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Publishing's consequences and possibilities for literacy in the Pacific Islands

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Abstract: The Pacific Islands were among the most recent countries to acquire presses, but within 70 years all major island groups and some single island countries had presses. Catholic and Protestant missionaries compiled dictionaries and grammars and translated Bible verses, hymns, and prayers. Pacific Islander missionaries not only assisted the foreign missionaries but also they outnumbered them and often entered the field before them. Pacific Islanders eagerly learned literacy skills. Some Pacific Islands developed nearly universal literacy long before comparable levels were reached in Europe. Although reading and reception are unpredictable and have unintended effects, and although other groups of people contributed to changing societies, missionaries continued to play important roles. Flags generally followed trade and missionaries. Colonial governments depended on missions to help with pacification, and in return, missionaries often depended upon government for higher authority and enforcement measures. The level of governmental involvement in education, language policies, and international events also played critical roles in book supply. Governments attempting to raise national literacy rates might do well to contemplate similarities and differences with mission publishing.

Keywords: Book Publishing, Literacy, Missions, Government, Pacific Islands

Introduction

EUROPEAN EXPLORATION OF the Pacific Ocean began during Magellan's voyage around the world in 1521. Nearly three centuries would pass before a press arrived in the islands. The Pacific Islands were among the most recent countries to acquire presses. The islands had limited trade and no market for books. Foreign and indigenous missionaries, however, created audiences over time. Publishing created demand and means for promoting literacy. Some Pacific Islands developed nearly universal literacy long before comparable levels were reached in Europe. Foreign governments followed missionaries; the level of governmental involvement in education, their language policies, and international events played critical roles in book supply. A comparison of publishing experiences in Pacific Islands history may lead to different approaches for improving literacy rates in today's world.

Evangelizing with Written and Printed Words

Fr Diego Luís de San Vítores, a Spanish Jesuit, arrived in the Mariana Islands on 16 June 1668, to establish the first permanent mission in the Pacific Islands.[1] Beforehand, he and a Filipino who spoke Chamorro language had translated a catechism, hymns, and prayers, and prepared a grammar. San Vítores started a catechist school to train boys, where their vocational learning came to include binding books. This first European educational institution lasted until the 1890s, though not continuously. Except in the Mariana Islands for reasons of trade, the Spanish (thus Catholic) presence in Oceania remained minimal for the next 200 years.[2]

The English and French presence, however, grew. After explorers publicized the existence of non-Christians in the South Seas, Evangelical groups inside and outside the Church of England became interested in saving heathen souls. Generally, Protestant missionaries were skilled labourers: shipwrights, cartwrights, blacksmiths, cobblers, printers. They learned from each other and turned their hands to necessary tasks. They came with an ethic of labouring, to achieve God's grace.[3] They came with books to guide them in useful knowledge and unfamiliar skills. They came with a mandate to translate God's Word into indigenous languages. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society required its missionaries to submit a comprehensive statement on the indigenous language, its grammar, the missionaries' rules of translation, and comparisons with other languages.[4] Missionaries compiled dictionaries and grammars and translated Bible verses, hymns, and

[1] Multiple contacts, including with the use of text, had been made between 1521 and 1668, see Crowl 2003.
[2] Hezel 1984, 1989
[3] Gunson 1978
[4] David Cargill cited in Clammer 1976

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prayers. Certain missionaries made monumental contributions, eg Charles Pitman, Aaron Buzacott, and W.W. Gill in the Cook Islands; John Hunt, Thomas Jaggar, and David Hazlewood in Fiji; James Moulton in Tonga; and John Coleridge Patteson and Robert Henry Codrington in the Solomons and northern New Hebrides—to name only some. Less well known, because little credited in publications, are the labours of missionary women, eg Mrs Buzacott and her daughter in the Cook Islands; Minerva Clarissa Brewster Bingham in the Gilberts; Margaret Smith Cargill and Hannah Hunt in Fiji; Mrs Rooney in New Guinea; Charlotte Geddie, Ellen Gordon, Margaret Whitecross Paton, and Agnes Watt in the New Hebrides; and others.[5]

The (later London) Missionary Society (LMS) was the first Evangelical group to make a mark in publishing the printed word. At their station in the Society Islands, missionaries studied Maohi language and prepared materials to convert the indigenous people. John Davies sent his spelling manuscript to London in 1808, but the lapse of three years between completion of his manuscript and delivery of the 8-page books, plus the gross number of errors due to lack of experts in Maohi language in London, made the missionaries look at options closer to their field. They essayed printing in Sydney, and although the wait was shorter and the errors were fewer, the product met neither expectations nor growing demand in the Society Islands. They appealed to LMS for a press and a missionary familiar with printing; William Ellis and his press arrived in 1817. After numerous delays and disagreements, the missionaries began the first printing operation in Oceania on 30 June of that year on the island of Moorea.[6]

From its base in the Society Islands, LMS published for other island groups. It also set up the first press in the Cook Islands in 1834, Samoa in 1839, and Niue in 1868.[7] The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions initiated printing in Hawai'i in 1822, the Caroline Islands[8] in 1856, the Marshall Islands in 1860, the Gilbert Islands[9] in 1863, and Nauru in the early 1900s.[10] The Wesleyan Methodists established presses in Tonga in 1831 and Fiji in 1839. Although the Roman Catholic Church generally held that its clergy were to interpret the Latin Bible, its missionaries in Oceania noticed the success of Protestant missions and literacy's contribution to that success, for Islanders eagerly learned the skills for reading and writing. Catholics began to produce vernacular works in the field. The Catholics were the first to publish printed matter in the Gambier Islands in 1837, Wallis in 1844, La Grande Terre[11] in 1854, and the Solomons in 1910.[12] Presbyterians set up the first press in the New Hebrides[13] in 1848. Anglicans initiated printing in the Loyalty Islands in 1852 and on Norfolk Island in 1867.[14] From the beginning, their inputs, operations, and outputs were fraught with short supply, irregularity, disagreements among players, and even danger. Nevertheless, within 70 years all major island groups and some single island countries had presses.

Islanders' Roles in the Adoption of Text Culture

Islander leaders, such as Pomare II of Tahiti, Tupou I of Tonga, and Ratu Cakobau of Fiji, understood the benefits of literacy and acquired its skills. Under the auspices of various missionary societies, Islander teachers often preceded white missionaries into the field.[15] W.W. Gill credited the success of his Cook Islands Maori work to Ta'unga, the "best living authority on the Rarotongan language,"[16] who was also the first person to put a New Caledonian language into writing.[17] Indigenous pastors were the "vanguard"[18] of the "literate revolution."[19] They included Loyalty Islander Mataika, Cook Islanders Anederea and Pi, New Hebrideans James Kaum, Judah, Saula, Teitoka, and Yomot; Samoan Simeona; Solomon Islander Clement Marau; and many others.[20] Less well known are the labours of Tahitian women who sewed books; Hawaiian Mary Kaaialii who sold

[5] Crowl 2005
[6] Moorea, also called Eimeo, is in French Polynesia. Ellis 1967[1829], Lingenfelter 1967
[7] Unless otherwise noted, the dates in this paragraph are from Lingenfelter 1967. Niue: Garrett 1982
[8] Federated States of Micronesia
[9] Kiribati
[10] Nauru: Garrett 1992
[11] New Caledonia's main island
[12] Solomons: Raucaz 1928
[13] Vanuatu
[14] Norfolk: Anonymous nd
[15] Crocombe & Crocombe 1984[1968], 1982
[16] 1984[1894]:350
[17] Crocombe & Crocombe 1984[1968]
[18] Clammer 1976:91
[19] Literate revolution is G.S. Parsonson's term, from his seminal essay on literacy's effects in the Pacific Islands (1967).
[20] Marau 1894, Lange 2005

them; Cook Islander Tungane and Fijian Akesa who taught school with them, and other women who helped publication in many different ways.[21]

From the missionary point of view, education was means to an end: understanding the Scriptures. From the indigenous point of view, education was also means to different ends: new commodities, better living standards, and higher status.[22] Association with missionaries often brought novelty, physical safety, and ways to avoid traditional obligations.[23] Small societies were competitive; literacy was another means of competition for wealth and power. Keesing pointed out that the general population of some islands and island groups became literate long before the general population in Europe had comprehensively developed literacy.[24] Granted, Pacific populations were smaller, but they did not have Europe's history of literacy, education, or public acquiescence to the rule of documents.[25] The speed of acceptance also had much to do with missionaries' behaviours and decisions. Religious workers generally lived close to their flock, often owing their very existence to bargaining food, iron, and particularly medicine.[26] Religious workers gained their hosts' confidence, studied local cultures, learned indigenous languages, and communicated in local ways (although not everyone did so to the same degree). Anglicans in Melanesia respected indigenous culture, muted their imposition of Western civilization, and incorporated local elements into worship.[27] White missionaries involved Islanders in every aspect of publication, and Islander missionaries carried these skills further into the field. Close interaction among translators, authors, editors, printers, and binders personalized their products, which extended kin connections advertised.

Intentions and Results

Sir Albert Maori Kiki of Papua New Guinea confessed he did not learn much from his LMS school conducted by a Samoan teacher, but explained how he and other Papua New Guineans of all ages wanted to learn to read and write.[28] From another perspective, school is a potent instrument for introducing and maintaining control over populations.[29] Some scholars wrote that the white missionaries in Tahiti, Hawai'i, and Aotearoa/New Zealand declined to teach English because they feared it would assist the Islanders' exposure and access to the wider world.[30] Clammer claimed that the missionaries created, directed, and controlled the literate revolution.[31] Although the missionaries did try to maintain control over communications (media and content) to direct social organization through management of the educational system and religious worship, economic and political events beyond local control affected their situations. Reading and reception are unpredictable and have unintended effects.[32] Missionaries had a key role in the adoption of literate culture—what Parsonson termed "the real revolution,"[33] but beachcombers and traders also contributed greatly to that consciousness of literacy.[34] For many indigenous peoples, life had begun to shift in irreversible directions: economics, education, politics, religion, and other aspects of life became text based, even among illiterates. A plethora of interests and alliances among castaways, beachcombers, chiefs, missionaries, traders, and tribes made for treacherous ground. Much more powerful forces were needed to effect discipline among the unruly, to induce compliance by the doubters, and to inspire confidence in the peacemakers.

Colonial Government and Education

Flags generally followed trade and missionaries. Colonizing powers in the Pacific have been Spain (1668-1898), England (1788-), the Netherlands (1828-1962), France (1842-), Germany (1884-1914), Chile (1888-), the United States (1898-), New Zealand (1901-), Australia (1906-1975),[35] Japan (1914-1945), and Indonesia (1962-). Roughly 40 per cent of Oceania's population continues to live in dependent territories. Hempenstall argued that three objectives underpinned colonial rule: resource exploitation,

[21] Lingenfelter 1967, Little 1996, Lange 2005, Crowl 2005
[22] Koskinen 1953, Meggitt 1968
[23] Clammer 1976
[24] 1937
[25] Clanchy showed how Europeans took centuries to value documents more than messengers, insignia, seals, and other symbols (1993[1979]).
[26] Latukefu 1974
[27] Hilliard 1978
[28] 1982[1968]
[29] Keesing 1937, Lévi-Strauss 1992[1955], Bourdieu & Passeron 1977[1970]
[30] Parsonson 1967, D. McKenzie 1999[1984]
[31] 1976
[32] Certeau (1988[1975], 1984[1980]; Chartier 1987; Johns 1998
[33] 1967:54
[34] Crowl 2003
[35] See note 54.

power affirmation, and Islander conversions to Western images.[36]

Leaving Education to the Missions

Limited educational budgets went farther through co-operation. Colonial governments depended on missions and the missions' established, generally self-supporting schools to help with pacification. In return, missionaries often depended upon government for higher authority and enforcement measures.[37] From the beginning, the Spanish colonial government and the Catholic mission supported each other.[38] Over time the Dutch administration subsidized mission schools in Dutch New Guinea.[39] France's administrations relied on mission schools in French Polynesia and New Caledonia until about 1870, when secular education became free and obligatory; in the New Hebrides generally until the late 1950s; and in Wallis and Futuna even to the present day.[40] Britain left education largely to missions during its brief tenure in British New Guinea, the Cook Islands, and Niue; until the 1930s in Fiji; the 1940s on Pitcairn; the 1950s in the Solomons; the 1960s in the New Hebrides; and the 1970s in the Gilbert and Ellice islands.[41] Leaving education to the missions was not different practice from England, where churches and charities initiated schooling for the underprivileged.[42]

Missions provided education in German New Guinea, the Marianas, Micronesia, and Western Samoa, but the German administrations slowly opened public schools.[43] On Rapanui, missions have run schools, but in the 1960s the Chilean government appointed Chilean teachers—mostly to provide for immigrant workers' children.[44] US administrations set up an educational system on Guam by 1905, which Chamorro teachers gradually joined; supported mission schools and opened public schools in American Samoa; and worked with mission schools and gave grants and US textbooks to community-run schools in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI).[45] NZ administrations supported mission schools and gradually opened government schools in the Cook Islands, Niue, and Western Samoa.[46] Until the 1950s the Australian administrations largely left schools to missions in Papua and New Guinea and to missions and Nauruans on Nauru.[47] In the beginning, the Japanese administration in Micronesia allowed mission schools to continue and even subsidized them; later it required attendance at Japanese government schools and did not allow Islanders to teach.[48] The transition from mission-run to government-run schools took time throughout the Pacific.

Language Policy and Book Supply

Governments usually emphasized colonial languages, though often consistently neither across their territories nor over time in single countries. French Ordinance No.284 of 1862 made teaching French language obligatory within schools in French Polynesia,[49] which continue to rely on imported French books. The government's use of imported French books in New Caledonia from the 1870s rendered vernacular languages and cultures less important.[50] The British administration forbade Maori language and LMS books in Cook Islands schools, instead importing books from Auckland, New Zealand.[51] In 1926 the British administration in Fiji established language policy (that has not shifted much): the first three years of primary school in the mother tongue and English thereafter. Some books were produced locally, but the majority (and they were not many) were imported.[52] The administration in the Gilbert and Ellice islands emphasized English for schools from the 1960s.[53] Pitcairn follows NZ curriculum with NZ-registered teachers.[54] German administrators

[36] 2000
[37] Latukefu 1988
[38] Hezel 1989
[39] also called (West) Papua, Irian Jaya, West Irian, and Papua Barat; Bennett 1994
[40] Mariotti 2001; Bresnihan & Woodward 2002; Thierry et al 1994, Gata 2001 respectively
[41] P. Smith 1987; Gilson 1980; Morrell 1960; Tavola 1992; Woodburn 2003; Hilliard 1978, Wasuka et al 1989; Bresnihan & Woodward 2002; Macdonald 2001[1982] respectively. The Ellice Islands became Tuvalu.
[42] Altick 1998[1957], H. Thompson 1951
[43] Hezel 1995, Hiery 1995
[44] Fischer 2005
[45] L. Thompson 1947; Gray 1960, R. Thomas 1984a; R. Thomas 1984b, Hezel 1991 respectively
[46] Gilson 1980; Chapman 1976, 1982; Boyd 1969 and R. Thomas 1984a respectively
[47] E. Thomas 1976, Ralph 1978, P. Smith 1987; Viviani 1970 respectively
[48] Hezel & Berg 1979, Peattie 1988, Hanlon 1994
[49] in Davies 1991
[50] Garrett 1982, Dornoy 1984
[51] Morrell 1960, Gilson 1980
[52] FIEC 2000
[53] Talu & Tekonnang 1979, Macdonald 2001[1982]
[54] PUC 2006. Pitcairn is still a colony and has a population of about 50; the British representative lives in Wellington, New Zealand. In 1856 most Pitcairners moved to Norfolk Island, which has a special relationship with Australia.

mandated German language in schools in Micronesia, New Guinea, and Western Samoa, but the district administrator for the Marianas decided to keep Chamorro as the primary language of instruction and German as a foreign language.[55] For Rapanui, the main language of instruction is Spanish, as in Chile, but Rapanui language is taught in school.[56]

The US administration prohibited Chamorro language in Guam schools until the 1950s. Besides local history and tropical hygiene, textbooks came from the US mainland.[57] From the 1960s more publications on Guam appeared—some by Chamorro and some in vernacular, the latter sometimes assisted by US federal funding for bilingual education.[58] Chamorro language instruction for kindergarten to grade 5 and for one year each in middle and high school is now mandatory.[59] In American Samoa, the US administration mostly promoted use of the English language and textbooks from the US mainland; however, it sporadically published school materials in Samoan and about the Samoan Islands.[60] In TTPI in the early years, the US administration encouraged vernaculars, and district curriculum and training centres and district presses turned out vernacular publications. Some vernacular publications, however, were haphazard translations of American material, and the United States provided US textbooks. In 1963 English became mandatory and the territory was flooded with US textbooks.[61] During the 1970s all territorial departments of education published some vernacular books[62] but publication slowed when funding faded. Ironically, some Micronesians perceived the re-introduction of vernacular education as a way of phasing out US funding and cutting them off from world affairs.[63]

NZ administrations emphasized English but allowed vernaculars at different times for different countries. Textbooks were few before World War II. Only afterwards did the NZ government truly support use of vernaculars in school and publication of vernacular materials, but few people had the training to make such materials, and teachers (often expatriate) largely used NZ textbooks.[64] Most Cook Islanders wanted to learn English, some even perceived that vernacular education was meant to limit their development.[65] Nevertheless, some Cook Islander teachers wrote and published Maori materials, eg Taira Rere.[66] In Niue's schools, policy shifted: the vernacular was not taught from the 1910s but was taught in lower levels from 1927; however, English was emphasized from the 1950s. Niuean Terry Chapman claimed use of English in schools from the 1950s broadened and deepened the minds of young Niueans.[67] From 1947 until the 1960s the School Publications Branch of the NZ Department of Education fostered islands publishing, but only about 50 publications outside religious and educational fields survive within NZ libraries and archives. Most vernacular publishing happened in the Cook Islands and Samoa, very little in Niue or Tokelau. Tokelauans used school journals in Samoan language until 1954, when the first printing of Tokelauan school journals occurred.[68]

The Australian territorial administrations largely worked in English. The administration in Papua published school readers, a newspaper, and anthropological monographs and sent them free to mission schools that it subsidized.[69] Wolfers wrote that parsimonious use of native taxation to subsidize mission schools, to employ a government anthropologist, and to publish a newspaper in English did the opposite of promoting Papuan welfare, as it conditioned them to become indentured labourers.[70] P. Smith argued that *Papuan Junior Readers* were paternalistic and placed Papuans in a colonial hierarchy.[71] Ralph, however, reported that villagers preferred the government syllabus because they associated it with jobs and social prestige.[72] After World War II New Guinea had an acute shortage of books and only one government school. The admin-

[55] Hanlon 1994; Hiery 1995, P. Smith 1987; Hiery 1995; Spennemann 1999 respectively
[56] R. Crocombe 2001
[57] L. Thompson 1947
[58] which had been stimulated by Spanish-speaking minorities on the US mainland
[59] Guam DOE 2004
[60] Some publications were assisted by US bilingual funding. Gray 1960, R. Thomas 1984a.
[61] Nucker et al 1961, Nevin 1977, Nufer 1978, R. Thomas 1984b
[62] assisted by US bilingual funding
[63] Nevin 1977
[64] Ross 1969
[65] Graham & Davis nd
[66] M. Crocombe 2003
[67] Chapman 1976, 1982; Rex & Vivian 1982
[68] Griffith et al 1997
[69] E. Thomas 1976, Ralph 1978, P. Smith 1987, Griffin et al 1979, Downs 1980
[70] 1975
[71] 1987
[72] 1978

istration reprinted mission primers and encouraged teachers to develop their own material, but few could or did.[73] On Nauru, curriculum came from Australia; teachers used books from Australia and other Pacific countries; the administration did not report publishing books, except during W.C. Groves's directorship (see below).[74] The Japanese administration provided library books, branch magazines, and textbooks free of charge, which in most cases, were compiled from Japanese textbooks.[75] After the Indonesian and US governments engineered the withdrawal of the Dutch administration and the installation of the United Nations Temporary Executive Administration in 1962, Indonesians raided schools and removed anything connected with the culture of (West) Papua, including books.[76]

Some countries had multiple colonizers, so language policies shifted over time. Nauruans, New Guineans, and Samoans learned German and English. Micronesians learned Spanish, German, Japanese, and English. Generally, shifting language policies, reliance on colonial languages, and increasing book imports slowed growth of indigenous publishing.

Blending Imported and Indigenous Education

Colonial officials differed about education appropriate to their host countries. In Australian New Guinea, education director W.C. Groves prepared primers and suggested using outlines and supplementary readers (rather than rigid adherence to textbooks) that incorporated indigenous material into the curriculum so indigenous teachers could stimulate communities to participate in education. His return to Australia in 1926 left his programme hardly begun.[77] On Nauru from 1937 to 1938, he revised the curriculum to include Nauruan language and content and published a dictionary, a grammar, periodicals, and other material.[78] In 1939, he advised on educational matters in the Solomons. In 1946 he returned to New Guinea to become director of education and created a Special Services Division that provided for a curriculum and research unit, publications, a library supplying outstations, adult evening classes, and other activities. The education department cooperated with missions and the South Pacific Commission[79] on literacy and language measures. The 1948-1953 education plan called for vernaculars first and progressive use of English. Despite Groves's policies and actions, support for whites' education grew faster than that for Papua New Guineans and missions still educated the mass. Most students who could, bypassed village schools to attend administration schools, which used English. Western teacher-training did not produce indigenous teachers who could promote blended notions of education, and flexible curricula did not help expatriate teachers unfamiliar (and often uninterested) in PNG cultures. Interested less in the longer development of sustainable educational practices and more in the shorter-term numerical manifestation of growing literacy, Australia's minister for territories Paul Hasluck forced Groves's retirement.[80]

In the Gilbert and Ellice islands from the 1930s, Harry Maude and his wife Honor gained official approval to produce textbooks on Gilbertese history and language, but progress was slow due to remote location, World War II, reconstruction, and the Maudes' being posted elsewhere.[81] Robert Gibson arrived in 1951 to direct education in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and pushed for local content. The first four grades were taught in vernaculars, and district presses provided some material. When the TTPI administration announced in 1963 that English would be the medium of instruction for schools, Gibson opposed the policy and inserted a phrase in the directive to the effect that teachers had to teach in English only if they could. Gibson did not see eye to eye with programme designers who were inexperienced in Micronesia's realities, and he retired in 1964.[82] These examples manifest the difficulties that some colonial administrators met in attempting to meld indigenous cultures with Western educational systems.

International Pressure for Change

Change in educational structures and supportive publishing arrangements came less through colonial governments' initiatives and more from their reactions to international events and pressures. Spanish influenza, world wars, and the Great Depression shaped government policies and practices, as did indigenous opposition and violent governmental reprisal. Inquiries by the League of Nations' Permanent

[73] G. Smith 1975, P. Smith 1987, Ralph 1978
[74] Australia to LoN 1922-1941, Australia to UN 1964-1968, Viviani 1970
[75] Japanese Govt 1921-1937
[76] Tapol 1984
[77] Groves 1922-1934
[78] Australia to LoN, Nauru 1938-1939
[79] now the Secretariat of the Pacific Community
[80] Ralph 1978, G. Smith 1975, Hasluck 1976, Downs 1980, P. Smith 1987
[81] Macdonald 2001[1982], Woodburn 2003
[82] Nevin 1977, Nufer 1978

Mandates Commission and UN Visiting Missions affected administrations' policies. Motivated by external calls to prepare nations for independence, colonizing powers began to invest heavily in educational and cultural organizations. After much of the Indonesian archipelago was under Japanese control during World War II, the Dutch set up post-primary schools and training institutions in (West) Papua. After the war the Dutch began political education programmes and promised independence by 1971, but in 1967 an engineered vote left (West) Papua to the Indonesians.[83] French constitutional reforms in 1956 and the rise of political parties in its territories led to brief measures of autonomy for French overseas possessions. From the 1970s cultural revival played a strengthening role, with government-sponsored agencies to promote Maohi and Kanak art, language, and publications in French Polynesia and New Caledonia.[84] In the New Hebrides, Britain and France vied for political influence—the former supporting independence, the latter not—by building secondary schools, expanding education to the outer islands, assisting missions or taking over from them, and importing books.[85] In British territories from the 1960s, administrations began to educate for nation-state needs and to revise curricula. Hurried measures, including the use of limited and imported books, prepared tiny élite groups to cope with independence in their respective countries.[86]

The United States disbursed funds more rapidly than the TTPI administration could spend them. American educational models and practices swamped local alternatives. Through well-intentioned language programmes at the University of Hawai'i, linguists developed materials that missed their target, for most Micronesians had little or no access to them, and the Micronesians that did often found them cumbersome. Peace Corps volunteers arrived en masse and took the place of American teachers who had deserted. The administration shifted to teaching English as a second language. More schools, teachers, books, and students looked good in reports, but US books in English remained in central warehouses while teachers and students had few materials in the outer islands and often could not cope with the disjuncture between what they had and their training.[87] Although New Zealand had humanitarian goals, its main aim was to play a bigger role in the South Pacific. World events and its own small population and resources, however, affected its ability to provide services to its colonies. Prime minister Peter Fraser's 1944 territories tour and Dr Clarence Edward Beeby's 1945 report led to greater publication of islands material, but production kept pace with neither population growth nor moves toward independence.[88] In Papua New Guinea, Australia's minister for territories Hasluck expanded primary education in English, incorporated mission teaching into his scheme, and raised more funding than the education department could spend and faster than Australian practices could be adapted to PNG conditions or people persuaded to follow them.[89] Waiko argued that 15 years were not long enough for any programme to spread education democratically throughout the nation-state that Papua New Guinea was to become. English as the language of record, and for the most part of education, consolidated its lead over 860 local languages.[90] Nauruan petitions to the UN Trusteeship Council resulted in Australian concessions,[91] but Australia recorded neither preparation of any textbooks on Nauru or about Nauru nor establishment of research institutions, sociological or anthropological services, museums, printeries, or publishing houses on the island.[92] Nauru was the exact opposite of Papua and New Guinea: Nauruans had a small population and only one indigenous language. They were highly literate and they often paid for, and organized, their own schools. Nauruans had already engaged in print culture; yet, the Australian administration did less than in Papua and New Guinea to take advantage of any of these phenomena to promote self-expression, educational progress, and political participation. Across the Pacific, heightened awareness of the international community and educational standards elsewhere showed the effects of tardy colonial measures.

Lessons for Present Governments

When the missions came, and when colonial governments came, people used literacy skills to obtain prestige and power and to level differences in society or to create hierarchies.[93] The similarities between mission and colonial government publishing often end there. Present governments attempting to raise literacy rates might do well to contemplate the differ-

[83] Savage 1982
[84] Henningham 1992
[85] Bresnihan & Woodward 2002
[86] Macdonald 1994
[87] Nevin 1977, Nufer 1978, Kiste 1982, R. Thomas 1984b
[88] Ross 1969
[89] Griffin et al 1979
[90] 1993
[91] Viviani 1970
[92] Australia to UN, Nauru 1964-1968
[93] Freire pointed out that literacy does both (1970, 1971).

ences. Many missionaries went to the Pacific, fully intending to stay for life, some even believing in martyrdom in the field. Initially, missionaries established small stations among villagers. They *created* audiences for vernaculars in the field and audiences for missionary deeds in their sending countries. Islanders taught literacy to one another, began to minister to their own and other peoples, and acted as extensive promotional teams. Readers in Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand eagerly bought tales of missionary adventures, and congregations financially sponsored mission work. As more missionaries entered the field, competition among missions grew, and they sometimes vied for attention through publications.[94] They maintained their goal of conversion and rarely wavered in the use of vernaculars. Christianity-based literacy sustained languages that otherwise would likely have perished in the onslaught of imperialism.[95] Although the publishing of some mainline churches has declined, Assemblies of God, Jehovah's Witnesses, Latter-day Saints, Christian Books Melanesia, the Liturgical Catechical Institute, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics are among the largest publishers in the Pacific, and much of their publishing relies upon voluntary labour.

In contrast, colonial governments did not have the saving of souls through teaching use of the Word as their primary concern. Indeed, for decades many colonial governments took their audiences for granted and relied on the missions to provide most education. Far fewer government officials lived among Islanders or learned their languages, as missionaries did. Colonial administrations generally located their printing and publishing in capital cities, a practice that limited the number of people who came into contact with government presses. Colonial administrations did not compete by using publications, except for a couple of decades in the New Hebrides. Shifting governments and language policies caused shifts in publishing that resulted in wastage of time, finance, and books. Colonial administrators at all levels were usually transitory. Those who had firm convictions about the value of indigenous languages and customs for education—W.C. Groves, Harry Maude, Robert Gibson—were exceptional, often overruled by higher-ups, and overtaken by international events and local population growth. Government schools sometimes included education in civics for assimilation, but it was the global push for independence that accelerated education in the territories about political institutions and voting. Some countries are still colonized. In others, former colonial governments have, for political and economic reasons, kept a heavy hand in book publishing.

The difficulties of book publishing in the Pacific Islands are numerous. Global audiences already exist for English, French, and Spanish, but audiences and skilled publications workers for Mangareva, Maring, and Mokilese are much more limited in number and finance. Economies of scale are difficult to achieve with approximately 1,200 languages; non-standardized (or in some cases, no) orthographies; limited school enrolment; variable attendance; low literacy; transportation challenges; and importable materials from elsewhere. These conditions vary across the region, but Pacific Islands countries do not have enough people trained in publishing skills to meet needs.

The answer lies not in waiting to publish after the skills develop, but to develop skills while publishing. Pacific Islands governments and colonial administrations do support vernacular schooling, but much more could be done to bolster publishing, which would have long-term effects on literacy levels. Islanders continue to use old works published by missionaries, including dictionaries and grammars. Many of these publications, however, are long out of print and could be re-issued and revised for general benefit. Many missionary manuscripts that remain unpublished, or published in languages that Pacific Islanders no longer read,[96] could be turned to fostering publishing skills, to sustaining Pacific languages, to recovering Pacific history, and to improving literacy rates. Books remain the most economical way to reach most Pacific Islanders because book publishing does not demand the equipment that other media do on the receiving end. Fewer than one per cent of the people have access to computers. Many Islanders did experience literate revolution; others have experienced literate evolution, which is sustaining old audiences while creating new ones. Literate evolution takes time, as it has in developed countries. Oceanians have worked the presses since the latter were introduced into the islands. Over time the cadre of skilled translators, editors, illustrators, graphic artists, printers, publishers, distributors, and teachers of these skills has grown. Niche markets and short-run publishing have reached people, who have helped to create larger audiences. Publishing in vernaculars and using existing networks to spread the products are key to increasing literacy rates. Small and specialist presses can play a strong role in developing countries, particularly as other communications media are also under-resourced. Not taking audiences for granted, but working cooperatively to produce

[94] in which they sometimes denounced other religions
[95] Nicole 1988
[96] Translation of Maretu's (1983[1871]) narrative in Rarotongan and Semisi Nau's (1996[early 1900s]) narrative in Roviana made Islanders' history of cultural contact accessible to contemporary audiences

and to distribute books are important lessons from the Pacific Islands' past that may lead to strategies for their future.

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