an Advisory Committee. When a further draft, announced as

final, was issued in 1951, it continued to with-hold from the missions the right to conduct any educational establishment independent of Government control. Schools were defined to include seminaries and catechist training centres as well as the most informal village schools and no school that restricted admission to pupils of a particular religious persuasion was to be eligible for a grant-in-aid.¹⁶

The draft was unchanged when it was formally promulgated in 1953 as the B.S.I.P. Education Regulation. Printed copies of the regulation were distributed and there was required only proclamation of the date on which it would come into operation.¹⁷

The missions' cause seemed lost. Even so, the Marists did not despair of retrieving the position. In July, having considered a plan to petition the Catholic members of the British Houses of Parliament, they called a meeting between the High Commissioner, R.C.S. Stanley, and Bishops Wade and Aubin to discuss possible amendments. This failed to dissolve the impasse. Stanley conceded that any 'school maintained solely for the purpose of training religious personnel' should not be bound by the regulation, but resolutely stood by the requirement that 'Any controlling authority desiring to establish a non-Government school . . . shall before any steps are taken apply to the Senior Education Officer . . . for his approval.'¹⁸

Nevertheless he was aware of the need for mission co-operation if the Government's education plans were ever to succeed and delayed the introduction of the regulation, agreeing that attempts to find a solution should continue between Government and Marist representatives. In the course of these talks, it emerged that the scope of the contentious 'approval' clause was wider than its intended purpose, and was merely intended to ensure that scarce resources were not spread too thinly, an interpretation which opened the way to agreement. A mutually acceptable distinction was drawn between two different types of school: 'registered' schools, subject to Government regulation and hence eligible for Government grants, and schools 'exempt' from all Government regulation, that is, schools that existed 'primarily for the purpose of giving *bona fide* religious instruction'. The former category included station schools and the latter covered both village schools (on which little money was ever spent) and training establishments such as seminaries.¹⁹ The 1953 regulation was repealed and the new distinction incorporated in a regulation issued and received without dissent the following year.²⁰

During the wrangle over the B.S.I.P. education regulation, the

Marists continued to operate their schools in their own way. In 1947, the Marist Brothers' central school was re-established at Tenaru, near Honiara, to provide a four-year course for an annual intake of about twenty boys. Besides giving the school a more academic bias than the one they had run at Marau, the brothers produced in 1950 a number of elementary word and number books in English for use in mission schools throughout the vicariate. Yet, in general, the quality of mission education was unimpressive, as Moore described in 1949:

The most we can do in our Catholic village schools at present is to teach the children to read and to write in their native dialects. There are one or two schools where better results are achieved. Our station schools are, at the very best, very elementary. Some so-called schools are not schools at all. Very little time is spent in the class-room, rarely more than three hours a day. Many of our teachers (native and European) have no training whatever: some are absolutely incapable of imparting instruction There is no organised syllabus, very few school books, and in many instances, even in station schools, buildings and equipment are extremely primitive.²¹

Equipment in mission station schools in the B.S.I.P. improved from 1952, when the Government began paying grants-in-aid to the missions. Payment was based on the number of qualified teachers or University graduates employed, a condition which made the post-war inflow of American missionaries (particularly nuns), whose training tended to be broader, especially advantageous to the Marists. Further stimulus was provided by the introduction in 1957 of an official syllabus, which set up a seven-year primary course culminating in the Senior Certificate examination.

A pass in this examination was required for entry to the teacher-training college founded in 1959 by the Government at Kukum, near Honiara. Unlike New Guinea, where Government and mission each trained teachers for their own school system, Kukum graduates have mostly taught in mission schools, approximately one-third being absorbed by Catholic schools. The only other officially recognised teacher-training college in the protectorate was founded by the Marists, despite Government discouragement, at Visale in 1961, in order to make fuller use of the abilities of indigenous nuns.[†] It followed the Kukum syllabus and was not recognised until 1962, a few

[†]The other missions in the Protectorate also carried out teacher-training, but it was not of a standard to be recognised for the award of a B.S.I.P. Grade 3 teacher's certificate. The Methodists and S.D.A.s usually had a number of students attending mission-run training colleges in New Guinea where, after a one-year course, they qualified for the A certificate but, again, this was not recognised as the equivalent of the B.S.I.P.'s Grade 3 certificate for which two years' training were required.

months before the first class was due to graduate.

Meanwhile, a further conflict was developing as the B.S.I.P. Administration sought further improvement by intensifying the elitist bias of the education structure. In a White Paper issued in August 1962, it announced a scheme to ensure annual production of sixty pupils with full secondary education. Suitable pupils were to be procured by concentrating the bulk of Government and mission resources on certain high-standard 'designated' schools. A three-tier structure was envisaged and there was to be rigid selection of pupils at each stage. The Government was to pay two-thirds of the capital cost to provide buildings of the quality required for designation and the missions one-third; all teachers were to be qualified; classes were limited to thirty pupils and no child over the age of seven was to be enrolled. About one-sixth of children of school age were to be provided for in fully designated schools.

Apart from the required contribution which they found a prohibitive expense, the missions found the scheme objectionable. The Marists argued, 'the restricted intake would defeat our main purpose which is to provide primary education for the maximum number of Catholic children' and the class size limit would mean that 'a substantial number of children already enrolled' in station schools would have to be expelled, creating 'discontent and unrest among our people'.²²

Seconding these criticisms, the leaders of the Methodist, Catholic and Anglican missions met in June 1965 at the latter's residence to prepare a joint statement of their inability to accept the designation scheme. The lesson of 1947-53 was not lost on the Administration. In 1966 four mission schools (including the Marist Brothers at Tenaru) were awarded the extra subsidies appropriate to designation, but the scheme itself was dropped. In 1967 it was replaced by a new scheme which avoided interfering with the missions and sought educational improvement through the expansion of teacher-training.²³

Post-war educational development in the Solomon Islands has brought more serious schooling to increasing numbers of pupils. The process has not been unequivocally comforting to those involved. The gathering of more and more pupils at station schools has increased the strain on both village labour forces and school gardens, and while food shortages have not seriously disrupted Marist schooling in the B.S.I.P. since 1962, it has been at the cost of increased dependence

on outside voluntary aid, namely food supplies donated by American Catholic Relief services. Indeed, American food supplied to all the missions has become a major prop of educational efficiency throughout the Protectorate. In the Australian Solomons, however, the United States prohibited the supply of food owing to Australia's policy of selling wheat to the People's Republic of China, and garden failure continues periodically to disrupt schooling.

Another problem, for which no easy solution can be invoked from outside, is the fact that lengthy sojourns at station schools and the academic bias of schooling offered do not equip young people to settle into village life. The problem is made more difficult by the fact that academic education, while required for the creation of mission and government élites and desirable, perhaps, for a responsible electorate, tends to be held in exaggerated esteem by the islanders for the rewards and status it can confer — white-collar employment. But opportunities for such employment are likely to remain limited for many of those who aspire to it and carry the hopes of their village and relatives to school. For them, education is as likely to lead to frustration as to fulfilment.

On the other hand, mission education has contributed invaluable to the emergence of articulate and sophisticated Melanesian leaders and spokesmen, former seminarians (and, in the case of John Momis of Bougainville, a priest) prominent among them. Yet, disconcertingly for the missionaries, some Melanesians, like Leo Hannett of Bougainville, an ex-seminarian, have been highly critical of attitudes of European superiority found among them. In a paper presented in 1969 he quoted an address in 1902 by Bishop de Boismenu of Papua. Even more to the point were the words of Bishop Wade in 1936:

Let us remember that the native has not a white man's intellect and bear this in mind when drawing up a programme of native education for the masses . . . [Rather than training an elite] I move that we aim at a good, solid peasant-like agricultural education for all.²⁴

However, the citing of pre-war attitudes to sustain feelings of resentment in the changed conditions of the 1970s serves no useful purpose. Resentment does not disprove the continuing need for agricultural education. While missionaries have no doubt offended Solomon Islanders' sensibilities, it must also be recognised that they have not done it for their own advantage but have indeed helped provide new means for the expression and furtherance of Melanesian interests and identity.

9 Solomon Islands Catholicism

Catholicism, like other varieties of Christianity, entered the Solomon Islands under the aegis of a powerful, invading European culture. It was adopted by Solomon Islanders largely in accordance with the values and assumptions of their own culture. After more than seven decades of continuous missionary effort, this original European-Melanesian dualism is still far from synthesised in a stable and orthodox indigenous structure. Solomon Islands Catholicism remains an uneven amalgam — an administrative structure controlled and predominantly maintained by Europeans and a body of indigenous laity whose religious attitudes are shaped by a mingling of both traditional and Christian beliefs.

In contrast to Protestant missions, the number of expatriate Catholic missionaries since 1946 has increased rather than declined. The Sisters of St Joseph of California sent four members to the North Solomons in 1940 to assist the S.M.S.M.; they numbered seventeen by 1966. Indeed, throughout the islands, considerably more Catholic missionaries began work in the twenty years between 1946 and 1966 than in the forty-four years between 1898 and 1942. Their total number in 1972 was 218, nearly twice what it had been in 1942.¹

Significant progress has, nevertheless, been made in developing the indigenous component of the church structure, especially in training nuns. In 1947, each of the vicariate sisterhoods was formally

recognised as a religious congregation and most of their members have been trained in nursing or teaching. On some stations, they have replaced the European nuns. Solomon Islanders have since 1956 been professed as Marist teaching brothers and lay brothers in the Society of Mary. A start has, furthermore, been made on the systematic training of priests. In the North Solomons, where two pre-war seminarians completed a broken and haphazard course in 1953, a preparatory seminary was opened in 1948 at Chabai. In the South Solomons one was begun at Tenaru, near Honiara, in 1951. From these institutions youths were sent to continue their studies first at the regional (New Guinea and the Solomons) minor seminary opened in 1955 near Rabaul, and then at the major seminary which opened in 1963 at Madang and was transferred in 1968 to Bomana, near Port Moresby.

The first Solomon Islander to trace this route to the priesthood was Michael Aike of Malaita, ordained in December 1966.² Others have since followed, but it is unlikely that in the foreseeable future their numbers will be sufficient. Yet the mission situation in Africa (which, in general, resembles that in the Solomons) suggests that, as the post-war outpouring of European missionaries declines and the indigenous population increases, the need for priests will become progressively greater.³ However, the high standard of training required excludes a proportion of willing candidates. On the other hand, the introduction of alternative sources of higher education with the founding of universities in Fiji in 1968 and in Papua New Guinea in 1965, together with the growth of new administrative and commercial opportunities for employment for educated Solomon Islanders, increases the difficulty of attracting suitable candidates. The elevation on 1 January 1967 of the Solomon Islands vicariates to the status of dioceses represents more faith in the remote prospects of Catholicism than expectations of attaining in the short-term a self-sustaining Solomon Islands Church. In 1972 there were five indigenous priests and eighty-two indigenous nuns in the diocese of Honiara, compared with seven and thirty-six, respectively, in the diocese of Bougainville, and one priest in the diocese of Gizo, but the number of seminary students was already showing a marked decline.

Even were there sufficient indigenous priests to replace the present contingent of Europeans, substantial problems of Church operation would remain. Besides maintaining the large and costly complex of ancillary institutions — educational, industrial, medical and

economic — that European missionaries built up, there is the problem of providing adequate pastoral care.⁴ Catholicism is still a station-centred religion, remote from the village life of the laity. An attempt which, at best, can go only a meagre way towards closing the gap has been the revival in each vicariate of catechist training. More practical measures would be the institution of a married priesthood and a lowering of educational requirements, but such measures are counter to general Church policy and are not likely to be adopted.

Commensurate with the growth of mission staff is the continued expansion since 1945 of missionary activity in the group. Besides reoccupying most of the thirty-four pre-war mission stations, the Marists have founded twenty-three new posts. Two cases reflect mission awareness of the new need for closer contact with the Government. The post-war headquarters of the southern vicariate were established at Honiara, near the American base at Lunga on Guadalcanal, the new capital of the B.S.I.P., while those of the northern vicariate were located at Tsiroge, near the island of Sohano, which replaced Kieta as the administrative centre of the Bougainville district. With these exceptions, and those of leprosaria at Piva and Tetere, the new posts were designed to intensify Catholic ministry in areas hitherto neglected. Three of the four new stations on Malaita — Tarapaina, Uru, Ataa — were located on the east coast, while on Bougainville three new inland stations — Moratona, Deomori, Haisi — were founded on the southern part of the island's mountain spine. The first inland station in the southern vicariate was also founded in 1965 at Tsuva, on Guadalcanal.

The most conspicuous post-war effort to fill the gaps in the net of Catholic influence was the erection in 1959 of a second vicariate in the B.S.I.P., that of the Western Solomons, comprising the Shortland Islands, Choiseul, New Georgia and Ysabel. The only Catholic villages there were on Choiseul and in the Shortlands. Not surprisingly, the proposal for such a vicariate first came from the South Solomons, which had no stake there. Aubin had suggested it as early as 1937 in his report to Propaganda, which, preferring not to have the North Solomons divided by an international boundary, took up the idea in 1951. Despite the vehement opposition of Boch who had spent most of his career at Poporang and protested that he 'would prefer to die a hundred times rather than be present at this dismemberment', Wade suppressed his own nostalgia and dutifully gave his support.⁵

Society of Mary authorities were reluctant to take responsibility for

staffing a third vicariate in the Solomons. Not so the newly founded Australian province of the Order of Preachers (Dominicans), seeking a Pacific mission field. In January 1956, the first party of Dominicans joined the Marists at Poporang to begin a trial period of missionary work. In 1957 they opened a school and a hospital staffed by a nurse at Moli on Choiseul; in 1958 a missionary was stationed at Gizo, the commercial and administrative centre of the district, and in 1959 they took charge of the new vicariate. The first vicar apostolic, Bishop E. J. Crawford, settled at Gizo in 1960.⁶

Unlike most missionary advances, the function of the vicariate was not evangelistic, at least not directly so. There were scarcely any pagans remaining in the area and it was not the Dominicans' intention to stir up dissension by attacking established Methodist, S.D.A. or Anglican positions. Rather, their task has been to ensure more intensive pastoral care for an existing Catholic flock, including not only the Catholics of the Shortlands and Choiseul but those among the Malaita men who supplied much of the plantation labour in the Western Solomons and the numerous Catholics among the migrants from the Gilbert Islands resettled on Wagina Island at the south of Choiseul. Mainly as a result of this latter influx, Catholic numbers in the vicariate — those of a good sized station district in either of the other vicariates — rose from 1751 in 1959 to 3700 in 1972.

Elsewhere, as the mission historian A. R. Tippet notes of Malaita, a notable result of post-war expansion has been the advance of Catholicism among the remaining pagans.[†] The millenarian attraction of Christianity appears generally to have declined; pagans have had time to see that few Christians obtain much of the white man's power and wealth but other inducements to conversion remain. Prominent among them still are the expense of venerating the spirits and the frequent failure of customary remedies to cure illness. The quality of European drugs and medicine has improved steadily and treatment has become more accessible as both government and missions — in accordance with a more purposeful post-war view and greater resources — improved their medical services. Improvements also helped lower the death rate among Christians and have contri-

[†]In 1955, noting that there were only about 12,000 pagans left in his vicariate, nearly all of them on Malaita, Bishop Aubin wrote, 'When we have more missionaries we will open two new stations [on Malaita] so as to bring to the true faith as many as possible of these pagans and prevent them from going to the Protestant sects, which seek to win them.' South Solomons, 'Rapport au Propagande, 1955', *B.A.H.*

buted to the sustained growth of Catholic numbers in both North and South Solomons; between 1952 and 1972 the two vicariates saw increases of 96 and 62 per cent, respectively, notwithstanding those lost by the Marists of the North Solomons to the Welfare or the Dominicans.⁷

The most publicised post-war Catholic gain consisted not of Solomon Islands villagers but a group of twelve Anglican nuns, the Community of the Sisters of the Cross, who trod 'the path to Rome' in 1950. At their head was the founder and superior of the community, Mother Margaret of the Cross, a Cambridge-educated Englishwoman of sixty-one. After spending some years in an Anglican sisterhood in England, South Africa and India, she had come to the Solomons in 1929 to help extend the Melanesian Mission's work among women. With her was a close friend and confidant, Sister Gwen of the Cross, a graduate of London University. Gradually, these two attracted others to their side until in 1950 there were five Europeans and seven indigenous nuns divided between two girls' schools, one at Torgil in the New Hebrides and the other at Bunana near Gela.

In intellectual terms, the conversion of the Sisters of the Cross represents acceptance of the historical claims of the Church of Rome to be the one true Church — a hazard to which the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England has long been susceptible. Indeed, the attractions of Rome were felt by various members of the community and, although the initiative for the transfer came from Mother Margaret, she found two of her fellows well prepared, while the cohesiveness of the community ensured the rest would follow. Of the indigenous nuns, she wrote several months before the move:

They are always averse to change. They are very happy as they are, and the unknown as such is alarming. At the same time they have been fully conscious that there is none in the Melanesian Mission to whom they could turn for help except ourselves, no one whom they really trust. They listen very well to Catholic doctrine and history. The thought of the Catholic Church as steadfast from the start impresses them greatly. The few questions they ask reveal such pitiful ignorance e.g. 'Was it in the Catholic or English Church that there were first Sisters?'⁸

More worrying to the community than historical argument was the problem of maintaining religious community life, as tradition was weak and the nuns' position ill defined. Already, under Bishop W. Baddeley (1932-47), considerable tension had arisen, becoming more acute under his successor, Bishop S.G. Caulton. Mother Margaret's

fear for the future of the community was compounded by disappointment at difficulty in obtaining recruits; on furlough in England in 1948-9, she was able to attract only one postulant.

This fact seems to have been crucial in prompting her decision. Aspiring to live as a nun in a setting where she would be fully accepted, on returning to the Solomons she apparently informed Caulton of her inclination to secede to Rome. Caulton, it seems, failed to take the matter seriously and Mother Margaret, afraid lest pressure be brought to bear on the indigenous nuns, did not raise it again. The Melanesian Mission was therefore taken by surprise when the Sisters of the Cross, meeting in July 1950 at Bunana, formally announced their intention to become Catholic. They had since January been in close communication with Bishop Aubin.

Anglican authorities indignantly summoned the Marists to collect the Sisters of the Cross. The voyage from Bunana to Visale was not the last of their religious journeys. The European nuns still sought the fullness of conventual life and the sisterhood, which joined in the Catholic work on Guadalcanal, began to break up as its members departed to join well established Catholic orders. Three originally from the New Hebrides joined the D.M.I. Mother Margaret and her only remaining companion, Sister Petronella, a native of Sikaiana, entered the Sisters of Mercy in Auckland in 1960.⁹

Liturgically and institutionally, the Catholicism adopted in the Solomon Islands is of a standard, northern European kind. Minor acts of piety are the same, the prayers and hymns are mainly translations, there has been little effort to decorate churches with distinctive indigenous art forms. There has been no attempt to incorporate indigenous custom into the performance of the sacraments. Yet, behind this facade of external conformity, lies an authentically Melanesian quality of belief. The missionaries, in their enthusiasm for evangelisation, readily acquiesced in most features of indigenous culture; the islanders on the other hand have been constantly adaptive in their acceptance of Christianity.

Conversion in the Solomon Islands did not involve the islanders' denial of traditional religious principles. Belief in the spirits and the power of religion to secure temporal well being was not destroyed but rather overlaid by Catholic doctrine, accepted as a superior rather than a different kind of religious force. At Tangarare in 1907, Raucaz gladly obliged three parishioners who brought him a bag of shell

money to bless, to chase a spirit from it. Inland from Asitavi in 1938, Albert Lebel acceded to a request to bless a house said to be inhabited by troublesome spirits. So great an impression did this therapy make that, some time later, people from a Methodist village stole the bottle of Holy Water used in Lebel's 'exorcism' and left with the local catechist.¹⁰

Such incidents of religious syncretism are still of common occurrence. Catholic villagers frequently petition for masses to counter the influence of the spirits — a request the missionaries treat as an expression of orthodox belief in the propriety of honouring the souls of the dead or praying for their consolation. That the islanders appreciate Catholicism in traditional religious ways is also demonstrated by the action of pagan converts in taking formal leave of their spirits before accepting baptism, and by the readiness with which 'Christians' resort to invocation of the spirits if European medicine proves ineffective against illness. Even third- and fourth-generation Christians are prone to attribute misfortune to infringement of custom or of Church law and confidently expect to undo the wrong by confessing it.

Until misfortune prompts devotion, Solomon Islands Catholics, their mentors consider, lack 'a sense of sin'. Feeling injured to the spirits' retaliation, they are regrettably unmoved by mission teaching on the inherent wrongness of certain behaviour. As one missionary writes:

There is a certain serenity, seriousness, alertness, distrustfulness, something unfathomable but reliable in the behaviour of the pagan. There is a certain light-heartedness in the behaviour of the Christian The Christian lies more easily, steals more quickly, cheats more frequently, takes sexual offences less seriously. The pagan does these things, too — but much less, for he is afraid of the consequence.¹¹

This situation represents a shortcoming of the Catholic achievement in the Solomons. The missionaries have demonstrated, despite their human failings and limitation of vision, a profound commitment to beliefs which offered them no temporal advantage, and have provided valuable social services. Yet doctrine is impure and the institutional Church still alien; the religious sanctions of the old social order have been broken down and Christian moral values have not compensated for them.

To conclude by stressing the inadequacy of the missionaries' achievement would however be misleading. It would underrate their

impact on the Solomon Islands and perhaps judge the Islanders by a different standard from Europeans. Seeing through a glass darkly is not an exclusively local activity. There is no reason to assume that, despite the problem of building a church structure, the heirs of Melanesian animists are any less capable of professing Christianity than the descendants of Celtic or Teutonic polytheists.

Against the doctrinal confusion in so many islands must be set the acceptance of the Gospel message exemplified in Marching Rule and other expressions of Melanesian identity, as well as the example of those young people who have contributed to the emergence of a truly indigenous Catholicism by choosing the life of priest, brother or nun. Mission influence has made positive social attainments. Even imperfectly understood, Christianity, by emancipating them from the spirits, may well assist Solomon Islanders to adjust to the secular world into which they are drawn with increasing rapidity and to gain full advantage from programs of economic and educational development being offered.

Against the Catholic missionaries' role in destroying an old way of life must be set their contribution to the new. They have helped extend the possibilities of communication between people of different languages and localities and, particularly through schooling, are helping equip the islanders resume command of their own affairs. Herein lies their greatest assurance that Catholicism will retain a place in those affairs.

Abbreviations

A.C.P.F.	Archivii Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide
Acta	Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide
A.F.M.	Archivio Fratelli Maristi
A.M.O.	<i>Annales des Missions de l'Océanie</i>
A.P.F.	<i>Annales de la Propagation de la Foi</i>
A.P.M.	Archivio Padri Maristi
A.S.M.	<i>Acta Societatis Mariae</i>
B.A.H.	Catholic Bishop's Archives, Honiara
B.S.I.P.	British Solomon Islands Protectorate
C.O.	Colonial Office
D.M.I.	Daughters of Mary Immaculate
M.C.	<i>Missions Catholiques</i>
M.E.O.	Catholic Mission Education Office(r)
O.R.	O'Reilly Papers
P.A.	Prefecture Apostolic

P.I.M.E.	Archivio Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere
Prov. V.M.	Marist Provincial's Papers, 'Villa Maria'
P.V.M.	Marist Procurator's Papers, 'Villa Maria'
S.D.A.	Seventh Day Adventist
S.M.H.	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
S.M.S.M.	Soeurs Missionnaires de la Société de Marie
S.S.E.M.	South Sea Evangelical Mission
T.O.R.M.	Tiers Ordre Régulaire de Marie
T.P.N.G.	Territory of Papua and New Guinea
V.A.	Vicariate Apostolic
W.P.H.C.	Western Pacific High Commission, Central Archives

Notes

Fuller documentation on various matters discussed in this study may be found in Laracy 1969a. All quotations from French sources have been translated by the author. Annual reports for the North Solomons were written in French until the appointment of an English-speaking bishop, Thomas Wade, in 1930. They are therefore cited by their original titles.

In the spelling of the place-names I have, in general, followed the conventions of the Naval Intelligence Division's handbook series on the Pacific Islands.

In the following notes, unpublished documents from the same source are grouped together, the location being stated at the end of the group. The location of mission station journals is not stated separately in the references where implied in the title.

Chapter 1

1 Important linguistic, regional and ethnographic studies have been produced by Allan, Allen and Hurd, Blackwood, Capell, Fox, Hogbin, Ivens, Ogan, Oliver, Schefler. For details, see bibliography.

2 *Annales de Marie* 1930: 71-7; German New Guinea, *Annual Report*, 1904-5, pp. 202-3; Hopkins 1928: 161-2.

3 Raucaz 1928: 65.

- 4 Codrington 1881: 261-316; 1891: 116-27; Lawrence 1964: 28-33; 1965: 1-25; 1967: 41-2.
- 5 Codrington 1891: 119; Firth 1940: 483-510; Geerts 1970.
- 6 Woodford to Sweet-Escott, 9 September 1912, encl. Sweet-Escott to C.O., 12 March 1913, C.O. 225/115.
- 7 Codrington 1891: 258.
- 8 Codrington 1891: 260; Hopkins 1928: 119; Ivens 1930, 134-7; Oliver 1955: 76-7.
- 9 Pellion, 10 January 1911, *A.M.O.*, vol.13; Raucaz 1928: 65.
- 10 Interview at Koromira with Fr Gregory Sinkai, Peter Dontoro and Joseph Bausira.
- 11 Scheffler 1965: 9; Tippet 1967: 3.
- 12 'The History of the People of Oau'. TS in my possession.
- 13 Amherst and Thomson 1901: i, 108-9.
- 14 Jack-Hinton 1969: 42-67.

Chapter 2

- 1 Amherst and Thomson 1901: i, 180.
- 2 Kelly 1965: 33.
- 3 Six 1965: 428.
- 4 Mayet n.d.: 281-7; Neill 1964: 399; O'Reilly 1930: 227-63.
- 5 Coste 1965: 104-9; Hosie 1967: 126-9.
- 6 Keys 1957: 181.
- 7 Coste 1965: 239-40; Hosie 1967: 172-3, 219-21; Roach 1963: 194-204.
- 8 Colin to Fransoni, 28 October 1843, A.C.P.F. *Scritture Riferite nei Congressi Oceanica*, vol.2.
- 9 Epalle to Fransoni, 1 August 1843, *Acta* 1844: 188-90; *Acta* 1844: 182.
- 10 Epalle to Colin, 15 December 1844, A.P.M. OMM 411.
- 11 Epalle to Fransoni, 1 August 1843, *Acta* 1844: 188.
- 12 Montrouzier to his parents, 25 April 1848, A.P.M. OSM 208.
- 13 Coste 1965: 238-42; Keys 1957: 172, 184-7.
- 14 Verguet to Poupinel, 18 June 1848, A.P.M. personal file — Verguet; Thomassin to Colin, 6 January 1854, A.P.M. OSM 208.
- 15 Montrouzier to his brother, 5 December 1842, A.P.M. personal file — Montrouzier. For a detailed discussion of Montrouzier's career, see Laracy 1970: 127-45.
- 16 Montrouzier to Jacquet, 17 December 1847, A.P.M. OSM 208.
- 17 'Charter party between John Kettle, owner of *Marian Watson*, and Rev Bp. Epalle,

11 October 1845; Epalle to Colin, 17 August 1843, A.P.M. OMM 411; Rocher to Colin, 4 December 1845, A.P.M. OP 458; Faramond to Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 30 April 1846, Archives Diplomatiques; Verguet 1861 is a valuable firsthand account of the expedition until February 1847.

18 Chaurain to Colin, 2 March 1846, A.P.M. OSM 208; *S.M.H.* 24 April 1846.

19 Verguet to Colin, 5 January 1846; Montrouzier to his parents, 30 January 1846; Montrouzier to Henri, January 1846, A.P.M. OSM 208; Verguet 1861: 111-18.

20 Frémont to Colin, 27 July 1846, A.P.M. OSM 208; Verguet to Colin, 13 March 1847, A.P.M. personal file — Verguet; Monfat 1891: 153; Verguet 1861: 125-6.

21 Collomb to Colin, 6 May 1847; Montrouzier to Henri, 19 July 1847; Frémont to Favier, 20 December 1847, A.P.M. OSM 208; Keys 1968: 60-1; Verguet 1861: 163-4, 189-90, 235-65, 281.

22 Verguet to Colin, 5 January 1846; Verguet to his father, 24 January 1846; Montrouzier to his parents, 30 January 1846, A.P.M. OSM 208; Verguet 1861: 134-5.

23 Verguet to Poupinel, 28 July 1849, A.P.M. personal file — Verguet; Verguet 1861: 118-20. For further examples of offence given to the Toro, see Montrouzier to Jacquet, 17 December 1847, A.P.M. OSM 208; Monfat 1891: 223-4.

24 Frémont to Favier, 20 December 1847, A.P.M. OSM 208; Bradford to British Consul, 7 September 1861, Mitchell Library.

25 Gennade to François, 10 December 1847, A.F.M.; Frémont to Favier, 20 December 1847, A.P.M. OSM 208; Montrouzier 1892: 31-8.

26 Collomb to Colin, 6 May 1847; Villien to Colin, 14 March 1848, 2 April 1848, A.P.M. OSM 208; Webster n.d.: 73; Monfat 1891: 347; *Arche d'Alliance* 1849: 316-21.

27 Trapenard, 8 June 1849, Montrouzier to Séon, 18 June 1849; Montrouzier to Colin, 8 September 1850, A.P.M. OSM 208; *Shipping Gazette*, 23 April 1855; Ward 1967: iv, 8-9.

28 Montrouzier to his parents, 25 April 1848; Montrouzier to Séon, 18 June 1849; Thomassin to his family, 12 October 1851, A.P.M. OSM 208.

29 Frémont to Colin, 24 June 1849, A.P.M. OSM 208. For another example of this catechetical approach, see Verguet 1861: 159-60.

30 Rocher to Colin, 2 November 1848, A.P.M. OP 458; Montrouzier to Colin, 14 May 1849; Frémont to Colin, 24 June 1849, A.P.M. OSM 208.

31 Frémont to Colin, 7 September 1850; Montrouzier to Henri, 8 September 1850; Ducrettet to Colin, 14 October 1850, A.P.M. OSM 208.

32 Montrouzier to Gabriel, 18 August 1850; Montrouzier to Henri, 8 September 1850, A.P.M. personal file — Montrouzier; Thomassin to Colin, 6 January 1854, A.P.M. OSM 208; Ueroi 1962: 153, 159.

33 Trapenard to Colin, 24 June 1851; Frémont to Colin, 16 October 1851, A.P.M. OSM 208; Montrouzier to his parents, 25 July 1851, A.P.M. personal file — Montrouzier.

34 Thomassin to his family, 12 October 1851; Frémont to Colin, 16 October 1851, 25 June 1852; Montrouzier to Colin, June 1852, A.P.M. OSM 208; Rocher to Colin, 23

August 1852, A.P.M. OP 458.

35 Colin to the missionaries at Murua, 23 June 1851; Colin to Fransoni, 21 March 1852; Favre to Franchi, 12 October 1875, A.P.M. *Epistolae Variae*; Colin to Marinoni, 27 September 1851, P.I.M.E. vol.11; Colin to Frémont, 19 January 1852, A.P.M. 410 Sancta Sedes.

36 Salerio to Marinoni, 12 November 1853, P.I.M.E., vol.11; Shineberg 1967: 210-11.

37 Salerio to Marinoni, 24 September 1855, P.I.M.E., vol.11; *S.M.H.*, 14 June 1856. For detailed accounts of the Italians venture see Suigo 1964, 1965; Tragella 1947.

38 Rocher to Favre, 7 August 1856, A.P.M. OP 458; Anon 1892: 28-31; Wiltgen 1969: 15-16.

39 Verguet to Poupinel, 18 June 1848, A.P.M. personal file — Verguet.

Chapter 3

1 Woodford to C.O., 7 September 1893, C.O. 225/44; Thurston to C.O., 8 December 1896, C.O. 225/50; Guppy 1887a, 1887b.

2 For the Melanesian Mission and other non-Catholic missions, see Hilliard 1966.

3 Woodford to C.O., 9 August 1905, C.O. 225/71; Corris 1973: 149-50.

4 Moses 1969: 45-78; Scarr 1967: 133-5, 254-5; van der Veur 1966: 19-20.

5 West 1966: 18.

6 Woodford to C.O., 16 May 1913, C.O. 225/119; Pethebridge to Minister of Defence, 27 April 1915, Australian War Memorial Archives; B.S.I.P., *Annual Reports* 1914, 1915.

7 Favre to Franchi, 12 October 1875, A.P.M. *Epistolae Variae*; Persico to Nicolet, 2 August 1891; Nicolet to Persico, 30 November 1891, 29 December 1891, A.P.M. 410 Sancta Sedes; Dupeyrat 1935: 43, 50-3; *Missions des Iles* 1959: 190-5.

8 Vidal to Simeoni, 15 December 1891, A.P.M. 410 Sancta Sedes; Martin to Ledochowsky, 25 May 1895, A.P.M. OSM 208.

9 Wiltgen 1969: 21-4.

10 B.S.I.P. *Report of the Department of Education for the three years ending 31 December 1960*, p.4.

11 Woodford to Vidal, 22 December 1897, A.P.M. OSM 800; Bouillon to Colin, 17 July 1898; Guitet to Regis, 14 August 1898, A.P.M. OSM 208; Raucaz 1928: 81-4.

12 Bouillon to Duclos, 5 June 1898; Rouillac to Regis, 11 June 1898; Guitet to his parents, 22 June 1898, A.P.M. OSM 208; Bertreux to Duclos, 17 August 1905, A.P.M. OSM 418; Fox 1958: 225.

13 Smith to Collet, 1 January 1895, W. P. H. C. MP96 of 1895; Woodford to O'Brien, 25 September 1897, encl. O'Brien to C.O., 12 November 1897, C.O. 225/52; Guitet to Regis, 14 August 1898, A.P.M. OSM 208; Rouillac to Regis, September-October 1898, A.M.O. vol.10; Raucaz 1928: 180-2.

14 Rouillac to Regis, 28 August 1898; 22 December 1898; Guitet to Colin, 4 December 1898, A.P.M. OSM 208.

15 Bouillon to Martin, 17 March 1899, A.P.M. OSM 208; Woodford to O'Brien, 15 May 1899, W.P.H.C., MP134 of 1899.

16 Rouillac to Martin, 28 May 1899; Guitet to Regis, 30 May 1899; Bouillon to Martin, 1 June 1899; Menard to Martin, 13 June 1899, A.P.M. OSM 208.

17 Rouillac to Regis, 4 February 1900, *A.M.O.* vol.11; Rouillac to Verguet, 21 October 1900; Rouillac to Regis, 1 November 1901, A.P.M. OSM 208.

18 Rouillac to Regis, 22 December 1898, 11 June 1898 (correctly, 1899), 25 March 1900; Bouillon to Martin, 26 June 1900, A.P.M. OSM 208; Boudard 1956, TS in my possession.

19 Rouillac to Regis, 11 March 1900, 7 May 1902; Guilloux, 28 March 1901; Coicaud to Regis, 20 September 1902, A.P.M. OSM 208; *M.C.*, 1919: 330; Raucaz 1928: 134.

20 Woodford to O'Brien, 21 September 1900, encl. O'Brien to C.O., 12 November 1900, C.O. 225/59; Guilloux to Regis, 12 July 1901, A.P.M. OSM 208; Bouillon to Regis, 21 November 1901, *A.M.O.* vol.10; Chatelet to Regis, 15 January 1905, *A.M.O.* vol.11; B.S.I.P., *Annual Report 1905*; Raucaz 1928: 110-12; Hilliard 1966: 114.

21 Woodford to O'Brien, 21 September 1900, W.P.H.C. MP61 of 1900; Woodford to C.O., 21 August 1913, C.O. 225/120; Hilliard 1966: 121-8.

22 Rouillac to Regis, 31 August 1900, A.P.M. OSM 208; Hilliard 1966: 224; Luxton 1955: 19-20; Tippet 1967: 34. For a discussion of the same problem in Papua, see Dupeyrat 1935: 254-90.

23 Pellion to Regis, 1910, *A.M.O.* vol.12; Hilliard 1966: 116-17.

24 Bertin to Raffin, 26 October 1910, *A.M.O.* vol.13; Raucaz 1928: 162-7.

25 Boch to Raffin, 26 February 1919, A.P.M. OSS 331; Graton to Raffin, 10 August 1919, A.P.M. OSM 208.

26 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', introduction; Raucaz 1928: 193-4.

27 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', 1911; Woodford to C.O., 21 August 1913, C.O. 225/120; Fox to Babonneau, 15 May 1916, 12 February 1918, Wanoni Bay; Podelvigne to Courtais, 15 August 1935, 30 October 1935, A.P.M. OSM 208; interview with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox.

28 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', 1912; Barnett to McMillan, 20 July 1915; Barnett to all people of San Cristobal, 1 January 1916; Deck to Babonneau, 26 October 1918, Wanoni Bay; Raucaz 1928: 196.

29 Deck to Babonneau, June 1916, 4 April 1918; Babonneau to Deck, 15 June 1916; Campbell to Deck, 27 May 1918; Deck to Kuper, 9 October 1918; Workman to Deck, 21 May 1920; Waite to Podelvigne, 20 November 1937; Podelvigne to Waite, 25 November 1937, Wanoni Bay; 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', August 1929.

30 Raucaz to his brother, 16 August 1911, *A.M.O.* vol.13; Raucaz, 20 March 1912, 20 December 1912, A.P.M. OSM 418; Raucaz to Chevreuil, 2 November 1912, P.V.M.; Hilliard 1966: 296-7, 416-17. Interestingly, Raucaz does not mention the New Georgia incident in his history of the mission.

31 Bertreux, 27 September 1911, A.P.M. OSM 418; 'Journal of Tarapaina', introduction; J.M. Wall, 'Evidence submitted at Tarapaina land dispute hearing, 14-15 February 1955'; Ivens 1930: 199; Raucaz 1928: 209-10.

- 32 [J. Coicaud], 'Des gens rachetés par le Père dans le district de Rohinari', Buma; Bertreux to Babonneau, [1918], Wanoni Bay; J. Coicaud to Dubois, 15 January 1929, A.P.M. OSM 208; Dickinson 1927: 158-60.
- 33 Raucaz to Raffin, 30 October 1921; Raucaz, 12 February 1923, A.P.M. OSM 418; Raucaz 1928: 234-49.
- 34 Aubin to Dubois, 7 November 1932, A.P.M. OSM 208; Pavese, 'Récit très véridique', p.18, A.P.M. Pavese Papers; Hilliard 1966: 115.
- 35 Broyer to Ledochowsky, 17 March 1897, 27 March 1897, A.P.M. 410, Sancta Sedes; Broyer to Hervier, 30 September 1898; Broyer to Martin, 20 November 1898, A.P.M. ON 418; von Bulow to Broyer, 12 April 1899, A.P.M. G 200. For further comments on Solomon Islands polygamy; see Hopkins 1928: 106-7; Ivens 1927: 127, 1930: 120; Oliver 1955: 223.
- 36 Flaus to Hervier, September 1899; Englert to Aubrey, 20 May 1901, A.P.M. OSS 61 208; Broyer to Regis, 19 August 1901, A.P.M. ON 418; Forestier to Gay, 17 February 1903, A.P.M. OSS 418; Guppy 1887b: 44-5.
- 37 Flaus to Englert, September 1899; Broyer to Denyse, 2 November 1899; Meyer to Valles, 1 September 1901, A.M.O. vol.11; Guppy 1887b: 27-8, 45; Oliver 1955: 295-6.
- 38 Woodford to Sweet-Escott, 17 July 1912, encl. Sweet-Escott to C.O., 3 September 1912, C.O. 225/106; Woodford to Sweet-Escott, 10 October 1912, encl. Sweet-Escott to C.O., 4 December 1912, C.O. 225/107; Boch to his mother, 20 October 1912, O.R.; Boch, 10 August 1913, A.P.M. OSS 418.
- 39 Estienne to Aubrey, 18 March 1900; Meyer to Regis, 15 September 1901; Forestier to Regis, 1 April 1902, A.P.M. OSS 208; Claire to Gauthier, 26 July 1901, A.M.O. vol.10.
- 40 Broyer to Regis, 28 July 1899, 26 February 1901, A.P.M. ON 418; Forestier to Regis, 28 November 1903, 1 June 1909, A.P.M. OSM 208.
- 41 Flaus to Broyer, 19 November 1899; Meyer to Letellier, 5 June 1902 (correctly 1903), A.P.M. OSS 208; Forestier 'Journal', 7 September 1900, 25 February, 12 May, 9-14 July 1902; Goedert, 7 April 1913, O.R.
- 42 'Journal de la station de Kieta', 1902; Meyer to [Forestier], 8 July 1902, O.R.; Forestier to Broyer, 1 August 1902; Meyer to Martin, 25 March 1903; Meyer to Letellier, 5 June 1902 (correctly 1903), A.P.M. OSS 208.
- 43 Allotte 'Buin', Forestier 'Journal', 27 July 1907, O.R.; Allotte to procurator, 2 August 1906, A.M.O. vol.12; German New Guinea, *Annual Reports*, 1904-5: 202-3, 1906-7: 253, 1907-8: 308, 1912-13: 571; Rowley 1965: 110; Sack 1969: 101-12.
- 44 Forestier to Regis, 21 May 1903, A.P.M. OSS 208; Forestier 'Journal', 27 August 1907, 28 October 1908; Boch to his mother, 13 August 1910, 26 January 1911; Boch to Forestier, 1 December 1910, O.R.; Heffernan to Woodford, 9 October 1911, encl. May to C.O., 21 December 1911, C.O. 225/98; Woodford to May, 9 November 1911, encl. May to C.O., 6 January 1916, C.O. 225/103.
- 45 Boch to Forestier, 26 April 1907; Boch to his mother, 24 March 1912, 8 March 1914; Nathaniel Crichlow et al. to Forrestier [sic], 29 June 1916, O.R.; Boch to Rausch, 15 February 1914, P.V.M.
- 46 Boch to his mother, 29 June 1909, 8 September 1912, 20 October 1912, 1 December

1912; Boch to Raffin, 11 February 1913, O.R.; Boch, 16 October 1912, A.P.M. OSS 208; Goldie to Heffernan, 14 December 1912 (two letters), encl. Sweet-Escott to C.O., 20 May 1913, C.O. 225/116.

47 Boch to his mother, 25 February 1913; 'Journal de Choiseul', O.R.; Heffernan to Woodford, 26 February 1913, encl. Sweet-Escott to C.O., 20 May 1913, C.O. 225/116; Boch to his mother, 9 September 1920, A.P.M. OSS 418; Binois 1925: 474-6, 489.

48 Waché to Courtais, 27 December 1914; Boch to Rausch, 12 October 1924, 7 June 1925, P.V.M.; Boch to Poncelet et al., 9 February 1936, A.P.M. OSS 800; Commonwealth of Australia, *German Missions Ordinance*, no.6 of 1926.

49 Forestier to Marion, 5 June 1905, A.M.O. vol.11; Dr P. Sack, pers. comm.

50 Wheen to Cox, 21 March 1914, 25 July 1914, Mitchell Library, Methodist Overseas Mission, Letter Books; Forestier, 'Journal', 11-16 November 1917, 12 December 1917; Poncelet, 'Journal', 10-29 March 1918; O.R.; Hilliard 1966: 307-8; Laracy 1969a: 430.

51 Statistical summaries, A.P.M. OSS 3321; baptismal register, Turiboiru; Schank 1924; Montauban 1926: 8-9, O.R.

52 Boch to Forestier, 18 September 1914, O.R.; Boch to procurator, 29 October 1914, 15 April 1915, P.V.M.

53 Boch to Forestier, 19 October 1917; Boch to Raffin, 9 August 1921; North Solomons, 'Rapport quinquennal au Propagande, 1922'; Poncelet 1935, O.R.; Boch to Rausch, 8 January 1929, P.V.M.; Conley to Dubois, 12 September 1939, A.P.M. OSM 208; Tippet 1967: 185-7.

54 Boch to Rausch, 20 October 1923; Wade to Rausch, January 1929, P.V.M.; Boch to Dubois, 28 November 1925; Boch to Poncelet, 26 July 1926, O.R.; McHardy to seminarians, 16 June 1929, A.P.M. OSS 208; Schlieker, 'Methodism in South Bougainville' and 'The Catholic Mission in Siwai', Lebel Papers; interview with Fr J. McConville.

55 Boch, Lettre Circulaire, no.12, 20 June 1925; North Solomons, 'Quinquennal Report to Propaganda, 1935', p.8, O.R.

56 Poncelet, 'Journal', 22-24 September 1922; Chaize to Dubois, 1 March 1925; Boch to Dubois, 26 January 1929; Montauban 1924: 10, O.R.; Muller, 'Histoire de la mission de Kunua', Lebel Papers; McHardy to Schaefer, 14 February 1931, A.P.M. OSS 208; Rev. A.H. Cropp, pers. comm.; McHardy 1935: 25.

57 Boch to Propaganda, 28 August 1926; Boch to Dubois, 26 January 1929; Poncelet, 'Journal', 2 January-6 April 1929, O.R.; Phillips 1929, Commonwealth Archives Office, Australia; Boch, Lettre Circulaire, no.27, 29 November 1928, P.V.M.; Chinnery n.d.: 87.

Chapter 4

1 For full documentation of these figures, see Laracy 1969a: 450-65.

2 Nock 1961: 134.

3 Woodford to Vidal, 22 December 1897, A.P.M. OSM 800; Barnett to Sweet-Escott, 22 September 1914, W.P.H.C. no.2499 of 1914; Campbell to Barnett, 11 November 1916, encl. Barnett to Sweet-Escott, 13 November 1916, W.P.H.C. no.3269 of 1916; 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', 1920; Guiart 1962: 132.

4 Raucaz to procurator, 10 July 1906; Bertreux to Bonnet, 4 September 1912, *A.M.O.* vol.13; Allet, January 1913, *A.P.M. OSM* 208; *M.C.* 1915: 23-4; *Annales de Marie* 1935: 319-20.

5 Fox 1967: 65; Guppy 1887b: 22; Marwick 1935: 37. A Melanesian explanation for the presence of Europeans similar to that reported by Renton, was reported from San Cristobal in 1846, where the Marists were asked if they had been chased from their homeland. Frémont to Colin, 24 July 1846, *A.P.M. OSM* 208.

6 Boch to his mother, June 1908; Boch to Dubois, 7 May 1929, *O.R.*; Boudard to Montauban, 5 March 1909, *A.P.M. OSM* 208; Belshaw 1954: 3-4; Freytag 1940: 165.

7 Montrouzier to his parents, 25 April 1848, *A.P.M. OSM* 208; North Solomons, 'Rapport au Propagande, 1928', *O.R.*; North Solomons, 'Report to Propaganda, 1939', *A.P.M. OSS* 12jo; Horton 1965: 135.

8 Conley to Dubois, 12 September 1939, *A.P.M. OSS* 61 208; Fox 1962: 138.

9 Bertin to procurator, 1 July 1908, *A.M.O.* vol.12; Oliver 1955: 318.

10 J. Coicaud, 5 May 1902; Pellion, 31 June 1903; J. Coicaud, 10 September 1903, *A.P.M. OSM* 208; Coicaud, 'Journal', Rohinari; 'Journal of Tarapaina', 1918; interviews at Parakunu village, Malaita.

11 Forestier to Regis, 28 February 1913; Poncelet to Dubois, 14 December 1935, 5, 31 August 1936, *A.P.M. OSS* 61 208; Boch to Dubois, 28 November 1925; Poncelet to O'Reilly, 6 June 1935, *O.R.*; interviews with Frs G. Lebreton and A. Lebel.

12 *M.C.* 1915: 23-4; Halbwachs to Dubois, 8 July 1927, *B.A.H.*; *Annales de Marie* 1927: 563-8; Tippet 1967: 102.

13 Bertreux, October 1903; Bertreux to Raffin, 18 October 1904, *A.P.M. OSM* 208; Leon, 21 November 1912, *A.P.M. OSM* 498; Bertreux to Raffin, 10 November 1918, *A.M.O.* vol.13; *Annales de la Société de Marie* 1925: 564-7; J. Coicaud to Dubois, 16 February 1926, *A.P.M. OSM* 208; J. Coicaud to Rausch, 8 March 1926, *P.V.M.*

14 Coicaud, 'Journal', 4 September 1914, Rohinari; Aubin to Chevreuil, 12 June 1918, *P.V.M.*; North Solomons, 'Report to Propaganda, 1935', *O.R.*; *Annales de Marie* 1930: 125-6; McHardy 1935: 75.

15 Information from Dr D.L. Hillard.

16 Broyer to procurator, 6 August 1903; Claire, 15 March 1904, *A.M.O.* vol.11; Matthieu, February 1907, *A.M.O.* vol.12.

17 Bertreux, 10 March 1903, *A.P.M. OSM* 208; South Solomons, 'Rapport au Conseil Central de la Propagation de la Foi, 1907', *A.P.M. OSM* 3321; North Solomons 'Rapport au Propagande, 1928', also 1935, *O.R.*; Boch, Lettre Circulaire no. 26, 8 August 1928, *P.V.M.*

18 Forestier to Regis, 1 April 1902, *A.P.M. OSS* 61 208; Poncelet 1924, *O.R.*

19 J. Coicaud, 20 September 1902, *A.P.M. OSM* 208; 'Vie de R.P. Babonneau', *B.A.H.*; Coicaud, 'Des gens rachetés', Buma; Raucaz 1928: 222-3.

20 Raucaz to procurator, 10 July 1906; Boudard, 11 February 1908; Pellion to procurator, 8 November 1909, 16 August 1910, *A.M.O.* vol.12; Pellion, 11 June 1909, *A.P.M. OSM* 208; Raucaz 1928: 219.

21 Bertin to procurator, 3 November 1908, *A.M.O.* vol.12; Bertreux to Raffin, 10 November 1918, *A.M.O.* vol.13; *M.C.* 1913: 26-9; Bertin 1928: 552-3.

- 22 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', 14 February 1914; 'Vie de R.P. Babonneau, B.A.H.; M.C. 1915: 197; McHardy 1935: 159.
- 23 Pellion to procurator, 8 November 1909, A.M.O. vol.12; Coicaud, 'Journal', 1916, Rohinari.
- 24 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', 1915; J. Coicaud, 17 November 1927, 22 August 1928, A.P.M. OSM 208; Halbwachs to Rausch, 7 May 1928, P.V.M.; Raucaz 1928: 197-8; interview with Fr J. Halbwachs.
- 25 Forestier, 'Journal', 19 March 1904; J. Grisward, 'Les troubles entre Morou et Bagui'; Poncelet, 'Journal', 1918-20; Allotte 1918, O.R.; Thurnwald 1936a: 347-57.
- 26 Dickinson 1927: 181-2; Thurnwald 1936b: 14-15; pers. comm. Dr D.C. Laycock.
- 27 J. Coicaud, June 1906; J. Coicaud to Serre, 17 August 1925; Foltzer to Raffin, 5 May 1922, A.P.M. OSM 208.
- 28 Seiller, 21 September 1905, A.P.M. OSS 61 208; Pellion to procurator, 15 January 1906, A.M.O. vol.11; Pellion to Bonnard, [1906] A.M.O. vol.12; Pellion to procurator, 1910, A.M.O.; Raucaz 1928: 153-4; Hogbin 1939: 189; Blackwood 1935: 513.
- 29 Flaus to Broyer, 19 November 1899; Seiller, 21 September 1905, A.P.M. OSS 61 208; Guilloux to Vidal, 26 November 1901, A.P.M. OSM 208.
- 30 Bertreux to Raffin, 15 September 1917, A.P.M. OSM 418; M.C. 1911: 76; Lawrence 1967: 77, 192.
- 31 Boch to Dubois, 4 May 1925; Boch to Propaganda, 10 August 1927, O.R.; McHardy to Schaefer, 14 February 1931, A.P.M. OSS 61 208; Boudard to [Dubois], 4 May 1934; Graton to [Dubois], 10 May 1935, A.P.M. OSM 208; Hilliard 1966: 209, 386-7, 446-8, 466.
- 32 Montauban to Raffin, 4 September 1915, A.P.M. OSS 208; Boch to Dubois, 14 September 1925, 11 February 1931; Montauban to O'Reilly, 29 August 1935; Montauban, 'Affaire des propheties et du cargo' and 'Histoire de la mission catholique de Buka', p.8, O.R.; McHardy 1935: 151; Territory of New Guinea, *Report, 1935-6*: 21; Blackwood 1935: 17.
- 33 Boch to Dubois, 15 May 1927, O.R.; Wade to Rausch, 20 July 1928, P.V.M.; *Annales de Marie* 1927: 592; 1928: 101.
- 34 Montauban to O'Reilly, 29 August 1935, 15 October 1935, O.R.; Montauban to Courtais, 5 April 1938, A.P.M. OSS 61 208; *Rabaul Times*, 25 November 1932; *Annales de Marie* 1934: 187; Territory of New Guinea, *Report, 1933-34*: 22, 1935-36: 21-3; O'Reilly 1937: 142-58; O'Reilly and Sédès 1949: 196-7. Regarding interment, many of the Buka appear to have adopted this custom from Europeans *before* the coming of the missionaries. Binois, 1910, A.P.M. OSM 208; Blackwood 1935: 487.
- 35 Boch to Dubois, 19 August 1928, 7 February 1929, 15 October 1931, O.R.; Boch to Dubois, 23 August 1928, A.P.M. OSS 12jo; Binois to Rausch, 28 December 1928, 9 February 1929, P.V.M.; Groves 1940 (2) 12-3; Hilliard 1966: 69-71, 109-10, 475.

Chapter 5

- 1 Hilliard 1966: 175-7, 201-3, 319, 334-9, 400-1, 458-62.
- 2 B.S.I.P., *Annual Report, 1924-5*; *Turupatu* 1925: 165; *South Seas Weekly*, 25

January 1930; *Rabaul Times*, 12 December 1930; Mair 1948: 180; Essai 1961: 199-206; Hilliard 1966: 148.

3 Pavese, 25 November 1912, A.P.M. OSM 208; Aubin to Dubois, 5 March 1936, A.P.M. OSM 418; Raucaz 1928: 57.

4 Boch, Lettre Circulaire, no.28, 2 January 1929, P.V.M.; Boch to Dubois, 29 December 1929, 12 March 1930; North Solomons, 'Rapport au propagande, 1930'; Poncelet 1935, O.R.; Luxton 1955: 141.

5 Richardson 1943.

6 Forestier to Regis, 11 February 1909; Flaus to Regis, 2 June 1909, A.P.M. OSS 208; Forestier to Cay, 26 July 1910, A.P.M. OSS 418; Forestier to Stratonique, 25 December 1911, 3 December 1912, A.F.M.; German New Guinea, *Annual Report*, 1907-8: 319; 1910-11: 435.

7 Babonneau to Vidal, 26 December 1901; Bertin, 15 November 1926, A.P.M. OSM 208; Bertin to procurator, 1 March 1912, A.M.O. vol.13; Raucaz 1928: 258.

8 Boudard to Montauban, 3 May 1909, A.P.M. OSM 208; Bertin to procurator, 1 March 1912, A.M.O. vol.13; Graton to Raucaz, 28 September 1933, A.P.M., Pavese Papers.

9 Bertin to Regis, 23 August 1907, A.M.O. vol.12; Woodford to Bertreux, 27 January 1907, quoted in Babonneau to Barley, 1 November 1919, Wanoni Bay; Forestier to Gay, 26 July 1910, A.P.M. OSS 418; Aubin to Bertin, 20 August 1932, P.V.M.; Servant n.d., Lebel Papers; Coicaud, 'Journal', October 1913, Rohinari; 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', 1917, 1920, 1922; 'Journal of Rokera', 1936.

10 Bertin to Raffin, 22 April 1920; Bouillon to Raffin, 28 August 1920; Raucaz to Raffin, 28 September 1920; Aubin to Dubois, 27 May 1937; Simler, 6 August 1939, A.P.M. OSM 208; Aubin, Lettre Circulaire, 13 May 1939, B.A.H.; 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', 1939, 1940; Raucaz to Courtois, 25 November 1929, P.V.M.; M.C. 1921: 162; Raucaz 1928: 257-8.

11 Raucaz 1928: 122; O'Reilly and Laracy 1972.

12 *Turupatu*, April 1927.

13 Rouillac to Regis, 11 June 1899, 16 November 1901, 13 December 1901, A.P.M. OSM 208; Estienne to Forestier, 10 August 1900, O.R.; Bertreux, 1912, A.P.M. OSM 418; M.C. 1900: 181.

14 *Turupatu*, December 1936.

15 Nicolas to Martin, 20 October 1916, A.P.M. OP 418; Graton to Raffin, 10 August 1919, A.P.M. OSM 208.

16 South Solomons, 'Rapport à la Propagation de la Foi, 1913', A.P.M. OSM 3321; Graton to Raffin, 10 August 1919, A.P.M. OSM 208; Graton to Propaganda, 24 October 1935, A.P.M. OSM 12jo; Pavese 'Récit très véridique', pp. 124-5, A.P.M. Pavese Papers; *Turupatu*, July 1914.

17 Raucaz to Chevreuil, 19 February 1919, P.V.M.

18 Ashley to W.P.H.C., 7 August 1934, W.P.H.C., MP2508 of 1934.

19 Pavese to Dubois, 4 July 1928, A.P.M. OSM 208; Raucaz, 'Règles Proposées pour

Futurs Catéchistes', 11 February 1928; 'Décisions de la Retraite', September 1929, Wanoni Bay; *Turupatu*, February 1927, June 1927.

20 Pavese, 'Plan pour l'Association des Catéchistes', 13 January 1930, Wanoni Bay; *Turupatu*, August 1930.

21 Pavese to Raffin, 24 September 1916, A.P.M. OSM 208; Pavese to Dubois, 18 April 1923; Pavese, 'Tabitha Cumil', 1934: 24-5, A.P.M. Pavese Papers; Pavese to Rieu, 18 April 1923, A.P.M. personal file — Pavese; Graton to Courtais, 25 March 1928, Prov. V.M.; M.C. 1919: 330; A.S.M. 1955: 511.

22 Pavese to Courtais, 16 November 1931; Simler to Bertin, 10 March 1933; J. Coicaud to Bertin, 23 March 1933, Prov. V.M.; Pavese to Raffin, 1 January 1921; Moreau, 25 July 1933, A.P.M. OSM 208; Raucaz, 7 September 1933, A.P.M. OSM 418; Graton to Fumasoni-Biondi, 24 October 1935; South Solomons, 'Rapport au Propagande, 1934', A.P.M. OSM 12jo; Pavese, 'Récit très véridique', pp. 42, 81, 107; interview with Fr D.J. Moore.

23 Raucaz to Podevigne, 8 September 1933, Wanoni Bay.

24 Raucaz to Dubois, 6 March 1934; Aubin, 11 April 1934, 5 July 1934, 16 July 1934; Aubin to Dubois, 7 August 1934, A.P.M. Pavese Papers; Aubin to Bertin, 12 April 1934, Prov. V.M.; Graton to Bertin, 30 May 1934; Aubin to Bertin, 5 June 1934; Ashley to W.P.H.C., 7 August 1934, W.P.H.C. MP1906 of 1934; de Klerk, 'Disturbances at Tangarare', in 'Journal of Tangarare'.

25 Raucaz to Bertin, 5 March 1934; Aubin to Bertin, 13 October 1934, Prov. V.M.; Graton to Dubois, 2 January 1935; Boudard to Dubois, 24 March 1935; de Klerk to Rieu, 17 September 1936, A.P.M. OSM 208; 'Report on Guadalcanal district, 1934', W.P.H.C. MP1589 of 1935.

26 Aubin to Rieu, 8 August 1934, A.P.M. OSM 418; Kole to Williame Manganikogu, 7 May 1935, quoted in de Klerk to Rieu, 17 July 1935, A.P.M. OSM 208; Graton to Fumasoni-Biondi, 24 October 1935, A.P.M. OSM 12jo.

27 De Klerk to Rieu, 17 July 1935, 8 February 1936, 17 July 1936, 17 September 1936, A.P.M. OSM 208. De Klerk's comment of 17 July 1935 suggests a further reason for his success. "The people like it very much if you speak their language correctly, they compliment me on my pronunciation and on my progress. It has been said "Soon, he will speak it like Father Pavese, and that is great praise . . ."

28 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', 1928; Podevigne, 6 March 1931, A.P.M. OSM 208; Graton, 26 August 1934, A.P.M. Pavese Papers; Graton to Bertin, 29 August 1934, P.V.M.

29 Graton, 4 August 1933, 18 April 1934, 26 August 1934, A.P.M. Pavese Papers; Pavese, 'Récit très véridique', pp. 55-71; interview with Fr D. Moore.

30 'Foundation and Development of the Congregation of Native Sisters of South Solomons Vicariate', B.A.H., interview with Mother Wendeline.

31 'Conditions for schools obtaining grants-in-aid', encl. Ashley to W.P.H.C., 9 October 1931, W.P.H.C. MP2594 of 1931; Raucaz to Courtais, 26 November 1931, P.V.M.; Dubois, 11 February 1932, A.P.M. OSM 418; Pavese, 'Récit très véridique', p.67.

32 Raucaz to Ashley, 15 January 1934, 10 July 1936, A.P.M. OSM 208; 'Report of Education Conference, Tulagi, 5 February 1934'; 'Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider certain proposals for the promotion of Education in the British

Solomon Islands Protectorate', W.P.H.C. 951 of 1934.

33 Aubin, 28 February 1936. Wanoni Bay; 'Marau School, Annual Report, 1937-8', A.P.M. OSM 202; South Solomons, 'Rapport au Propagande, 1939-46', B.A.H.

34 Aubin to Dubois, 11 July 1939, 10 October 1939, A.P.M. OSM 418; Groves 1940: (111):6.

Chapter 6

1 C.O. 1962: 11; Feldt 1967: 36; Fox 1958: 83-4, 88-90, 1962: 120; Luxton 1955: 171-81; *Not in Vain*, Jubilee Issue, 1954: 13; Stewart 1956: 196-7.

2 Celestine 'Journal', 23 January 1942; 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', April 1942; South Solomons, 'Rapport au Propagande, 1942', A.P.M. OSM 3321; Seiller, 28 December 1945, A.P.M. OSS 208; M.C. 1946: 25-6.

3 [Lamarre], 'Hahalis-Cargo Cult-Welfare', pp. 1-2; Feldt 1967: 80, 94; *New Zealand Tablet*, 30 May 1945.

4 Minister for External Territories to Bergeron, 30 October 1945 P.V.M.; Lamarre, 'War Comes to Buka', pp. 1-2; Feldt 1967: 97-8; Sweeting 1961: 36-8.

5 Seiller, 28 December 1945, A.P.M. OSS 208; Müller 'War Memoirs', p. 14 A.P.M.; Feldt 1967: 101; O'Reilly and Sédès 1949: 165-90.

6 Bougainville District, Patrol Reports 1943-46. Report no. 5/1945-46. National Archives of Papua New Guinea.

7 Wade to Bergeron, 29 August 1946, P.V.M.

8 Aubin, 'Diary', 2, 3 June 1942.

9 [Ephrem] 1943a; 5-7, 10; 1943b: 80-2.

10 Edmée to Aubin, 12 June 1943; Aubin, 'Account of Captivity of Missionaries of Ruavatu', B.A.H.; Webb 1943: 4, National Library of Australia; *Missions des Iles* 1947: 71-3.

11 Aubin to Bergeron, 7 September 1942, 18 October 1942, 24 November 1942, Prov.V.M.; Aubin, 'Diary', August-December 1942; *Missions de Iles* 1951: 108, 1961: 134.

12 Lamarre, 'War Comes to Buka', pp. 3-7; Schsornach, 1960, *passim*.

13 'Notes regarding Fathers Conley and Waché', Lebel Papers; Feldt 1967: 198-214; Hungerford 1950: 5-7; O'Reilly and Sédès 1949: 105, 114-6, 124-6, 154-7; interview with Fr Lebel.

14 Poncelet, 'Diary', p.64; Miltrup, 'War Memoirs', p. 14; Müller, 'War Memoirs', p.7, A.P.M.

15 Müller, 'War Memoirs', p.14 A.P.M.; 'Notes regarding Fr Weber', Lebel Papers; Feldt 1967: 103, 203; O'Reilly and Sédès 1949: 157-8; interviews with Fr Miltrup and Br Xaverius.

Chapter 7

1 Tippet 1967 has accounts, though unreliable ones, of all these Solomon Islands

movements. For that on Manus, see Schwartz 1962.

2 Allan 1950: 42; Corris 1973: 142-4; McLaren 1923: 238-9; Mander 1954: 328.

3 'Report on Marching Rule', in 'Malaita Annual Report, 1946'.

4 'Journal of Rokera', 18 February 1944; interview with Aliko Nonohimae and Fr J. Wall.

5 'Report on Marching Rule', 1946, Marquand 1949-50: 7-12; 'Journal of Buma', 2 November 1946, 3 March 1947, 25 June 1947. For comments regarding the possibility of permanent U.S. bases in the Solomons, see Belshaw 1950: 70; Hobbs 1945: 160.

6 Parsonage to Aubin, 30 May 1946, B.A.H.; Broadcast by the Resident Commissioner, 31 August 1947, Tanagai (see References, Official Sources).

7 Stuyvenberg to Dubois, 29 October 1949, A.P.M.; *Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1949, p. 43.

8 'Journal of Rokera', 10-18 March 1949; 'Intelligence Report on Marching Rule Activities in North Malaita, January 1950'; 'Journal of Tarapaina', March-August 1952, April 1954-June 1955; Geerts to Aubin, 31 May 1955, B.A.H.; B.S.I.P., *Annual Report, 1949-50*: 39.

9 Allan 1950: 92; Tippet 1967: 204; Worsley 1957: 182.

10 Interview with Frs J. Espagne and P. Geerts, who were on San Cristobal and Malaita respectively during Marching Rule.

11 Hilliard 1966: 233, 407; Laracy 1969a: 457-63.

12 Hilliard 1966: 385-7, 395-6; Marquand 1949-50: 6, 9.

13 'Conference of Araha', MS in possession of Donasiano Houa (Tarapaina); Hogbin 1939: 183.

14 Interview with Donasiano Houa; van Dusen 1945: 42-3, 50-2.

15 Document appended to 'Intelligence Report, Marching Rule Activities, North Malaita', November 1949.

16 Allan 1950: 53-4; Marquand 1949-50: 6; O'Reilly 1948: 150; interview with Fr K. Kamphuis.

17 Allan 1950: 59-61; Fox, 'A Missionary in Melanesia', p. 59, and 1962: 131-2; interview with Archdeacon H. Reynolds.

18 O'Reilly 1948: 151; interviews with Michael Asipara, Aliko Nonohimae, Philip Solodia and Fr J. Wall.

19 'The Journal of Rokera', 20 September 1946, 5 July 1947, 14 November 1947, 28 May 1948; van de Walle to Aubin, 12 March 1947; Broadcast by the Resident Commissioner, 31 August 1947, Tanagai.

20 'Journal of Rokera', 25 December 1944, 25 December 1945, 1 January 1948, 28 March 1948; 'Journal of Buma', 1 November 1947, 25 December 1948.

21 'Journal of Rokera', 15 July 1948; 'Journal of Wanoni Bay', 1948; Fox 1962: 132; Laracy 1969a: 457-63; interviews with Frs J. Espagne and P. Geerts and Archdeacon H. Reynolds.

- 22 'Journal of Buma', 2 July 1946, 3 August 1946, 2 November 1946; 'Journal of Rokera', 16 August 1947, 12 October 1947; Geerts to Aubin, 22 January 1950, B.A.H.
- 23 Parsonage to Aubin, 30 May 1946, 14 April 1947; Aubin to Halbwachs, 28 July 1947, B.A.H.; the document is reproduced in Laracy 1969a: 431-9.
- 24 Geerts to Aubin, 18 January 1949, B.A.H.; 'Journal of Rokera', 1-3 January 1949.
- 25 Van de Walle to Masterman, 9 May 1950; van de Walle, 'History of the C.W.S.', 27 October 1950, and 'Catholic Welfare Society: Rules', Rohinari.
- 26 'Journal of Tarapaina', 17 April 1950, 18 May 1950; Aubin, 20 December 1950, A.P.M. OSM 418.
- 27 Fox 1962: 132-3.
- 28 Allan to Geerts, 10 July 1950, B.A.H.; van de Walle, 'History of the C.W.S.', Rohinari.
- 29 Aubin to van de Walle, 13 November 1950, 22 December 1950; van de Walle to Hoasihau, 8 December 1950; Hoasihau to van de Walle, 8 December 1950, Rohinari; Aubin to van de Walle, 28 November 1950, B.A.H.; Aubin to Geerts, 29 November 1950, copy in 'Journal of Tarapaina', 13 December 1950; interviews with C.H. Allan, Frs P. Geerts and B. van de Walle.
- 30 'Journal of Tarapaina', 14 November 1948, 29 July 1954, 29 June 1958. Land was also claimed at Buma and Wanoni Bay during Marching Rule: 'Journal of Buma', 19 July 1947; Parsonage to Moore, 9 February 1949, B.A.H.
- 31 Stuyvenberg. Circular letter, 19 June 1962, Rokera.
- 32 Simler to Aubin, 8 February 1952; Geerts to Aubin, 28 July 1953, 3 December 1953, B.A.H.; 'Journal of Tarapaina', 19 July 1953; 'Journal of Rokera', 20 November 1953; Peterson 1966: 214-30.
- 33 Resolutions passed at meeting of Malaita Fathers, 24 November 1953; Resolution of C.W.S. meeting, 4-8 July 1955, Rohinari; Catholic Welfare Society, Takwa: Statutes, B.A.H.
- 34 Allan 1957: 51; Mander 1954: 261-2; Montauban 1948: 138; Rimoldi 1971: 118-27.
- 35 Lamarre, 'Hahalis-Cargo Cult-Welfare'; Kiki 1968: 115-16. Rimoldi 1971: 136-57, 198-206.
- 36 Hymns collected by Fr Lamarre, Hanahan; Hagai 1966: 12-14.
- 37 'Transcript of interview with John Tiosin', TS in possession of Dr M. Rimoldi; Kiki 1968: 115.
- 38 Clancy to Fahey, 20 February 1962; René to Lamarre, 22 February 1962; Fahey to Lemay, 28 February 1962, Hanahan; Lamarre, 'Hahalis-Cargo Cult-Welfare', p.8; Rimoldi 1971: 157-80; Willey 1965: 108.
- 39 Interviews with Frs C. Fahey, P. Demers and B. Zumsande.
- 40 Rimoldi 1971: 52-6.
- 41 *Annales de Marie* 1934: 187; interviews with Frs P. Demers, G. Lapointe, G. Lepping.

42 Allen and Hurd n.d.: 31; interviews with Frs G. Fahey and W. Mentzer.

43 'The Moratona Development Project'; Grenier to National Catholic Welfare Conference, 12 August 1965, 3 May 1966, Torokina; Elixmann, 'The Sovele Development Project', photocopy in my possession; interviews with Frs F. Elixmann and C. Grenier.

44 Sohano District Development Committee, minutes of first meetings, 11-12 January 1966, TS in possession of Bishop Lemay; Ryan 1969: 315-23; interviews with Frs B. Brosnan and W. Mentzer and Mr P. Mollinson District Commissioner, Sohano.

45 *Mirror*, 4, 5, 10, 11 February 1965, 25 March 1965; *The Australian*, 11 February 1965; *Catholic News*, September 1966; *The Age*, 26 November 1966, 7 February 1967; minutes of Marist Fathers' meeting, 20 September 1966, and press release, 23 September 1966; T.P.N.G. Administration, 'Current Events', Bulletin no.1, 30 September 1966, mimeograph copies in my possession; Fingleton 1970: 13-20; Ogan 1971: 141-2.

46 Lemay to Cleland, 16 August 1966, copy in possession of Bishop Lemay.

47 Davenport and Coker 1967: 123-75.

Chapter 8

1 Groves 1940: 1(4): 3-4; Mair 1948: 173; Oliver 1952: 263; Territory of New Guinea, *Annual Report, 1921-22*, p.89.

2 B.S.I.P., *Annual Reports, 1946-47*; Colebatch 1968: 102-47.

3 Boch to his mother, June 1908, O.R.; Jacomb 1919: 178.

4 Vernon to C.O., 24 December 1912, C.O. 225/113; Boch to Raffin, 11 February 1921, A.P.M. OSS 418; Holmes to Boch, 8 February 1936; Boch to Holmes, 23 February 1936, A.P.M. OSS 800.

5 South Solomons, 'Rapport au Propagande, 1946', B.A.H.; Oliver 1952: 276; interviews with Bishops L. Lemay and D. Stuyvenberg.

6 Aubin to Parsonage, 14 January 1947, Wanoni Bay; *Missions des Iles* 1947: 103-4.

7 T.P.N.G. Dept of Education, Circular Memorandum no.10 of 1954, M.E.O. Papers, Tsiroge; Colebatch 1967: 124.

8 M.E.O. Circular no.8, 10 November 1956, M.E.O. Papers, Tsiroge; interviews with Bishop L. Lemay, Frs T. L'Estrange, A. Lebel and P. Mallinson, and Mr R. Dennehy, Assistant D.C., Bougainville.

9 L'Estrange to Groves, 9 August 1956, M.E.O. Papers, Tsiroge.

10 Caldwell to Roscoe, 20 August 1957; T.P.N.G. Dept of Education, Circular Memorandum, no.117 of 1956, no.13 of 1957, no.45 of 1958, no.38 of 1960, M.E.O. Papers, Tsiroge.

11 Moore to Noel, 22 October 1947; Trench to Moore, 10 November 1947; J. Wall, 'Report on the Negotiations between the Mission and the Government in the Matter of Education', 1954, p.1, M.E.O. Papers, Honiara.

12 C. Colman-Porter, 'Address at the Education Conference 19 November 1947;

Minutes of the Education Conference, 19 November 1947'; D.J. Moore, 'Points Agreed upon at the Education Conference, 19-21 November 1947', M.E.O. Papers, Honiara.

13 'Kings Regulation Relating to Education, 1948', draft, M.E.O. Papers, Honiara.

14 'Views of the Melanesian Mission on the Draft Education Regulation 1948', encl. Hoey to Moore, 2 September 1948; 'Resolution on the proposed King's Regulation relating to Education in the B.S.I.P. by the Solomon Islands Methodist District Synod, 29 November 1948', encl. Metcalfe to Aubin, 2 December 1948; 'Views of the Catholic Mission on the B.S.I.P. Draft Education Regulation (1948)', M.E.O. Papers, Honiara; Mander 1954: 346.

15 Minutes of the Education Conference on the Draft Regulation for the B.S.I.P. 19-21 March 1949; Moore to Myers, 12 April 1949; Moore to Doherty, 4 April 1949, M.E.O. Papers, Honiara.

16 Moore to Gwilliam, 10 December 1949; Moore to Myers, 5 February 1950; 'Views of the Catholic Mission (B.S.I.P.) on the Proposed King's Regulation[s] relating to Education, 1949 [and 1950]'; B.S.I.P., King's Regulation relating to Education, 1950; Views of the Catholic Mission on the Draft Regulation of Education (1951), M.E.O. Papers, Honiara. Miss Gwilliam was Educational Adviser to the Colonial Secretary.

17 B.S.I.P., *Queen's Regulation*, no.4 of 1953.

18 Wall to Aubin, 27 April 1953; Dwyer to Moore, 7 May 1953; Aubin to Stanley, 7 May 1953, 28 May 1953; Stanley to Aubin, 13 May 1953, M.E.O. Papers, Honiara.

19 J. Wall, 'Report on Negotiations regarding Education', pp. 3-5; 'Notes of a discussion on 13 July 1953 on the Education Regulation'; 'Comment on and Reply to High Commissioner's notes of a discussion on the Education Regulation, 1953', M.E.O. Papers, Honiara.

20 B.S.I.P., *Queen's Regulation*, no.17 of 1954.

21 Moore to Doherty, 4 April 1949, M.E.O. Papers, Honiara.

22 Moore to Bovey, 16 February 1965, M.E.O. Papers, Honiara; B.S.I.P., White Paper, no.3 *Educational Policy*; Schaffer 1966: 44-6; interviews with Major G.F. Bovey, B.S.I.P. Education Officer, D. Ruxton, Education Officer for the Diocese of Melanesia, and Fr D. Moore.

23 Moore 'Designated Schools: resumé of meetings held in Honiara, June 1965', M.E.O. Papers, Honiara; B.S.I.P. Dept of Education, Circular and Appendix ED/G/121, 31 January 1966, copy in my possession by courtesy of Major G.F. Bovey; B.S.I.P. *News Sheet* 1967, 7-20 October.

24 Wade to Kidson, 6 November 1936, encl. Kidson to W.P.H.C., 18 September 1936, W.P.H.C. MP951 of 1934; Hannett 1970: 660.

Chapter 9

1 For these and other figures cited in this chapter, see Laracy 1969a: statistical appendices and *The Official Year Book of the Catholic Church in Australia and Papua New Guinea, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands*, 1972.

2 'Journal of St Vincent's Seminary', B.A.H.; *The Catholic Weekly*, 19 July 1956;

Murphy 1969: 86-7. The South Solomons seminary, St Vincent's, was closed in 1962. Since then candidates for the priesthood have followed the normal course of schooling prior to being sent to Rabaul.

3 Hastings 1967.

4 Tippet 1967: 125-31.

5 South Solomons, 'Rapport au Propagande, 1937'; Wade to Morella, 16 April 1954, B.A.H.; Boch to Dubois, 25 February 1952 A.P.M. OSM 208.

6 *Catholic Missions*, 1966, 47(31): 15-18; interview with Fr C. O'Grady.

7 Keesing 1967: 97; Tippet 1967: 49.

8 Margaret to Aubin, 1 February 1950, B.A.H.

9 Margaret of the Cross, 'Autobiography, 1887-1960'; Fox, 'A Missionary in Melanesia', p. 52; Gwen of the Cross 1956; Melanesian Mission 1946; interviews with Sister Margaret (she reverted to 'Sister' in 1960) and Sister Dismas (formerly Veronica).

10 Raucaz, 4 April 1907, *A.M.O.* vol. 12; Lebel to his friends, 24 February 1938, Lebel Papers.

11 Geerts, 'The elements of Fear and Pride in Melanesian Spirit Worship and Customs'. TS in my possession.

Bibliography

Unpublished Manuscripts

Allan, Colin Hamilton

1950. 'The Marching Rule Movement in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate'. Dip. Anthropol. thesis. Cambridge University.

Apui, John

'The Teaching of the Catholic Church'. MS (in Are Are) in possession of Father P. Geerts.

Archivii Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide (Archives of Propaganda, Rome)
Scritture Riferite Nei Congressi, Oceanica I, t.2-4 (1842-55).

Archivio Fratelli Maristi (Marist Brothers' archives, Rome)

Selected correspondence, 1847 (vicariate of Melanesia) and 1911-12 (North Solomons).

Archivio Padri Maristi (Marist Fathers' archives, Rome)

For a description of this collection see Laracy 1968: 165-71. The main sections of the archives consulted (and which were examined *in toto*) were OSM (South Solomons) and OSS (North Solomons). Most of the material in these sections consists of letters from missionaries to the general administration of the Society of Mary, 1898-1966. OSM also contains letters, describing the Marists' venture into the vicariate of Melanesia, 1845-53. In each section general correspondence from prefects and vicars apostolic is filed under the code number 418, and that from other missionaries under 208.

Files in other sections of the archives were also used:

Box 21: letters of Xavier Montrouzier to his family, 1845-87. TS copies. Most of the originals are in Montrouzier's personal file.

- Box 25: 'Journal of J.G. Collomb', 1845-47.
- Box 26: 'War Memoirs' of F. Miltrup and Müller and 'Diary' of J.B. Poncelet.
- Epistolae Variae Generalium Societatis Mariae, 1842-78.
- OF (Fiji) 208: correspondence 1894-1903
 330: reports 1885-1903
 418: correspondence 1892-99
 (microfilm, National Library of Australia).
- OMM (Melanesia and Micronesia): correspondence, mainly of Epalle and Collomb, 1844-47, regarding preparations and plans for work in the vicariates of Melanesia and Micronesia.
- ON (Samoa) 418: correspondence 1896-1918.
- OP (Province of Oceania) 458: correspondence from Marist Procurator in Sydney, 1845-56.
- Pavese Papers, 1916-46.
- Personal files of missionaries.
- 410 Sancta Sedes: Lettres Diverses, Correspondence Martin-Ledochowsky and Martin-Simeoni.
- Archivio Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere, Rome
 Archives, vol. 11 (Oceania). Documents from this source were translated by the Library Translation Unit, Australian National University.
- Aubin, J.M.
 'Diary' 1942 (extracts). TS in my possession.
- Boudard, J.
 1956. 'Quelques aperçus historiques sur la foundation d'Avuavu'. TS in my possession.
- Celestine, Sister
 'Journal', 1940-42. In possession of Sister Robert René, Orange, California.
- 'Conference of Araha'
 MS in possession of Donasiano Houa, Tarapaina.
- De Coppet, Daniel
 'Land Tenure in Are Are and on Small Malaita, British Solomon Islands'. TS in my possession.
- Fox, C.E.
 'A Missionary in Melanesia'. TS in Durrad Papers, Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- Geerts, P.
 'The Elements of Fear and Pride in Melanesian Spirit Worship and Customs'. TS in my possession.
- Hilliard, D.L.
 1966. 'Protestant Missions in the Solomon Islands, 1849-1942'. Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University.

'The History of the People of Oau'

TS in my possession. This is a copy by Father P. Geerts of an MS collected and translated by him.

[Lamarre, J.]

'Hahalis-Cargo Cult-Welfare'. TS in my possession.

'War Comes to Buka'

TS in my possession.

Laracy, Hugh M.

1969a. 'Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands, 1845-1966'. Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University.

Lebel Papers

Documents in the possession of Father Albert Lebel, Bougainville:

'Letters of Father Albert Lebel to his friends', 1931-66. Mimeograph.

'Memoirs of Sister Ignace'. TS.

Muller, A., 'Histoire de la Mission de Konua'. MS.

North Solomons and Monoitu, miscellaneous statistical summaries, 1910-66.

Notes concerning Fathers Conley, Waché, and Weber.

Religious Superior's News Letters, 1954-58. Mimeograph.

Schlieker, J., 'The Catholic Mission in Siwai'. TS. 'Methodism in South Bougainville'. TS.

Servant, G., 'Notes et Souvenirs'. MS.

Margaret of the Cross, Sister

'Autobiography, 1887-1960'. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, microfilm no. 145.

Marist Fathers (archives of the Province of Oceania)

These documents, which were studied at 'Villa Maria', Sydney, were transferred to Suva in 1971.

Provincial's Papers, in-coming and out-going correspondence:

North Solomons, 1925-47

South Solomons, 1925-47.

Procurator's Papers, in-coming correspondence:

North Solomons, 1913-15

1922-26

1928-29.

South Solomons, 1900

1913-19

1922-26

1928-29.

Sundry letters, 1911-19

1924.

Methodist Church of Australasia, Department of Overseas Missions
Archives deposited in Mitchell Library, Sydney. Letter Books (Mission Office):

B. Danks, 1906-13 (Items 224-32, 57-63)

J. Wheen, 1913-25 (Items 64-96).

Mitchell Library

Bradford to British Consul, 7 September 1861, Tahiti, British Consulate Papers, vol. 5. In letters 1857-66, Uncat. MSS. set 24, Item 8.

O'Reilly Papers

This collection consists mainly of documents gathered by Father Patrick O'Reilly in the North Solomons in 1934-35. The various items are:

Allotte, François, 'Notice sur Buin', 1918. MS 'Notice sur Timbutz', 1926. MS.

Boch, Maurice, letters to his mother, 1907-20. 'Etat de la station de Buka, 1921', MS.

Forestier, J., 'Journal'. 1893-1918. MS.

General Correspondence 1900-36.

Grisward, J., 'Buin: les troubles entre Morou et Bagui de 1912 à 1920'. MS.

'Journal de Choiseul', 1912-14. MS.

'Journal de la station de Kieta', 1900-03. TS.

Montauban, P., 'Historique de la Mission Catholique de Buka', 29 Jan. 1926. TS. 'Affaire des Prophetes et du Cargo: note complementaire et finale'. TS.

North Solomons, 'Rapports au Propagande', 1921-36.

Poncelet, J.B., 'Journal', 1918-24, 1929-32. MS. 'Notes sur la station de Buin', 1924. MS. 'A retourner à Turiboiru', 1935. MS.

Schank, G., 'Histoire de Koromira', 1924. MS.

Seiller, C., 'Histoire de la station de Kieta', 1926. TS.

'Report of the Marist Mission to the Committee of Enquiry into Mission Affairs', 1929. TS.

Rimoldi, Maxwell R.

1971. 'The Hahalis Welfare Society of Buka'. Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University.

Roach, Kevin J.

1963. 'Colin and the New Zealand Mission, 1838-1848'. D.E.H. thesis, Gregorian University, Rome.

Vicariate Apostolic of the North Solomon Islands (from 1967, Diocese of Bougainville).

The only extensive body of documents available in this vicariate was the

Mission Education Officer's Papers, Tsiroge. This collection consists mainly of correspondence, dating from 1955, between the Catholic mission and the T.P.N.G. administration in regard to educational policy and practice. Correspondence, divided into in-coming and out-going, is arranged chronologically. The collection also contains the M.E.O.'s directives to missionaries and vicariate and district statistical summaries of school attendances. Other documents consulted in the vicariate were:

Sohano District Development Committee, minutes of first meeting, 11-12 January 1966, TS in possession of Bishop Lemay.

Lemay to Cleland, 16 August 1966. Copy in possession of Bishop Lemay.

'The Moratona Development Project'. TS at Torokina.

Grenier to National Catholic Welfare Conference, 12 August 1965, 3 May 1966. Copies at Torokina.

Baptismal registers at Turiboiru (1906-31) and Monoitu (1922-42).

Vicariate statistical summaries, 1962-73.

Minutes of Marist Fathers' meeting, 20 September 1966, and press release, 23 September 1966. Mimeograph copies in my possession.

Lebel Papers.

Vicariate Apostolic of the South Solomon Islands (from 1967, Diocese of Honiara).

Documents consulted belonging to the vicariate fell into three groups:

i. Bishop's Archives, Honiara. This collection consists mainly of letters and reports from district missionaries since 1945. Documents are broadly grouped according to the station district to which they refer. The collection also contains annual reports and statistical summaries for the vicariate as a whole. The annual reports to Propaganda date from 1934.

Other documents referred to are:

Anon., 1932. 'Vie de R.P. Babonneau'. TS.

'Journal of Malageti', 1954-56.

[De Klerk, E.?] 'Foundation and Development of the Congregation of Native Sisters of South Solomons Vicariate'. TS.

ii. Mission Education Officer's Papers, Honiara. This collection consists mainly of correspondence, dating from 1931, between the Catholic mission and the B.S.I.P. administration in regard to educational policy and practice. Documents are arranged in chronological order. The collection also contains district and vicariate statistical summaries of school attendances.

iii. Mission station records. These collections are very incomplete. Records of the Guadalcanal stations which survived the Second World War were nearly all lost in the tidal wave of 1952 while little correspondence or miscellaneous documentation has been preserved on Malaita. The fullest collection of papers is that, dating from 1914, which exists (in a poor state of

preservation) at Wanoni Bay. The principal extant local records are the following station journals:

'Journal of Wanoni Bay', from 1909.

'Journal of Rokera', from 1923.

'Journal of Buma', from 1946.

'Journal of Tarapaina', from 1949, but with an introduction covering the period from 1909.

'Journal of Tangarare', from 1952, but with an introduction relating to the 1930s.

Other important local records consulted were:

Coicaud, J., 'Des gens rachetées par le Père dans le district de Rohinari'. Vol. I. TS in my possession. Vol. II. MS at Buma.

——, 'Journal', a combination of diary extracts and memoirs relating to Marist contact with Malaita, 1901-18, but probably written in the 1920s. MS at Rohinari.

Van de Walle, B., 'History of the C[atholic] W[elfare] S[ociety]', and 'Catholic Welfare Society: Rules'. TSS at Rohinari and also, together with other relevant documents, in the Rohinari file of the bishop's archives.

Wall, J.M., 'Evidence submitted at Tarapaina land dispute hearing, 14-15 February 1955'. TS in Fr Wall's possession.

Periodicals and Newspapers

Those periodicals which have been consulted for special articles appear under 'Published Works'.

Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Rome, 1842-57.

Acta Societatis Mariae, Rome, 1947-66.

The Age, Melbourne, November 1966-February 1967.

Annales des Missions de l'Océanie, Lyons, vols. 10-13. 1898-1920.

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Lyons, 1845-57, 1898-1927.

Annales de la Société de Marie (from 1926 *Annales de Marie*), Lyons, 1924-40.

Arche d'Alliance, Paris, 1847-51.

The Australian, Sydney, February 1965.

Bougainville News (name changed to *Sol Mons* after first of five issues. Journal of lay missionaries in the North Solomons), 1965-6.

B.S.I.P. News Sheet, Honiara, 1960-73.

- Catholic Action*, North Solomons 1952-66, mimeograph.
- Catholic Missions*, Sydney, 1966.
- Catholic News*, North Solomons, 1958-66.
- The Catholic Weekly*, Sydney, 19 July 1956.
- Mirror*, Sydney, February-March 1965.
- Missions Catholiques*, Paris, 1897-1940.
- Missions des Iles*, Paris, 1946-66.
- The New Zealand Tablet*, Dunedin, 30 May 1945.
- Not in Vain*, Sydney, Jubilee Issue, 1954.
- The Pacific Islands Monthly*, Sydney, 1930-69.
- The Rabaul Times*, 25 November 1932.
- Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List*, 1844-56.
- South Seas Weekly*, 25 January 1930.
- Sydney Morning Herald*, 1844-56.
- Turupatu* ['News'], South Solomons, 1911-42 (English summary by J.M. Wall).

Official Sources

- Allan, Colin H.
1957. *Customary Land Tenure in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate* (Report of the Special Lands Commission), Honiara.
- Australian War Memorial Archives
Pethebridge to Minister of Defence, 1915. Reports on the Australian Military administration of New Guinea.
- British Solomon Islands Protectorate
Annual and Biennial Reports, 1912-72, London.
- Blue Books*, 1923-38, Suva.
- Handbook of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate*, 2nd ed., Suva, 1923.
- Department of Education, *Annual and Triennial Reports* 1957-66, Honiara.
- , 1960. *A Short History of the Solomon Islands*, Honiara.
- White Paper*, no. 3, *Educational Policy*, Honiara, 1962.
- 'Malaita Annual Report, 1944'.
- 'Malaita Annual Report, 1945'.
- 'Report on Marching Rule', 9 October 1946, enclosed in 'Malaita Annual Report, 1946'.

'San Cristobal Annual Report, 1947'.

'Intelligence Report on Marching Rule Activities in North Malaita', November 1949, enclosing a document presented to Headman Maekali in the Malu'u area, November 1949.

'Intelligence Report on Marching Rule Activities in North Malaita', January 1950.

As the documents in the six entries above are not officially available, their location has not been cited.

Anti-Marching Rule leaflets. Catholic mission press, Tanagai.

Catholic Church

1972. *The Official Year Book of the Catholic Church in Australia and Papua-New Guinea, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands*, 1972. Sydney.

Chinnery, E.W. Pearson

n.d. [1930]. *Territory of New Guinea Anthropological Report, No. 5. Notes on the natives of South Bougainville and Mortlocks (Taku)*, Canberra.

Colonial Office

Original Correspondence, Western Pacific, 1877-1913 (C.O. 225). Microfilm, National Library of Australia.

1962. *Among Those Present: the official story of the Pacific Islands at War*, 2nd edition, Honiara.

Commonwealth of Australia, Territory of New Guinea

Reports, 1914-72.

France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères,

Archives Diplomatiques, Correspondance Commerciale, Sydney, vol. 1. (1842-47).

German New Guinea

Annual Reports, 1901-13. TS English translation by H.A. Thomson in the National Library of Australia.

Groenewegen, K.

1970. *Report on the Census of the Population of the British Solomon Islands 1970*, Honiara.

Groves, William C.

[1940]. 'Report on a Survey of Education in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate'. W.P.H.C. MP2736 of 1939.

Innes, J.R.

1938. *Report of Leprosy Survey of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate*, Suva.

McArthur, Norma

1961. *Report on the Population Census of 1959* (B.S.I.P.), Honiara.

Marquand, W.J.

'Community Development in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate with particular reference to the Marching Rule Movement on the Island of Malaita'. Papers delivered at the Second Devonshire Course, London,

1949-50. Mimeograph, photocopy in my possession.

Naval Intelligence Division (Great Britain)

1944. *Pacific Islands*. Geographical Handbook Series, vol. 3, London.

Papua New Guinea, National Archives

Bougainville district patrol reports, 1943-55.

Parliamentary Papers (Great Britain)

1928-9. [C. 3248]: 'British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Report of Commissioner appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to inquire into the circumstances in which murders took place in 1927 of Government Officials on Guadalcanal and Malaita'.

n.d. 'Correspondence relating to the Solomon Islands [1899-1903]'. Copy in Mitchell Library.

Phillips, F.B.

1929. 'Report of the Commissioner appointed to inquire into mission policies and activities and the maintenance of peace and good order in the district of Kieta'. Commonwealth Archives Office, Australia, Series A 518, item H 840/1/3. Other relevant documents also are in this file and in Series A 1, item 822/1.

Royal Navy

Australian Station, Vol. 16, Pacific Islands. 'H.M.S. Dart: Report of proceedings since 5 October 1883'. Photocopy.

Sinclair, Alex

1957. *Field and Clinical Survey Report of the Mental Health of the Indigenous of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea*, Port Moresby.

Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Administration

30 September 1966. 'Current Events'. Bulletin no. 1, with attachments (a) 'Mining Ordinance Commentary' and (b) 'Statement by the Assistant Administrator (Services) on the A.B.C. Report of a Meeting of Roman Catholic Priests in Bougainville'. Mimeograph in my possession.

Webb, William

1943. 'Summary of facts and findings from the report of Japanese atrocities and breaches of the rules of warfare in the neighbourhood of the Territory of New Guinea and Papua'. National Library of Australia.

Western Pacific High Commission

Inward Correspondence, General, 1896-1942. W.P.H.C. archives, Suva.

Published Works

Allan, C.H.

1951. 'Marching Rule: a nativistic cult of the British Solomon Islands'. *Corona*, vol. 3.

Allen, Jerry and Conrad Hurd

n.d., *Languages of the Bougainville District*, Port Moresby.

Amherst of Hackney and Basil Thomson (eds.)

1901. *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Alvaro de Mendana*. London, 2 vols.

- Anon.
n.d. *District Clergy in Melanesia*. Melanesian Mission, Southern Cross Booklet No. 3. London.
- Anon.
1892. 'Obituary of Ambrosoli'. *Illustrated Biographical Sketches, Memoirs, etc.* Sydney.
- Anon.
1932. *Soeurs Missionnaires de la Société de Marie*. Lyons.
- Anon.
1932. *The Marist Missions in the South Seas*, Lyons.
- Anon.
1934. *Pontife et Victime: Monseigneur Collomb de la Société de Marie*. Lyons.
- Belshaw, Cyril S.
1947. 'Native Politics in the Solomon Islands'. *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 20.
1948. 'The Postwar Solomon Islands'. *Far Eastern Survey*, vol. 17.
1950. *Island Administration in the South West Pacific: government and reconstruction in New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and the British Solomon Islands*. London.
1954. *Changing Melanesia: social economics of culture contact*. Melbourne.
1958. 'The Significance of Modern Cults in Development'. In William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (ed.), *Reader in Comparative Religion: an anthropological approach*, Evanston.
- Bernatzik, Hugo A.
1936. *Owa Raha*. Vienna.
- Bertin, [Joseph]
1928. 'Villages chrétiens de Guadalcanal dans la district de Tangarare'. *Missions Catholiques*.
- Binois, A.
1925. 'Histoire de la Mission de Choiseul'. *Missions Catholiques*.
- Black, Robert H.
1963. 'Christianity as a Cross-Cultural Bond in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate as seen in the Russell Islands'. *Oceania* vol. 33.
- Blackwood, Beatrice
1935. *Both Sides of Buka Passage: an ethnographical study of social, sexual and economic questions in the north-western Solomon Islands*. Oxford.
- Bouillon, P.
1915-16. 'Etude sur le dialecte de Sugu (Guadalcanal)', *Anthropos*, vols. 10-11.
- Burnett, Frank
1911. *Through Polynesia and Papua: wanderings with a camera in southern seas*. London.

- Burton, Katherine
1947. *Difficult Star: the life of Pauline Jaricot*. New York.
- Campbell, Phyllis V.
1943. *Marist Missions, North Solomons*. Sydney.
- Capell, A.
1962. *A Linguistic Survey of the South-western Pacific*. South Pacific Commission Technical Paper, No. 136, 2nd ed. Noumea.
- Cochrane, Glynn
1970. *Big Men and Cargo Cults*. Oxford.
- Codrington, R. H.
1881. 'Religious Beliefs and Practices in Melanesia'. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. 10.
1891. *The Melanesians: studies in their anthropology and folk-lore*. Oxford.
- Colebatch, H. K.
1967. 'Educational Policy and Political Development in Australian New Guinea'. In R. W. J. Selleck (ed.), *Melbourne Studies in Education*. Melbourne.
- Cormack, James E.
1944. *Isles of Solomon*. Washington.
- Corris, Peter
1973. *Passage, Port and Plantation: a history of Solomon Islands labour migration, 1870-1914*. Melbourne.
- Coste, J.
1965. *Lectures on Society of Mary History (Marist Fathers), 1786-1854*. Rome.
- Courtais, E.
1929. 'L'Ame Mélanésienne'. In *L'Ame des Peuples à Evangéliser: compte rendu de la sixième semaine de missiologie de Louvain 1928*. Louvain.
- Darnand, J.
1934. *Aux Iles Samoa: La Forêt qui s'illumine*. Lyons.
- Davenport, William and Gülbün Coker
1967. 'The Moro Movement of Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands Protectorate'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 76.
- Davidson, J. W. and Deryck Scarr (eds.)
1970. *Pacific Islands Portraits*. Canberra.
- de Bigault, G.
1947. *Drames de la Vie Salomonaïse*. Namur.
- de Vaulx, Bernard
1951. *Histoire des Missions Catholiques Françaises*. Paris.
- Dewdney, Micheline
1969. *The Contribution of Voluntary Aid Organisations to the Development of New Guinea 1966-67*. New Guinea Research Unit Bulletin No. 26. Canberra.

- Dickinson, Joseph H.C.
1927. *A Trader in the Savage Solomons: a record of romance and adventure*. London.
- Dorsey, George A.
1909. 'A visit to the German Solomon Islands'. In *Putman Anniversary Volume*. New York.
- Dupeyrat, André
1935. *Papouasie: histoire de la mission (1885-1935)*. Paris.
- [Ephrem, Brother]
1943a. 'A Marist Brother Missioner in the Solomon Islands'. In *Red and White*.
1943b. 'Marist Brothers in the Solomons'. In *St. Joseph's College Annual*.
- Essai, Brian
1961. *Papua and New Guinea: a contemporary survey*. Melbourne.
- Feldt, Eric
1967. *The Coast Watchers*. 2nd ed., Melbourne.
- Fingleton, Wally
1970. 'Bougainville: a chronicle of just grievances'. *New Guinea*, vol. 5, no. 2.
- Firth, Raymond
1940. 'The Analysis of "Mana": an empirical approach'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 40.
- Fisk, E.K. (ed.)
1966. *New Guinea on the Threshold: aspects of social, political, and economic development*. Canberra.
- Fox, C.E.
1924. *The Threshold of the Pacific: an account of the social organization, magic and religion of the people of San Cristobal in the Solomon Islands*. London.
1958. *Lord of the Southern Isles: being the story of the Anglican mission in Melanesia, 1849-1949*. London.
1962. *Kakamora*. London.
1967. *The Story of the Solomons*. Taroaniara, B.S.I.P.
- Freytag, Walter
1940. *Spiritual Revolution in the East*. London.
- Geerts, P.J.
1968. 'The History of the People of Oau'. *Solomon Islands Farmer*, vol. 4, no. 4.
1970. *Are Are Dictionary*. Canberra.
- Grisward, J.
1910. 'Notes Grammaticales sur la langue de Telei, Bougainville, Iles Salomones'. *Anthropos*, vol. 5.

- Guiart, Jean
1962. 'The Millenarian Aspect of Conversion to Christianity in the South Pacific'. In Thrupp, Sylvia L. (ed.) *Millenial Dreams in Action: essays in comparative study*. Comparative Studies in Society and History, Supplement II. The Hague.
- Guppy, H.B.
1887a. *The Solomon Islands and their Geology*. London.
1887b. *The Solomon Islands and their Natives*. London.
- Gwen, Sister M.
1956. *God, Truth and Thirteen (A Conversion Story)*. Melbourne.
- Hagai, Francis
1966. 'Explaining Hahalis'. *New Guinea*. vol. 1, no. 1.
- Hannett, L.
1970. 'The Church and nationalism'. In Marion W. Ward (ed.) *The Politics of Melanesia*. Canberra.
- Harding, Thomas G.
1967. *Voyagers of the Vitiaz Strait: a study of a New Guinea trade system*. Seattle and London.
- Hastings, Adrian
1967. *Church and Mission in Modern Africa*. London.
- Healy, A.M.
1966. 'Administration in the British Solomon Islands'. *Journal of Administration Overseas*, vol. 5.
- Hilliard, David
1969. 'The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands: the foundation years'. *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 4.
- Hobbs, William Herbert
1945. *The Fortress Islands of the Pacific*. Ann Arbor.
- Hogbin, H. Ian
1934. 'Cultural Change in the Solomon Islands: report of field work in Guadalcanal and Malaita'. *Oceania*, vol. 4.
1936. 'Mana'. *Oceania*, vol. 6.
1938a. 'Social Advancement in Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands'. *Oceania*, vol. 8.
1938b. 'Social Organization of Guadalcanal and Florida, Solomon Islands'. *Oceania*, vol. 8.
1939. *Experiments in Civilization: the effects of European culture on a native community of the Solomon Islands*. London.
1944. 'Native Councils and Native Courts in the Solomon Islands'. *Oceania*, vol. 14.
1964. *A Guadalcanal Society: the Kaoka Speakers*. New York.

- Hopkins, A.I.
1928. *In the Isles of King Solomon: an account of twenty-five years spent amongst the primitive Solomon Islanders*. London.
- Horton, D.C.
1965. *The Happy Isles: a diary of the Solomons*. London.
- Hosie, John
1968. 'The Marist Fathers in Australia: the first ten years, 1837-1847'. *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, vol. 2, no. 3.
- Hosie, Stanley W.
1967. *Anonymous Apostle: the life of Jean Claude Colin, Marist*. New York.
- Hungerford, Tom
1950. 'The Nuns' Patrol'. *Stand-To*, vol. 1, no. 7.
- Ivens, W.G.
1927. *Melanesians of the South-east Solomon Islands*. London.

1930. *The Island Builders of the Pacific: how & why the people of Mala construct their artificial islands, the antiquity & doubtful origin of the practice, with a description of the social organization, magic & religion of their inhabitants*. London.
- Jack-Hinton, Colin
1969. *The Search for the Islands of Solomon, 1567-1838*. London.
- Jacomb, Edward
1919. *The Future of the Kanaka*. Westminster.
- Kelly, Celsus
1965. *Calendar of Documents: Spanish voyages in the South Pacific . . . and the Franciscan missionary plans . . .* Madrid.
- Keesing, Roger M.
1958. 'Chiefs in a chiefless society: the ideology of modern Kwaio politics'. *Oceania*, vol. 28.

1967. 'Christians and Pagans in Kwaio, Malaita', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 76.
- Keys, Lillian
1957. *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier*. Christchurch.

1968. *Philip Viard, Bishop of Wellington*. Wellington.
- Kiki, Albert Maori
1968. *Kiki: ten thousand years in a lifetime*. Melbourne.
- Laracy, Hugh M.
1968. 'The Archives of the Marist Fathers — an untapped source of material on the history of the Pacific'. *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 3.

1969b. 'The First Mission to Tikopia'. *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 4.

1970. 'Xavier Montrouzier: a missionary in Melanesia, 1845-97'. In J.W. Davidson and Deryck Scarr (eds.) *Pacific Island Portraits*. Canberra.

1971. 'Marching Rule and the Missions'. *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 6.
and Patrick O'Reilly, 1972. *Bibliographie des ouvrages publiés par les missions maristes des Iles Salomon*. Paris.
- Laurent, François
1931. 'Un drame apostolique aux Iles Salomon'. *Xavériana*, series 9, no. 95. Louvain.
1932. 'Recommencements aux Iles Salomon'. *Xavériana*, series 9, no. 104, Louvain.
- Laycock, Don
1969. *Akaru: traditional Buin songs*. Port Moresby.
- Lawrence, Peter
1964. *Road Belong Cargo: a study of the cargo movement in the southern Madang district, New Guinea*. Manchester.
1967. 'Politics and "True Knowledge" . . . When God is Managing Director?'. *New Guinea*, vol. 2, no. 1.
- Lawrence, P., and M.J. Meggitt
1965. *Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia: some religions of Australian New Guinea and the New Hebrides*. Melbourne.
- Leckie, Robert
1966. *Challenge for the Pacific: Guadalcanal, the turning point of the war*. London.
- Long, Gavin
1963. *The Final Campaigns*. Canberra.
- Luxton, C.T.J.
1955. *Isles of Solomon: a tale of missionary adventure*. Auckland.
- McGlinchey, Joseph F. (ed.)
1921. *The Conversion of the Pagan World*. Boston.
- McHardy, Emmet
1935. *Blazing the Trail in the Solomons*. Providence, R.I.
- Mackenzie, S.S.
1927. *The Australians at Rabaul: the capture and administration of the German possessions in the South Pacific*. Sydney.
- McKinnon, K.R.
1968. 'Education in Papua and New Guinea: the twenty postwar years'. *The Australian Journal of Education*, vol. 12.
- McLaren, Jack
1923. *My Odyssey*. London.
- Macquarrie, Hector
1946. *Vouza and the Solomon Islands*. Sydney.
- Mair, Lucy
1948. *Australia in New Guinea*. London.
- Mander, Linden A.
1954. *Some Dependent Peoples of the South Pacific*. Leiden.

- Marwick, J.G.
1935. *The Adventures of John Renton*. Kirkwall.
- [Mayet, C.]
n.d. [1895]. *Auguste Marceau: capitaine de frégate, commandant de l'Arche d'Alliance*. Paris, 2 vols.
- Meagher, J.L.
1936. 'Unrest in the Solomons. The story of an imposture. Bolshevistic Europeans and the Missions'. *Catholic Leader*, 20, 27 February, 5, 12, 19 March. Brisbane.
- Meere, Peter V.
1968. 'The development and present state of mission education in Papua and New Guinea'. *The Australian Journal of Education*, vol. 12.
- Melanesian Mission
[1946]. *The Community of the Cross*. London.
- Miles, J.A.
1959. 'The Development of Native Education in Papua and New Guinea'. *South Pacific*, vol. 10.
- Miller, John
1949. *Guadalcanal: the first offensive*. Washington.
- Monfat, A.
1891. *Dix Années en Mélanésie: étude historique et religieuse*. Lyons.
1893. *Les Tonga, ou Archipel des Amis, et le R.P. Joseph Chevron, de la Société de Marie: étude historique et religieuse*. Lyons.
- Montauban, Paul
1948. 'Le grand rêve Buka depuis la guerre: s'emparer du cargo'. *Missions des Iles*, no. 15.
- Montauban, P. and Patrick O'Reilly
1952 and 1955. 'Mythes de Buka, Iles Salomon'. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, vols. 8 and 9.
- Montrouzier, Xavier
1892. *Notice sur le R.P. Joseph Thomassin, missionnaire apostolique de la Société de Marie, et sur les premières missions de la Mélanésie qui ont été le théâtre de son apostolat*. New Caledonia.
- Moore, D.J.
1963. *Report of Visit to Station Schools, 1963*. Honiara.
1964. *Catholic Education, South Solomons, 1964*. Honiara.
1965. *Catholic Education, South Solomons, 1965*. Honiara.
- Morrell, W.P.
1960. *Britain in the Pacific Islands*. Oxford.
- Moses, J.A.
1969. 'The German Empire in Melanesia, 1884-1914: a German Self-analysis'. In Second Waigani Seminar, *The History of Melanesia*. Canberra.

- Moss, Rosalind
1925. *The Life after Death in Oceania and the Malay Archipelago*. London.
- Mueller, A.
1954. 'Grammar and Vocabulary of the Konua Language'. *Micro-Bibliotheca, Anthropos*, no. 12.
- Murphy, Patrick
1969. 'Holy Spirit Regional Seminary'. *The Word in the World, 1969: New Guinea*. Rome.
- Neill, Stephen
1964. *A History of Christian Missions*. Harmondsworth.
1966. *Colonialism and Christian Missions*. London.
- Nock, A.D.
1961. *Conversion: the old and the new in religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*. London (2nd ed.).
- Ogan, Eugene
1971. 'Charisma and Race'. In A.L. Epstein *et al.* (eds.), *The Politics of Dependence: Papua New Guinea, 1968*. Canberra.
1972. *Business and Cargo: socio-economic change among the Nasioi of Bougainville*. New Guinea Research Unit Bulletin no. 44. Canberra.
- Oliver, Douglas L.
1949. *Studies in the Anthropology of Bougainville*. Peabody Museum Papers, vol. 29, no. 1-4. Cambridge, Mass.
1951. *The Pacific Islands*. Cambridge, Mass.
1955. *A Solomon Island Society: kinship and leadership among the Siwai of Bougainville*. Cambridge, Mass.
1973. *Bougainville: a personal history*. Melbourne.
- Oliver, Roland
1952. *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. London.
- O'Reilly, Patrick
1930. 'La Société de l'Océanie (1844-54)'. *Revue d'Histoire des Missions*, vol. 7.
1931. 'Un Missionnaire Naturaliste: Xavier Montrouzier'. *Revue d'Histoire des Missions*, vol. 7.
1937. 'Sorcellerie et Civilisation Européenne aux Iles Salomon'. In *La Sorcellerie dans les Pays de Mission: rapport français de la XIV^e semaine de missiologie de Louvain, 1936*. Brussels.
1948. 'Malaita: un exemple de revendications indigènes'. *Missions des Iles*, no. 15.
- O'Reilly, P. and Jean-Marie Sédès
1949. *Jaunes, Noirs et Blancs: trois années de guerre aux îles Salomon*. Paris.

- [Paget, J.]
1915. *Le P. Paget (1816-1847): de Sonnaz à San Cristobal*. Chambéry.
- Parnaby, O.W.
1964. *Britain and the Labor Trade in the Southwest Pacific*. Durham, N.C.
- Parsonson, G.S.
1967. 'The Literate Revolution in Polynesia'. *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 2.
- Peterson, Nicolas
1966. 'The Church Council of South Mala: a legitimized form of Masinga Rule'. *Oceania*, vol. 36.
- Piolet, J.B. (ed.)
1902. *La France au dehors: les missions Catholiques françaises au XIX siècle*, vol. 4 (*Oceania*). Paris.
- Raucaz, L.M.
1925. *Vingt-cinq années d'apostolat aux Iles Salomon Méridionales*. Lyons.
1928. *In the Savage South Solomons: the story of a mission*. New York.
- Rausch, J.
1912. 'Die Sprache von Sudost-Bougainville, Deutsch Salomon inseln'. *Anthropos*, vol. 7.
- Richardson, Amy R.
1943. *There came to the Solomons*. Sydney.
- Rivers, W.H.R.
1914. *The History of Melanesian Society*. 2 vols., Cambridge.
1922. *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*. Cambridge.
- Ross, Angus
1964. *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford.
- Rowley, C.D.
1958. *The Australians in German New Guinea, 1914-1921*. Melbourne.
1965. *The New Guinea Villager*. Melbourne.
- Rozier, Claude
1961. 'La Première Mission Catholique aux Iles Salomon (Décembre 1845-Septembre 1847)'. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, vol. 17.
- Russell of Liverpool, Lord
1958. *Knights of Bushido: a short history of Japanese war crimes*. London.
- Ryan, John
1969. *The Hot Land: focus on New Guinea*. Melbourne.
- Sack, P.
1969. 'Land Law and Land Policy in German New Guinea'. In Second Waigani Seminar, *The History of Melanesia*. Canberra.

- Sahlins, Marshall D.
1966. 'Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: political types in Melanesia and Polynesia'. In Hogbin, Ian and L.R. Hiatt (eds.), *Readings in Australian and Pacific Anthropology*. Melbourne.
- Scarr, Deryck
1967. *Fragments of Empire: a history of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914*. Canberra.
- Schaffer, Bernard
1966. 'The British Solomons'. *New Guinea*, vol. 1, no. 5.
- Scharmach, Leo
1953. *Manuale Missionariorum*. Vunapope.
1960. *This Crowd Beats us all*. Sydney.
- Scheffler, H.W.
1964a. 'The Genesis and Repression of Conflict: Choiseul Island'. *American Anthropologist*, vol. 66.
1964b. 'The Social Consequences of Peace on Choiseul Island'. *Ethnology*, vol. 3.
1965. *Choiseul Island Social Structure*. Berkeley, Calif.
- Schwartz, Theodore
1962. 'The Paliau Movement in the Admiralty Islands, 1946-1954'. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 25, part 2.
- Shineberg, Dorothy
1967. *They Came for Sandalwood: a study of the sandalwood trade in the South-west Pacific, 1830-1865*. Melbourne.
- Shutler, Mary Elizabeth and Richard Shutler
1967. 'Origins of the Melanesians'. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania*, vol. 2.
- Six, Jean-François
1965. *Un Prêtre, Antoine Chevrier: fondateur du Prado, 1826-1879*. Paris.
- Stewart, Andrew G.
1956. *Trophies from Cannibal Isles*. Washington.
- Suigo, Carlo
1964. *Sangue su la Gazelle: biografia del servo di Dio Padre Giovanni Mazzucconi*. Milan.
1965. *Scritti del servo di Dio, P. Giovanni Mazzucconi*. Milan.
- Sweeting, A.J.
1961. 'Montevideo Maru — Myth or Merchantman?' *Australian Territories*, vol. 1, no. 2.
- Thurnwald, R.C.
1934. 'Pigs and Currency in Buin'. *Oceania*, vol. 5.
1936a. 'The Price of the White Man's Peace'. *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 9.

- 1936b. *Profane Literature of Buin, Solomon Islands*. Yale University Publication in Anthropology, no. 8. New Haven.
- Tippett, A.R.
1967. *Solomon Islands Christianity: a study in growth and obstruction*. London.
- Todd, John M.
1962. *African Mission: a historical study of the Society of African Missions*. London.
- Townsend, G.W.L.
1968. *District Officer: from untamed New Guinea to Lake Success, 1921-46*. Sydney.
- Tragella, Giov. Batt.
1947. *Carlo Salerio Apostolo della Fede e della 'Riparazione' 1827-1870*. Milan.
- Uberoi, J.P. Singh
1962. *Politics of the Kula Ring: an analysis of the findings of Bronislaw Malinowsky*. Manchester.
- Van der Veur, Paul W.
1966. *Search for New Guinea's Boundaries: from Torres Strait to the Pacific*. Canberra.
- Van Dusen, Henry P.
1945. *They Found the Church There: the armed forces discover Christian missions in the Pacific*. London.
- Verguet, L.
1861. *Histoire de la Première Mission Catholique au Vicariat de Mélanésie*. 2nd ed., Paris.
1883. *Grand Archipel des Iles Salomon: son étendue, sa fertilité*. Marseille.
- Ward, R. Gerard (ed.)
1967. *American Activities in the Central Pacific, 1790-1870: a history, geography and ethnography pertaining to American involvement and Americans in the Pacific, taken from contemporary newspapers, etc.* Ridgewood, N.J., vol. 4.
- Watson, Charles H.
1926. *Cannibals and Headhunters: victories of the Gospel in the South Seas*. Washington.
- Webster, John
n.d. *The Last Cruise of the Wanderer*. Sydney.
- West, F.J.
1966. 'The Historical Background' in E.K. Fisk (ed.), *New Guinea on the Threshold: aspects of social, political and economic development*. Canberra.
- Willey, Keith
1965. *Assignment New Guinea*. Brisbane.

- Wilson, Cecil
1932. *The Wake of the Southern Cross: work and adventures in the South Seas*. London.
- Wiltgen, Ralph M.
1969. 'A Difficult Mission'. *The Word in the World, 1969: New Guinea*. Rome.
- Woodford, Charles Morris
1890. *A Naturalist among the Head-Hunters: being an account of three visits to the Solomon Islands in the years 1886, 1887 and 1888*. London.
- Worsley, Peter
1957. *The Trumpet Shall Sound: a study of 'cargo' cults in Melanesia*. London.
- Young, Florence S.H.
1926. *Pearls from the Pacific*. London.

Index

- Allan, Colin Hamilton, 125, 131, 132, 133
 Alley, Rev. D.C., 111
 Ambrosoli, Fr. Angelo, 30
 American Catholic Relief Services, 157
 Anglican Mission, and followers, 7, 12, 36, 40, 42, 43, 44-5, 46-7, 50, 68, 74, 84, 90, 98, 110, 126, 129, 132, 133, 134, 148, 152, 156, 161, 162-3
Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, 16, 100
 Archer, F.P., 112
 Are Are, 5, 8, 48, 73, 76-7, 122-34 *passim*
 Ashley, F.N., 108
 Australia and the Solomons, 36, 37, 59-60, 89-93, 110-1, 121, 135, 139-43, 145-50, 157
 'Baby Garden', 135-8
 Baddeley, Bishop Walter, 110, 162
 Banks Islands, 5
 Bartholémy, Sister, TORM, 75
 Bell, W. R., 49, 72, 79, 126
 Bougainville I., 3, 4, 7, 37, 51, 53, 54-64, 65, 66, 69, 71, 78, 86-9, 91, 92, 110-1, 113, 140-3, 157, 160
 Bougainville, Louis Antoine de, 11
 Borneo, 30
 Breton, Fr. Marie Joseph, SM, 70
 Breheret, Fr. Jean Baptiste, SM, 70
 Britain and the Solomons, 37, 38, 89-93, 107-11, 124-5, 127, 129, 130, 135, 144-7, 150-6
 Brown, Rev. H.G., 60
 Buin, 56-7, 60, 67, 72, 75, 79-81, 107, 115, 146
 Buka I., 4, 37, 52, 54, 61, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 84-8, 91, 92, 97, 107, 110-12, 115, 122, 135-41, 176 n.34
 Burns, Tommy, 122
 Carteret, Philip, 11
 Catechists, 50, 61-2, 80, 93, 96-109, 128, 129, 130-1, 132, 148, 160
 Catholic Welfare Society, 131-4
 Caulton, Bishop S.G., 162-3
 Cayle, Capt., 22
 Chanel, Fr. Pierre, SM, 13, 16
 China, 11, 157
 Chinese, 110
 Chinnery, W.P., 63
 Choiseul I., 3, 37, 44, 51, 57, 58-9, 66, 69, 160, 161
 Claire, Sister, TORM, 53
 Clergy and religious, Solomon Islands, 70, 89, 107, 109, 158-60, 184 n.2
 Codrington, Rev. R.H., 5
 Colin, Fr. Jean-Claude, SM, 13, 28, 101
 Colman-Porter, C.A., 151-2
 Colonial Office Advisory Committee on

- Education, 108
 Community of the Sisters of the Cross, 162
 Copper mining, 142-3
 Corti, Br. Giuseppe, 30
 Couppé, Bishop Louis, MSC, 51
 Crawford, Bishop Eusebius, OP, 161
 Cropp, Rev. Allan H., 60, 61, 62
 Cuarteron, Fr. Carlo, 30
- Daughters of Mary Immaculate, 77, 107, 158-9, 163
 de Boismenu, Bishop Alain, MSC, 157
 Deck, Rev. Norman, 47, 74, 81, 128
 De Rays, Marquis, 38
 disease, 3, 19-20, 22, 27, 35, 40, 45, 53, 54, 67, 77, 78, 82, 83, 91
 Doellinger, August, 37, 56, 92, 94
 Dominicans (Order of Preachers), 144, 161, 162
 Dubois, Fr L.L., SM, 101
 Du Bouzet, Joseph, 15
 D'Urville, Dumont, 15, 17
- Education. *See* schools and languages.
Evangelii Praecones (encyclical), 134
- Fallowes, Rev. R.P., 88, 122, 128
 Fauro I., 58
 Feldt, Eric, 116
 Fiji, 12, 35, 36, 38, 40, 42, 46, 70, 99, 109, 147, 152-3, 159; Fijians, 39, 40, 96
 Firth, Raymond, 6
 Fox, Rev. Charles Edward, 46, 71, 132
 Freedom from Hunger Campaign, 142
 Freytag, Walter, 69
 Futuna I., 13
- Gela I., 36, 40, 50, 122, 162
 German Missions Ordinance, 1926, 59
 Germany and the Solomons, 37, 38, 51-60 *passim*, 69, 85, 90, 92, 111, 145, 146
 Gilbertese, 161
 Goldie, Rev. John Francis, 58-9
 Good, Percy, 111
 Gordon, Rev. G.N., 29
 Gregory-Smith, H.G., 132-3
 Grimes, Capt., 22
 Groves, William C., 88, 95, 109, 145, 148
 Guadalcanal I., 3, 7, 39-45, 49, 50, 66, 68, 75, 78, 84, 88, 91, 95, 98, 113, 114, 115, 143, 160, 163
- Guiart, Jean, 67
 Gwen of the Cross, Sister, 162
- Hahalis Welfare Society, 135-8, 162
 Hahl, Governor Albert, 54-6
 Hayden, Howard, 152-3
 Heffernan, N.S., 58
 Henderson Field (Lunga), 113-14, 160
 Hennessy, Fr. James, 107, 111, 113
 Hogbin, H. Ian, 82, 126
 Honiara, 144, 146, 155, 160
- Ignace, Sister, TORM, 53
 Irenée, Sister, TORM, 75
 Ishimoto, T., 113
- Japanese, 88, 110-17
 Jaricot, Pauline, 12
 Johnson, Jack, 122
- Kakabona, 78-9, 103
 Keating, Samuel, 39, 40
 Kieta. *See* Mission establishments, Catholic.
 Komponing, 8
- Labourers and labour trade, Solomon Islands, 36-46 *passim*, 51, 53-4, 67, 68, 81, 84, 94, 97, 106, 122-3, 125, 161
 Languages: Solomon Islands, 4, 52, 71, 95, 100, 178 n. 27; English, 61-3, 69, 71, 83-4, 97, 108, 115, 138, 148, 155; German, 69, 92; Japanese, 112
 Laughlan I., 23, 28
 Lawrence, Peter, 5
 Laycock, Jack, 79, 81
 League of Nations, 59, 145
 Little Brothers of Mary, 150
 Little Sisters of Nazareth, 107, 158-9
 London Missionary Society (L.M.S.), 12, 16
- McMillan, Donald, 47
 Malaita I., 3-9 *passim*, 36, 39, 41, 43, 45, 48-50, 66, 68, 72, 73, 76, 79, 95, 110, 114, 122-34, 143, 160, 161
 Mamaregu, 59
 Manus I., 121
 Maravovo, 7, 43, 44
 Marching Rule, 121-34, 138, 165
 Margaret of the Cross, Mother, 162-3, 184 n.9
 Marist Brothers of the Schools, 92, 107,

- 108, 113-15, 147, 148, 150, 155, 156, 159
- Marist Mission Medical Society, 92
- Marriage, 52-3, 72-3, 74-6, 80, 89, 93, 104, 136, 146, 160
- Masterman, S. G., 131
- Mazzucconi, Fr. Giovanni, 30
- Meagher, Dr J. Luxford, 91
- Medical work, 19, 39, 78, 90-2, 108, 146, 159, 160, 161
- Melanesian Mission. See Anglican Mission.
- Mendaña, Alvaro de, 9-12, 123
- Metcalfe, Rev. John, 73
- Methodist Mission and followers, 36, 43, 44, 47, 58, 60, 72, 73, 84, 85, 90-1, 110-13 *passim*, 122, 139, 140-2, 146, 152, 155, 156, 161, 164
- Missionaires du Sacré Coeur d'Issoudun, 38, 56
- Missionaries, Marist (* in Vicariate of Melanesia):
- Allotte, Fr François, SM, 56; Aristide, Br., SM, * 25; Aubin, Bishop Jean-Marie, SM, 50, 73, 90-1, 95, 103, 105, 110, 113, 114, 133, 134, 147, 148, 154, 160, 161, 163; Babonneau, Fr. Emile, SM, 46, 76, 78, 105; Bertet, Fr. Joseph, SM, 59; Bertin, Fr. Joseph, SM, 93; Bertreux, Bishop Jean Ephrem, SM, 39, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 73, 75, 84, 96, 97-9; Binois, Fr. Albert, SM, 59; Boch, Fr. Maurice, SM, 57-9, 61-4, 69, 70, 72, 85, 90-1, 160; Boudard, Fr. Jean, SM, 68-9, 70, 71, 93; Bouillon, Fr. Pierre, SM, 77, 98; Broyer, Bishop Guillaume, SM, 50-2, 57; Chaize, Fr. Leon, SM, 61, 63, 71; Chatelet, Fr. Joseph, SM, 43; Coicaud, Fr. Donatien, SM, 49, 71, 102; Coicaud, Fr. Jean, SM, 48-9, 71, 72, 73, 76; Collomb, Bishop Jean-George, SM, * 15, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25; Conley, Fr. John, SM, 62, 64, 70, 115, 139-40; Crey, Fr. Cyprien, SM, * 19, 20; Ducretet, Fr. Eugène, SM, * 26; de Klerk, Fr. Emery, SM, 105, 114, 178 n.27; Demers, Fr. Paul, SM, 140-1; Dionne, Fr. Roland, SM, 140; Dwyer, Br. George, SM, 97; Englert, Fr. Eugene, SM, 51, 54; Epalle, Bishop Jean-Baptiste, SM, * 14, 15, 16-18, 19, 30, 38, 41; Flaus, Fr. Charles, SM, 51, 92; Forestier, Fr. Joseph, SM, 54, 60, 61, 75, 92; Fremont, Fr. Jean-Pierre, SM, * 16, 18, 19, 21, 25, 27, 28, 29; Geerts, Fr. Peter, SM, 129, 130, 132; Gennade, Br., SM, * 29; Gickshaff, Br. Franz, SM, 59; Graton, Fr. Henri, SM, 97, 105, 106; Guilloux, Fr. Ferdinand, SM, 42, 83, 100, 104; Halbwachs, Fr. Joseph, SM, 79, 101; Hyacinthe, Br., SM, * 20; Jaquet, Fr. Claude, SM, * 20; Lamarre, Fr. Joseph, SM, 136; La Pointe, Fr. Gerard, SM, 139-40; Lebel, Fr. Albert, SM, 102, 164; Lemay, Bishop Leo, SM, 140, 142; McConville, James, SM, 62; McHardy, Fr. Emmet, SM, 62, 78, 84; Mëntzer, Fr. William, SM, 141-2; Meyer, Fr. Pierre, SM, 55; Montauban, Fr. Paul, SM, 70, 85, 88; Montrouzier, Fr. Xavier, SM, * 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 70; Moore, Fr. Dennis, SM, 153, 155; Moreau, Fr. Samuel, SM, 46, 103-7; Mueller, Fr. Adam, SM, 63, 116-17; Optat, Br., SM, * 19, 25, 26; Paget, Fr. Jean, SM, * 20, 30; Pavese, Fr. Rinaldo Joseph, SM, 100-7, 122, 178 n.27; Pellion, Fr. Joseph, SM, 44, 71, 82; Perpezat, Fr. Jean Baptiste, SM, 56; Podevigne, Fr. Jean Baptiste, SM, 47; Poncelet, Fr. Jean Baptiste, SM, 71, 72, 91; Raucatz, Bishop Louis, SM, 5, 47, 49, 50, 67, 90-1, 93, 97-107, 163, 172 n.30; Rouillac, Fr. Pierre, SM, 40-2, 46, 54; Stuyvenberg, Bishop Daniel, SM, 134; Thomassin, Fr. Joseph, SM, * 16, 19, 24, 25, 29; Tigler, Fr. Jean, SM, 128, 131; Trapenard, Fr. Pierre, SM, * 25; Van de Walle, Fr. Bernard, SM, 129, 131, 132; Verguet, Fr. Leopold, SM, * 16, 18, 19, 30, 41; Vidal, Bishop Julian, SM, 38, 39, 43, 96; Villien, Fr. Gregoire, SM, * 25; Waché, Fr. Florent, SM, 64, 115; Wade, Bishop Thomas, SM, 62, 64, 70, 73, 85, 87, 91-2, 107, 110, 113, 115, 140, 148, 154, 157, 160; Weber, Fr. Gerhard, SM, 117

Mission establishments, Catholic:

 - Aruligo, 144, 147; Asitavi, 64, 150, 164; Ataa, 160; Avuavu, 42, 43, 50, 71, 72, 76, 93, 94, 99; Buma, 49, 50, 71, 77, 79, 92, 95, 99, 102, 124, 130, 133,

- 134; Burunotui, 57, 61-2, 84, 85, 91, 148; Carteret Is., 61; Chabai, 62, 107, 115, 148, 159; Dala, 134; Deomori, 160; Faumera, 46; Gagan, 61, 63, 85, 91, 115, 139; Gizo, 161; Cogohe, 139; Hahela, 91, 115; Haisi, 160; Hanahan, 61, 85, 135-9; Himbi, 48; Katuka, 62; Kieta, 37, 54-5, 57, 62, 82, 83, 88, 91, 92, 94, 115, 116, 142, 148, 150, 160; Konua, 63; Koromira, 7-8, 54, 57, 61, 62, 91, 94, 115; Kuraio, 64, 140, 141-2; Lemanmanu, 61, 85, 91, 139-41; Makira Bay, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 40-1, 46; Mami, 46; Manivovo, 46; Marau, 42, 45, 48, 67, 76, 108-9, 113, 117, 124, 155; Moli, 161; Monoitu, 59, 61, 91; Moratona, 141, 160; Muguai, 54, 59, 61; Nissan I., 61, 64, 70, 115; Patupatuai, 54, 56, 59, 61, 79, 80, 91, 92, 146-7; Piva, 146, 160; Poporang (including Nila), 51-4, 55, 57, 68, 74, 84, 88, 91, 92, 117, 160, 161; Pororan, 54, 84, 86; Rohinari, 48, 49, 76, 77, 99, 109, 129, 132, 134; Rokera, 49, 50, 123, 125, 128, 130, 134; Rua Sura I., 39-40, 41, 42, 46, 50, 53, 82, 94, 97, 100; Ruavatu, 50, 73, 84, 94, 114, 117; Savo I., 40, 45, 47, 77; Sipai, 61, 64, 142; Soumakarea, 45; Sovele, 59, 64, 141; Takwa, 49, 50, 130, 134; Tambatamba, 58-9; Tangarare, 40, 42, 43, 50, 67, 83, 88, 93, 94, 97, 98-107, 114, 163; Tarapaina, 48, 73, 130, 132, 133; Tarlena, 150; Tenaru, 155, 156, 159; Teop, 61; Tetera, 146, 160; Tinputz, 61, 87, 91; Torokina, 54, 57, 61, 71, 91, 95, 121, 141, 146; Tsiroge, 160; Tsuva, 160; Turiboiru, 54, 59, 61, 91; Uru, 160; Wagina I., 161; Visale, 39, 41, 44-5, 49, 50, 82-3, 97, 99, 102, 103, 113, 114, 117, 155, 163; Wanoni Bay, 46-7, 50, 78, 79, 95, 105-6, 114
- Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary (Soeurs Missionnaires de la Société de Marie), 13, 45, 46, 50, 71, 75, 91, 102, 150, 155, 159
- Missioni Estere de Milano, 28
- Mono I., 52, 57, 58, 60
- Moran, Patrick Cardinal, 38
- Murua I. (or Woodlark), 16, 22-31, 67, 70
- Myers, Archbishop, 108
- New Britain, 15, 24, 37, 51, 56, 60, 92, 107, 110, 111, 115, 135, 150, 159, 184 n.2
- New Caledonia, 14, 18, 19-20, 22, 28, 29, 67, 74
- New Georgia, 3, 36, 39, 44, 45, 47-8, 98, 122, 160, 172 n.30
- New Guinea (including Papua New Guinea), 3, 5, 12, 14-5, 17, 27, 30, 37, 38, 50-1, 59, 92, 115, 116, 145, 148, 155, 157, 159
- New Hebrides, 14, 29, 162, 163
- New Ireland, 14, 37, 38
- New Zealand, 12, 13, 15, 16, 36, 62, 63, 117, 163
- Nicholas, Fr. Jean, SM, 97
- Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, 12, 105
- Oxfam, 141
- Pako, of Murua, 23
- Patana, 132
- Pearl Harbour, 110
- Perroton, Françoise, 13
- Picpus, Fathers, 12, 13
- Pompallier, Bishop Jean-Baptiste, 13
- Ponape I., 14, 17
- Puraka, 82-3
- Queensland Kanaka Mission, 36
- Quirós, Pedro Fernández de, 11
- Rabaul. See New Britain.
- Raimondi, Fr. Limoleone, 30
- Reina, Fr. Paolo, 29
- Religious ideas and movements: Solomon Islands, 5-10, 20, 22, 42, 66-7, 69, 77-8, 81-2, 85-8, 103, 111, 125-8, 135-40, 161, 163-5; Muruan, 24-5, 28, 29; Japanese, 112
- Renton, John, 68, 175 n.5
- Richardson, Nurse Amy, 91-2
- Rieu, Fr. Ernest, SM, 101
- Rocher, Fr. Jean Louis, SM, 18
- Rose, Fritz, 51
- Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda), 13, 14, 28, 37, 38, 45, 50, 70, 107, 160
- Salerio, Fr. Carlo, 30
- Samoa, 12, 35, 37, 38, 50-53 *passim*
- Samoans, 95-6
- San Cristobal I., 3, 11, 17, 22, 23, 41, 44,

- 45, 46-7, 66, 67, 79, 114, 123, 124, 126, 129, 130, 175 n.5
- San Jorge I., 18, 41
- Schools, 39-41, 53-4, 57, 61-2, 74-6, 80, 83, 88, 92-5, 97, 106, 107-9, 112, 144-57, 159
- Sectarian rivalry, 15, 38, 39, 43-4, 46-8, 50, 51, 58-64, 72, 80, 124, 151, 161
- Seventh Day Adventist Mission and followers, 43, 44, 48, 50, 60, 62, 63, 84, 90, 104, 110, 155, 161
- Ships:
- Anonyme*, 20, 22, 23, 24; *Arche d'Alliance*, 13; *Ariadne*, 22; *Brillante*, 20; *Bussorah Merchant*, 15; *Cormoran*, 55; *Eclipse*, 40-1, 42; *Evangel*, 47; *Gazelle*, 30; *Jeanne d'Arc*, 45, 46, 96, 102, 103; *Marian Watson*, 17, 18; *Mary*, 23; *Montevideo Maru*, 111; *Southern Cross*, 36; *Tigress*, 23; *Titus*, 39; *Verdelais*, 45
- Shortland Is., 37, 43, 51-4, 57, 60, 69, 91, 115, 160, 161
- Sikaiana I., 163
- Sisters of St Joseph of California, 158
- Siwai, 7, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63-4, 84
- Société de l'Océanie, 13, 20
- Society of Mary (Société de Marie), 12, 13, 19, 25, 28, 37, 51, 62, 63, 68-72, 101, 117, 160
- Solomon Islanders:
- Abaramo, 105; Aike, Fr. Michael, 159; Akuaku, 55; Apotu, 54; Apui, John, 130-1; Araiasi, 48-9, 72; Arisimae, Petero, 48, 73, 77, 123, 128; Arouteia, 21; Asipara, Michael, 131; Babala, 80; Bile, 42; Bitiai, 53, 96; Boko, Toma, 103, 104; Ferguson, 51; Gona, 43; Gorai, 52, 68, 96; Hagai, Francis, 136-8; Hannett, Leo, 157; Hoasihau, 123, 131; Iava'o, 48; 'Joseph', 46; Kagaba, Antonio, 80; Kaihione, Petero, 76; Kaihoa, Juliano, 131; Kaleba, 79; Kisu ('Master Hell'), 87, 88; Kisu, 79; Kokobi, 44, 82; Kole, Paolo, 104, 105, 106; Kopana, 52; Kopana, *Kukurai*, 79; Koruats, 135; Kunkei, 79-80; Losioa, Elena, 76; Maimara, 18, 22; Momis, Fr. John, 157; Monita, 129; Mota, 79-80, 81; Mule, 52; Muling, 85, 86, 88; Ngaovova, Filomena, 103; Nonohimae, Aliki, 123, 126, 131; Nori, 123, 128; Novite, 85; O Bi Ezechiali, 129; Pako, 86-7, 111; Pacura, 77; Perokana, 80; Petronella, Sister, 163; Samu, 42, 77-8; Sanop, 86, 88; Sarai, 54, 83; Sekata, 60; Selina, 46; Senoveva, 76; Sietai, 55; Soles, Patrick, 135; Sulukavo, 42-3, 77; Supara, Petero, 96; Tahaha, 136; Tamuka, Fr. Aloysius, 107; Tatamas, Fr. Peter, 107; Terasim, 86; Tiosin, Elizabeth, 136; Tiosin, John 135-9; Tiperau, 80, 81; Torelala, 77; Tsilivi, Karolo, 103; Wylia, 40
- Solomon Islands Labour Corps, 114, 123, 129
- South Sea Evangelical Mission and followers, 36, 43-8 *passim*, 74, 76, 79, 84, 90, 110, 124-9 *passim*
- Stanley, R.C.S., 154
- Svensen, Lars, 40
- Sydney, 11, 17, 18, 23, 25, 27-8, 30, 38, 81, 83-6, 91, 92, 101, 105, 137
- Tahiti, 12, 14, 16
- Thurnwald, Richard, 81
- Tiers Ordre Regulaire de Marie (Third Order Regular of Mary), 13
- Tikopia I., 6, 28
- Tindal, Charles Nicholas, 51-3
- Tippett, A.R., 72, 125, 161
- Tulagi, 37, 60, 90, 108, 110, 111, 113, 122
- Turupatu*, 95, 102
- Ulawu I., 47, 124, 130
- Uberoi, J.P.S., 27
- Umboi I. (or Rooke), 24-5, 29-31
- United Nations Organisation, 145, 148
- Vandegrift, General A.A., 114
- Von Bennigsen, Governor Rudolf, 54
- Voyce, Rev. A.H., 60
- Waite, H.J., 47
- Wallis, I. (or Uvea), 13, 16
- Waigeo I., 17
- Western Pacific High Commission, 36, 152
- Western Solomons, vicariate apostolic of, 160-1
- Wheatley, Norman, 47-8
- Wilson, Bishop Cecil, 74
- Woodford, Charles Morris, 37, 40, 43, 44, 45, 48, 53, 67, 94
- Worsley, Peter, 125
- Young, Florence, 48, 81
- Ysabel I., 3, 9-10, 17, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 45, 46, 122, 128, 160

About the Author

Hugh Laracy was born in New Zealand and studied philosophy at a Marist seminary before completing an M.A. at Victoria University of Wellington and a Ph.D. at The Australian National University. He has, since 1970, taught history at the University of Auckland.

In the course of research for this book, Dr Laracy did extensive fieldwork in the Solomon Islands and consulted archives in Paris, Rome and Sydney.

He has published (with P. O'Reilly) *Bibliographie des ouvrages publiés par les missions Maristes des Iles Solomon*, Paris 1972, and (with Eugénie Laracy) *The Italians in New Zealand and other studies*, Auckland 1973.

Text phototypeset in Caledonia by University Composition Systems.
Printed on Perkins & Squier Litho RRR, basis 50, by The Colonial Press.

CORRIGENDA

Page

- xi For 'Galuia' read 'Galvin'.
- 6 Line 27, after 'power' read 'and in that of Arosi on San Cristobal, *mena*'.
- 9 Line 19, after 'was' insert 'easily'.
- 12 Line 7, before 'Pacific' insert 'South'.
- 14 Line 28, for '180°N' read '180°E'.
- 20 Line 23, for 'attentivenss' read 'attentiveness'.
- 22 Line 21, for 'Captian' read 'Captain'.
- 25 Line 32, for 'Piere' read 'Pierre'.
- 29 Lines 37-8, for 'irrevocably' read 'irremediably'.
- 30 Line 24, for 'Vogeltop' read 'Vogelkop'.
- Line 26, for 'impossibly' read 'immovably'.
- 41 Line 24, for 'Yasabel' read 'Ysabel'.
- 45 Line 12, for 'Marist' read 'Marists'.
- 51 Line 36, for 'Mernsheim' read 'Hernsheim'.
- 53 Line 21, after '*lotu*' insert 'as Christianity is commonly known in the Pacific.'
- 56 Line 18 should read 'Local feeling turned against the Marists; threatened, they appealed to'.
- 59 Line 12, for '*viille*' read 'ville'.
- Line 13, for 'Bertin' read 'Bertet'.
- 64 Last line, for 'considerabelle' read 'considerable'.
- 73 Second last line, for 'Metcalf' read 'Metcalfé'.
- 94 Line 26, for 'like' read 'on'.
- 114 Line 16, after 'surrender' insert 'and had refused'.
- Line 17, delete 'and again'.
- 119 Add 'from 1945'.
- 122 Third last line, after 'Melanesian' insert 'ideas of'.
- 139 Line 21, for '3000' read '300'.
- 142 Line 24, before 'eventual' add 'sustaining'.