

University of Wollongong - Research Online

Thesis Collection

Title: Politics and book publishing in the Pacific Islands

Author: Linda S Crawl

Year: 2008

Repository DOI:

Copyright Warning

You may print or download ONE copy of this document for the purpose of your own research or study. The University does not authorise you to copy, communicate or otherwise make available electronically to any other person any copyright material contained on this site.

You are reminded of the following: This work is copyright. Apart from any use permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, no part of this work may be reproduced by any process, nor may any other exclusive right be exercised, without the permission of the author. Copyright owners are entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright. A reproduction of material that is protected by copyright may be a copyright infringement. A court may impose penalties and award damages in relation to offences and infringements relating to copyright material.

Higher penalties may apply, and higher damages may be awarded, for offences and infringements involving the conversion of material into digital or electronic form.

Unless otherwise indicated, the views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the University of Wollongong.

Research Online is the open access repository for the University of Wollongong. For further information contact the UOW Library: research-pubs@uow.edu.au

University of Wollongong Theses Collection

University of Wollongong Theses Collection

University of Wollongong

Year 2008

Politics and book publishing in the Pacific Islands

Linda S. Crawl
University of Wollongong

Crawl, Linda S, Politics and book publishing in the Pacific Islands, PhD thesis, School of History and Politics, University of Wollongong, 2008. <http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/94>

This paper is posted at Research Online.
<http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/94>

NOTE

This online version of the thesis may have different page formatting and pagination from the paper copy held in the University of Wollongong Library.

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

COPYRIGHT WARNING

You may print or download ONE copy of this document for the purpose of your own research or study. The University does not authorise you to copy, communicate or otherwise make available electronically to any other person any copyright material contained on this site. You are reminded of the following:

Copyright owners are entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright. A reproduction of material that is protected by copyright may be a copyright infringement. A court may impose penalties and award damages in relation to offences and infringements relating to copyright material. Higher penalties may apply, and higher damages may be awarded, for offences and infringements involving the conversion of material into digital or electronic form.

Politics and Book Publishing in the Pacific Islands

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the award of
the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

from

University of Wollongong

by

Linda S. Crawl

BA (with Honors), Oberlin College
MA, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

School of History/Politics
Faculty of Arts
University of Wollongong

June 2008

CERTIFICATION

I, Linda S. Crawl, declare that this dissertation, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the School of History/Politics, Faculty of Arts, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Linda S. Crawl
10 June 2008

CONTENTS

Certification	ii
Map, Figures, and Tables	vi
Abbreviations	vii
Glossary	ix
Abstract	x
Acknowledgements	xii
Map of the Pacific Islands	xiv

SECTION 1. BACKGROUND AND THEORY

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Geography, Societies, and Languages	1
History and Politics	2
Communication and Book Publishing	5
Looking Ahead	6
Chapter 2. Politics, Knowledge, Communication, and Text Culture	10
Power	12
<i>The Ideological Nature of Power</i>	12
<i>Book Publishing and Ideological Power</i>	13
<i>Forms, Symbols, and Rituals</i>	17
<i>Media of Exchange: Capital, Literacy, Power</i>	19
<i>Unintended Effects and Resistance</i>	20
Formation of Knowledge	22
<i>Linguistics and Psychology</i>	22
<i>Historiography</i>	23
<i>Anthropology</i>	25
<i>Philosophy</i>	28
<i>Sociology</i>	30
<i>Book Publishing's Role in the Construction of</i> <i>Power and Knowledge</i>	32
<i>Conscious and Unconscious Power and Effects</i>	34
Mass Communications and Technology	35
<i>Power Relies on Communication</i>	35
<i>Symbols, Forms, and Mentalities</i>	35
<i>Feedback and Gatekeeping</i>	37
<i>Development</i>	39
<i>Consenting to New Media but Resenting Control</i>	40
<i>Complexity and Scale</i>	43
Text Culture	44
<i>Orality and Literacy</i>	44
<i>Forms and Mentalities</i>	45
<i>Symbols and Rituals</i>	47
<i>The Political Nature of Texts</i>	49
<i>Publishing, Rather than Writing, Printing, Literacy, or Reading</i>	52
Summary	54

Chapter 3. Book Publishing	56
The Form of Books	56
Defining and Explaining Publishing	59
The Economics of Publishing	66
Publishing in Developing Countries	68
Politics and Publishing	77
Politics and Book Publishing in the Pacific Islands	78
 SECTION 2. SALVATION AND EVANGELISM:	
BOOK PUBLISHING BY MISSIONS	82
 Chapter 4. London Missionary Society	85
<i>Haapii Parau</i> (Learners of Words) on Moorea, Tahiti, and Nearby Islands	85
Feeding the <i>Kai Parau</i> (Book Eaters) in the Cook Islands	93
Opening the <i>Fale Lomi Tosi</i> (Printing Office) in Samoa	99
Fiji and Rotuma	106
<i>Tohi</i> (Books) on Niue	107
Book Battles in New Caledonia	109
<i>Fulitusitapu</i> (Bible Translation) in Tuvalu and Tokelau	112
The New Hebrides	115
Papua	117
Kiribati	123
The LMS Publishing Legacy	125
 Chapter 5. Methodists	128
Tonga	129
<i>Na Bokola ma Na I Vola</i> (Bodies and Books) in Fiji	138
Rotuma	153
Papua New Guinea	155
Solomons	163
Methodist Publishing	167
 Chapter 6. Presbyterians	169
Presbyterian Publishing	185
 Chapter 7. Anglicans	187
Pitcairn	188
The Melanesian Mission	188
New Caledonia	191
The New Hebrides	192
Solomon Islands	193
Papua New Guinea	197
Fiji and Polynesia	200
Anglican Publishing	201
 Chapter 8. Politics and Book Publishing by Missions	204

SECTION 3. FROM EMPIRE TO DEVELOPMENT: BOOK PUBLISHING BY COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS	210
Chapter 9. Britain	213
Pitcairn and Norfolk	214
Fiji	214
Solomon Islands	217
Tonga	221
British New Guinea	225
The New Hebrides	226
Gilberts, Ellice, Phoenix, and Tokelau Islands	229
The Cook Islands and Niue	234
Britain's Tenure and Aid	234
Chapter 10. France	237
Using Literacy to Negotiate the Divide	239
Supporting Culture and Language	241
Book Markets in the Territories	249
France's Tenure and Aid	250
Chapter 11. New Zealand	252
The Cook Islands	252
Niue	261
Western Samoa	265
Tokelau	272
New Zealand's Tenure and Aid	274
Chapter 12. Australia	279
Papua Before World War II	279
New Guinea Before World War II	282
Papua and New Guinea During and After World War II	286
The Hasluck Era	290
The Post-Hasluck Era, 1964 to 1975	294
Nauru	302
Australia's Tenure and Aid	308
Chapter 13. Politics and Book Publishing by Colonial Governments	313
Chapter 14. Conclusions	317
REFERENCES	325

MAP

The Pacific Islands

xiv

FIGURES

1. A linear view of publishing	60
2. Publishing: pre-press preparation, production, and distribution	61
3. The book industry	63
4. Structure and flow in a publishing house	64

TABLES

1. Number of book titles published by region per million inhabitants	68
2. Books exported and imported by some Pacific Islands countries	79

ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ADCK	<i>Agence pour le Développement Culturel Kanak</i> , New Caledonia
AESOP	Australian Executive Service Overseas Project
ANGAU	Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit
ANU	Australian National University
ASOPA	Australian School of Pacific Administration
AUD	Australian dollar
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
AVA	Australian Volunteer Abroad
BCL	Bougainville Copper Limited
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BPC	British Phosphate Company
CCC	Congregational Christian Church, Samoa
CDP	<i>Centres de Documentation Pedagogiques</i> (Centre for Pedagogical Documentation)
CDRC	Curriculum Development Resource Centre, Kiribati
CDWA	Colonial Development and Welfare Act
<i>CED</i>	<i>Collins English Dictionary</i>
CEP	<i>Centre d'Experimentation du Pacifique</i> (Experimentation Centre of the Pacific)
CI	Cook Islands
CICC	Cook Islands Christian Church
CIPA	Cook Islands Progressive Association
CMS	Church Missionary Society (Anglican)
CSR	Colonial Sugar Refining Company
CTRDP	<i>Centres Territoriaux de Recherches et de Documentation Pedagogiques</i> (Territorial Centres for Research and Pedagogical Documentation)
CWM	Council for World Mission
DFID	Department for International Development, United Kingdom
DIES	Department for Information and Extension Services, Papua New Guinea
DIT	Department of Island Territories, New Zealand
DoE	Department of Education
DORCA	Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs, Australia
EFKS	<i>Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa</i> (see CCC)
FJD	Fiji dollar
FLNKS	<i>Front de Libération Nationale, Kanak et Socialiste</i> (National, Kanak, and Socialist Liberation Front)
GEIC	Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony
GPO	Government Printing Office
IPNGS	Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies
IPS	Institute of Pacific Studies
KEA	Kwato Extension Association
KESP	Kiribati Education Sector Program
KPC	Kiribati Protestant Church
LDS	Latter-day Saint(s)
LMS	London Missionary Society

METC	Ministry of Education, Training and Culture, Kiribati
MNC	multinational corporation
NGG	<i>New Guinea Gazette</i>
NGO	non-governmental organization
NGRU	New Guinea Research Unit
NSW	New South Wales
NZ	New Zealand
NZCER	New Zealand Council for Educational Research
NZD	New Zealand dollar
NZIIA	New Zealand Institute of International Affairs
NZSC	New Zealand School Certificate
NZUE	New Zealand University Entrance
OCSTC	<i>Office Culturel, Scientifique et Technique Canaque</i> (Kanak Cultural, Scientific, and Technical Office)
ORSTOM	<i>Office de Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer</i> (Office for Overseas Scientific and Technical Research)
OTA	Office for Tokelau Affairs
PBC	Presbyterian Bible College
PCC	Pacific Conference of Churches
PEMS	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (<i>Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris</i>)
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PSI	Public Service Institute
PTC	Pacific Theological College
RTS	Religious Tract Society
SDA	Seventh-day Adventist(s)
SICA	Solomon Islands Christian Association
SOPAC	Pacific Islands Applied Geosciences Commission, formerly South Pacific Applied Geosciences Commission
SPAC	South Pacific Anglican Council
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community, formerly South Pacific Commission
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
TTC	Tonga Teachers' College
UFP	<i>Université Française du Pacifique</i>
UN	United Nations
UNC	<i>Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie</i>
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPF	<i>Université de la Polynésie Française</i>
USP	University of the South Pacific
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas, UK
VUW	Victoria University of Wellington
WCC	World Council of Churches
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
WPHC	Western Pacific High Commission

GLOSSARY

<i>afakasi</i>	half-caste, part-European
<i>araikwao</i>	white person
<i>bangara</i>	big-man
<i>bokola</i>	dead body of an enemy to be eaten
<i>bole</i>	legal saying
<i>demi</i>	half-caste, part-European
<i>écoles populaires kanak</i>	Kanak people's schools
<i>faiŋe'au</i>	pastor
<i>faipule</i>	councillor, council
<i>fale lomi tosi</i>	printing office
<i>feagaiga</i>	covenant
<i>fulitusitapu</i>	Bible translation
<i>haapii parau</i>	learner of words
<i>i vola</i>	book
<i>kai parau</i>	book eater
<i>kastom</i>	custom, culture
<i>lire en fête</i>	book fair
<i>lotu</i>	worship
<i>marae</i>	temple
<i>matai</i>	title holder
<i>mau</i>	opinion, opposition
<i>meke</i>	opera, song and dance
<i>négritude</i>	quality, fact, or awareness of being of black African origin
<i>oremetua</i>	teacher/pastor
<i>palagi</i>	white person
<i>palangi</i>	white person
<i>qase</i>	teacher
<i>reo</i>	language
<i>rotu</i>	worship
<i>salon du livre</i>	book fair
<i>talatala</i>	pastor
<i>tapa</i>	barkcloth
<i>toeaina</i>	council of advisers
<i>tohi</i>	book
<i>valagi</i>	white person
<i>vanua</i>	land

ABSTRACT

This dissertation discusses interactions between politics and book publishing by missions and colonial governments in areas of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia over approximately 200 years. It argues that book publishing has played a fundamental role in shaping politics and that politics has, in turn, shaped book publishing in the Pacific Islands.

As a new means of communication in Oceania, book publishing shifted the nature of power by convincing people who did not previously read and write with alphabetic script to value literacy and books, to participate in publishing, and to spread text culture. From its inception, book publishing in the Pacific Islands has been a significant instrument of ideological power: power that can rest on customs, habits, interests, and loyalties; power whose causes and effects might be indistinguishable from each other; power that creates identities and forms societies although the participants themselves might be unaware of that power and how it effects political change. Participants might not distinguish between types of power, and even if they do recognize power and consent to it, they might still resent its existence and effects.

Far from portraying a unidirectional flow, wherein only foreigners have published information and instructed Pacific Islanders, this dissertation argues that some islanders have sought to participate in book publishing so as to express their views and/or those of their associates or communities, and this in turn has contributed to persuading and influencing other people, sometimes even across the Pacific. The organization of mission societies around publications, for example in biblical material, schoolbooks, or laws, often reinforced indigenous power, but it also eased the imposition of colonial rule. Ironically, command of text culture assisted islanders to negotiate with new and sometimes stronger political forces. The colonial era has reinforced the role of text culture in the organization of society, and published reiteration of particular languages, customs, and geographical boundaries has helped to shape and reshape polities that have endured well into the age of independent nation-states.

Although not all interactions between book publishing and politics were intended or even predictable, books and their publishing in Oceania merit investigation as forms, symbols, rituals, and exchangeable media of ideological power and political change. In reaction to political events, advocates of different viewpoints have, with varying degrees of consciousness, participated in publishing and text culture. In doing so, Pacific Islanders have participated in altering traditional political structures, and they have acted as agents of change in bringing new associations among people, who have melded imported ideas and practices with their own. This dissertation shows that books and their publishing have been catalysts, means, and products of political change in the Pacific Islands.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In memory of my grandparents; Florence, Virginia and George, Helen, and Agnes; librarian, botanist and geologist, teacher, and agrostologist; for inspiring love of books, writing, research, teaching, and working in the field. Kein kememej nan alab ro jet raar lukuun jela mour im mantin Majol, jinu Rain im jema Bilar, RiJaluit im RiMili ilo Lonar (In memory of the elders, experts in Marshallese life and ways, my adoptive mother Rain and father Bilar, of Jaluit and of Mili on Lonar).

I thank my parents and siblings for their sacrifices for my education and for their myriad forms of encouragement.

I thank Professor Edward P. Wolfers for his patience and for sharing his good humour, erudition, practical experience with government, and enthusiasm for Pacific publishing. I thank Kerri Malara and their children for sharing laughter and stories in Australia and Papua New Guinea. I thank Dr Charles Hawksley for joining the project and sharing insightful critique. I thank Jen Hawksley for timely intervention with bureaucracy.

I am deeply grateful for my experiences in the Pacific Islands, and I thank those people who have employed me, worked with me, and educated me for nearly 20 years; facilitated my field-work; assisted my library research; and answered my questions in many countries: Karen Ah Mat, Rosa Aimo, Sam Alasia, Dr Michael Alpers, George Andrews, Hilary Arthure, Brian Aschton, Margaret Austrai-Kailo, Sue Baereleo, Colin Baker, Brian and Robyn Bargh, Fr Kevin Barr, Liza Barron, Maxine Becker, Dr Richard Bein, Dimas Bel'k, Dr Judith Bennett, Cliff Benson, Andrew Binnie, Paula Bloomfield, Fr Karl-Maria Brand, Dr Jenny Bryant, Marlene Cadden, André Capiez, Dr Elaine Chanter, Linley and Prof Murray Chapman, David Chetwyn, Cherie Chu, Dr William Clarke, Yvan Clot-Goudard, Sera Colata, Ian Collingwood, Sr Joan Crevcoure, Marjorie Tuainekore and Emeritus Prof Ron Crocombe, Fr Jan Czuba, Lusi Ravuvu Dakuidreketi, Martin Daly, Morarei Davies, Taufa Domona, Jo Dorras, Gérard Dubrulle, Ann Dugan and Paul Knight, Jean-Pierre Duponchel, Solomone Duru, Tupae Esera, Dr John and Kathy Evans, Tagaloatele Dr Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop and Jim Dunlop, Eseta Falefaea, Bess Flores, Elizabeth Fong, 'Aneti Fonua, Pesi and Mary Fonua, Jane Foster, Greg Fry, Salote Fukofuka, Maria Gaiyabu, Dr Glynn Galo, Rev Dr John Garrett, Mark Garrett, Kevin Geelan, Dr Paul Geraghty, Gwen Gibson, Jacinta Godinet, Diane Goodwillie, Prof Cedric Hall, Barbara and Prof Epeli Hau'ofa, David Hegarty, Mahetoi Hekau, Nuka and Alfred Hepisos, John Herrmann, Fr Francis Hezel, Sr Janet Hockman, Robert Holding, Dr Mike Horsley, Dr Sohail Inayatullah, Terry Isan, Dr Tania Ka'ai, Ken Kaiaha, Geoffrey and Jenny Jackson, Iroij Mike Kabua, Dr Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, Sr Tiura Kaiuea, Kelihiano Kalolo, Sir John Kaputin, Maureen Kattau, Kauraka Kauraka, Rev Kasek Kautil, Ann and Ludwig Keke, Dr Jean Kennedy, Dr Joanna Kidman, Hilda and Lucien Kii, Veronica Kiluwe, Denise and Robert Koenig, Miriama Kubuabola, Ellyn Kusmin, Hudson and Nancy Hoi Kwalea, Corney Lahies, Sarah Langi, Patrick Langmoir, Mary Lanwi, Dr Peter Larmour, Dr Liliane Laubreaux-Tauru, Sheila Lawes, Cynthia Leahy, Mary Leano, Ruth Lechte, Lusiana Lewabou, Jeanette Little, Dr Rod Little, Anono and Iroij Christopher Loeak, Don Long, Dr Vicki Luker, Cherian Lukose, Prof John

Lynch, Dr Keitapu Maamaatuaiahutapu and Dr Hilary Todd, Rose-ann Madhavan, Ewan Maidment, Kupa Magatogia, Julian Maka'a, Jully Makini, Savea Sano and Jean Malifa, Jayshree Mamtara, Cecelia Manuelli, Jean Mason, Ken Matheson, Matias, Dr Kay Morris Matthews, Harry and Honor Maude, David May, Dr Ron May, Robyn McDowell, Bill and Patricia McGrath, Alastair McLurg, Fr Frank Mihalic, Faafetai Milo, Minemura, Nettie Moerman, Marj Moore, Tony Murrow, San San Myint, Joe Naguwean, John Naluci, Rev Simeon Namunu, Subhashni Nathan and Dr Neil Taylor, Dr Ueantabo Neemia-Mackenzie and Raketi Mackenzie, Neimur, John Niroa, Pat Numa, Mandy Oliver, Oskar Oliver, Julie Olsson, Sootaga Paape, John Pagolu, Daniel Paraide, Karyn Paringatai, Sue Parks, Paulus, Dr Karen Peacock, Laura van Peer, Tonu Peleseuma, Frances Pene, Dr Wally Penetito, Dominica Philip, Dr Val Podmore, Eric Ponia, Jagdish Prasad, Simon Prasad, Marica Qalo, Prof Asesela Ravuvu, Dr Michael Reilly, Polycarp Reu, Phyllis Rex, Sue Rider, Christian Robert, Emita and Iroij Roman Robert, Kim Des Rochers, Sakey Romic, Dr John Roughan, Tekarei Russell, Dr Jacqueline Ryle, Juanita Sabua, Livigisitone Nuusila Samuela, Dr Kabini Sanga, Simon Savaiko, Dr Annette Schade, Kate Scott, Roland Seib, Morven Sidal, Dr Caroline Sinavaiana, Ligi Sisikefu, Seona Smiles, Pine Southern, Sr Rose Patrick St Aubain, Janet Stahl, Dr Bill Standish, Paul Stapleton, Luisa Sumo, Arlsun Sundae, Maureen Swanage, Graham Swinburne, Dr Irene Ta'afaki, Edna Tait, Fifita Talagi, Seta Tale, Dr 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki, Dr Helen Tavola, Dame Meg Taylor, Rokete Teewata, Mataina Teo, Tereao Teingiia, Marie-Claude Teissier-Landgraf, Carmen Temata, Dr Andrew and Rev Carolyn Thornley, Lydia Tibon, Foua Tofinga, Edwin Torman, George Traill, Dr Howard Van Trease, Tanya Tremewan, Dr Filipino Tokalau, Julian Treadaway, Dr Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano, Ioane Tupou, Esau Tuza, Mohammed Umar, Helen Ume, Makerita Vaai, Norma Vettoretto, Laurence Vuillard, Sara Vui-Talitu, Taniela Wakolo, Kevin Walcot, Alphonsus Wale, Gerry Walker, Ralph Wari, Baron Waqa, Nada Widdowson, Ruby Willis, Willy, Steven Winduo, Diane Wroge, and Dr Bruce Yeates. Any omissions are unintentional. Any errors and shortcomings in this work are my own.

Please see print copy for map of The Pacific Islands
Source: Manoa Mapworks, 1987. Revised 1991.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Several hundred years ago most Pacific Islanders were not literate in the sense of being able to read and write alphabetic script as most islanders do today. Missionaries introduced literacy of alphabetic scripts, devised orthographies for Oceanic languages, began publishing books, and influenced islanders to perpetuate literacy and book publishing. This shift in communication had far-reaching effects upon local politics, just as local politics affected the use of this new form of communication. From missionary times, people have used books as they have sought to persuade and influence others. In response, other people have sought to participate in book publishing so as to express themselves, which in turn refreshes the cycle of persuasion and influence. Political events have spurred people to record and publish their thoughts; these publications in turn have contributed to changing political behaviour. Not all effects of book publishing are intended, but political consequences arise. Likewise, political intentions do not always come to pass, and people publish to explain what happened. Books and publishing, therefore, merit investigation as catalysts, means, and products of political change in the Pacific Islands. The following brief geographic, societal, and linguistic description of the islands sets out parameters for subsequent chapters, which describe the roles of book publishing in political and historical changes and the roles of those changes in book publishing.

Geography, Societies, and Languages

The Pacific Islands are those islands within an expansive area that stretches from Hawai'i in the north-east, to Rapa Nui in the south-east, to New Zealand (NZ) in the south, to (West) Papua and Palau in the west, and to the Mariana Islands in the north-west. Although aggregating the Pacific Islands for purposes of discussion poses difficulties, some broad lines help to frame the picture. Geography ranges from high mountainous islands to uplifted coral islands to atolls. Melanesia has the greatest land area and population. Land and usufruct rights have varied from place to place, time to time, people to people. Chiefs had a diversity of attributes and powers. Some chiefs ruled over small societies, others over large societies. In parts

of Melanesia, big-men gained influence more from personal than hereditary qualities and exercised authority in various forms (Sahlins 1983). Traditionally, most cultures emphasized patrilineality (R. Crocombe 1995:10). Generally, subsistence economies conditioned peoples' life-styles, but islanders developed myriad cultures and histories according to their particular environment.

Traditional societies began to change rapidly in the 1500s with first contact by Basques, Portuguese, Spaniards, and others (Maude 1968; Hezel 1983, 1989; Langdon 1988). The pace of change has accelerated since then, with profound effects on every aspect of life from communication to religion to technology to politics. Foreigners who have come to stay in the islands have included beachcombers, castaways, traders, whalers, missionaries, administrators, military personnel, and others. Some countries have significant islander populations from elsewhere: eg Banabans, Solomoni, and Tuvaluans in Fiji; Wallisians in New Caledonia; I-Kiribati in Solomon Islands. Some countries have significant non-indigenous populations, eg Chinese, Europeans, Filipinos, Indians, Indochinese. These groups contribute to perpetuating cultural, linguistic, and political change.

The Pacific Islands have about 1,400 vernacular languages and many, many more dialects (Lynch 1998:ch.2). Melanesia itself has more than 1,000 languages. Ni-Vanuatu, Papua New Guineans, and Solomon Islanders can generally understand one another's pidgins. The number of languages in the Micronesian and Polynesian countries discussed here range from just one to at most a handful. Some Polynesians can understand other Polynesians' languages to some extent, eg Cook Islands Maori and Tahitian are similar, as are Wallisian and Tongan, and Futunan and Samoan. The lingua franca of most of the region is English, but for French Polynesians, New Caledonians, Wallisians and Futunans, and about half of Ni-Vanuatu, the lingua franca is French.

History and Politics

Over time a diverse range of people have come to live in the Pacific Islands, which has changed the politics of individual countries. Although castaways and beachcombers were significant in the islands' history, the first European wave to influence societal restructuring comprised mostly missionaries. Fr Diego Luís de

San Vítors, a Spanish Jesuit, arrived in the Mariana Islands on 16 June 1668 to establish the first permanent mission in the Pacific Islands. Except in the Mariana Islands for reasons of trade, the Spanish (thus Catholic) presence in Oceania remained minimal for the next 200 years. From the late 1700s British and later French, American, and German missionaries (and some of other nationalities) came to stay. By the end of the 1800s all island groups had permanent missions, though not all peoples within those groups had contact with missionaries. Missionaries began book publishing in the islands, and churches remain the most prolific publishers. Indigenous leaders collaborated with missionaries to use presses to spread new laws and ideological power. This dissertation discusses the Pacific missions of the London Missionary Society (LMS), Methodists, Presbyterians, and Anglicans because they sent some of the first missions into Oceania, and their work is illustrative of that of others, such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and Lutherans. The Catholics, as noted above, were the first European religious group into the Pacific, but they significantly changed their tactics regarding the training of indigenous people only after the Protestants arrived. Other missions also had significant impact upon the peoples they met, but by then oral and written reports of the founding missions' work had spread.

Flags generally followed trade and missionaries. Colonizing powers in the Pacific have been Spain (1668-1898), Britain (1788-), the Netherlands (1828-1962), France (1842-), Germany (1884-1914), Chile (1888-), the United States (1898-), New Zealand (1901-), Australia (1906-1975),¹ Japan (1914-1944), and Indonesia (1962-). Many Pacific Islanders continue to live in dependent territories: Pitcairn (Britain); French Polynesia, New Caledonia, and Wallis and Futuna (France); Rapa Nui (Chile); Tokelau (New Zealand); American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and Guam (United States); and (West) Papua (Indonesia). Colonial governments took up book publishing as it suited their needs and objectives. The governments often worked with churches—sometimes using the latter's presses, sometimes taking over particular presses, and often subsidizing mission education. Governments sought to convey their own ideological power through published laws, regulations, and educational materials. These territories

¹ Norfolk Island, where the majority of Pitcairners moved in 1856, has a special relationship with Australia.

now manifest a range of unique political arrangements with their colonial power. Some people in some territories are negotiating for more autonomy, but others have voted to maintain the status quo.

The Pacific Ocean was a strategic concern in World War II, and the postwar world order brought political changes. Nation-states formed international and regional agencies to control and govern territories. Agencies of the United Nations (UN) have played a significant role in the politics of the region. The region's own oldest inter-governmental organization, founded in 1947, is the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC).² In its wake, other regional agencies have formed. Created to protect the interests of colonizing powers, the South Pacific Conference ironically provided a forum for aspirations of political independence that were able to gain critical mass and spawn new institutions. The rise of independent states elsewhere in the world influenced colonized Pacific peoples and colonizers to plan for new political status in the Pacific Islands. (Western) Samoa became independent in 1962, and 13 other countries followed: the Cook Islands (1965), Nauru (1968), Fiji and Tonga³ (1970), Niue (1974), Papua New Guinea (1975), Solomon Islands and Tuvalu (1978), Kiribati (1979), Vanuatu (1980), the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands (1986), and Palau (1994). Colonial governments trained individuals in publishing and left publishing infrastructure in place for independent governments. Islanders used the presses to project their messages, to construct their vision of nation-state, and to gain adherents to it.

Book publishing did not remain only the purview of churches and governments. Individuals, companies, and non-profit organizations have published to broadcast their projects and views, and in some cases, in hopes of profiting financially. Ideological power and financial profit are evident in the global struggle over trade and intellectual property. This political and economic struggle involves individuals, groups, and agencies at local, national, regional, and international levels as people publish books. Just as churches and colonial governments often cooperated to publish, many other agencies and individuals have entered into a

² formerly the South Pacific Commission

³ Tonga is a special case, for it had a treaty of friendship with Britain and some internal independence until 1970.

plethora of temporary arrangements in order to publish. Although this dissertation discusses only missions and colonial governments—both of which have played formative roles—communicative, economic, political, and social environments have changed over time to include many different actors and agencies, such as companies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), with many different agenda. The overlapping, interlocking nature of book publishing in the Pacific Islands' small societies demonstrates how a communication medium contributes to political interactions, which in turn contribute to new communication and technology.

Communication and Book Publishing

In traditional societies, communication was oral, and knowledge was passed from generation to generation within families or from masters to pupils. Missionaries introduced formal schools to the Pacific Islands as part of their evangelization. Colonial government carried on the task of communicating with and educating their populations. Participants in communication have adapted technologies to fit their environments and purposes. Over time communication media have increased in type, number, and range, eg print, telegraph, radio, telephone, television, photocopy, satellite, facsimile, video cassette recorder, e-mail, and internet. Although Pacific Islands countries have most or all of these media, many individuals and communities do not have access to some or even any of them.

Although often overlooked in analyses of mass media or given marginal attention, books have played a fundamental role in shaping politics and vice versa. The book is not the most extensive mass communication medium; however, it was the first such medium introduced in the Pacific Islands⁴ and has maintained an expansive and prestigious place in Oceania's communications. Recent and future developments are likely to overtake the book (with consequent political changes), but the book will likely remain in use. Islanders have participated in book publishing since its introduction by Europeans and have contributed to political change through book publishing. At this juncture in history, books and publishing merit investigation as catalysts, means, and products of political change in the Pacific Islands. Analysis of missions and colonial governments highlights the

⁴ discounting drums, trumpet shells, smoke, yodelling, and the like

connections between power and knowledge and those connections' implications for politics in the Pacific Islands.

Looking Ahead

This dissertation discusses countries of the South Pacific that have some shared histories through missions and colonial administrations: Fiji, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea (PNG), Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu in Melanesia; Kiribati and Nauru in Micronesia; and the Cook Islands (CI), French Polynesia, Niue, Pitcairn, Samoa, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Wallis and Futuna in Polynesia. This dissertation concentrates on missions of LMS, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, and the Anglicans—all of which affected the countries listed above. This dissertation excludes Hawai'i and New Zealand because they have developed economies and Pacific Islanders are not the majority of their population. It excludes (West) Papua because it is considered as an integral part of Indonesia and has very different politics to those of the rest of the Pacific Islands. It excludes the US associated territories of American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Guam, Marshall Islands, and Palau, for the formative missions were the Catholics and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Finally, it excludes Rapa Nui, for its formative mission was Catholic.

From its inception, book publishing has been a significant means of ideological power as advocates of different viewpoints have renewed a cycle of persuasion, influence, participation, and expression. Chapter 2 demonstrates the politically negotiated use and development of text culture. As participants mediate their debates in publications—expressing themselves and attempting to influence others—their skills and products condition outcomes and political order. Text and politics have been irrevocably intertwined, not only in the Pacific but throughout the world. Chapter 2 addresses the nature of ideological power, the sociology of knowledge, communication and technology, and text culture.

Chapter 3 discusses why the form of books matters in communication, how book publishing takes place, and economic considerations. The countries under discussion are developing countries; thus, chapter 3 outlines the work of the United

Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Bank—two of the most prominent players in literacy campaigns and publishing ventures. Studies of book publishing in Africa shed light upon book publishing in the Pacific Islands, where very little research about book publishing has been published.

The second section describes book publishing efforts by missions and associated politics. Literacy and book publishing were skills that people could appropriate to elevate their position in society—which had much to do with the relatively rapid evangelization of the Pacific, though disease and a multiplicity of languages slowed the effort in Melanesia. Chapter 4 concerns the London Missionary Society. Although not the first mission into the Pacific, LMS planned for book publishing beforehand and sent printing equipment with missionaries on their initial voyage in 1797. LMS's gains in conversion and changes in societal order set examples for other missions to follow. LMS extended its influence from the Society Islands to the Cook Islands, Samoa, Niue, New Caledonia, Tuvalu, Tokelau, Papua, and Kiribati.

Chapter 5 discusses the Methodists' beginnings in Tonga, from where they spread to Melanesia. In Fiji, the Solomons, and Papua New Guinea, islander missionaries faced incredible odds and endured harsh conditions, but many of them enjoyed more status in their new environs than they would have at home. Chapter 6 addresses the Presbyterians who evangelized the New Hebrides. By publishing books in a variety of often ad hoc ways, people of Scottish heritage and New Hebrideans forged the idea of a country. Chapter 7 relates the spread of the Anglican mission to New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, Solomons, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Polynesia. Anglicans respected Pacific cultures, tried to learn from the people, and allowed incorporation of local elements into Anglican worship. Anglicans and their book publishing had profound impact not only on the organization of society, particularly among Melanesians, but also upon colonial government and the disciplines of anthropology and Western philosophy.

Chapter 8 compares the four mission groups and how missionaries were able to introduce skills of literacy that largely did not previously exist and to influence

people to value those skills and products of those skills. Although not all events were intended, the presence of these missions facilitated the rule of books and the imposition of colonial power. Conversely, the mission-taught skills also enabled islanders to negotiate with colonial administrations.

Section 3 discusses colonial rule in most countries of the South Pacific. British, French, New Zealand, and Australian colonial administrations have been historical waves that have overlapped those of missions. Just as the missions have continued to influence political life in the Pacific Islands, the (post-)colonial powers also continue to do so, though not all events are intended. Chapter 9 concerns how British colonial administrations operated across the region. Although British administrations relied everywhere upon missions for the provision of elementary education and school books, they were very late in taking up public education in the Solomons and the New Hebrides in comparison with other places in the empire. Colonial administrations became significant sources of publications, but political education (about different types of government, elections, parliamentary and judicial responsibilities, etc) was very late.

Chapter 10 discusses French administration in French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna, and the former New Hebrides. The French administrations used publications to foster the idea of belonging to the French state, with varying success in these four countries. Chapter 11 addresses New Zealand's desire to play a larger role in international politics and its policies and practices in the Cook Islands, Niue, Western Samoa, and Tokelau. New Zealand's use of book publishing to foster affinity for New Zealand was much more ad hoc than France's and had long-term implications for its territories. Chapter 12 compares the growth of Australian government publishing in Papua and New Guinea and on Nauru. Missions long provided most of the education. World War II affected its territories greatly and catapulted their peoples into the modern and international world. Book provision (or not) played a role in creating leaders and voters able to participate in governing a nation-state.

Chapter 13 compares book publishing by the British, French, New Zealand, and Australian colonial governments. Although all of them published to convey the

idea of empire and to reinforce control, three also turned to publishing to convey the idea of developing independent nation-states. The fourth, France, has used book publishing to foster dependence on the colonial state. Chapter 14 concludes this dissertation about the role of book publishing in ideological power and governing in the Pacific Islands.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICS, KNOWLEDGE, COMMUNICATION, AND TEXT CULTURE

For at least the past 200 years book publishing has been a significant, but often overlooked, source of ideological power in the Pacific Islands.¹ In some venues, books are ordinary objects and some of their users do not think about how books are products and producers of society. According to Braudel, mundane repetition of material life creates enduring structures. Innovations happened slowly and spread gradually, one of which was the printing press, which “invigorated everything.” Books were not common even into the 18th century, but the ideas contained within them spread, making the book trade “a source of power at the service of the West.” Books depended on, and accelerated and expanded, trade and contact (1981[1979]:401). “The extent to which we take everyday objects for granted is the precise extent to which they govern and inform our lives,” wrote Visser (1986:11). Evaluating the phenomenon of book publishing informs our understanding of power and knowledge in Oceania.

Various scholars in many disciplines have touched on book publishing. Wirth noted the lack of systematic analysis of institutions of intellectual activity, including publishing houses (1936:xxxi). Coser called for sociology to investigate publishing (1976), and Coser et al produced one such study that showed that ideas flow through social mechanisms, institutional channels, and informal brokerage that mediate relations between creators of ideas and their publics (1985). Brokerage and channelling entail negotiation, which entails persuasion, influence, participation, and expression. Negotiation is the essence of politics. Therefore, politics is crucial in the sociology of publishing.² First, book publishing has effected political consequences. The aim of publication is to persuade people to read books (or at least to buy or to pay attention to them). Texts might influence people to believe in a certain political order or particular political relations. When they do, people participate in the established order and help to legitimize it. Readership, however, is

¹ The Catholics in the Mariana Islands had begun book publishing at least 100 years beforehand, but they had limited geographic impact. Protestant book publishing spanned the Pacific.

² Gramsci wrote that “all the essential questions of sociology are nothing other than the questions of political science” (1971[1930s]:244).

unpredictable: readers might feel moved to respond to texts or to events. Their expression might manifest support, resistance, both, or points between the two. Second, political events and shifts have spurred book publishing. By expression through book publishing, advocates of different viewpoints renew the cycle of persuasion, influence, participation, and expression.

This dissertation demonstrates book publishing's dialectical nature, ie making knowledge or power explicit illuminates inherent contradictions, which become compelling forces to rationalize both into a whole or unity (Hegel 1990[1825-1826]:37-38). Books are catalysts, means, and products in a cycle of ideological power. The ability to publish books has changed the way people view, and act in, the world, which then affects how people publish and theorize about the world. From the inception of book publishing in Oceania, publishers sought to inculcate new morals, customs, and values among islanders. Their ability to do so increased over time with cooperation, shared beliefs, participation in the privileges of power, and even resistance to domination. Their use of this mass communication medium sometimes had unintended effects, but book publishing affected politics—for better or worse—as politics affected book publishing.

The first section of this chapter explains the nature of ideological power and how books function as forms, rituals, symbols, and media of exchange within society. Power and knowledge are inseparably linked; thus, the second section discusses the construction of knowledge, as in the publishing of books. Because the book form represents mass communication and technology, the third section discusses how these phenomena mediate power and knowledge, with particular attention to developing countries. The fourth section focuses on text culture and the book's role in political history. Although the use of theories of power, knowledge, communication, technology, and bibliography might seem a broad undertaking, the interdisciplinary feedback—often via books—leads toward a unified theoretical perspective on politics and book publishing. Each section follows a generally chronological format to demonstrate the incremental additions that scholars have

made, and accepted, to advance theories of power.³ One cannot build on a void; one can only build on what already exists, using affirmation and contradiction. Scholars' processes, bound as they are in textual practice, are similar to the cycling of ideological power in the Pacific Islands that has relied on book publishing, among other things, for the past 200 years.

Power

The Ideological Nature of Power⁴

Generations of scholars have discussed ideological power as a social power that rests on the will, consent, cooperation, ignorance, or tolerance of participants, eg Marx's social power (1972b[1964]{1845-1846}), Simmel's domination (1950[1896]), Weber's domination (1968[1920s]), and Gramsci's hegemony (1971[1930s]). Lasswell wrote that such power can rest on faiths, loyalties, interests, habits, non-violent constraint, and even apathy (1950[1936]). Power can act as an instrument of integration in relation to the major values of society. Power can be an interactive, participatory process, in which cause and effect can be indistinguishable (Lasswell & Kaplan 1952). Ideological power creates identity such that people are unaware of being manipulated (Mills 1956).

Political organizations mobilize bias (Schattschneider 1960), commitments, or obligation to effect collective action (Parsons 1967b[1963]), and people willingly collaborate. Such consensus begets privileges, which become legalized and institutionalized, thus shaping public opinion through religion, education, persuasion, and ideology (Lenski 1966). Verba wrote that the basic beliefs of a culture are general values that have no reference to specific political objects but usually have a significant role in structuring political culture (1965). Bachrach and Baratz's second face of power is conformity, without tacit or overt threat of

³ Some of the footnotes in this dissertation explain the politics that surround publication of scholars' books to shed light on the thesis that ideological power and book publishing have a mutually supportive relationship.

⁴ Social scientists have shifted their use of the term ideology from the study of ideas (which became the sociology of knowledge), to a system of beliefs for integrating a collectivity, to doctrine. The disillusionment, or not, with ideology continues to provoke published discussion of its end and its continuation. See Bell 1962; Mills 1963; Aron 1977; Lipset 1977; Geertz 2000a[1973]{1957-1972}; Fukuyama 1992.

deprivations and without conscious choice, that limits the scope of political processes. They claimed power is more successful when its decisions cannot be identified (1970). Goldhamer and Shils believed that indirect power, by definition, uses intermediaries and subordinates and can be more powerful than coercion (1975).

Power can disguise itself (Nietzsche 1968[1901]; Arendt 1970). Foucault's grid of concealed power relations and institutions (1970[1966]) and Bourdieu's habitus of disguised functions and structures (1977[1972]) show how power remains unobtrusive. Lukes's third dimension of power is exercised without participants' awareness of real motives, meanings, interpretations, or consequences of their actions (2005[1974]). Power creates shared values and beliefs by using or manipulating ideology (1986). Galbraith's explicit conditioned power is cultivation through education or persuasion. His implicit conditioned power is normal or traditionally correct cultural behaviour; thus, individuals think they are acting on their own morals or decisions (1983). Mann's ideological power includes communication, control, infrastructure, logistics, means, and organization, which behave as sources, forms, and manifestations of power. It is diffused and brings general social power by commanding through persuasion, by claiming truth, through free participation, and often by acting autonomously (1986, 1993). Book publishing involves such phenomena.

Book Publishing and Ideological Power

Scholars have premised their conceptions of power on what they have read in published and unpublished materials, as well as on what they have observed. They have been aware of the capacity of books to influence people.⁵ Weber's bureaucracy depends on education, writing, and publishing; indeed, bureaucracy increases its superiority by creating specialists for documentation and publicizing only what cannot harm itself (1968[1920s]). Similarly, Gramsci's hegemony relies

⁵ For example, Hegel aimed an essay at the Writers' Institute, which monopolized legal and official clerical work in Wurtemberg to the extent of jeopardizing the independence of authorities (1964[1823]:284-293). Marx sought to change the world with his own philosophical writings (1972c[1888]{1845}); even so, Engels edited much of his work to render it more readable for the masses (Tucker 1972:xxxiii). Engels lauded the efforts of the working classes who, discouraged by the ideological fare offered in Mechanics' Institutes, founded their own schools and reading rooms (1892[1845]:238-240).

on publishing, among other things. Political leaders need technical expertise, particularly for communication with the masses, so the intelligentsia, trained to produce writing and publications, develop yet newer capacities and possibilities of work that involve publication. The élite mediate innovation, for “...the process of diffusion of new conceptions takes place for political...reasons....” He counselled against élite scholarship and for organic intellectualism. Creating a new culture means diffusing ideas to make them the basis for general action and coordination to create new common sense to displace the existing rotten one⁶ (1971[1930s], quote p.339). Advocates and regimes codify their symbolic offences and defences, using books, newspapers, and other forms of media to spread ideology. The number and kinds of professionals employed in codification has increased, eg theologians, lawyers, pamphleteers, journalists, social scientists. The dissemination of systematizations of knowledge, through books and other publications, affects ways of viewing the world, which in turn provoke new writing (Lasswell 1950[1936]). The power of priests is based on sacred books, and the power of communication, education, and propaganda is based on technology. Technology extends their range geographically and their combinations with other forms of power almost to the point of difficulty in distinguishing one from the other (B. Russell 1938). Such participation represents a dialectic of enlightenment as people contribute to the production and consumption of cultural commodities [such as books] that hide domination (Horkheimer & Adorno 1973[1944]). Time and again, scholars have written that institutions that shape public opinion, such as mass media, are tools for legitimizing an élite’s position (eg R. Dahl 1961; Lenski 1966).

Despite their obfuscating vocabulary, Foucault and Bourdieu do not say anything fundamentally different from other scholars in this area. Their arguments about books in particular, however, are worth highlighting. According to Foucault, forms of order become knowledge, which turns into discourses that are dispersed anonymously through texts, books, and works, which are transmitted, appropriated, valued, reproduced, transformed, and given status by copying, translation, commentary, and proliferating meanings (1989[1969]). The technology of power

⁶ Gramsci himself contributed to many kinds of publications (see Henderson 1988; Hoare & Nowell Smith 1971). He attached importance even to the serial novel to promote popular culture (Gramsci cited in Mayo 1999:108).

encompasses human knowledge, with increasing mechanisms and institutions of normalizing and expanding power as new disciplines proliferate (1977[1975]). The exercise of power creates new objects and bodies of knowledge. “Power/knowledge” circulates among individuals through the production of ideology and instruments to form, accumulate, and dispense discourse (1980[1972-1977]). Modes of valorization and appropriation vary with, and are modified within, each culture. For example, in the Western property system, the author function creates endless possibilities of other discursive practices (1984[1969]). The exercise of power and the self-perpetuating accumulation of knowledge have fundamental relations (1991[1981]).

According to Bourdieu, a society produces and accumulates in objectified form its cultural resources, and an educational system trains its agents to re-appropriate those resources symbolically. Particular groups can monopolize the society’s symbolic resources (art, literature, pedagogy, philosophy, religion, science) by monopolizing the instruments for appropriating those resources (reading and writing) and preserving them in texts (1977[1972], 1993[1968-1989]; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977[1970]). A recognized power uses texts, which are invested with collective authority, as tools to maintain symbolic power over the social world. Knowledge depends on particular viewpoints of situated, dated, and already elevated observers who assign status to communicative and epistemic functions, so representations already represent power relations. People struggle to appropriate power by appropriating the tools (the texts through interpretation) and to fix texts (their meanings)⁷ (Bourdieu 1990[1980]). Products in the political field are instruments for perceiving and expressing the social world—and vice versa. Expression is an act of institutionalization, of officialization, of legitimation: the capacity to publish, to make public, “represents a formidable social power, that of

⁷ “Symbolic power” is produced by authorized writers, grammarians, and teachers who compose, codify, and disseminate national language and state creation as interdependent political practices. The process includes development of an educational system and a labour market (which includes the state bureaucracy), which perpetuate use of the national language. Such a system induces “the holders of *dominated* linguistic competences to collaborate in the destruction of their [own] instruments of expression.” The production of the instruments of production—dictionaries, grammars, style manuals, and other legitimate and authoritative books—confers on its practitioners power over language, ordinary users of language, and their capital. Social mechanisms of cultural transmission tend to reproduce the linguistic relations of power, ie the structural disparity between scarce knowledge and plentiful recognition of the legitimate language (Bourdieu 1990[1980], quote p.49, LC’s emphasis and insertion).

bringing into existence groups by establishing the *common sense*,⁸ the explicit consensus, of the whole group” (p.236, PB’s emphasis). The struggle for the power of, and through, knowledge for the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence includes everyday, professional, and official activity (1992[1975-1988]). The genesis and structure of the literary and scientific fields are based on power defined as status that hides the basis of its legitimacy. To enter the field, one must use the code of conduct and expression and learn to practise freedom under unconsciously accepted constraints. The field forms a habitus bound by perceptions and power relations wherein writers cannot have their work published if they are displaced, publishers cannot take on works that audiences will not like, and readers unconsciously orient themselves toward texts⁹ (1996[1992]).

Galbraith also wrote of textbooks’ conditioning power, eg the ideology of Adam Smith’s impersonal market and laissez-faire economics when in fact oligopolies rule. Through published books, articles, or editorials, citizens and employees feel they have power in states and corporations. That is, the action (an instrument of power) of publishing becomes a surrogate for the result (the actual exercise of power) (1983). According to Mann, communications are the fundamental infrastructure for the exercise of organized and diffused power. Literacy has a key role in ideological power because it can stabilize meanings, further goals, and institutionalize political authority and property. Literacy does not diffuse itself; people take it up as they find that it meets their needs. The more literate one is, the more power one might exercise (1986). Ideological infrastructure includes religious-, state-, and trade-sponsored literacy (eg holy books, dictionaries, grammars); cultural and intellectual networks (eg encyclopedias, scientific and literary circles); consumer products (eg novels, histories, biographies, tracts, newspapers, pamphlets); networks of discursive literacy (ie text shared with non-literate people in taverns, cafés, etc), and adjuncts to literacy (post and telegraph). If the media of discursive communication rapidly transform and expand, ideological power can become relatively autonomous (1993). Churches, states, and modern science have relied on book publishing as an instrument of ideological power.

⁸ Gramsci’s term, see 1971[1930s]:323.

⁹ Although Bourdieu criticized the consecrating function of educational institutions, he laboured to circulate others’ intellectual work, through eg the journal *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, the review of books *Liber*, and the book series *Le sens commun* (Calhoun & Wacquant 2002).

Ideological power exists, but can be described only through its manifestations. To understand the nature of ideological power, we have to look to its forms, symbols, and rituals—the things that cloak it or make it seem ordinary, such as books.

Forms, Symbols, and Rituals

Power has many forms, and it passes continually from form to form, transforming the degree of power that individuals or groups possess, the kinds of organization that are most influential, and the diversity of ways in which to acquire power (B. Russell 1938). Characteristics, practices, values, wealth, and symbols can appear as power or be used to accumulate power, and different forms of power change in a changing whole and over time¹⁰ (Lasswell 1950[1936]). Books have particular characteristics (forms); people associate certain practices and values with them; and books (forms and contents) come to symbolize values. As Horkheimer and Adorno wrote, forms (formulas of language and image) replace content. Although some people perceive the ruse, they feel compelled to support the system, for not to *conform* is to be powerless (1973[1944]). Forms of power disguise themselves as everyday products, such as books (Bourdieu 1977[1972], 1990[1980], 1992[1975-1988], 1996[1992], 1993[1968-1989]; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977[1970]). According to Galbraith, such a source of power as property draws strength from illusions of power as people are conditioned to believe in the source. The form satisfies the will to exert power, and the source of power substitutes for the exercise of power (1983). Books, publishing, and the prestige of participation in associated activities are a form of power.

Symbols are the “ideology of the established order,” and they are inculcated into consciousness from birth. Techniques of managing ideas, people, things, or symbols thereof expand with technology and means of production (Lasswell 1950[1936], quote p.29). Symbols have political roles, as expressions can conceal a structure of control distinct from the pattern of authority that they constitute. Identification with symbols creates the political “we,” ie classes, dynasties, groups, nationalities, states, tribes. Certain symbols are intimately associated with the exercise of authority, and often possession of the symbol itself suffices to induce

¹⁰ Similarly, Dahl wrote rulers use their potential and relative resources of power to influence the public’s choices, then their influence to gain more resources (1961).

respect and authority (Lasswell & Kaplan 1952). Horkheimer and Adorno echoed the ability of symbols (cultural products) to emit “a basic style-determining power” and to prescribe every reaction by signals (1973[1944], quote p. 127). Such cultural products are books. Symbols operate as a mechanism of communication (Parsons 1967c[1964]) that promotes legitimation (1967b[1963]). Foucault wrote that people create signs to represent their perceptions, then use those signs as instruments of analysis and apply those signs to further impressions. Signs thus transform imagination into memory and rational knowledge, which effaces the creation and instrumentality of signs and leaves only representation, which becomes discourse (1970[1966]). Bourdieu also saw that forms of power cloak their (re)production of cultural symbols, such that the latter become sources of autonomous symbolic power (1977[1972]). Symbolic power can be objectified in things—eg badges, crowns, emblems, flags, sceptres, and thrones—which help form representation, perception, credence, and loyalty. Symbolic power invests in that which recognizes and reproduces its symbols, thus reproducing itself (1992[1975-1988]). Symbolic power is objectified in books, which people recognize, believe, or attempt to counter with other books. They use books because books are the legitimated mode.

Rituals accompany book publishing, and books are symbols that ritually communicate shared meanings. In many cultures, books are integral to education and communication, which B. Russell described as rituals that persuade people to follow a creed (1938). Leaders frequently use rituals to clothe their actions with legitimacy, to arouse loyalties, to provide order, and to facilitate assimilation, although people do not necessarily conceive or knowingly maintain these rituals of authority (R. Dahl 1961). Rituals consistently and systematically favour vested interests of some people relative to others, for rituals mobilize bias rather than integrate values. Political ritual plays “a cognitive role...serving to organise people’s knowledge of the past and present and their capacity to imagine the future....it helps to define as authoritative certain ways of seeing society...and...it deflects their attention from other forms, since every way of seeing is also a way of not seeing” (Lukes 1977:68). Groups (re)legitimate and (re)produce themselves through continual adoption and adaptation rituals, which resolve conflicts between modes of production and perception (Bourdieu 1977[1972]). Rituals consecrate their own habitus, serving the relations they sanction and justifying themselves by their own

performance (1990[1980]). Agents possess power in proportion to the recognition they receive, which depends on social rituals. The rites separate those who do and do not undergo rites of institution; they set an arbitrary boundary and consecrate, naturalize, and legitimize the difference (1992[1975-1988]). Although the practice of power can be menacing, its rituals can be rewarding, eg appointments, recognition, esteem (Galbraith 1983). Ideological power derives from the creation of meaning, norms, and rituals that sustain social cooperation and bring general social power (Mann 1986, 1993). Thus, acts of communication are rituals, often undertaken, even unwittingly, for political reasons. Book publishing is such an act of ritual communication. Even critical or revolutionary texts use the form of the book in an effort to communicate the legitimacy of the texts' ideas. The next subsection addresses the inherent quality or property that enables diffusion of books and their assumption of strategic positions within societies.

Media of Exchange: Capital, Literacy, Power

Books belong to a network of exchangeable media, which are forms of capital and power. People who command literacy and numeracy circulate currencies of knowledge and money, and the circulation affects the basis of politics. According to Marx, commodities and money are merely forms of capital. The circulation of capital is an end in itself and infinite, for the value of capital expands only within its constantly renewed movement. The capitalist class controls the circulation of capital by controlling the social relations of production (1972a[1887]{1867}:229). For Parsons, power and money are generalized media for controlling action, mechanisms of communication, or symbols that can circulate in society (1967c[1964]). Like money, a system of power functions with the acceptance and convertibility of power (1967a[1963]). Lenski pointed to the similar inventions of money and writing: they are media with little intrinsic value but great utility for purchase of other values, exchange, distribution, stratification, and social control (1966). Foucault also saw that a medium facilitates exchange: money as a common measure between commodities (1970[1966]), and discourse as a common measure between institutions in political economy (1980[1972-1977]). For instance, the commodification of texts has led people to focus on their authors rather than the discourses, their uses, circulation, and appropriation. Economic exchange of commodities thus often hides the political activity that underpins it (1984[1969]).

The self-perpetuating accumulation of knowledge is as essential as that of capital and associated with mechanisms of power in complex relations (1991[1981]). For Bourdieu, symbolic capital assigns to producers (and their products) value, standardization, and interchangeability, so as to minimize obstacles to the free circulation of cultural capital, to create a single market for all cultural capacities, and to guarantee convertibility of cultural capital into money, which is measured in labour and time (1977[1972]). As with money, people seek to maximize their profit and to accumulate symbolic capital. With reading and writing, such impersonal cultural resources can be used to accumulate more such resources and to monopolize the tools for appropriating these resources, thus perpetuating and legitimating the habitus (1990[1980]). The linguistically competent are able to impose the legitimate language in formal markets (of education, fashion, politics, etc) and in linguistic interactions. Signs are capital: exchangeable symbols in the struggle for power (1992[1975-1988]). The logic of the literary field is likewise based on the nature of symbolic objects: merchandise and signification. Producers and consumers of literature are bound by schemas of perception that have been, often unwittingly, organized over time¹¹ (1996[1992]). Literacy, like currency, renders transactions more efficient—which has power implications.¹² Literacy is a medium of exchange and ideologically integrates people vertically and horizontally (Mann 1986). As tangible, exchangeable forms of power, books lead people to believe they are grasping power, participating in it, expressing themselves and doing their own persuading and influencing through publishing.

Unintended Effects and Resistance

People have intentions when they publish or participate in the use of books, but they might not achieve their intentions. Previously, scholars pointed to power and intended effects (eg Weber 1968[1920s]; Lasswell 1950[1936]; B. Russell 1938; Lasswell & Kaplan 1952; Goldhamer & Shils 1975; Lukes 1977), but it is now generally accepted that political history includes accidents, mistakes, and unintended effects (eg Lukes 1986, 2005; Mann 1986, 1993). These happen because, although

¹¹ Pure art's anti-economic logic and mass art's economic logic are linked by their opposition in schemas of perception, or mentalities (Bourdieu 1996[1992]).

¹² In particular, a phonetic alphabet renders recording, transmission, and translation quicker and less costly. The revolution caused by the Greek alphabet was not its technique, but its diffusion of stabilized messages to average citizens, along trade routes, and over territory, which integrated people through thought and customs (Mann 1986).

power has the potential for infinite extension, it checks itself dialectically. Everything strives to extend its force—its will to power—but it continually encounters similar efforts by other things (Nietzsche 1968[1901]). Counter-hegemonic activity takes place *within* dominant society because dialectics push relationships and history forward, eg revolution/reformation, state/civil society, force/consent, intellectuals/masses. Even being conscious of these dialectical relations already modifies them (Gramsci 1971[1930s]). Although Said (1983) and Chomsky (1979[1977]) criticized Foucault for ignoring resistance and justice respectively, Gordon (1980) and Hoy (1986) wrote that Foucault took into account possible resistance and offered tools to identify possibilities for power changes.¹³ Bourdieu's field of struggle had no exit; yet, he counselled a "Realpolitik of reason," to fight the technocrats, to maintain the autonomy of the intellectual field, to struggle for imposition of legitimate categories of perception and appreciation (1996[1992]:348). For Galbraith, the dialectic of power is that power must be resisted; otherwise, it would extend indefinitely (1983). For Scott, resistance can be overt but unofficial: the dominated consent to power but subvert its complete exercise (1990). For Lukes, unintended effects and resistance pervade society, for ideological power is only partially effective. Such unintentional power can be simultaneously willing and unwilling as "one can *consent* to power and *resent* the mode of its exercise;" thus, three-dimensional power is only partially effective (2005[1974]:150). Ideological power is not the only type of power in operation, and it often operates in unanticipated ways, for although power organizations try to control communication, they usually cannot (Mann 1993).

Unintended effects and resistance result from many actors' influence, persuasion, participation, and expression. Book publishing is an important action in this cycle to achieve knowledge and/or power. The next section, the sociology of

¹³ Hoy argued that power relations are social living and that Foucault believed in emancipation, but not from interest-free power relations or from progress as a growth of knowledge. In constant struggle, power and liberty exercise themselves and resist each other. People cannot get out of their social situation, but they can identify forms of power and, through their own everyday practices to resist injustice, they can challenge others' conceptions and manifestations of power. People's power lies in knowledge about the nature of social power. Foucault's mode rejects the dialectical necessity of particular actions, in favour of their possibility, for history is littered with events that do not fit into necessary progressions (Hoy 1986).

knowledge, takes up how power and knowledge construct each other and why book publishing is important in that construction.

Formation of Knowledge

The conscious and unconscious construction of knowledge entails power relations as different members of society express their opinions or beliefs, influence or persuade others, and generally participate or negotiate their position in society. Books are physical, tangible products that contain information; therefore, any analysis of book publishing should include theories of the construction of knowledge. Historians, linguists, philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, and others have incrementally added to the study of knowledge. Scholars have used the terms mentality, ideology, sociology of knowledge, epistemology, and history of consciousness to tackle this issue. Their discussions have included investigation of forms, symbols, and rituals. Research in differences among peoples' forms, symbols, and rituals has provoked comparisons and contrasts of 'primitive' and 'civilized' peoples. Some analysts have chosen illiteracy and literacy to mark the difference, creating a dividing line that persists to the present day. Writing and literacy have figured prominently in theories of knowledge. The history of the production of knowledge demonstrates power relations between representatives and represented, and it has evolved to incorporate modes of inscription, including book publishing.

Linguistics and Psychology

Linguists emphasized that words as symbols gather meaning as a function of social action. Saussure stated that people tend to attach more significance to writing because it is easier to grasp than speech or sound, because books that govern language support writing, and because official use gives writing more prestige (1966[1906-1911]). Wittgenstein saw rituals of naming, repeating, and learning (language games) as people develop language necessary for communication and action. Signs and grammar are arbitrary but take on meaning, ie objects are not the same as their interpretations (1958[1953]). Psychologists also saw the interdependence of individuals and environments, eg self, mind, and society as an inseparable process (G. Mead 1934[1895-1931]). The historical growth of consciousness happens through language use as knowledge of symbols or a writing

system mediates mental and social activity and affects the environment¹⁴ (Vygotsky 1962[1934]). On one hand, symbols make people conscious of their environments, order them, govern society in them, and emancipate people from them, by freeing energy for creative expression and activity, and new consciousness¹⁵ (E. Neumann 1954[1949]). On the other hand, foreign foundations of consciousness can oppress people, and mentalities can be provoked by, and contribute to, imperialism and nationalism (Fanon 1970[1952], 1963[1961]). Luria showed that mastery of literacy in (state-sponsored) education altered the nature of cognitive activity and systems of thought¹⁶ (1976[1974]). Scribner and Cole, however, pointed out that alongside state-sponsored literacy, Luria's groups experienced other novel activities, such as agricultural planning and collective management, so literacy was not *the* separating factor in the groups' performance (1981:10). Europeans introduced into the Pacific many novel activities and tools, including formal education and book publishing. The latter were not the only factors of change, but they played significant roles in shifting social organization and changing the course of history.

Historiography

As demonstrated in the first section, power shifts often involve consensus more than coercion. Islanders outnumbered but accommodated Europeans in many ways. Islanders adopted and adapted new information, materials, and skills to their environment. Missionaries consciously used book publishing to spread the word of God and to change society. Marc Bloch wrote that historians perceived that society remodels its own living conditions according to its needs (1953). Carr believed that historians themselves mould their pictures of environmental information to fit their values, and thereby categorize the information such that their pictures become facts. Educators are conscious of planning and shaping society with methods of mass persuasion and indoctrination to transform society with working hypotheses based on rational processes, including directing political force (1961).

¹⁴ According to Luria, Vygotsky amplified the Marxist-Leninist thesis that all fundamental human cognitive activities take shape in a matrix of social history and form the products of sociohistorical development (1976[1974]:v-vi), but because it disturbed Marxists in the battle for consciousness, his book was suppressed by the Soviet government for 20 years (Brunner 1962:v).

¹⁵ At first, symbols and rituals are identical, but later ritual develops a form of sacred action that the collective re-enacts for the collective, until the symbol, rite, and meaning develop their own autonomy (E. Neumann 1954[1949]).

¹⁶ As many other researchers did, Vygotsky and Luria looked for marked shifts in cognition between illiterates and literates.

As Europeans assumed control of government across Oceania, the flow of government-specific information increased, although it did not reach everywhere by any means. Kuhn argued that communities create their environments from information that is often derived from authoritative sources that systematically disguise the production of information. Documents, particularly textbooks, present cumulative histories within the accepted paradigms by systematically disguising the existence and significance of scientific revolutions¹⁷ (1996[1962]). Hobsbawm and Ranger showed invented tradition to be a set of practices usually governed by symbols and rituals to inculcate values and norms and to legitimate regimes and governments (1992[1983]). Invention of history or ideology is selected, written, pictured, popularized, and institutionalized (Hobsbawm 1992[1983]). Other contributors to Hobsbawm and Ranger (1992[1983]) relied on books to illustrate their points; Morgan particularly addressed the increased number of printed books in Welsh that bolstered the language and helped to revive Welsh culture (1992[1983]). P. Burke emphasized the escalating reciprocity between knowledge and power. Knowledge generates new professions and technologies (including different kinds of books and printing), which develop their own social patterns. Ruling cliques depend on information about their own people and about other institutions and populations, so they collect, store, retrieve, publish, and use it, or censor it if not in their interests. Accumulation, systematization, and mediation of knowledge increase power, ie the ability to dominate by creating and maintaining identity. The growing thirst for knowledge expands the market for publications and the notion of information as a commodity. The economic increase has fostered preoccupation with intellectual property. The ability to profit from knowledge has made it not just a competitive issue among businesses but also a political issue among nations (2000). Colonial governments in the Pacific Islands gathered information and reported home. In recording and publishing to comprehend, governments ordered social organization into schemas that became fixed. Anthropology was useful in detailing cultures, as well as in academic circles, where it earned a prestigious place alongside other disciplines. With information from the islands, academicians and book publishers profited. Publishing's methods and profits are economic and political issues in which people participate at multiple levels.

¹⁷ Fuller criticized Kuhn for participating in monopoly of the means of intellectual reproduction that Kuhn himself had described (2004).

Anthropology

As communication and transport increased, different peoples had more opportunities to meet and/or to read of other peoples. The juxtaposition of different social and political organizations encouraged anthropologists to study communicative social thought and how people think. Lévy-Bruhl posited a “law of participation” for collective mentalities (1966[1910]:83). Among other things, his observation of illiterates using printed books and writing as divining instruments affected his theory of pre-logical thought: experiences cause the intellect to define and to classify. Although he wrote that pre-logical thought persists among people with advanced logical thought and pointed to understanding the ethnocentric nature of rational inquiry to shed light on differences in mentalities (1978[1923]), many scholars made assumptions about literate, logical, civilized people versus illiterate, illogical primitives; conducted their research along those lines; and thus wrote power relations into their science.¹⁸ Lévi-Strauss countered that indigenous language structures and classifications have logic and rationality; ‘primitive’ and ‘civilized’ people use signs symbolically to increase their authority; their symbols assume the status of that which is symbolized; and “savages” should be permitted to take their proper place in philosophy. He believed that writing was not *the* factor of progress or stagnation of an era; rather, writing had accompanied the creation of cities and empires, integrating individuals into political systems and grading them into castes or classes. He argued pessimistically that writing continued to favour exploitation, even disguising it¹⁹ (1992[1955], 1966[1962]). The Pacific Islands are still often the object of primitivizing ideology.

Geertz emphasized symbols, such as writing. Because symbols have the power to promote social cohesion and identity, their history is crucial to modes of thought and communication and vice versa. Politics has genealogies of symbols, as people create and adapt legitimate signs of authority and identity (1977, 1995, 2000a[1973]{1957-1972}, 2000b[1974-2000]). Politics is a principal and public arena in which structures of meaning unfold and in which people create culture (2000a:312). Culture is “an ensemble of texts” (p.453). Geertz advocated

¹⁸ As Darwin’s work had, Lévy-Bruhl’s also bore the brunt of others’ assumptions and prejudices.

¹⁹ Nevertheless, Lévi-Strauss’s fear of “natives” gaining access to knowledge in libraries and of making them vulnerable to the lies in printed documents (1992[1955]:300)—implicitly denying such vulnerability among Europeans—marked the dualism in his thinking about “native” abilities.

ethnography of communication to study inscription, formation of meaning, and development of systems of humans' own governing as normative ideas and decisive procedures (2000b). He likened anthropology to "thick description,"²⁰ of signs, symbols, and text, and counselled study based on cultural and semiotic meanings from indigenous perspectives²¹ (2000a&b).

Other social scientists took up examination of inscription and governing. Goody and Watt equated writing or literacy with civilization, democracy, and cognitive developments, but acknowledged that literacy brings other practices that prevent achievement of "educated democracy" and egalitarian society (1968[1963]). Goody further qualified his stand in subsequent publications²² (1968a, 1977a&b, 1986, 1996, 2003). Goody believed that alphabetic literacy affects cognition, contributes to the construction of logic, and becomes an object of visual and aural inspection—and objective²³ (1977b). Goody later also revised this assessment to argue that because people use writing to create ideologies and practices, to freeze genealogies, to enumerate tribes, etc, writing changes rituals, and writing itself becomes ritualized. Writing at every level includes dimensions of power—including listing taboos, dictating commandments, detailing construction methods, drawing up contracts, registering people and stock, developing bureaucracy, and justifying history and (neo)imperialism. Linking education, politics, and economics strengthens the status of literacy, and literate professions create an achievement ladder and a value system. Non face-to-face linguistic acts make explicit that which was once implicit. Explicit reasoning involves the concept of publication, of making

²⁰ Gilbert Ryle first used the term (Geertz 2000a[1973]{1957-1972}:6).

²¹ As many nations became independent, Geertz saw how anthropology travelled with empires and imposed cultural hegemony and symbolic domination. Concepts and practices have been changing as distinction between investigator and investigated—each with their own politics—has become more difficult and as more non-Westerners become anthropologists (1995). Furthermore, publication of Malinowski's *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* [1967] posed questions for the reliability of an individual's interpretations and publications and profoundly affected anthropology (Geertz 2000b:9).

²² Contributors to *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Goody 1968b) found that democracy does not depend on literacy (Gough 1968a&b; Lewis 1968), that literacy is not necessarily practised democratically (Maurice Bloch 1968; Tambiah 1968), that literacy aids governmental control (Maurice Bloch 1968; Goody 1968a&c; Meggitt 1968; Tambiah 1968), and that writing and literacy are themselves politically defined (Schofield 1968). Meggitt (1968) and Tambiah (1968) described the ritual use of books and literacy. Meggitt described how writing became a symbol of the authority and wealth that Papua New Guineans desired (1968).

²³ Many scholars leaned on Popper's works (1962, 1979). He wrote that subjective knowledge becomes objective when people say, write, and print what they think, because writing can be submitted to critical discussion. Books adhere to a formula; formulated theory makes knowledge objective (1962).

public, of keeping a product in the public domain by giving it permanent form. Explicit, formal rules and powerful scribes change the nature of the relationship between ruler and ruled. Specialists sometimes act as gatekeepers of ideas by controlling access to written material, by establishing institutions to control ideological content, and by developing bureaucracies staffed with specialists who exercise procedures over property, technology, and ideology (1986). Thus, writing is “a ‘constructed’ performance” and “rarely devoid of social, economic and political significance,” and it “usually involves the domination of the non-literate...or even the less literate” (1987:ix, xv). Publishers construct books for public performance. Far from presenting objective information, publishers are enmeshed in their society, changing it as it changes them and their products.

Contributors to *Writing Culture* discussed consciousness of writing in ethnographic practice (Clifford & Marcus 1986). Contexts determine how cultures are not just recorded (made into texts), but also registered or accepted (contextualized). Culture inscribes communicative processes between subjects in relations of power (Clifford 1986a). Ethnographic description or interpretation that sees itself bringing culture(s) into writing, or that is perceived as inscription (rather than transcription or dialogue), continues to enact powerful allegorical structures, eg vanishing primitives or last-chance rescue of natives (1986b). Although ethnographers borrow, reject, or appropriate tropes and invent new ones (Pratt 1986), some discursive practices are taken for granted, which continues the domination of ethnography’s subjects (Rosaldo 1986). For example, European languages dominate publications, transform other languages and contribute to models of knowledge that might reproduce inequalities in power (capacities) of languages vis-à-vis dominant forms of discourse (Asad 1986). Rabinow wrote that epistemology is a historical event and a projection of cultural practices onto others; therefore, ethnographers must include themselves in the framework of analysis in future²⁴ (1986). Marcus wrote that (con)textualization is the essence of ethnography, which mediates oral origins and inscriptions. He found that often the

²⁴ According to Rabinow, in the evolution of the making of ethnographic texts and discourses about the Other, academic proclamations of anti-colonialism are now political moves by academics who no longer write for a colonial authority but for the academy (1986).

most interesting authors continue to invoke ethnographic authority but write about their experience rather than what they were trained to write (1986).

Despite Clifford's statement, "An interest in the discursive aspects of cultural representation draws attention not to the interpretation of cultural "texts" but to their relations of production" (1986a:13), contributors to *Writing Culture* barely touched the politics of *publishing* ethnography. They ignored the fact that the primitivizing or salvaging (redeeming) of Others gains authority through *publication* (which involves many people) of the writer's allegory to thousands of readers. Only Rabinow suggested, among myriad other tasks for ethnographers, analysis of publishing as part of anthropologizing the West (1986). One should question 1) how writers can invoke authority and 2) why the personal experiences of ethnographers are more interesting than what they were trained to write. Perhaps the politics and history of their *publication* (legitimization in the first case and status in the second, compounded by academic bureaucracy and commodification) are more important than their *writing* in perpetuating domination of Western practice.

About the Pacific Islands, N. Thomas wrote that colonized and colonizers appropriated, incorporated, and re-contextualized cultural objects, making concrete and palpable what was not. Books were just such promiscuous, "entangled objects" (1991). Colonialism was a cultural, ideological process; it was ways of thinking enmeshed in shifting apparatuses, in which post-colonialism is still highly engaged (1994). The production of knowledge about, for, and in the Pacific Islands is bound up in practices of power. Like power, book publishing repeats cycles of persuasion, influence, participation, and expression.

Philosophy

Returning to books as symbols, Cassirer believed symbols—via words and tools—mediate, conceive, and express thought and develop consciousness, thereby showing new avenues to explore (1955a[1923]). People apprehend and know their own beings only in making themselves visible, by becoming creators of tools and products and by expressing such creative power (1955b[1925]). The particular and the universal are needed to perceive each other (1957[1929]). The course of human knowledge leads from perception, to representation, to signification, to grasping pure relationships and the order of meaning. According to Cassirer, creation is the

“Will to Formation,” rather than power or domination (1996[1995]{1940s}:28). As people participate to form or to understand something, however, people’s expressions can contribute to, or shift, existing power relations.

For Habermas, economics, media, and politics together structurally transform the public sphere, expanding or narrowing access to knowledge and cultural products²⁵ (1989[1962]). The discursive formation of will incorporates social learning processes (including technical and organizational knowledge) that become (re)productive relations and forces, which find legitimating expression in worldviews, moral representations, and identity formations that have developmental logic inherent in cultural traditions, institutional change, and social movements (1979[1976]). Actors orient each new action by interpretations of symbols and interconnections of meanings in a lifeworld composed of familiar cultural knowledge based on grammatically regulated relations. The symbolically structured lifeworld reproduces itself through *mediated*²⁶ actions and common will. Communication is necessary for common will. Habermas believed the invention of writing accompanied the transition to civilization, and writing’s social practices developed distinct professions. Writing, printing, and electronic media free speech acts spatially and temporally for use in multiple and future contexts; nevertheless, media cannot replace mutual understanding as the mechanism for coordinating action. Mutual understanding cannot be technicized, although it can be rationalized, ie expanded by communication technologies and mediated organizationally. Although rationalizing economics and politics have transformed expressions of culture into tools for the market and political domination, Habermas held out hope that autonomous individuals and collectivities might adapt the tools to their own political means and ends, so as to initiate and sustain dialogue (1984[1981], 1987[1981]). He saw the power of the media to collect information, to select and to present programmes, and to control the entry of authors, contributions, and topics into the public sphere in the short term. Nevertheless, he saw that mass media, through airing controversy and dissensus, promote agreement and opportunities over the long term in a continuing democratic process. Only through diffusion of

²⁵ Like Gramsci, Habermas warned of intellectuals talking only among themselves, and public opinion being used as critical authority (in subjecting to publicity the exercise of political power) and as propaganda (1989[1962]).

²⁶ by media of communication

different and controversial information can consensus develop (1996[1992]). Symbols thus have emancipatory powers through language in action (2001[1997]). Book publishing is communicative and symbolic action: it establishes modes and norms of communication and of social evolution, which include possibilities of reinforcement, opposition, and change in political order.

Gellner saw communication based in education as enabling people to participate in nationalism. Literate centralized education makes scribes of everyone and assimilates them to high culture (1983). He believed the crucial step in cognitive development was the introduction of literacy, for it aided the diffusion of religious authority, transition to political authority, growth of autonomous sovereign knowledge, and transmission of a generalized high culture. The Western cognitive *shift from ritual to doctrine* and subsequent unification led to a vision of an orderly world and of egalitarian generic reason, which in turn led to effective exploration and experimentation (1988). Shared high culture does not give people status; it makes them eligible to participate in that culture. Power and culture support each other, converge, and become standardized (1994). Culture is a necessary and sufficient condition for nationalism, but it still depends on literacy (1997). What Gellner failed to realize was that doctrine and literacy had become ritual, with deep investment in production and cognition. Production of *knowledge* became central in the production that replaced predation as the cog-pin of Western life. A high culture, ritually represented in books, and in which books were ritually represented and used, spread via those very books. Links and tensions increased among wealth, power, prestige, cognition, knowledge, and cultural enrichment. Knowledge was no longer vested with only religious ritual specialists; it was vested with ritual specialists of many other disciplines, who provided legitimation. Ritual gained authority and disguised itself in rationally published texts, which then helped to spread unconscious consensus about reason—and ritual—which continues to have political ramifications around the world.

Sociology

According to Spencer, growth in communication and growth in political and social organization affect each other. To coordinate aggregate actions, society must have a governing centre and media to communicate with its parts. Social organization

in the form of customs and institutions also arises as people unconsciously consent to them²⁷ (1974[1862-1896], 1971[1896]). Durkheim believed that as individuals become more autonomous, they rely more on society and develop collective consciousness. As the governing power defends the collective consciousness, its authority becomes the symbol of that consciousness. Collective representations of history gather individual adherence and emotional attachment so as to create reality according to circumstances and to classify it logically. As society ritually classifies beings into superiors and inferiors, it grants to superiors a property that makes power and creates political authority²⁸ (1997[1893], 1915[1912]; Durkheim & Mauss 1963[1901-1902]). Mannheim saw knowledge and ideas as cooperative processes bound to existential forces and the fabric of everyday life (1952[1923-1929]). Struggles for power bring realizations of unconscious collective realities, which in turn bring insight into modes of thought. People engaged in politics then use such conceptions of the world as weapons in ideological battles (1936[1929-1931]). Merton showed how science and literature changed with political events, social systems, and communications innovations (1970[1938]). Individuals and society create these collective realities or memory through experiences and rituals as they incrementally select their perceptions of history to fit contemporary exigencies and unconsciously shift from one organizational structure or value system to another (Halbwachs 1992[1952, 1941]). Berger and Luckmann counselled investigation of common sense and language signs, for social change has a dialectical relationship with the history of ideas: knowledge realizes society, by apprehending, and continuing to produce, the social reality by interpreting meaning to newcomers through legitimating formulas (1967). Berger later emphasized the inability of foreigners alone to raise consciousness in other societies and thus the need for participation in the social construction of political realities (1974). Giddens's

²⁷ Spencer's public support for natural selection weeding out unfit members of society—"the survival of the fittest"—was the stuff of political philosophy, not science, and his political and ethical philosophical writings impinged on his scientific works. His theory occasionally exceeded the evidence. Nevertheless, subsequent philosophy has had roots in Spencer's work (Carneiro 1974, Spencer quoted p.xx). Those in doubt of the political nature of publications have only to think about the continuing controversy around Darwin's books (1889[1839], 1902[1859], 1901[1871]). His name unfortunately became attached to different theory and advocacy—social Darwinism—that was really the result of others' publications, eg Herbert Spencer and Thomas Malthus.

²⁸ Needham took issue with Durkheim and Mauss's methods and conclusions, but justified translating and publishing the work to show its value in conceiving of classification for enquiry and its effects on subsequent scholarship (1963).

“structuration”²⁹ includes unconscious motivations, practical consciousness³⁰ and institutions with built-in mobilization of bias that govern the continuity, transmutation, and reproduction of social systems through daily routines (1984). For sociologists and other social scientists, the production of knowledge, via communication media, contributes to forming collective representation, which includes the structures of society and negotiations to create those structures. Those structures and agencies in turn contribute to forming new communication.

Book Publishing’s Role in the Construction of Power and Knowledge

Although the scholars above discussed writing, printing, and books, they barely touched on publishing in the construction of knowledge. Among sociologists, however, a few emphasized the powerful impact of publishing. Coser argued that intellectuals and foundations acted as gatekeepers of ideas through their decisions about research and publication, which legitimized and institutionalized their ideas, which in turn gave them the prestige to continue. They established a communications network and a corporate consciousness. They achieved some independence from patrons when the book market expanded, and their commercial success expanded their authority. Publicity (reviews) bolstered the ideas of their authors and publishers, which affected public opinion. Political sects used such gatekeeping tools as propaganda and censorship, but censorship often increased readership,³¹ and oppositional magazines articulated differences, which over time affected literature, politics, and social reform (1970). Coser called for a sociology of publishing to investigate publishers’ situations, decisions, methods, networks, and consequences (1976). Coser et al showed that ideas flow through social mechanisms, institutional channels, and informal brokerage that mediate relations between creators of ideas and their publics (1985).

In discussing the formation of newly independent states, Shils argued that intellectuals and authorities must construct symbols to diffuse affinity, which is only possible through complex institutions, such as the publishing industry. The spread

²⁹ According to Calhoun and Wacquant (2002), Bourdieu introduced the term, which Giddens later made famous.

³⁰ awareness of acting, which is not to be confused with consciousness of being and identity (Giddens 1984)

³¹ Because censorship made some people curious about what was being censored and why, they found ways around censorship.

of literacy and the reproduction and transmission of symbols in turn affect the kinds of organization in which intellectuals participate. Learned societies, libraries, publishing houses, and universities are symbols that a state must have to merit the respect of national and international communities. Developing states face demand for intellectual products that outstrips the states' ability to provide such products. Gatekeeping happens by virtue of the small number of intellectuals, technical jargon, low literacy and few skills, scarce employment, use of a metropolitan language, and institutions that are tied to government. Thus, new states continue to depend on the formerly colonial and accessible culture, and political independence has not changed cultural and intellectual production: the centres remain in the developed world (1972). Because writers and publishers contribute to the creation and distribution of symbols that share meaning and identity with others, create more power, author capacity to do vital things, and seek universal observance of their beliefs and values, Shils believed intellectuals³² have a duty to act responsibly toward society (1975). Ben-David and Clark addressed the roles of writers and publishers in identity creation, knowledge construction, social cohesion, and value transmission. The symbolic and sometimes unconscious practices of patronage, institutions, professional associations, literary prizes, referees, boards, etc contributed to making books symbols of status, knowledge, and politics, and to spreading culture and creating authority. Reactions to ideologies, mass media, and symbols provoked discussion that affected the growth of ideologies and professionalism as social scientists' and journalists' search for objective reality vied with their participation in sociopolitical processes of knowledge (in)formation (1977). They began to recognize how enmeshed knowledge and power were.

Recognizing the entanglement, Bourdieu explained that the opposition between primitive and civilized derives from ignoring the relationship between observer and observed. Objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded, by the habitus, which "so perfectly possesses the objectively available means of expression that it is possessed by them...." (1990[1980], quote p.57). The stakes of this largely unconscious political struggle are theoretical and practical schemes to preserve or transform the social world through class(ification); through

³² scholars in the developed and developing worlds

monopoly power of making others see, believe, know, and recognize; through imposing legitimate (di)visions of the social world; and through (un)forming groups (1992[1975-1988]). B. Anderson's "imagined communities" were products of national consciousness brought about by publications. "Print-capitalism" unified exchange and communication, fixed languages, fostered images conducive to national ideology, aroused support, and created languages of power. These generally unconscious processes became models that were imitated and exploited around the world. Extensive governmental representation and education, which demanded massive publication, embedded the idea of nation, to the point that nations can now be imagined without linguistic communality and print (1991). Status, control, and publishing function together. Book publishing has been a significant aspect of ideological power in education, news, and regulations.

Conscious and Unconscious Power and Effects

Few people would disagree that, in theory, the accumulation of knowledge is a worthy objective. In practice, however, it can take on attributes that its collectors and constructionists never intended. Gough wrote that external political and economic relations, literacy among social and occupational classes, a society's values and ideas, its technology and social structure, and its political forms all act on each other's feedback (1968a). Over time, Goody also came to see causal arcs, feedback mechanisms (including writing on speech), and a plurality of causes with different weights (1977a). Numerous scholars have written that the pursuit of power, the adoption of symbols and rituals, and the achievement of goals are neither linear nor foregone conclusions. Social forces that shape the world often have unintended results (Spencer 1974[1862-1896], 1971[1896]; Marc Bloch 1953; Carr 1961; Habermas 1979[1976]; Giddens 1984; Clifford 1986b). People can make and disseminate communication and knowledge, which can enhance or block other communication and knowledge, or discriminate among acts of both, but as Habermas wrote, it is still not clear exactly how media intervene in the public sphere's diffuse circuits of political communication (1996[1992]). Heidegger explained technology as means, ends, and human activity. Technology's uses are not neutral, eg publishers plan their business to bring their world into focus for their publics and to confirm it publicly (1977[1952-1962]). The construction of knowledge and power is a public exercise, which communication and technology

inseparably mediate. The next section discusses communication and technology to illustrate the effects of media on political planning and the effects of political policy on media.

Mass Communications and Technology

Power Relies on Communication

Discussion in previous sections about forms, rituals, and symbols shows that persuasion, influence, participation, and expression are important aspects of power, and all of these rely on communication, of which book publishing is just one aspect. Communication and power are inseparable, for power involves reciprocity, although not necessarily equal reciprocity. There can be no power if there is no Other, and an Other necessitates communication. According to Lasswell, every society's values are shaped and distributed according to patterns or institutions, which include communications that support the network. Communication surveys the environment, correlates society's response thereto, and transmits social inheritance. Communicative acts entail who (control) says what (content) in which channel (media), to whom (audience), and with what effect (people's responses). To gauge efficiency of communication, it is necessary to account for values at stake and identities in question (1960[1948]). Parsons pointed to communication as the most important condition for effective participation in collective action, but the stability of communication, like all interchange, is dependent on norms and freedoms that are not absolute (1967c[1964]). The conundrum of power and communication confuses observers about the ultimate power in social affairs: opinion or the forces that cause opinion (B. Russell 1938). A brief history of the study of communication and technology—such as book publishing—adds to our understanding of the interdependence of knowledge and power.

Symbols, Forms, and Mentalities

The use of propaganda in World War I brought news making to scholarly attention. Lippmann warned that symbols that represented reality, rather than reality itself, governed behaviour and that media had power to create mentalities and to determine politics (1929[1922]). Lasswell's study of propaganda included a framework for communications theory (1927), and his analyses of politics emphasized the use of symbols (1950[1936]; Lasswell & Kaplan 1952). Symbols

have remained important in communication studies (Wirth 1960[1948]; Deutsch 1966[1953], 1963; Whiting 1976; Katz et al 1977; Tehranian 1990; Postman 1993). The extensive use of media in the 1930s as Hitler and the Fascists rose to power increased attention to communications. Mumford saw the power of technology to affect communication and vice versa. Shifts in communication fed a chain of deepening patterns of production, consumption, and supportive philosophy in rationalism, progress, exploitation, and infinite expansion³³ (1934). Book publishing was important in such patterns.

The post–World War II polarization between ideologies of communism and democracy witnessed increasing use of communications for persuasion and influence, and increasing research and development of information technology. Lazarsfeld et al found that people most familiar with education and propaganda and with the larger stakes in politics were the most interested audiences; that a two-step flow, ie publication or broadcast plus opinion leadership, was important in spreading mass media’s messages; that media knowledge increased power; and that social effects of media varied with the system of ownership and control (1968[1944]). The conditions, including personal contact, that made mass media effective tended to maintain rather than change cultural patterns and social structure (Lazarsfeld & Merton 1960[1948]). Moreover, people distrusted propaganda without concrete evidence and supporting social policy and action (Merton & Lazarsfeld 1968[1949]). Merton saw similarities between the sociology of knowledge and of mass communications, especially in the creation and effects of audiences (1968[1949]).

Innis pushed the analysis a bit further to include audiences that purchase communication. Communications media are commodities that become staples in econo-political systems (1949), and dominant forms of media absorb, record, and transform information into systems of knowledge consonant with the institutional power structure of the society of which they are part. Interaction between media’s forms and social reality creates biases, which in turn affect political orientation and values (1950, 1991[1951]). Lippmann warned that the mass could not govern;

³³ He challenged Weber’s theory linking the Calvinist ethos with capitalism (1992[1920-1921]); instead, he attributed capitalism’s take-off to the shift in communications, particularly use of the printing press and sale of news.

voters could not be relied on to represent the people; and public opinion, which was slower than events, could lead to political mistakes. Public opinion, representation, and governing were distinct matters; therefore, publishing was necessary to give the audience all sides of disputes (1956[1955]). Other social scientists emphasized communications as forms, contents, and contexts that affected one another politically, psychologically, and socially (eg Pye 1963; Schramm 1964; Lerner & Schramm 1967; E. Rogers & Svenning 1969). About the extent to which media and messages change people's attitudes and mentalities, Briggs and Burke wrote that contextualists concentrate on short-term intentions, tactics, and strategies of individuals whereas autonomists, determinists, and revolutionaries concentrate on long-term change. Briggs and Burke themselves chose the crossroads of structure and agency and recommended that analysts view the media system as a whole (2002). This dissertation's approach, while focusing on one medium, does not deny the effect of other media. Moreover, it emphasizes the long term and the interaction of agency (book publishing) and structure (political events, institutions, order, and shifts).

Feedback and Gatekeeping

Wirth believed that because symbols are communicatively effective and can be used politically to create consensus, control over mass communications media is perhaps the most important source of power (1960[1948]). Lazarsfeld and Merton wrote that media and associated issues, movements, organizations, and people reciprocally legitimize each other (1960[1948]). Tools influence patterns of action and organization, which then affect tools. Wiener saw learning as a complicated form of feedback,³⁴ one that influenced patterns of action and organization. As stored information depreciates in value in a changing world, information as process increases in importance and perpetually changes. Secondary functions of communications (eg advertising, education, income) tend to encroach on the intrinsic uses of the means of communication, which is aided by the elaboration and consequent expenses of the means themselves; thus, communications means are the chief avenues to power and prestige. Communication cements society, and

³⁴ Wiener's theory of cybernetics assisted analysis of media and environment. The Greek root is *kybernetes*, meaning steersman, a term Plato used to describe prudential government (cited in Dechert 1966:11).

gatekeepers³⁵ are those who have most to do with civilizations' continued existence (1973[1948], 1950). Innis outlined some effects of gatekeeping: censorship, knowledge taxes, legal suits, and vested interests of all sorts contribute to the rise and decline of information monopolies and of political control (1949, 1950, 1991[1951]). Katz and Lazarsfeld showed that personal influence affected the transmission and reception of mass media messages; thus, the social environment and character of interpersonal relationships had implications for the reception of content (1955). Books are forms of feedback, and publishers are gatekeepers.

Deutsch argued that gatekeeping affects a nation-state's ability to assimilate experience. Nation-states depend on communication to process information. The feedback of symbols through communication channels, behaviour preferences, and political alignments creates national consciousness and national will, which guide (or block) present or future action or decision making. To maintain legitimacy, communication needs feedback (1966[1953], 1963). Social scientists turned hopefully to analysis of feedback and gatekeeping, through programmes, research, and pre-testing informational materials, to assess the media's powerful forces for social change. Because power is distributed unevenly, a few gatekeepers have enormous power over information flows and others' views of their environment (Schramm 1960b, 1964). Analysing information flows and effects, however, proved difficult. Bertalanffy's general system theory used the principles of cybernetics to describe autonomous growth of symbolic activities (1968). He argued that people have the ability to create a universe of symbols in thought and language, but the symbolic universe becomes more than the sum of its parts and more clever than its creators (1981).

The concepts of cybernetics and general system theory have been useful to understand content and tools as feedback, making communication central in the construction of knowledge and power. The quest for content and tools to promote legitimacy and consensus became increasingly evident in the lead up to independence for developing countries. Indeed, the Anglophone Pacific Islands experienced a marked efflorescence in book publishing in the years around

³⁵ a term perhaps first used by Viennese psychologist Kurt Lewin. Along an information channel are decision gates for information to pass or not (Schramm 1964).

achievement of independence. The Francophone Pacific experienced more book publishing as the French government, in a bid to retain power, made concessions to local cultures. I return to these issues in chapters 9 through 13.

Development

As (ex)colonial countries sought to retain influence in (former) territories and as the ideological war became colder, communications theorists lent their talents to supporting notions of development—as economic progress and democratic citizenship. Berelson and Janowitz showed that the importance of public opinion increased with the use, reach, and speed of mass communications; therefore, technologies, opinions, and effects needed analysis to guide politics (1953[1950]). Berelson narrowed public opinion to the people’s response to controversial political and social issues (1953[1950]). Schramm argued that mass media and the general public had to be more responsible than government in using media. Mass media’s task was to accelerate and to ease development by instilling attitudes, beliefs, norms, and practices favourable to modernization through knowledge and training—even among the under-educated and illiterate (1960b[1957]). Lerner treated literacy as the basic agent and index of change, providing the essential skill to operate a media system and measuring transition from traditional to modern society. Literacy and media exposure helped to create psychic mobility and empathy as people communicated at great distances, all of which contributed to economic and political participation³⁶ (1960[1957], 1963; Lerner & Pevsner 1964[1958]). Rostow’s theory of economic take-off also emphasized aspirations and motivations and influenced many studies for capitalist development (1960). In hindsight, we can see the assumptions these social scientists made about the direction of flow from the developed to the developing world, but their communication, studies, and products (including books) were enmeshed in their political environment.

Communication experiments did not necessarily produce the economic and political effects intended by their theorists, policy makers, or participants. Innis showed that monopolies of communication dialectically invite competition (1949,

³⁶ Lerner’s “modernizing” model has many similarities with Robert Parks’ and others’ research on *assimilation* of ethnic migrants in US cities in the 1920s; see Shah for the construction of knowledge and its links to intellectuals and institutions (2003).

1950, 1991[1951]). Lazarsfeld et al found that, despite the rhetoric of targeting new or volatile audiences, educational material and political propaganda attracted audiences previously familiar with their contents (1968[1944]). Berelson wrote that communications theory should take into account variables and unintended effects (1953[1950], 1960[1948]). Bell saw the exhaustion of old ideologies and a lag behind circumstances in the production of new ones (1962). Over time, social scientists found that technology was insufficient to catalyse society: more exposure to media did not necessarily mean more effective political participation because irregular communication flows sometimes caused inaccurate images of modernity, created frustrated expectations, and empowered people who then acted against the government or society in unpredictable ways (Pye 1963). Social scientists began to pay more attention to development's inter-relationships, the piecemeal nature of development tasks, the differences among nation-states, the failure of mass media campaigns because of misjudgement about local conditions, the political struggles within media institutions, and the need to integrate new media and messages into existing political cultures. Mass media worked only in conjunction with social communication, eg with two-way flows and using change agents (Pye 1963, 1967; Pye & Verba 1965;³⁷ Schramm 1960a, 1964; Lerner & Schramm 1967; E. Rogers & Svenning 1969). Media and communication were part of a bigger political picture, with many more variables that subtly and unsubtly affected decision making at every level.

Consenting to New Media but Resenting Control

By the 1970s hopes for communications media to foster development faded in the face of realization of foreign content and foreign *and* local control, which kept some countries underdeveloped and dependent. Despite the national and political prestige and practical benefits attached to literacy, few literacy campaigns had delivered personally useful knowledge, dignity, better integration with environments, or living standards in general. Media conditioned the methods, character, and content of education, and education was happening before economic development and was preparing people for societies that did not yet exist (Faure et al

³⁷ These studies were part of a publications series (Studies in Political Development) initiated by the Social Science Research Council to influence the development of theory for political modernization in new states, and the series has continued to inform communications studies and policy.

1972). Few heeded Schumacher's plea for development on a human scale, which called for moderate gradualism and a look at economics beyond the Industrial Revolution (1989[1973]). Bell argued that the rise of the services sector changed society's structure, as societies organized themselves around theories and symbols of knowledge.³⁸ Government sponsored more research and development, which fostered more and more innovation; therefore, technical skill became the base of power and education became the mode of access to power. Knowledge and planning were basic requisites for organized society, but their contradiction lay in technical skills that built on rationality while plans entailed bargaining about priorities. Although post-industrial society promoted the ideology of disinterested knowledge, it was itself enmeshed in politics. The increase in the amount and technical nature of knowledge, the greater need for mediation and translation, and the limits to absorption posed new political problems for managing shifts in social arrangements and institutions brought about by changes in consciousness (1974).

In the 1970s, calls for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), a New International Information Order (NIIO), and a Declaration on the Mass Media were raised within the United Nations to address information flows, rival ideologies of development versus free speech and markets, and the role of indigenous cultures in political and economic progress (A. Smith 1980). Social scientists continued to find that manipulation of mass media had not achieved its intended results and research on feedback had not sufficed to devise appropriate use of messages and media. Moreover, studies of communication were not ideologically free and neutral. Élite ownership, control, and influence on content decreased public trust in the media, and people questioned the (c) overt biases thereby diffused. The harm to indigenous political and cultural self-expression prompted calls for alternative conceptions of communication to assist more affordable self-development, better analyses of communication-effects gaps, and systems approaches to analysis of communication in social organizations (E. Rogers 1976; E. Rogers & Agarwala-Rogers 1976; Lerner & Nelson 1977). Katz et al found that new states typically used media to rediscover or to create national symbols first for political legitimation and integration; then for

³⁸ Bell defined knowledge as "a set of organized statements of facts or ideas, presenting a reasoned judgment or an experimental result, which is transmitted to others through some communication medium in some systematic form" (1974:175).

economic, educational, technical, and social development; and finally, often in reaction to the preceding, for cultural revival. In the face of increasing self-awareness of popular movements, governments often try to exert more control over their media. Inherited communication plays a key role in the politics of using new media; thus, development requires understanding of cultural history and needs (1977).

Geopolitically, the inseparability of information and the global economy became more apparent in the 1980s. The MacBride Report recognized that the framework within which communication took place was a result of political struggles that had shaped prevailing social attitudes and that communication structures and transmitted messages were not neutral. The report addressed the consequences of (neo)colonialism and made a pitch for differently organized aid and agencies with understanding of, and sensitivity to, the developing world (1980). A. Smith wrote that the need for more information is a product of independence, as nation-states must negotiate outside their boundaries. Internationally, developing countries plead geopolitics; nationally, they plead bureaucracy—often ignoring their own intellectuals (who often find sympathy in the West). Most media in independent countries have appeared in their postcolonial era, but advertising, content, equipment, ownership, and training of their professionally and technically qualified personnel continue some colonial relationships. Powerful and subtle forces in society—not (self-)censorship but training and mores—control internal flows of information: “The ways in which information passes through a society are the key to that society’s culture and are inseparable from its understanding of how to preserve itself and its internal group relationships. It is the silences that control a society and keep it ‘stable’ much more than the conscious noise which it generates” (1980, quote p.151). These silences are a form of ideological power.

The debate about technologies and discourses as means or ends continued unabated, with analysts pointing to the politics of both means and ends. Pool showed decision makers often make new policy based on preceding technology or their fear of new media. Technologies can increase freedom, but politics enhance or limit that freedom (1983). Postman argued that people have come to love the technology that oppresses them, without understanding how the forms of public

discourse dictate their content (1985). Social institutions function as control mechanisms principally by directing how much value to give information, and in doing so affect its meaning³⁹ (1993). Beniger looked at attempts to control societal forces unleashed by the acceleration of communication, and people's innovations to design, manage, order, organize, price, time, and transport communication. Inventions of forms standardize information. Only that which is formed is intelligible. In infinite extension, information needs controlling but depends on control. Control is the combination of influence and purpose, for which communication is necessary. Control and communication simultaneously use and measure feedback; technologies, which multiply as feedback, beget feedback (1986). As the complexity of communication and politics deepened, social scientists sought ways to distinguish among phenomena of both.

Complexity and Scale

Studies of the nature of local politics on the receiving end of mass media began to affect planning and further analysis. Nyerere et al challenged the North to assist in people-centred and -specific development, and challenged the South not to be a passive bystander in the process (1990). Tehranian saw small media as empowering tools for democracy and development. By promoting cognition (learning) and cohesion (community), the use of smaller, less costly and surveillable, yet more accessible, interactive, and mobile media might assist the struggle for political freedom, social equality, and cultural identity (1990). He held hope in analyses beyond states and government (eg nations and religions) and in the simultaneous occurrence of global communication markets homogenizing and differentiating, of power centralizing and dispersing, of identity integrating and pluralizing, and of meso-media and micro-media challenging each other by assisting the mainstream and resistance respectively (1999). For Dayan and Katz, media are social institutions with their own values and interests. Media events enable viewers to see and hear oppositional actors, leaders, marches, meetings, platforms, texts, etc. Such principal communications exceed middlemen who mediate between leaders and their public, and they integrate society by inserting messages into social

³⁹ Most people unwittingly submit themselves to the sovereignty of technique and technology—"technopoly" (Postman 1993).

networks, creating consciousness, and reinforcing or encouraging other networks (1992).

Messages' effects, however, remain impossible to predict, as E. Rogers pointed out in his *Diffusion of Innovations*. Variables include timeliness of knowing about innovations, rates of adoption of different innovations within a social system, ability to innovate, opinion leadership, networks, communication channel usage, and consequences. Values, beliefs, knowledge systems, educational structures, and socioeconomic status add to the complexity of diffusion and participation. Organizations have predetermined goals, prescribed roles, authority structure, rules, regulations, and informal patterns—all of which contribute to diffusion. Research on diffusion continues to emphasize innovativeness over consequences because the former is easier to measure,⁴⁰ but (in)direct, (un)anticipated, and (un)desirable consequences accompany innovations. Outcomes are dependent on (sometimes unconscious) perceptions and the meanings they create (2003).

Complexity and scale have come to be important themes in communication and the politics of communication. Book publishing, which entails diffusion, is one link in a long chain that includes writing and consuming information. Book publishing contributes to the formation of belief systems that (re)produce political systems, and vice versa; therefore, the next section addresses text culture.

Text Culture

Orality and Literacy

The juxtaposition of primitivity and civility often accompanies the juxtaposition of orality and literacy (see p.25 above). Some scholars concerned with literary criticism or media equated writing or literacy with civilization (Gelb 1963[1952]; Riesman 1960; Diringer 1962; McLuhan 1964; Diringer & Regensburger 1968; Cipolla 1969). Other authors, however, showed how orality and literacy flourished alongside each other for centuries (R. Carpenter 1956[1946]; Lord 1960; Havelock 1963). At the extreme end of the debate about the binary

⁴⁰ Rölting et al criticized diffusion models for weakness in disseminating ideas other than the idea of diffusion itself and because mal-distributed information caused communication effects gaps, which widened over time (1976).

opposition of writing and speech, Derrida proclaimed that writing represents its opposite, for as soon as something is written, a void appears for a response, but the response is deferred (1978[1967]). Writing alters meaning; yet, its presence (trace) promises something elusive, outside itself. Derrida suggested his grammatology as the tool to demonstrate the essence of writing, rather than its form or content. He “deconstructed” the works of Lévi-Strauss and Rousseau to demonstrate the ethnocentrism of the West’s concept of writing (1976[1967]). Concepts and constructs of communication and knowledge affect power relations.

Few scholars have taken up Derrida’s argument; many have believed he merely played games with words.⁴¹ Most writers have stressed the distinction but interaction of orality and literacy, while maintaining differences in mentalities and social organization associated with literacy (Ong 1967, 1977, 1980, 1982; Havelock 1976, 1980, 1982[1966-1982]; Clanchy 1993[1979]; Stock 1983; D. McKenzie 1999[1984]; Chartier 1987; Finnegan 1988). Ong counselled that the study of orality and literacy remains unfinished and should overcome unhelpful oppositions, such as *illiteracy* and *uncivilized* (1982). Negation (il-, un-) can be a political ploy, even if unconsciously assigned or used. In general, theory has shifted to the contextual nature of literacy and its multiple meanings and different functions in different settings (Graff 1979, 1981a&b; Heath 1980; Olson 1980; Scribner & Cole 1981; Street 1984; R. Brown 1989; Olson & Torrance 1991a&b, 2001a&b; Fisher 2004; Munck 2004). As in other social sciences, context resurfaced as important as, and interactive with, communication’s forms or skills.

Forms and Mentalities

Context’s effect on communication and communication’s effect on context have been in question for millennia. In *The Republic*, Plato argued that poetry had too much control of consciousness, through music that appealed to emotion (1945). Scholars have explored the effects of form on mentality and vice versa ever since. Oral poetry was a specific product of a particular age with unique communicative conditions and helped to convey a specific outlook and traditions (Parry 1971b[1928]; Lord 1960). Writing, printing, and innovations thereof developed

⁴¹ If we view writing as a thesis, the void as its antithesis, and the deferred response as synthesis, Derrida’s argument is merely dialectics explained with different vocabulary.

particular attributes during specific eras, and in turn, the circumstances they generated contributed to yet further innovations and circumstances (Mumford 1934, 2000[1952], 1961; Chaytor 1945; Altick 1998[1957]; Febvre & Martin 1997[1958]; Watt 1960[1957]; Gelb 1963[1952]).

Some scholars looked more towards technology's effects than vice versa. E. Carpenter argued that chronologically arranged events came to assume causality, the author became an authority, his serially ordered data became serious, and his data when printed conveyed value and truth. He saw media (forms) conveying environments to which people accommodate themselves (1960, 1972). For Carpenter and McLuhan, literacy changes acoustic effects to visual ones, extends humankind's perceptions, and affects individual and collective learning (1960). Most famously, McLuhan emphasized technology as the determinant of change: "the medium is the message" (1964:7). Media reshape the world, and forms of communication affect forms of thought and organization (1960, 1962, 1964; McLuhan & Fiore 1967). Certeau wrote that form, more than content, conveys understanding, and the means of diffusion come to dominate the ideas they diffuse (1988[1975], 1984[1980]).

Most scholars, however, emphasized the reciprocal nature of technology and consciousness, form, and thought (Havelock 1963, 1976, 1980, 1982[1966-1982]; Ong 1967, 1977, 1980, 1982; Said 1995[1978], 1990, 1993, 1994; Thiongo 1986, 1997, 1998; McKitterick 1990). R. Williams wrote about the independence and availability of cultural institutions, products, and services, including books and publishing, and how cultural, economic, legal, political, social, and technical factors, including other types of communication, affect use and output of writing, publishing, and reading (1961, 1991[1983]). Eisenstein showed "the printing press"⁴² as an agent of change," for those who met in printeries affected tool- and symbol-making, which changed perceptions in society via "a multiplying 'feedback' effect" (1981[1968]:67). Their products affected perception and manipulation of objects, their routines led to new systems that helped to reorder readers' thoughts, and the changes affected concepts of time, organization, property, and legality

⁴² Eisenstein used "the printing press" as shorthand to refer to a large cluster of specific changes, including movable metal type, oil-based ink, and other related innovations (1980a:100).

(1981[1968], 1980a, 1980b[1979]). Chartier wrote about the complex relations between established identities; social practices; publishing strategies; imposed forms; systems of representation; potential clientele; protocols for reading; dynamic circulation, reception, and appropriation; and the construction of meaning at every juncture (1987, 1988, 1994[1992], 1997). H.-J. Martin maintained that new communications, procedures, and technologies do not replace⁴³ their predecessors. They lead to different conventions, divisions of labour, forms, and functions that vie with utility, status, and vested interests, and have ramifications for personnel, markets, and power at every level of communication (1994[1988]). Johns argued any book is a product of complex social and technological processes and a beginning for other such processes, affecting structure, content, and context, and transforming of all kinds of knowledge⁴⁴ (1998). This dissertation follows Johns's example, ie books in the Pacific Islands have been catalysts, means, and products of political processes and transformations.

Symbols and Rituals

The shift from mentalities to forms to mentalities involves symbolism and ritual activity that almost imperceptibly take place over long periods of time. Mumford discussed the profound change that double-entry bookkeeping had had by changing money into bills of exchange, letters of credit, and speculation of futures: "Capitalism turned people from tangibles to intangibles," but its own symbol was a tangible account book (1934:24). Ivins showed that theorizing about art has been shaped by graphic techniques and symbolism in reproduced images. Some philosophical problems are accidents of symbolization; yet, people fail to analyse symbols, because they are so familiar, and tend to act on symbolic reports rather than events themselves (1953). Certeau argued that historians invest in symbols to organize symbolic meaning and to produce texts organized around interpretation of the past for the benefit of those writing in the present. The redistribution of space takes place as documents are copied, transcribed, printed, bound, classified, collected, and set aside. History is the product of scientific acts: transformation of past events into signs through research, analysis, and explication (1988[1975]).

⁴³ They might, however, displace them.

⁴⁴ Far from being unaware of the epistemic implications, scientists and printers in the 17th century explored the effects of formats and layouts on forms of civility and literature, and vice versa, thereby defining practices for science and public information (Johns 1998).

Spatial and signifying practices become believable and memorable, and authorize spatial appropriations by naming or classifying them (1984[1980]). Said showed how text's method is ritual affiliation, citation, reconstruction, repetition, and borrowing from predecessors' perspectives. He described the physical and psychic symbolism of texts: texts purporting to contain knowledge attract attributions of authority, expertise, and prestige greater than their practical successes warrant. Moreover, "such texts can create the very reality they appear to describe....a tradition...a discourse, whose *material presence or weight*, not the originality of a given author is really responsible for the texts produced out of it" (1995[1978]:94, LC's emphasis).

Tangible books contribute to the political construction of reality, but people have not always immediately accepted and trusted text. Clanchy showed that people included text in the pantheon of trusted visible communication only over centuries and in association with seals, symbols, marginalia, and messengers (1993[1979]). Olson found similarities between ritualized speech in traditional societies and written texts in literate societies: their archival functions create superior sources to keep information above suspicion and to limit the number of peers who might question it (1980). Havelock discussed how people develop loyalties to written symbols, which become vehicles of identity (eg national culture) or control (restriction of writers, readers, use of symbols)⁴⁵ (1982[1966-1982]). D. McKenzie's "sociology of texts"⁴⁶ included relations and rituals between form, function, and symbolic meaning (1999[1986]). Johns showed that practices—enmeshed in status—by which books were made, distributed, and used permeated the books themselves. New forms of civility and of writing created new literary forms and vice versa, eg defining practices for science and public knowledge. Printeries and bookshops had distinct practices generating distinct knowledge related to environment, era, and people; thus, the consequences of technology were dependent on users' practices and rituals as well as their 'objective' content.

⁴⁵ Havelock reckoned that the unity and separation of alphabetic, numeric, and musical symbols opened new mental possibilities. The spread of Carolingian script, Hindu-Arabic numerals, and Manutian fonts and majuscules eased learning, even in different languages, and helped to propel books across Europe and around the world (1982[1966-1982]). Aldus Manutius's position as printer to the humanists also helped to spread books in Europe (see M. Davies 1995; Lowry 1979).

⁴⁶ The word text derives from Latin *texere*, to weave, which emphasizes the method of production and the appearance of the product (D. McKenzie 1999[1986]).

Authorship, authority, and science were matters of cultural practice and convention (1998). Notions of power include *authority*. Convention and culture, bolstered by authored texts and publicized to the masses, are ideological power that assimilates individuals and societies.

The Political Nature of Texts

According to P. Jones, UNESCO has avoided consideration of values that accompany the acquisition of literacy: “stress on technical efficiency has led to a view of literacy being morally neutral, as a tool might be” (1988, quote p.253). Other scholars have disagreed: literacy is not neutral. Havelock found literacy dependent on inscribing technology, but its definition is not the existence of that technology. Rather, literacy is a social condition, and its operative meaning derives from sharing a common skill, of people using technology to place themselves in communication. Conditions of publication are socially oriented, which inevitably control content, and depend on the organization and maintenance of instruction, ie readers become available as the social apparatus creates them; thus, the establishment and conduct of schools are political decisions (1963, 1976, 1982[1966-1982]). Literacy and politics are different phenomena; yet, literacy cannot be separated from politics. Literacy is politically defined (Mumford 1961; Derrida 1976[1967], 1978[1967]; Freire 1970, 1971, 1983, 1998; Hoyles 1977; Heath 1980), and according to Street, even UNESCO’s programmes are bound to multinational capitalism and politics (1984).

Mumford argued that learning became book-learning, and printing more widely diffused books’ authority. Yet, the “danger common to all inventions” is “a tendency to use them whether or not the occasion demands” (1934, quote p.240). McLuhan explained that such technologies as the phonetic alphabet, typography, and the printing press accelerate information, causing fissionable pressure in the centre, such that pieces break off and migrate to the margins—where they begin to form their own centres, with the same results. New means and different speeds of moving information can tighten communal interdependence, spatially extend political organizations, and/or create diversity in arrangements of experiences, and alter power structures (1962, 1964). Said coined *Orientalism* to describe “a kind of intellectual *authority* over the Orient within Western culture,” which operates “in an

increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control.” Orientalism excludes the texts of Others; power compels intellectuals to comply with élite scholarship that obscures realities and daily life. He encouraged indigenous writers to resist such control (1995[1978], quotes p.19, 36, ES’s emphasis). Said pointed to purportedly neutral texts that contribute to forming identity, which can mobilize a population (1993). Graff believed that literacy has “carefully designed transmission,” and that literacy as “act and symbol” has hegemonic functions (1979:19). Pattison wrote, “Like every other technology, writing can be exploited” (1982:61). Ong found writing “a particularly pre-emptive and imperialist activity that tends to assimilate other things to itself” (1982:12). Chartier argued that texts’ producers are invested in genre rules in which the texts are inscribed, so in reproducing the general system of communication, texts might become feedback for or against diversity or convergence (1988).

According to McKitterick, rulers used symbols, including of writing, of their authority, power, and presence. Literacy’s effectiveness depended on its symbolic as well as pragmatic functions, such that reception of the written word indicated political loyalty. The symbolic function and practical use of writing are intertwined in complex cultural and social practices (1990). Bowman and Woolf pointed to legitimation through texts, whose bindings and layouts symbolized political systems, and (re)interpretation of an often unknowable past (1994a). Besnier argued that defining illiteracy in any situation is “value-laden, a priori, and arbitrary” (1995:4). Documents—decisions, judgements, contracts—took a place alongside witnesses, legitimating those who composed the documents or had them composed (Johns 1998).

Book publishing is communicative action in society. It usually involves many people with different backgrounds, skills, and objectives. Negotiations precede, accompany, and follow publishing. A multiplying feedback loop renders each book-publishing act part of a greater political scene in which it can be catalyst, means, or product as people seek to persuade, influence, participate, or express their views in a continual cycle of not always apparent ideological power.

Ideological power is a cumulative power. Limited literacy has few effects, but widespread literacy has profound effects (Fischer 2001). Some scholars contended that literacy has a powerful, perhaps necessary, link with democracy (Altick 1998[1957]; Watt 1960[1957]; Goody & Watt 1968[1963]; Diringer & Regensburger 1968). Experience, however, has shown that literacy does not solve problems of political representation (D. McKenzie 1999[1984]; Olson & Torrance 2001a). Writing and printing have contributed to

- *propaganda* (Parry 1971a[1936]; Hoggart 1957),
- *exploitation* (Freire 1970, 1971, 1983, 1998),
- *assimilation* (Hoyles 1977),
- *homogenization* (McLuhan 1964; Gregson et al 2003),
- *empire* (Innis 1950, 1991[1951]; Said 1995[1978], 1990, 1993, 1994; McKitterick 1990; Bowman & Woolf 1994b; Viswanathan 1998[1989]),
- *nationalism* (Chaytor 1945; Ong 1982; Lord 1960; McLuhan 1964), and
- *governmental control* (Havelock 1963, 1976, 1982[1966-1982]; D. McKenzie 1999[1984]).

They have, however, also contributed to

- *changes in parliamentary discourse, procedures, and accountability* (Reid 2000),
- *resistance to power* (Sartre 1988[1949]; Innis 1950, 1991[1951]; McLuhan 1962, 1964; Klancher 1987; H.-J. Martin 1994), and
- *liberation from oppression* (Freire 1970, 1971, 1983, 1998).

Parry (1971a[1936]), R. Carpenter (1956[1946]), R. Williams (1961, 1991[1983]), and K. Burke (1966, 1967[1941]) wrote of the value of historical method for literary criticism, for the understanding of reality and symbols in particular periods, including political situations. D. McKenzie argued all publishing has economic, political, and social motivations that accompany the technical processes of creating books, and demonstrated his point by discussing literacy among New Zealand Maori in the mid-1800s. Thus, bibliography, which shows the motives, forms, interactions, and institutions that affect social discourses, is relevant to every text-dependent discipline (1999[1984, 1986]). Viswanathan (1998[1989])

and Johns (1998) discussed the value of book history for understanding economic and political motives for production, dissemination, and reception.

Strategies of those involved in publishing transform society, but not necessarily in the ways its strategists and implementers intend.⁴⁷ The adoption of literacy is not linear, not without setbacks, and not necessarily beneficial (Clanchy 1993[1979]; Graff 1979, 1981a&b; D. McKenzie 1999[1984, 1986]; Klancher 1987). Literacy by itself does not cause modernization, but depends on contexts, ie on the uses to which people apply literacy (Olson et al 1985; Olson & Torrance 1991a&b, 2001a&b). The modes of operation in everyday practices are more powerful than the persons who, or forceful techniques that, initiate or continue the action. Consumption (which is harder to measure than production) and local particularities and individual choices affect the appropriation of practices, which in turn forms different habits, customs, etiquette, social order, and mentalities (Certeau 1984[1980]; Certeau et al 1998[1994]). Readers have liberty, and censorship often serves only to create subversive readership (Manguel 1997[1996]). Diffusion does not simply descend from upper to lower levels of society; circulation has complex and dynamic processes of imitation, distinction, competition, and popularization. Reading practices become increasingly differentiated as printed matter multiplies (Chartier 1997). Gregson et al argued that incremental acts of will in publishing have unintended consequences of omitting peoples, places, and knowledge (2003).

Publishing, Rather than Writing, Printing, Literacy, or Reading

From the foregoing discussion, mixed use, even interchangeability, of terms in the literature about these very terms is evident. For instance, print culture—a common term in use today—encapsulates printing’s mass production and reception of text and images; yet, the advent of writing was, and continues to be, a profound shift in communication.⁴⁸ The imprecision in terminology throughout the literature rests in the fact that the acts are difficult to separate from each other. The links in text culture are interdependent: writers, printers, publishers, and readers (to name

⁴⁷ Viswanathan’s book is interesting for she admitted it was an account of the production of intended effects of transmission, via English literature, of values and understanding for social control rather than actual effects in India, for accounts of anticipated reactions to British curricula often exceeded those of actual response (1998[1989]).

⁴⁸ Reproduction of manuscripts continued long after the invention of movable type.

only some of the links in a complex chain) cannot survive without each other and sometimes play more than one role. Some basic definitions of writing, reading, literacy, printing, and publishing are in order. To *write* is “to draw or mark on a surface, usually paper, with a pen, pencil or other instrument,” “to compose (a letter),” or “to record (data) in a location in a storage device” (*CED* 1994:1773). Writing is “a group of letters or symbols written or marked on a surface as a means of communicating ideas by making each symbol stand for an idea, concept, or thing” (p.1773). One might add, for a sound. To *read* is “to comprehend the meaning of (something written or printed) by looking at and interpreting the written or printed characters” (p.1290). *Literacy* is “the ability to read and write” or “to use language proficiently” (p.909). Among these terms, the definition of literacy remains the most controversial (a tool, a skill, a condition specific to each society). To *print* is “to reproduce (text, pictures, etc.), esp[ecially] in large numbers by applying ink to paper or other material by one of various processes” (p.1235). To *publish* is “to produce and issue (printed matter) for sale,” “to have one’s written work issued for publication,” or “to announce formally in public” (p.1254). Publishing books is a profession or business (Hornby⁴⁹ 1989:1009). In citing others’ works, I have tried to remain true to their terminology. In setting forth my own thesis about publishing, however, I have tried to be precise in accordance with dictionary definitions of the terms. (See diagrams in chapter three for differences between writing, printing, and publishing and the tasks that production and dissemination involve.)

Bibliophilic scholars have emphasized writing, printing, literacy, or reading. Separate authors in Finkelstein and McCleery’s collection distinguished production, distribution, ownership, circulation, and readership (2002). Whatever their particular focus, scholars eventually refer to the act of making words and images public, eg through diffusion (Mumford 1934; Certeau 1984[1980]), public consciousness (Chaytor 1945), dependence on the public (Sartre 1988[1949]), creation of audiences (Hoggart 1957; Watt 1960[1957]; Klancher 1987), amplification and extension (McLuhan 1962, 1964; Eisenstein 1981[1968], 1980b[1979], 1980a), and commodified thought (Ong 1982). The public is the key. D. McKenzie suggested that bibliography, the sociology of texts, or book history

⁴⁹ *CED* did not define publishing per se (1994).

includes the circumstances of production, dissemination, and reception along with form, function, and symbolic meaning (1999[1986]). Johns argued that books are catalysts and products of complex sets of social and technological processes, which are politically negotiated and conventionalized as people put books and printing to use in particular ways—in business, government, religion, science—which accounts for the book’s powerful impact on history. The evolution of new techniques of communication for monitoring authorship, publication, and reading happen as participants mediate their debates in publications, and their skills condition outcomes, disciplines, and political order. Books continue to be published via negotiations among authors, agents, editors, printers, proofreaders, and referees that have implications for content and consequences. The credit (status, legitimacy) of books continues to be an important battleground in larger struggles to create personal, political, and social knowledge, for books’ authority is not a technological fact but “a hard-won cultural artifact” (1998, quote p.625).

Although the overlapping nature of links within text culture inhibits compartmentalization, the most political aspect of text culture or book history is publishing. The literature often refers to ‘the effect of the written/printed word,’ but the written/printed word would have little effect if not made public. Although some scholars have written about the power of reading, individual interpretations do not discount the impact of public messages. Publishing is a conscious act to communicate with the public—even if it is necessary to create that public and even if the goal is just to sell books, or to give them away. Publishing usually involves a significant number of skilled people and significant finance, which entails planning, labour, and negotiations over time. Negotiation and creation of audiences are political, for publishers privilege some writers’ work over others, advocate what buyers should buy and readers should read, create awareness, and possibly persuade some people. Publishing multiplies, extends, and amplifies messages. By virtue of making and disseminating messages, publishers are agents of change, at the same time that their products are indices of change by virtue of recording messages.

Summary

The first section explained the nature of ideological power and how books function as form, ritual, symbol, and medium of exchange within society—all of

which become part of knowledge. The second section discussed the inseparable link between power and the construction of knowledge. The third section showed how mass communications and technology—such as in book form—mediate power and knowledge and emphasized how studies of mass communications and technology affect the developing world. The fourth section elaborated how scholars of text have come to similar conclusions as political scientists about the political nature of texts, that is as catalysts, means, and products of ideological power. From its inception, book publishing in Oceania affected politics as politics affected book publishing—for better or worse and not always in the manner intended. Book publishing has been a significant means of ideological power as advocates of different viewpoints have renewed the cycle of persuasion, influence, participation, and expression. Book publishing and its politics merit investigation as catalysts, means, and products of political change in the Pacific Islands. Chapter three addresses book publishing, particularly in the developing world and specifically in Oceania.

CHAPTER 3

BOOK PUBLISHING

The Form of Books

The book has been with us for nearly 2,000 years. Evidence from Egypt shows the manufacture of papyrus from 2600 BC (Howell 2004); archeological and literary evidence from north-eastern Africa exhibits the use of codexes from AD 100 (Frost 1998). China manifested evidence of block printing from c. 255 BC, paper from c. 100 BC, book making from 868 AD, and movable metal type from 1041 (Tsien cited in Gunaratne 2001). Over centuries, contact, trade, and politics brought technological adaptation, innovation, and sometimes standardization in binding, illuminating, layout, papermaking, printing, scripts, typefaces (McMurtrie 1943; Steinberg 1996[1955]; S. Dahl 1968; Eisenstein 1980b[1979]; H.-J. Martin 1994; Kilgour 1998). Likewise, centuries of contact, trade, and politics formed choices of alphabet and the alphabet affected contact, trade, and politics (Man 2000). Some books have had profound effects on some societies, eg the Torah, Bible, Koran, Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, or Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*. Obviously, their contents were the essential messages, but the books' form had a conditioning role in delivering those messages and in their reception.

The definition of a book is "a number of printed or written pages bound together along one edge and usually protected by thick paper or stiff pasteboard covers." It can be "a source of knowledge or authority" (CED 1994:181).¹ Discussion of books, however, remains problematic.² A text can be formatted within a computer, stored on a variety of devices (photograph, tape, floppy or other disk, flash memory stick, etc), or transmitted by electronic publishing, but it

¹ This definition brings home Johns's point about the often unquestioned authority of books (1998).

² For instance, the National Library of New Zealand gives an International Standard Bookseller Number (ISBN) to any publication produced in six copies or more (Diane Woods pers comm 2004). ISBN assignment, however, does not accompany publication of every book in the Pacific Islands, much less the world, despite efforts for bibliographic awareness.

becomes a book when down-loaded to paper and bound (see Vogler 2000).³ Children's books, comics, monographs, and bibles are books for the purposes of this dissertation, but I occasionally mention pamphlets, periodicals, and more ephemeral matter, such as brochures. Book publishing is in a perpetual state of change; the last two decades in particular have seen significant developments in electronic and on-demand publishing⁴ (eg Baumann 1986; P. Owen 1988; Nunberg 1996; G. Ward 1998).

Books have evolved in organization of knowledge (to include chapters, indexes, page numbers, running heads, tables of content, etc), and printing has aided the creation, proliferation, and diffusion of books. Books are tangible, portable, tidy packages, and their information does not depend on their carriers (Escarpit 1966; Stock 1983; Eco 1996). Cultural and physical structures (eg book shelves) have evolved to accommodate the role of books in society (Petroski 1999). Publishers have cultivated their audiences to look for certain literary genres in specific formats (Toschi 1996), eg monographs in a similarly bound series; poetry in slim, small, artistic volumes; dime novels; or penny dreadfuls. In these cases, form conveys meaning. Although Nunberg was quick to point out that it is the partisans of books that defend them (1996), one cannot deny that certain books have been venerated as symbols of authority and sacredness in society.⁵ Debray wrote that books are "something that bears a strong semblance to an anthropological constant: human communities *need* a unique, defining space to belong and refer to." Group cohesion depends on "symbolic transcendence....the sacred (that is, something, no matter what, that is not manipulable technologically). A common place for all, a platform for membership, a collective reference of identification. This fixed point of legend, owing precisely to its arbitrary or fiduciary character, calls for a hardened and lasting material form" (1996:148, 150, RD's emphasis). Chartier wrote, "The book always aims at installing an order, whether it is the order in which it is deciphered,

³ Some of the confusion lies in applying pre-electronic terms to modern phenomena (Hodgkin 1986:154), eg many writers today compose solely by typing, but we use the term typist to refer to someone who does clerical or secretarial work.

⁴ See also discussion in *The Book and The Computer*, an online journal (<http://www.honco.net/>), from which its publishers select articles for book publication, eg Muro et al 1999, 2000a&b.

⁵ which is not to negate erroneous books. O'Donnell pointed out that learned individuals in the 1400s warned that it was "not only the wide distribution of error but the uniformity and consistency of error in print that made it powerful" (1996:43).

the order in which it is to be understood, or the order intended by the authority who commanded or permitted the work.” Furthermore, “books are objects whose forms....constitute a singular order totally distinct from other registers of transmission of the canonical works as ordinary texts.” Although readers’ liberties prevent all-powerful order, the text and form of books contribute to “the order of discourse” (1994[1992]:viii-ix). This ideological power merits attention.

Chakava wrote, “The printed word still remains the easiest, cheapest and most versatile method of communicating and distributing knowledge. The book, in particular, is handy, presentable, easy to store, and readily adaptable to dissemination, retrieval, and transfer of knowledge, in whole or in part” (1995:13). Books do not require technology on the receiving end. Although dismal pronouncements have been made about technological change bringing about the disappearance of the book, many people in the industry have recognized that technological change has increased production and consumption of books, for what people see on screen or hear on disk, they want to read as a book. Many authors have pointed out that succeeding technologies rarely replace their predecessors;⁶ rather, they perpetuate communication evolution and contribute to changing patterns of labour and material use (eg Lehmann-Haupt 1957; D. Smith 1989[1966], 1976; Benjamin 1977; Dessauer 1981; G. Graham 1988; H.-J. Martin 1994; Duguid 1996; Manguel 1997[1996]; Nunberg 1996; Kilgour 1998). Escarpit noted “extra-literary considerations” of books: beyond bearing information, books are composite art, decoration, investment, and status (1966:34). Altbach asserted that far from being replaced by new technologies, the book has aided application of them (1995a:14). L. Owen wrote that “in many situations the traditional book is the ideal medium” for communication (1995:107). As a low-technology process, book publishing is within the capabilities of most countries (Altbach 1992). New media have not replicated textbooks’ comprehensively instructional function nor facilitated reading (reading is easier on paper),⁷ and textbooks will continue to be necessary alongside e-learning (Horsley 2001). Febvre and Martin called the book a force for change (1997[1958]), affecting religion, language, literature, history, science, business, health, art,

⁶ although they might displace their predecessors

⁷ A wide range of factors affects reading on screen versus on paper. Image quality is crucial, and images on a screen are typically of poorer quality than those on paper (Dillon et al 1988; Dillon 1992). Most e-mechanisms shine light into readers’ eyes, but paper reflects light.

government. These social aspects of life have to be negotiated, and negotiations involve politics at all levels, including in, and as a result of, publishing.

Publishing can persuade and influence people, who then participate in publishing to express their own views and to persuade others. The book has been the most durable, prestigious, and widespread medium of communication in the Pacific Islands in the past 200 years. It will likely continue to be one of the most efficient conduits of information for years to come; therefore, analysing the parameters of book publishing sheds light on the role of ideological power in Oceania.

Defining and Explaining Publishing

The definition of publishing has changed over time. Benjamin (1977) and Dessauer (1981) described book publishing as the profession or business of producing and disseminating information through books. Publishing is making the public aware of written and printed material. “Publishing, at its heart, is the coordination of the multitude of activities needed to produce books” (Altbach 1998:2). A linear diagram helps to show the general flow of publishing work (see figure 1). Finance (fundraising, pre-publication sales and subscriptions, bookkeeping, accounting, auditing, and marketing) occurs throughout the process. Askerud showed a complex flow of corrections and approvals that usually surround these tasks (see figure 2).

Figure 1. A linear view of publishing

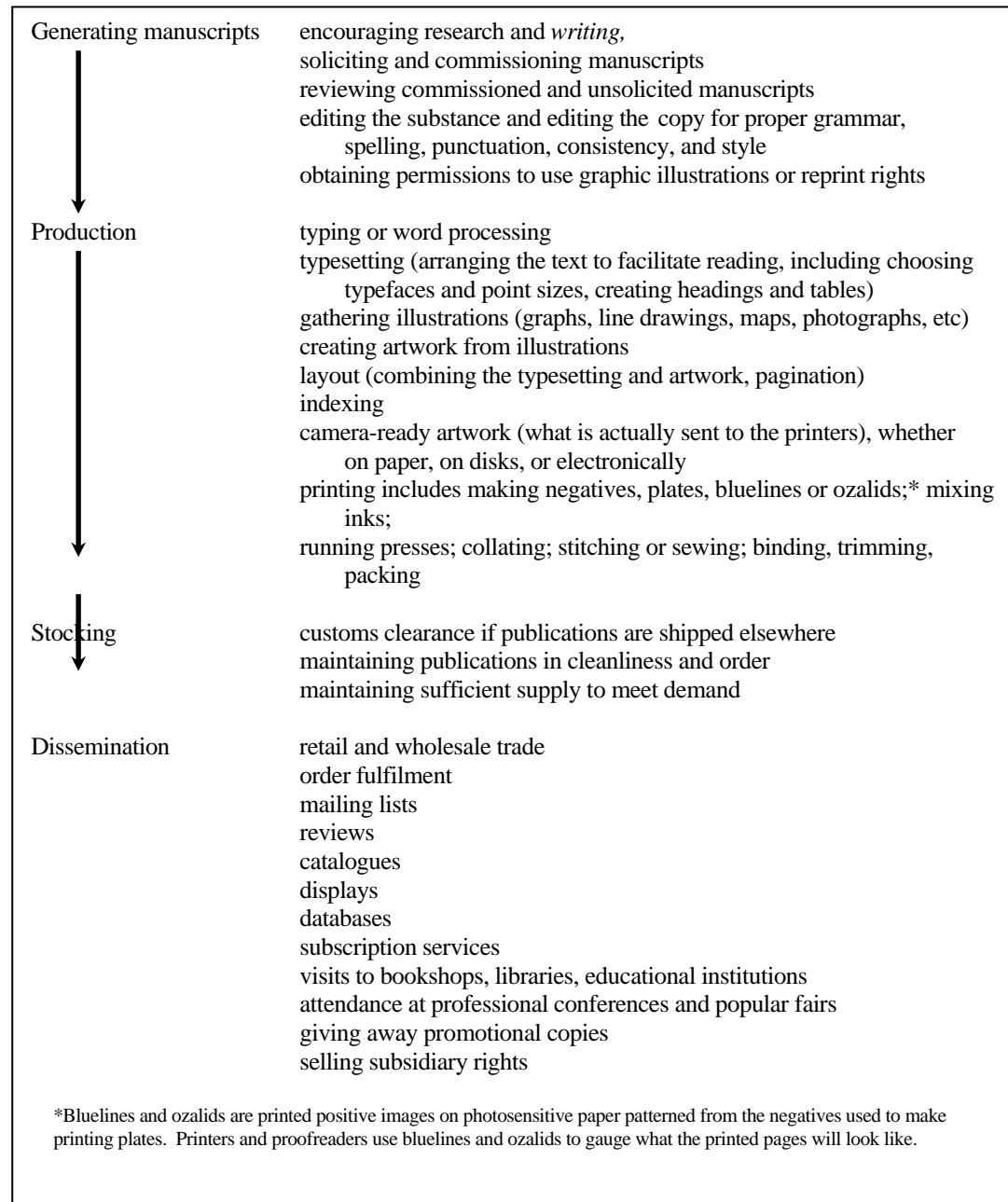
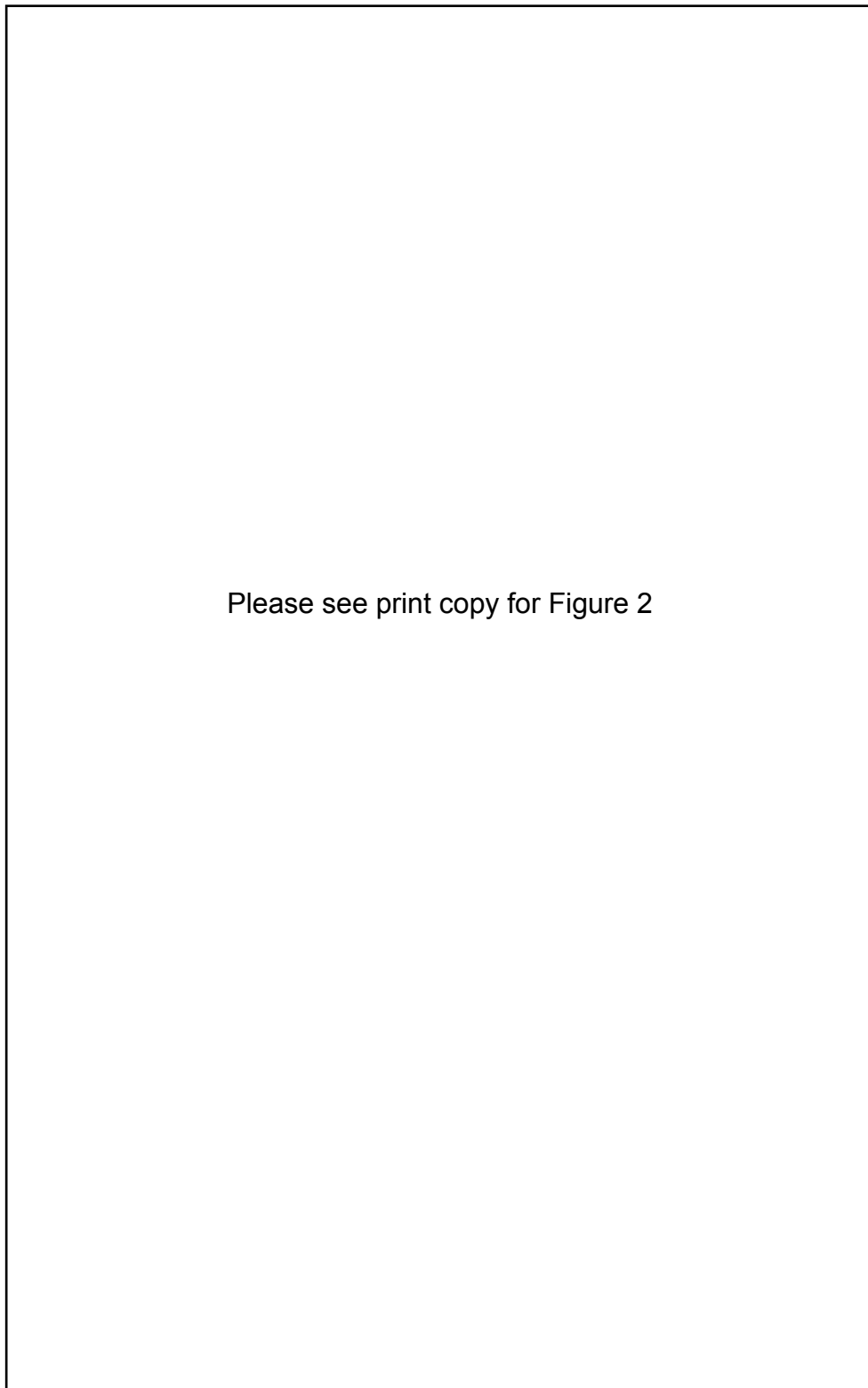


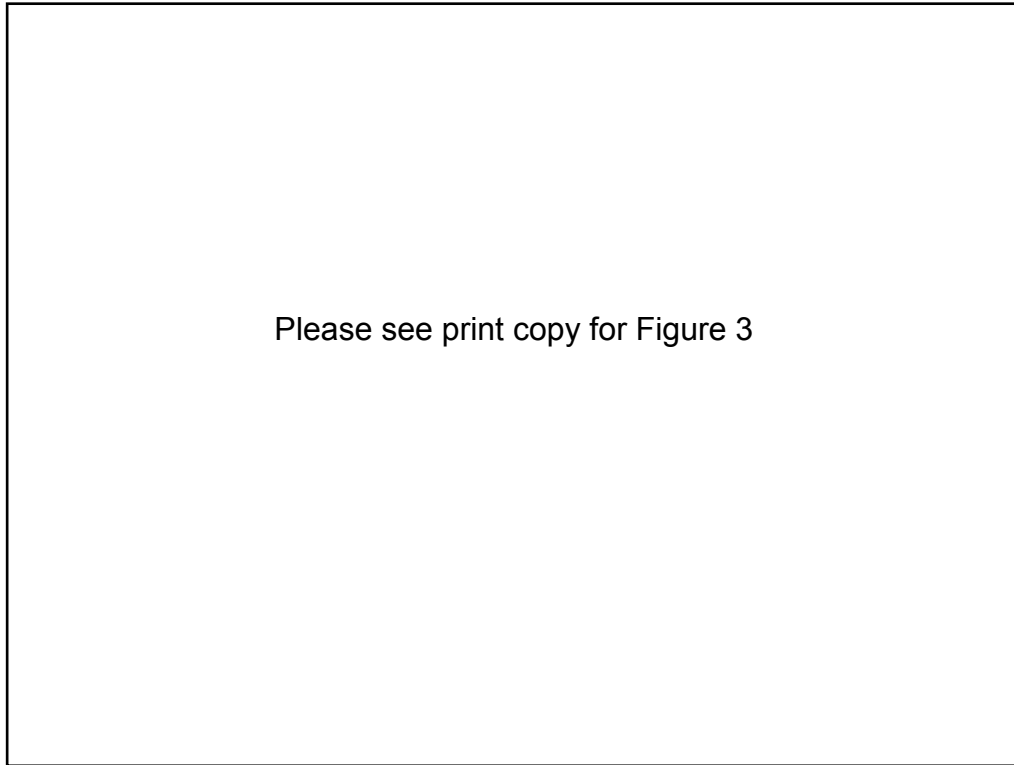
Figure 2. Publishing: pre-press preparation, production, and distribution



Source: Modified from Askerud 1997:48.

Generating manuscripts requires listening to what people have to say to figure out their research or creative interests, then helping to formulate research questions or to write an outline. It requires constant follow-up, badgering people for drafts, and sending the drafts back with thorough comments in a timely manner. Editing demands attention to detail and methodical approaches to the same text over and over again. Substance, grammar, spelling, and punctuation need checking from the written stage through production, ie in word processing, typesetting, layout, page proofs, indexing. Covers need designing, composing, and checking. Publishers have to judge how many copies to print. Printing needs monitoring. Bills are paid all along the way. Careful stocking is essential to fulfil orders and for decisions about reprinting or revising titles. Marketing takes time, homework, and initiative as publishers create their audiences. Good relationships with booksellers, teachers, curriculum advisers, and others are essential to keep books in the marketplace. No one knows a book's contents better than its author; therefore, enlisting the author's assistance in selling the book is often helpful. The onus, however, falls on the publisher, for having made the financial investment in producing the book, the publisher must sell it. Publishing tasks involve communication flows in many directions—and sometimes in circles and sometimes overlapping—among a range of personnel with different areas and levels of expertise. For example, an author might index his work or obtain permissions to use graphic illustrations, or a publisher might undertake those chores. Mailing lists, shop visits, catalogues might happen before or after a publication is produced. D. Smith put the publisher at the centre of activity and showed the publisher's relationship to each other link (see figure 3). UNESCO and the Book House Training Centre put management at the apex of a triangle (see figure 4).

Figure 3. The book industry



Source: Modified from D. Smith 1989[1996]:17.

Figure 4. Structure and flow in a publishing house

Please see print copy for Figure 4

Book publishing can be an integral part of a country's cultural and economic life, and it is an "intellectual enterprise" (Altbach 1975:17). Book publishing is both means and ends of transmitting new ideas and technologies into society. Economic, educational, political, and social conditions and trends affect book publishing nationally and internationally—and vice versa. Along with trade, the rise and decline of churches, monarchies, empires, and nation-states have affected the production, distribution, collection, and destruction of books. Although administration and codification were factors, prestige and status also motivated patronage of publishing (Lehmann-Haupt 1957; Febvre & Martin 1997[1958]; S. Dahl 1968; Jean 1992; Sardar 1993; H.-J. Martin 1994; Levarie 1995; Cahill 1995; Kilgour 1998). The retrieval of ancient texts, formation of universities, use of double-entry bookkeeping, creation of national literatures, and expansion of elementary education acted reciprocally with publishing (H.-J. Martin 1994). Urbanization, quicker and more plentiful transportation, changes in lighting, the invention of reading glasses, the removal of taxes on windows, and a host of other phenomena affected the consumption, and thus the production, of books (Altick 1998[1957]; Kilgour 1998). The growing number of works on text culture contributes to our understanding of the complexity of publishing and its complex relationships within society and across borders as orthographies, scripts, and other skills and technologies are shared.

D. Smith wrote that "the business of publishers is *communication*" (1989[1966:19, DS's emphasis). Feather called publishers middlemen, organizers, and financiers (1991[1988]:vii). Biographies of publishers, publishers' memoirs, and histories of publishing houses testify to individuals' vision, commitment, or persistence⁸ (eg Briggs 1974; Madison 1976; Berg 1979; Lowry 1979; MacCarthy 1995; Dutton 1996; Johns 1998). A publisher coordinates the processes by which a book is produced. This coordination requires knowledge of diverse tasks including market research or judgement, administration, editing, design, production, storage, review, marketing, distribution, and sales. In addition to awareness of art, humanities, religion, sciences, and other areas of shared human interest, such as

⁸ Although not 'the publisher,' many people within publishing houses play key roles in contributing to the complex tasks of publishing that makes a publisher or publishing house famous, eg Max Perkins for Scribners (Berg 1979), William Shawn for *The New Yorker*, which also publishes books (Mehta 1998), and Sir James Murray for the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Winchester 1999).

cuisine or sports, a publisher must be knowledgeable in business, literary or scientific editorial practices, quality control, and audience possibilities. A publisher is a lynchpin among wheels of economics, ideas, and society. About gatekeeping, Altbach wrote, “By virtue of his control over what appears in print, the publisher exercises considerable power. Control over access to information and over one of the means of distribution of knowledge is of considerable importance to any society” (1975:12, see also Altbach 1976b:9). Gatekeeping is often dismissed as ad hoc, value based, and difficult to measure (McQuail 1987:162-167). Albeit hard to measure, value judgements about what to publish involve negotiations and consequences—intentional and unintentional. Although definitive measure might not be possible, prioritizing of publishing projects occurs. Such prioritizing is worth investigation to learn who says what to whom and why. An aspect of gatekeeping is book publishing’s own economics.

The Economics of Publishing

Books have been commodities since their earliest days. As such, their buyers and sellers have calculated costs of plant, equipment (presses, joggers,⁹ sorters, stitchers, binders, guillotines), materials (paper, ink), and labour (writers, translators, editors, typesetters, printers, indexers, proofreaders, in-house salesmen, shipping agents¹⁰). Books can be heavy and cumbersome in bulk and highly susceptible to damage in transport if not packed and handled properly. Unless publishers have steadily selling copies, they need a variety of titles to parcel out their risk. As sales can be slow, they need finance over the long term. Beyond loans, they might use advance sales, patronage, and subscriptions. In the past, as writers wearied of dependence on patrons and as printers and colporteurs proved livelihoods could be made, new commercial arrangements were made, but the old were rarely discarded. Printers became patrons; terms and conditions for apprentices and journeymen changed. Churches and governments awarded privileges and monopolies and censored publications. Copyright measures increased and shifted over time to protect authorship and ownership. Arrangements for display, buying, selling, and transport evolved into a system of advertising, barter, bills of exchange, credit, fairs, and sale-or-return policies. As Europeans made production and

⁹ machines that gently shake back and forth to straighten stacks of paper

¹⁰ for wholesale and retail trade

distribution innovations, practices and systems evolved, which continue to shape global publishing practices today.

Publishing continues to be a complex, risky, unpredictable business, and few financial institutions are willing to lend to publishers, especially those with little collateral. Publishing depends on a sound financial and operational base and plans. Although publishing on a small scale is relatively easy to start, publishing over the long-term takes sustained capital investment in a business of slow return on investment. Reproduction rights, permissions, and commercial arrangements all cost money before they can generate income. Equipment and paper depend on global pricing. Books are rarely necessities, and purchases of them decline in periods of economic hardship. The existing market helps to determine the kinds and costs of books that publishers decide to publish. That market depends on a substantial base of literacy, mass education that uses literacy, and a population with the inclination, reading habits, and income to buy books. Markets can and do change, sometimes rapidly. D. Smith remarked that educators and decision makers sometimes view publishing as only a business, rather than seeing that a plethora of informative and inexpensive books are crucial to a nation's cultural and educational system (1989[1966]).

The public often infers that the publishing business is extremely profitable because of mega-mergers of companies or because of the advertising hype surrounding bestsellers, but real bestsellers are few and far between in the plethora of published books. Publishing is often highly competitive. Piracy poses even greater challenges. Although the textbook market can be highly remunerative, practices vary from the highly competitive practices in the United States to near state monopolies in some countries. Poetry and scholarly books are generally not lucrative. Houses that publish these books to remain artistically avant-garde or at the forefront of research generally subsidize their publication with profits from other books or find external sponsorship. Benjamin listed a number of reasons for low profits and high risk in book publishing: the industry generally requires many skills and much coordination, so opportunities abound for divisiveness among personnel. Each new product is untested before release, the marketing system is costly, and many people with literary or scientific inclinations do not have the financial skills to

keep a publishing house afloat (1977). A host of considerations confront (would-be) publishers, including author recruitment and retention, creating identity and recognition, piracy, plagiarism, promotion—all of which affect profit, which is essential to continue publishing (Mumby 1956; Blond 1971; Kujoth 1971; Altbach 1975; Neavill 1976; Benjamin 1977; Ghai & Kumar 1984; P. Owen 1988). Altbach wrote that publishing firms often rely more on guesswork than market research (1975, 1976b). Steinberg wrote that estimating the economic importance of the printing trade, however, is difficult at best and impossible at worst: “Statistics about the annual output of books are almost valueless, as the basis of computation differs not only from country to country but even within the same country” (1996[1955]:150). Indeed, statistics about book production, distribution, and consumption are often few, outdated, and unreliable. Some countries do not routinely gather statistics about book publishing; thus, UNESCO’s statistics (table 1) suffer the same problems as those of the countries’ statistics (Altbach 1975; Altbach & McVey 1976; Askerud 1997; Heilbron 1999).

Table 1. Number of book titles published by region per million inhabitants

Please see print copy for Table 1	
-----------------------------------	--

Source: UNESCO 1989 in Rathgeber 1992:79

Table 1 shows that Oceania compares favourably with other areas in the South, but Oceania here includes Australia and New Zealand, which are developed countries.

Publishing in Developing Countries

Founded as many countries became independent nation-states, UNESCO and the World Bank have had significant impact upon publishing in developing countries

and their own publications about publishing have been prolific. At UNESCO's establishment conference, delegates from developing countries focused on literacy, making it key in economic and social progress (P. Jones 1988). UNESCO pointed to the lack of methodology and of agreement on tools to measure literacy (1953). Barker reported on the gross imbalance of book production internationally and linguistically; conventions to protect copyright; knowledge taxes and charges (eg postal) that impeded publishing; costs and supplies for publishers; libraries and book exchanges; and UNESCO-sponsored agreements and schemes to battle imbalances (1956).

In its efforts to combat rising illiteracy,¹¹ UNESCO set up centres around the world for book production, alternative or supportive media, research, documentation, information dissemination; initiated courses in publishing;¹² and commenced a programme to reduce the price of books for needy countries. Developing alphabets entailed costs, campaigns failed when materials could not be produced in a timely manner, governments made choices about target audiences, and focusing on school children rarely helped out-of-school children or adults. Although UNESCO and governments could initiate programmes, success came only when people could continue to use the skills in professional associations, religious bodies, trade unions, women's collectives, youth movements, and other social groups (Burnet 1965). Escarpit's study of growing participation in literary exchange through "the book revolution" highlighted the state's role in the institutional structure of a country's intellectual life, how publishing was bound up with politics, and the effect of the publishing industry of large economies affected the cultural life of the world. Censorship, taxes, currency regulations, and the growth of some publishing houses affected the flow of information (1966[1965]).

UNESCO saw literacy as a key factor in development; yet, disagreements about the definition and goals of literacy held up publishing projects (Jeffries 1967). Experiments, workers' needs, national policy, bureaucratic problems, and local institutional interests and capabilities did not always coincide. UNESCO recognized

¹¹ Although the percentage of illiteracy declined, the absolute number rose from 1950 to 1962 (Burnet 1965).

¹² eg by the Institute of Mass Communication at the University of the Philippines

that context-specific phenomena could impede acquisition of literacy, including involvement of, and coordination between, government departments, development projects, and local communities; frequent changes in economic, political, and social situations; and shifting attitudes, backing, and priorities by parties involved (UNESCO 1970).

Barker and Escarpit discussed “the book hunger” common to developing countries (1973). The emphasis on books for nation building and economic development (eg Phillips 1970, Thapar 1975) provoked a backlash from scholars who saw UNESCO’s ethos tied to foreign investment and multinational companies (MNCs), whose commercial and financial interests for productivity and profit determined governments’ decisions regarding education and training (Street 1984). Despite the criticism, UNESCO¹³ has continued to churn out publications on all aspects of production (Pellowski 1980; Askerud 1997, 2002; Fox 2001), distribution and promotion (Sankaranarayanan nd), national book policy (Garzón 1997), conferences and seminars (UNESCO 1982), copyright (UNESCO 1981 and UNESCO’s *Copyright Bulletin*), translation (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995), and bibliographies of book publishing (UNESCO 1985a&b)—to name just a few of its thousands of publications to assist book provision. The Asia-Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO has published children’s books; reports on consultations, seminars, and workshops; at least one directory of cultural offices and officials throughout the region, and its magazine, *Asia-Pacific Book Development*.

UNESCO operates in member states only through their governmental structures; therefore, it had a vested interest in keeping those structures effective and efficient. Furthermore, UNESCO’s efforts were always limited by its budget, and it had to cooperate with other agencies in order to provide programmes and projects. Through the Experimental World Literacy Programme, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) forced UNESCO to change its methods and its emphasis from literacy for peace to literacy for development. In 1964 UNESCO and the World Bank signed a Co-operative Agreement, which was to have profound implications for book publishing in the developing countries (P. Jones 1988).

¹³ through its international headquarters and regional offices

Economic research in the late 1950s had shown that US school systems borrowed heavily; therefore, education was a bankable activity. Over time, World Bank staff perceived textbooks and teaching materials as new areas for educational financing (P. Jones 1992). Textbooks were touted as the most efficient and cost-effective means of supporting education and raising academic standards (Heyneman et al 1978, P. Neumann 1980, Farrell & Heyneman 1989, Paxman et al 1989). Heyneman et al purported to show that “investments in reading materials hold a distinct advantage when maximizing cognitive achievement” (1978:iii). Paxman et al advised that “educational publishing lends itself well to Bank financing, which can provide impetus, technical assistance, and smooth out the initially high developmental costs” and boasted that textbook projects had ameliorated situations in developing countries (1989:16). Lending for textbooks fit with Bank concerns regarding equity of access to education and building of human resources for economic development (P. Neumann 1980:np). P. Jones showed that despite the rhetoric of support for basic and non-formal education, and functional literacy, developing countries most in need of primary education were least likely to borrow for these purposes and that the Bank’s funding for literacy between fiscal years 1970 and 1990 accounted for only 1% of total project costs. The Bank continues to emphasize primary education, whereas UNESCO emphasizes primary and adult education (1992). The Bank has published thousands of its own publications about education and publishing; however, despite large amounts of investment in textbooks, the Bank admits that information and knowledge about educational book publishing is “fragmented at best” (Ferranti 1998:viii).

Bilateral and multilateral aid projects have not accomplished what they promised to do. The number of books per pupil in developing countries has declined since 1975 (Askerud 2000). Bgoya reported that many Africans thought the World Bank and others over-emphasized structural weaknesses in African countries, which paved the way for MNCs to enter and remain in publishing in Africa (1999). Book development programmes and projects have often failed because they concentrated on production rather than distribution (Benjamin 1977). Zell criticized allocations from the World Bank for educational supplies for Africa, because most of the money went to Western book publishers and distributors (1992b) and aid agencies for emphasizing writing and editing over management, financial control, and operations (1992a). Ike wrote that unit costs had risen under World Bank schemes and that aid

funds had distorted links in the book chain, thereby increasing the famine afterward (1997). These phenomena and criticisms are not particular to Africa. Regarding textbook provision, Askerud cited agencies' use of ad hoc solutions to symptoms rather than addressing sustainable planning, finance, publishing skills, materials, facilities, and organized distribution as well as combined curriculum and manuscript development and belief in the importance of textbooks for a society to produce all sorts of reading materials. Too often those involved in textbook projects fail to recognize the economic, industrial, and professional aspects of publishing and how governmental action affects them (2000).

At the same time that the proliferation of knowledge has heightened publishers' competition, posed challenges for bookshops and libraries, and inundated readers in some countries, people and institutions in the developing world continue to lack books and the resources to publish them. Technological changes to cope with surfeit in the industrialized countries might contribute to deficit elsewhere, eg on-line information can displace book publishing and everyone does not have access to computers. A variety of factors perpetuate unequal distribution in intellectual products, including meagre educational systems, multiple languages, population growth, equipment, finance, infrastructure, and market information. Government policies and practices about all of these matters affect book publishing. External inputs through aid and multinational business affect book publishing. Competition and disagreement within the book trade itself weakens its position vis-à-vis the government, foreign firms, the public, and suppliers of materials. These factors combine to limit markets, thus raising costs—which perpetuate the small markets.

Having been schooled in European languages used in many parts of the world, eg English, French, and Spanish, intellectuals from the South often write in those languages.¹⁴ Writers of these world languages often receive better treatment; local language books have low prestige; and customers are willing to pay more for foreign books. Moreover, writers from the South sometimes prefer to publish

¹⁴ Ngugi wa Thiongo declared *Decolonising the Mind* to be his final book in English and that all succeeding efforts would be in his own language (1986), but he has continued to have his work published in English.

abroad for intellectual prestige and financial remuneration, and even for greater national exposure (because foreign or multinational companies often have better in-country distribution networks). Some find that they do not want to write in their own country for political reasons. If there are few writers of indigenous languages, there are even fewer editors, layout artists, typesetters, proofreaders, and indexers. Differences in orthographies can prevent publication. Small profits on books in local languages offer little incentive to publish or to sell them. In a vicious cycle, the limited amount of expression in local languages pushes writers toward new expression in world languages, which inhibits expansion of the indigenous reservoir of creative and critical writing and publishing. Moreover, demands on the small corps of intellectuals to act on behalf of the government or in the public service deplete potential contributions to national publishing—as does brain drain to other countries.

Governments in developing countries are conscious of the importance of books in instilling national values and in developing national economies, but publishing is just one of their many concerns. Besides their own publishing, governments are involved in publishing in many ways, eg through monopoly, subsidy, currency regulations, customs duties and taxes on materials, postal rates, and policies toward the educational system, libraries, and publishers. In developing countries, priority goes to provision of basic books. Provision of reading material for those who have left school remains a great challenge. Governments sometimes step into publishing by nationalizing curriculum or through hoping to lower the cost of textbook provision. In doing so, they often act in ad hoc ways, resulting in low-quality production and limited distribution. As their control over textbook publishing increases, they affect what others publish and how. Where competition is limited, publishers have little incentive to respond to needs for updating textbooks.

Publishers in developed countries have sometimes used their advantages to gain yet more advantages. Developed-country governments have offered financial subsidies to company branches for the dissemination of Western books at artificially low prices, in addition to conducting training programmes and hosting visitors to influence opinion making in the developing world. Their products have inhibited indigenous authorship, scholarship, art, craft, enterprise, and trade. Developed-

country firms and MNCs understand the possibilities for market expansion and invest in developing-country branches, and they have superior resources to do so. They gain more revenue from exporting books than from selling reproduction rights. Developed countries initiated copyright agreements, and those agreements continue to tip the power scale in favour of developed countries and MNCs. The bulk of translations are from European languages to local languages, for which the developing world has to pay. Furthermore, as Heilbron pointed out, a publishing house in the centre that translates a work from the periphery, thereby bringing the work to global attention, profits on literary transit (1999).

Philip G. Altbach's studies of publishing in Africa and Asia are useful for the light they shed on publishing in other developing countries, such as those in the Pacific. His study on India showed that despite tremendous disadvantages, India's publishing industry had made significant strides. He suggested cooperation among institutions and nation-states—pooling resources, raising standards, assisting distribution—to improve national and regional publishing. He wrote that the task of building local publishing for creation and diffusion of knowledge will in the long run be left to those most concerned: academics and intellectuals in the developing world (1975). Altbach and McVey demonstrated that publishing plays an important role in the creation and transmission of knowledge; that literary (post)colonialism continues to shape publishing in developing countries; that political links among the educational system, editorial policies, government bureaucracies, MNCs, and technological innovators play large roles in publishing in developing countries; and that new knowledge does not flow freely because it is packaged and marketed before distribution (1976). Altbach pointed out that imports and foreign aid deepen dependence and that intellectual work suffers from lack of fiscal and physical resources and of outlets for creative and scientific expression, with ramifications for knowledge creation via first- versus second-hand sources, ie indigenous versus visiting intellectuals (1976a). Altbach and Rathgeber provided a comprehensive bibliography and report on trends in publishing (1983).

Altbach and Kelly discussed colonialism, neocolonialism, internal (sometimes ethnic) colonialism, and how commerce and aid have abetted control or influence over educational materials (1984). Altbach et al believed that publishing's

cultural and intellectual benefits to society vastly outweigh publishing's costs or its monetary contributions to the gross national economy of any country. Notwithstanding the wide range of publishing capabilities, literacy levels, and living standards among countries, publishing in developing countries tends to be fragile and dependent on support from government and bureaucracies, which are also fragile. Emphasis in publishing is often on plant, equipment, and supplies rather than skills and audiences. Local publishing often responds to external events and inputs rather than internal needs (1985). Governments, aid agencies, and others have failed to see publishing as a nexus of many different relationships, and as a result, aid has been sporadic, uncoordinated, sometimes ineffective, and even counterproductive. Although private publishing has sometimes produced more books of better quality and achieved better distribution than governmental bureaucracies, developing countries lack infrastructure, materials, and cooperation among links in the book chain, and they face powerful multinational publishers. Independent governments have in some cases controlled publishing through censorship and taxes, thus reducing press freedom from pre-independence levels (Altbach 1992). Altbach and Hoshino's encyclopedia of publishing included analyses of societies' effects on publishing and publishing's effects on societies (1995).

International dimensions (eg copyright, labour, technology) and local dimensions (eg government policies, languages, training) have profound effects on local publishing. Despite the balance of power favouring the North, some states in the South, eg India, export books¹⁵ (Altbach 1995b). Copyright, as it stands, benefits the owners of intellectual property and publishing houses in the industrialized world; thus, it bestows considerable power on its holders. Publishers in the developing world generally agree about the value of an instrument that can be used to negotiate intellectual work. Without such an instrument, anarchy would serve no one in the long term. Yet, people must have access to information (Altbach 1995a). As government bureaucracies failed to produce and distribute textbooks efficiently for expanding populations, people in aid agencies, banks, indigenous publishing houses, MNCs, and other organizations began to advocate privatization

¹⁵ India has long exported books to Fiji, which has a large Indian population. Publishers in Papua New Guinea have begun to use India's printing services.

and more conducive government policies (Altbach 1996). Book publishing in the developing countries cannot survive without assistance; government control is waning; and MNCs are gaining control over small firms, even in the West. Nevertheless, scope exists for small and local initiatives to affect national and international practices (Altbach & Terferra 1998).

Political unrest, militancy, ethnic conflicts, cross-border conflicts, lack of state support for private industry, state control and censorship, and prominence of European languages affect the publishing industry. Language choices in manifold sectors of society affect indigenous publishing. Some of the largest potential audiences often have the least buying power, which conditions writers and publishers to cater to languages of power (Altbach & Terferra 1999). As Altbach himself admitted, his work provided no theory of publishing (1975), but his three decades of study and of editing and publishing others' work has provided a wealth of description for comparative purposes. What comes through in every publication is power—cultural, economic, political—that shapes cultures and countries and vice versa.

African publishers have made significant strides in publishing about book publishing, albeit with assistance from beyond Africa. They have organizations that promote publishing, eg the African Books Collective, African Publishing Institute, African Publishers' Network, Zimbabwe International Book Fair, national book development councils, and associations for publishers, booksellers, editors, libraries. They publish books-in-print, catalogues, directories, handbooks, periodicals, reference books, and occasional books to measure and to promote their work, to cooperate with one another, and to share information about their situations. Their works discuss economic, environmental, governmental, and non-governmental hindrances. In addition to chapters by other authors in Altbach's edited collections, the following books give informative pictures of Africa's accomplishments, needs, and goals: Ezenwa-Ohaeto 1994; Dekutsey 1995; Priestly 1995; Ike 1996, 1997; McCartney 1996; Woodhall 1997; Gibbs & Mapanje 1999; Makotsi et al 2000; Larson 2001. Innumerable publications—including manuals (Barton & Lehrke 1983; Montagnes 1991; Châtry-Komarek 1996), studies (Bellagio Studies in Publishing series), and periodicals (*Bellagio Publishing Network Newsletter*,

Booklinks, INASP Newsletter)—shed light on the difficulties and achievements of publishing in the developing world.

Minowa wrote that scholars had yet to develop much theory about publishing development. His own work did not reach international audiences until it was translated into English. He proposed a soft transformation from social change, as in Germany due to education and in Japan due to the Meiji restoration, and a hard transformation, as in Britain due to industrialization. The initial transformation must be followed by a second one, a marketing revolution (1985, 1990). Minowa explained cultural dimensions particular to Japan about book ownership, and he noted that these models might have some value for the developing world (1985). Many aid agencies and governments fail to understand the role book publishing can play in society; that book publishing depends on long-term cultural, economic, political, and social factors; and that stop-gap measures and artificial creation from abroad do not help, and might harm, indigenous publishing (1992). G. Graham pointed to the lack of integrated and analytical history about the growth of publishing industries in African and Asian countries (1992). Evans and Seeber's *The Politics of Publishing in South Africa* is one step toward analysing past and present printed media, textbook and academic publishing, languages, subjects, and future challenges as political causes and effects (2000).

Politics and Publishing

T. Singh pointed out that publishers who survive in developing countries are those who are highly committed to publishing; have vision and a sense of direction for books in national development and society; understand a state's and a society's changing capabilities, interests, and needs; and seek flexible solutions within shifting parameters (1992). Understanding society and operating within its confines to establish and maintain publishing ventures require political skill. Embedded as publishing is in the midst of social life, it involves negotiation in every aspect and at every level. In many ways, this is no different from publishing in developed countries: Coser et al described how publishing houses, through their own operations and in affiliation with individuals, agencies, and businesses, engage in gatekeeping enterprise, which selects intellectual projects and products that become books—with ramifications for careers, disciplines, and culture (1985). Feather

showed how the negotiations among British authors, publishers, booksellers, and lawmakers had implications for wider society, just as commerce and politics in wider society affected publishing (1991[1988]). Hall discussed how publishing and books, as cultural processes and products, reflected and acted on the structures of authority and power in colonial New England and the Chesapeake (1996). Frasca-Spada and Jardine showed how conventions and innovations in science and publishing affected one another, and how scientists' and publishers' coming to terms affected the construction of knowledge (2000). McGrath demonstrated that the politics of the church and monarchy (among individuals, within England, and concerning Europe) influenced English translations of the Bible and their reception—and vice versa (2001). Publishers and publishing houses have distinct subjects, genres, forms, professional jargon, symbols, pricing, and distribution methods—all of which affect perceptions (not determinations) of their authority, prestige, status, influence, and ideological power. Individuals, groups, and agencies of all kinds that are linked with publishing make choices about which language(s) to use; which aspects to protect legally; and what to distribute, archive, or censor. These choices involve negotiations, which are political activity, and outcomes, which have political and social consequences.

Politics and Book Publishing in the Pacific Islands

Publishing in the Pacific Islands has not received the scholarly attention that publishing in Africa and Asia has, perhaps due in part to much smaller populations, or perhaps due in part to later breaks with colonialism—breaks that are incomplete. Like Africa and Asia, however, Oceania has inherited educational systems, limited numbers of schools, multiple languages in most countries, non-standardized orthographies, and population growth contributing to low literacy and income levels. (Would-be) publishers often face lack of equipment, finance and credit, governmental support, infrastructure, materials, plant, market information, outlets, publicity, skills, and training—all of which result in low-quality production and limited distribution. Internally, they face censorship, class and cultural hurdles, corruption, hidden (bureaucratic) costs, curricula changes more rapid than books can be published, unstable political environments and frequent policy shifts, and poor statistics. Externally, they face cultural hurdles, dumped books (old and new that

might not be appropriate in information or for teaching and learning but divert the attention and budgets of curriculum developers and librarians), currency difficulties, economic fluctuations (mostly depressions), competition from foreign firms and MNCs,¹⁶ tariffs on what little regional trading that does occur, and well-intentioned book-aid projects.¹⁷ Pacific Islands publishers cannot survive by publishing alone, and competition and disagreement within the book trade are rife. Intellectuals often write in world languages, for their work receives more attention, and some individuals prefer to publish abroad. The number of skilled publishing personnel is too small to cope with the volume that local writers produce. Differences in orthographies can prevent publication. Small profits inhibit publishing and selling books. Table 2 indicates not only how few books some Pacific Islands countries export but also how few statistics are available to gauge their performance. Table 2 shows the still colonized territories of French Polynesia and New Caledonia along with independent countries.

Table 2. Books exported and imported by some Pacific Islands countries (USD millions)

Please see print copy for Table 2	
-----------------------------------	--

Source: *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook* (UNESCO 1996).

Note: Most of the *Yearbook*'s tables listed only Fiji, and data for Fiji referred only to books published by the Ministry of Education and the Government Printer. So little information makes comparison almost futile.

¹⁶ Some are due to colonial heritage, some due to post-colonial competition. This phenomenon is not restricted to the developing world. The largest publisher—and the largest publisher of books in English—is German-owned Bertelsmann, which has acquired smaller houses in the United States and the United Kingdom (Bétourné 1999:6; Glaister 1999:24; Johnson 1998:104-108).

¹⁷ Help for one aspect of the book chain might lead to frustrations in another, eg help for writers and illustrators might lead to employment frustrations if society is not geared up for typesetting, printing, and distribution.

Most book publishing and related activities receive very little attention. Scholars have undertaken studies on mass communications, eg Richstad et al 1973, 1978; Lerner & Richstad 1976; A. Walker 1976; Kua 1982/83; Kissling 1984; Layton 1992, 1993; Robie 1995, 2001; Chanter 1996; Ogden & Layton 1999; Seward 1999; and in *Pacific Islands Communication Journal*; *Pacific Journalism Review*; and a special issue of *Pacific Perspective* (10/1). Few studies, however, focus on book publishing. Garlick's discussion of Maori language publishing issues (1998) and Heiss's book about publishing indigenous literature (2003) offer some parallels with Oceania's publishing (eg orthographic considerations and property rights), but their work addresses publishing in developed countries. Lingenfelter rather glibly raced through the first 50 years of Pacific Islands printing, almost ignoring indigenous participation (1967). Analytical and integrated historical and political studies of book publishing in Oceania are lacking. A review of the literature shows:

- *press histories with bibliographies*: Ferguson 1917, 1918, 1943; Harding and Kroepelien 1950; O'Reilly 1958; O'Reilly and Laracy 1972[1969]
- *bibliographies*: eg Leeson 1954; C. Taylor 1965; O'Reilly and Reitman 1967;¹⁸ Wolfers 1967; Rietz 1969; Snow 1969; Krauss 1970; PIC 1984; Edridge 1985; Chakravarti and Chakravarti 1986; McDowell 1993; M. Teo et al 1996
- *manuals*: FNTC 1975; Oxenham 1979; Skeldon 1979; O'Callaghan et al 1990; Fulmer 1992; UE 1997; Cowl and Garrett 2001; SPC 2000, 2001, 2003
- *seminar proceedings*: AG's Dept 1976; Nicholson 1976; AGPS 1981
- *articles*: O'Reilly 1951, 1957,¹⁹ 1963a&b, 1969; Anonymous 1974; Murphy 1976; M. Crocombe 1977, 1980; Héyum 1982; Es. Williams 1986; L. Chapman 1992, 1994, 2000; Griffen 1993; Ellerman 1995; Cass 1997; Griffith et al 1997b; Cowl 1996, 1999b&c, 2001, 2002a&b, 2003a, b, & c, 2005, 2007; Cowl and Long 2001; Woodburn 2003a&b
- *collections of articles*: Richstad and Jackson 1984; *PICJ* 13(1), 14(1&2); Cowl 1999a

¹⁸ See Cools 1969 for additions to O'Reilly and Reitman (1967).

¹⁹ This compilation of biographical sketches includes the individuals' publications.

- *reports*: M. Crocombe 1981; Holding 1991; Askerud 1992
- *directory*: Winduo 1993
- *unpublished papers*: Holdsworth 1982; L. Chapman 1984, 1986, 1993.

Otherwise, information about book publishing is generally short and scattered across a range of disciplines and kinds of publications. Snippets of information about, or that have implications for, book publishing can be found in:

- *education studies*: eg Cummins 1980; Elley and Mangubhai 1981; Moore 1987; Khambu 1992; Sanga and Taufe'ulungaki 2005
- *language studies*: eg Kanwal 1980; Mugler and Lynch 1996
- *literacy studies*: eg Parsonson 1967; Clammer 1976; Fong et al 1991; Nekitel et al 1995
- *writing studies*: eg Arvidson 1976; Wendt 1976, 1978; Pillai 1979; Maka'a and Oxenham 1985; Taoaba 1985; Iamae 1989; Waleanisia 1989; Simms 1991; Subramani 1992; Griffen 1993; Sharrad 1993; Hereniko and Wilson 1999; Marsh 1999; Nicole 2001; Treadaway 2001
- *journals*: *ABD*; *Mana*; *Manoa*; *Savannah Flames*; *SPAN*.

Hints are scattered throughout a vast literature. In short, little has been published about book publishing in the Pacific Islands, particularly its role in ideological power and how books are catalysts, means, and products of politics. Book publishing is an agent and an index of change. Missions initiated book publishing. Colonial governments followed, but religious publishing did not recede. Colonial governments have built on rather than replaced their predecessor(s) as people have repeated the cycle of persuasion, influence, participation, and expression. Sutherland called his review of bestsellers a "topographical map of British social history" (2002). Similarly, this dissertation might be taken for a bibliographic view of some Pacific Islands' political history.

SECTION 2

SALVATION AND EVANGELISM: RELIGIOUS PUBLISHING

Ships' crews, beachcombers and castaways,¹ missionaries, and islanders themselves evangelized the Pacific Islands. All groups, although not always all of their members, used books in their worship or evangelization. Missionaries, islanders, and even castaways participated in publishing books, which broadcast and spread religion. This dissertation focuses on Christianity because the vast majority—99 per cent (%), according to Ernst (1994:21)—of islanders are Christian. This dissertation also focuses on Protestant missions, for publication of books to influence conversion and to sustain and to expand congregations was an essential difference with the Catholic practice in Europe.

Fighting control by the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant leaders Jean Calvin and Martin Luther had advocated individual access to, and interpretation of, the Scriptures. Religious tracts constituted a great part of reading matter. Publishing for pastors, preachers, students, and lay readers, Luther's works comprised perhaps one third of German publications between 1518 and 1523, and the mainstay of the press was Luther's translation of the Bible in Low German (H.-J. Martin 1994:253, 334-335). The "distribution of Bibles and didactic literature became a large industry." The Religious Tract Society (RTS), the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) were just a few of the many agencies that formed for the provision of reading material (Altick 1998[1957]:ch.5, quote p.100). Such material had proven effective: "Books of a devotional character were often instrumental in securing Evangelical conversion" (Gunson 1978:53).

Although divided in some ways, English churches came to accept private enterprise and profit, particularly if the latter was applied to charity. Charity schools sprang up all over Britain in the 1700s (H. Thompson 1951:11). With improvements in technology and without undue domestic political distractions, by the late 1700s the English had surpassed the Spanish in exploration, and pockets of Britons were settling throughout the world. Interested in saving souls in foreign lands, voluntary religious

¹ For the effects of beachcombers, castaways, traders, and visitors on text culture, see Crowl 2003a.

societies formed from the late 1700s: the (London) Missionary Society in 1795, the Church (Anglican) Missionary Society in 1799, and the Methodist Missionary Society in 1817. The Evangelical Revival was a Christian response to advances in science and exploration (Thornley 1995c:1-2). Printing affected the spread of religion, science, and exploration, which in turn affected publishing. Mission use of publications manifested policies of their mother church. Protestants insisted on individual experience with God (Gunson 1978). The Protestants suffered temporary setbacks in many places, but from their initial establishment in the Pacific, their overall effort continued and gained strength over time.

The histories below are illustrative of the interwoven nature of politics and book publishing. The London Missionary Society (from 1797 in the Pacific), Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1822), Presbyterians (1848), and Church Missionary Society (1849) used books as catalysts, means, and products of power. Islanders have participated in the ebb and flow, often as the vanguard before white missionaries entered the field and as the rearguard after they left. Islander missionaries vastly outnumbered foreign missionaries (Crocombe & Crocombe 1984[1968]{Ta'unga 1833-1896}), 1982, 1996; Maretu 1983[1871]; Garrett 1982, 1992, 1997; Munro & Thornley 1996; Thornley & Vulaono 1996; Lange 2005). Islander translators, writers, printers, binders, colporteurs, teachers, and pastors have had key roles in publishing books as they have used publishing skills and books to express themselves, to negotiate their own roles, and to influence society.

Publishing is one measure of ideological power. Books—their production, distribution, and contents—manifest concerns of their makers and results of their actions. The organization of society, establishment of governing order, and publishing affected each other—although not always as intended. Competition and cooperation existed between missionaries within groups, between the church at home and missionaries in the field, between missions, between missions and indigenous peoples, and between missions and governments. Choice of faith or mission often fed traditional rivalries, and war between colonial powers affected which missionaries could publish and what they published. Communication, technology, and power affected one another. Individual personalities affected political influence, but by and large the missionaries took a similar course of action:

political influence to secure mission work (Koskinen 1953). Generally, islanders turned toward missionaries, for they were better informed, more reliable, and therefore, more able than beachcombers to assist islanders to negotiate in a rapidly changing world. Books and publishing were central in the changes.

CHAPTER 4

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Initially formed in 1795, the Missionary Society included Calvinist Methodists, Wesleyan Methodists, Scottish Presbyterians, and Congregational Independents. Renamed the London Missionary Society in 1818 (Ta'ase et al 1989:21), its founders' vision extended around the world. LMS's principal founder was Rev David Bogue, who believed in not only spiritual but also linguistic, historical, and scientific study. Graduates of his Gosport Academy were admonished to maintain a rigorous course of study in the field (Gunson 1994:284). In addition to biblical training, Bogue taught "Writing and Publishing Books" and "Conduct and Doctrine of Missionaries respecting Civil Government" at his academy (Gunson 1978:68). One LMS principal theologian was Johnathan Edwards, a disciple of John Locke. LMS's leading activist, Rev Dr Thomas Haweis, chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon (Baré 1997:54), gave £ 500 toward sending a mission to the South Seas (Langdon 1979:83).

Among Protestant missions, LMS had a very wide geographic spread and contact with many different peoples in what is now French Polynesia, the Cook Islands, Samoa, Fiji and Rotuma, Niue, New Caledonia, Tuvalu, Tokelau, the New Hebrides, Papua, and Kiribati. LMS experiences in land-limited Polynesia contrasted with LMS experiences in Melanesia's rugged terrain. Still, LMS use of indigenous peoples to spread the Word was a unifying element across the region as well as an essential factor in the construction of ideological power that included book publishing. Missionaries—*islander and white*—carried the message from the Society Islands to the Cook Islands and Samoa and from there to New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and Papua. Everywhere *islander* missionaries outnumbered *white* missionaries and yet more *islanders* converted and participated in book culture (not necessarily in that order), enfolding book culture into their indigenous governance.

Haapii Parau (Learners of Words) on Moorea, Tahiti, and Nearby Islands

Missionaries who sailed on *Duff* had printed specimens of a small Tahitian vocabulary that *Bounty* crewman Peter Heywood had compiled and which a clergyman from Portsmouth had passed to Haweis (W. Ellis 1967[1829]:I:71; Vason 1975[1840]:84; Harding & Kroepelien 1950:10-11; Gunson 1978:255). Thomas

Lewis, who “understood printing,” and other missionaries arrived at Tahiti in 1797 (Orange 1975[1840]:13). A year later when he wished to marry a Tahitian, his fellow missionaries excommunicated him, and a year after that they found him murdered after quarreling with his partner’s relatives (Langdon 1979:91-93). Missionaries, some who arrived later, set to writing materials in Tahitian. Henry Nott worked with Pomare on a vocabulary. In 1808 John Davies sent a spelling book to England, where it was printed in 1810 (Harding & Kroepelien 1950:20; Lingenfelter 1967:2, 11). War had broken out in 1807, leading to Pomare’s defeat. Pomare’s opponents burnt the missionaries’ books or used the pages for cartridge papers and melted the type into bullets. Many of the missionaries died or fled the islands; only Nott stayed on Moorea (W. Ellis 1967[1829]:I:130; Orange 1975[1840]:44; Langdon 1979:98-101). No printed matter ever came off this press (Harding & Kropelien 1950:19); the press’s fate remains a mystery.

Having taken refuge in Port Jackson (Sydney), William Henry and Samuel Teissier left three religious translations with printers there. The missionaries returned to Moorea in 1811, where chiefs asked them for teachers and books (W. Ellis 1967[1829]:I:216). Fortunately, 700 copies of Davies’s spelling book arrived from England that year (Harding & Kroepelien 1950:20). The missionaries sent a book of scriptures and hymns to Port Jackson, which George Howe printed in 1813 (Lingenfelter 1967:2). They opened a school at Papetoai, Tahiti in 1813. Religious training was not new, but literacy was and islanders perceived it as essential to the foreign world that the missionaries represented (Lange 1995:39). In 1814 missionary William Pascoe Crook studied printing with Howe and sent to London a request for a press and printing materials: “I feel keenly for Bro. Davies and Tessier who are obliged to sit up at night and copy lessons for their scholars” (in Harding & Kropelien 1950:26). George Howe printed seven Tahitian books; his son printed one for Raiatea in 1821 (Harding & Kroepelien 1950:24-25). From the Papetoai school, literate Polynesians took the new messages, books, and skills to other Polynesians.

Pomare was the first islander whom the missionaries taught to write; others followed his lead (W. Ellis 1967[1829]:II:539). Pomare “rendered very important aid to the Missionaries in the translation of the scriptures, and copied out many portions before they were printed” (II:529, 535). Pomare wrote a daily journal and a book of

every text of scripture that he heard. He sometimes wrote out his public and private prayers. He had extensive correspondence among the islands, and he wrote to directors of the Missionary Society in London (II:528-529). Pomare's political victory in the Fei-Pi war in 1815 went hand in hand with religious conversion (Toullelan & Gille 1994:23; Tauira 1995:17, 1997:12). After the Fei-Pi battle, writing became general. People learnt to write on the sand, leaves, or rarely slates; paper was too expensive. They used copybooks for journals or treasured information (W. Ellis 1967[1829]:II:539-540). If people did not have a book, they copied out entire books onto sheets of paper or *tapa* (barkcloth) (I:391).

William Ellis, who arrived in 1817, had trained in printing and bookbinding and brought printing equipment and supplies (Lingenfelter 1967:2-3; Gunson 1978:70; Langdon 1979:115-120). After much quibbling among the missionaries and with Pomare as to the disposition of the press,¹ they moved it from Papetoai to Afareaitu (Lingenfelter 1967:4-5). Islanders built a printing office; Ellis and others used stones from the *marae* (temple) to pave the floor² (W. Ellis 1967[1829]:I:390). Under Ellis's eye, Pomare composed type on 10 June for a small spelling book. Twenty days later when all pages had been composed, Pomare inked the type, pulled the handle, and lifted the first sheet from the press (I:393-394). Ellis rated this printing fourth³ in Pomare's most memorable acts—after abolishing idolatry, giving clemency after the battle at Punaina, and visiting every district of the island to persuade people to convert (I:394-395).

The missionaries discussed, and sometimes carried out, adaptation of biblical texts to suit the Polynesian context (J. Nicole cited in Margueron 1997:78). BFBS sent a supply of printing paper (W. Ellis 1967[1829]:I:395) and supplied paper for every subsequent edition of the Scriptures printed in the islands (I:396). Islanders arrived from far away islands to watch the press and to purchase books (I:399). With the first portion of the Scriptures completed, the missionaries began to charge for

¹ With such machinery that could be turned to influential purposes, disputes about orthography and venue led to missionaries' pinching each other's equipment (Harding & Kropelien 1950:35-36; Lingenfelter 1967:11, 21). The missionaries came from different geographical, religious, and vocational backgrounds. They disagreed about many things (Garrett 1982:25-29), including method and order of translation.

² Removal of stones from the *marae* to the printing office demonstrated the shift in symbolic power from old gods to the new.

³ Lingenfelter neglected to mention the first three great acts and credited only the fourth (1967:8).

copies to teach people the value of books; however, they still distributed elementary books without fee (I:402-403). Ellis realistically stated that some people took books because they were curious or desired to possess one,⁴ but other people took them to learn about Christianity, and most people read the books carefully (I:406). In May 1818 the Tahitian Auxiliary Society formed, and Ellis printed *Rules for the Tahitian Society* (Lingenfelter 1967:18-19). In June two new presses were sent from England to Papeete and Punaauia, but Ellis took one to Huahine (Harding & Kroepelien 1950:35-36).

While printing *Luke*, Ellis and Crook taught people to assist them and paid them regularly (W. Ellis 1967[1829]:I:396). They ran out of imported materials and turned to using *tapa* and plant juices to make covers. They paid women to beat *tapa*; some people learnt to sew sheets; others to cut wood; and islanders cured their own (cat, dog, goat) skins for covers. Each principal chief sent a man to learn how to bind books; those who learnt charged others (I:400-401). Ellis wrote, "Every work yet printed has been prepared by the Missionaries, with the assistance of the most intelligent among the people" (I:408). Davies wrote a vocabulary and grammar and taught the other missionaries the language. Ellis claimed he learnt the language by composing type and asking islander helpers what the words meant (I:407). Robert Bourne (a printer) paid, and gave gifts to, islanders who helped run the press (Lingenfelter 1967:26). W. Ellis wrote, "The use of the press in the different islands, we naturally regard as one of the most powerful human agencies that can be employed in forming the mental and moral character of the inhabitants, imparting to their pursuits a salutary direction, and elevating the whole community" (1967[1829]:I:407). Islanders provided much of the intellectual material as well as the labour. From translating to physical production to publicizing, they were involved in every step of this new medium of communication.

John Orsmond arrived and helped to prepare books, and later worked with Patii on Raivavae to collect and record traditional lore and ethnographical information (Lange 1995:47). Charles Barff, Bourne, David Darling, George Platt, Lancelot Threlkeld, and John Williams brought more printing equipment (W. Ellis

⁴ Books were new curiosities, fashionable to possess, and useful for literate people or for illiterate people who could have others read for them. Already, books were becoming symbols of a new order.

1967[1829]:I:409; Lingenfelter 1967:12) and books on mechanical and useful knowledge (J. Williams 1840[1837]:38). Bourne and Darling set up another press on Tahiti “to make the station respectable;” for without a press, “the Tahitian station will not be thought anything of” (quoted in Lingenfelter 1967:13, 21). In 1818 from the Windward Mission Press at Papeete, Bourne printed a hymnal, whose popularity compelled Ellis to print another as the Leewards’ first publication (Lingenfelter 1967:22, 24). Bourne printed laws, an address, and a circular before he and Darling moved the press to Punaauia (p.23). In 1819 Pomare had promulgated the Tahitian Code with 14 civil regulations, written by Nott, and in the same year he officially converted, becoming the leader of the Tahitian church, bringing mass conversion with him, and augmenting the number of local teachers (Langdon 1979:121; Toullelan & Gille 1994:26; Lange 1995; Tauira 1995:17). The 1819 code was a balance of power between monarch and missionaries and forbade land sales for fear they might threaten Pomare and LMS (Saura 1993:39). John Williams on Raiatea noted how quickly Polynesians adopted and adapted introduced arts (cited in Lange 2005:42). Raiateans formed an Auxiliary Missionary Society in 1819, for they did not want to be behind Tahitians and Huahineans, who had formed their own such societies to purchase books (Prout 1843:91). *Active* brought paper and new presses for the Leeward and Windward missions. Darling kept the new press at Punaauia and Bourne took the old one to Tahaa. By 1822, when he left for Hawai‘i, Ellis had printed more than 20,000 books. After Ellis, Barff took over the Huahine press. The next year Bourne took the new press from Huahine to Tahaa (Lingenfelter 1967:24-25) and printed until 1826 when he left. Barff finished printing *Hebrews* in 1827 at Tahaa, after which the press sat idle for four years (for lack of a missionary stationed there) until Barff moved it to Huahine. Barff then became the mission printer by default and sent letters to LMS directors asking to be relieved of this duty (p.26).

Bora Bora, Maupiti, Raiatea, and Tahaa had law codes by 1820; Huahine had a code written by Ellis and Barff by 1822—which is not to say that people immediately abided by them (Garrett 1982:27; Toullelan & Gille 1994:28). The mission printed codes in vernacular for local people and in English for visiting sailors (W. Ellis 1967[1829]:II:456). The printed codes brought feelings and actions of civil order (II:457). The legislative assembly, which began meeting in 1824, transformed royal power into a constitutional monarchy (Toullelan & Gille 1994:27, 37). When Nott

crowned Pomare III in 1824, local notables carried the Bible and the Tahitian code of laws (W. Ellis 1967[1829]:II:536-537); thus, a book was part of the ritual to legitimize monarchy. Law required that land disputes be settled by judges and all particulars be entered in the Book of the Boundaries of Lands (II:454). From 1826, reports of the Tahitian parliamentary session were printed (II:455). The code of 1819 was modified in 1824, 1826, 1829, 1834, and 1838 and reformed in 1842 (Toullélan & Gille 1994:28). Successive Pomare needed the missionaries' power, linked to publishing; in turn, the missionaries needed legitimacy from the Pomare. In the 1820s and 1830s epidemics ravaged the islands (Saura 1993:40). The Pomare succession crisis and their regents contributed to traditional chiefs' regaining power, which contributed to the syncretistic Mamaia (Toullélan & Gille 1994:31). The Mamaia objected to the excessive, required gifts to the mission during Me and to required payment for bibles (J. Nicole cited in R. Nicole 2001:172). The cult rebelled in 1826, spread through the Leewards and on Tahiti, but faded in 1841 (Garrett 1982:254).

During this time Williams continued to correspond with donors and to send them mission publications, as did his protégés (Prout 1843:300-301). Williams went to England to print the Rarotongan New Testament. He had to justify to "Dr. this and Dr. that" at BFBS the missionaries' choice of personnel and orthography and the authorities associated with the text (in Prout 1843:422). While in England, Williams had printed 10,000 tracts of various kinds and *Pilgrim's Progress* (Prout 1843:423). He wrote *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises* to foster financial support for greater evangelization. In his book, Williams counselled the British government about the benefit of missions for economics and peace. LMS directors gave him 50 copies for free distribution, which he sent and dedicated to persons of rank, scientific societies, and key mission promoters. He travelled the length of the country to recount his adventures, which involved conferences, correspondence, and accounting of contributions. Even book critics were caught up in his enthusiasm for mission. The result was 13,500 copies sold in two years, then 24,000 copies reprinted. He earned £ 4,000 and bought and outfitted *Camden*, which he sailed back to the Pacific (J. Williams 1840[1837]; Prout 1843:453-505; Garrett 1982:86).

George Pritchard established a theological institution on Papeete in 1829. There, students copied lecture notes on the Bible and missionary work (Lange 1995:45-

46). James Smith arrived with a new iron press in 1831 but war on Tahaa prevented setting it up for a year. Once there, he discovered that materials had been stolen or destroyed and all iron made into fishing spears. After a year of trying to persuade Tahaa's people to build a new printing office, Smith left for Sydney. His press came back to Huahine in 1832, where Barff used it from 1834 until 1846 (Harding & Kropelien 1950:37; Lingenfelter 1967:26-28). Nott completed translation of the entire Bible in 1835 (Thorogood 1995:8). It was published in London in 1838 (Rietz 1969:330). Darling started to print Davies's dictionary in 1839, but "deficiency of type, and other unavoidable circumstances, interrupted the progress of the work," causing Davies to send his dictionary to England for printing. Because the missionaries did not agree about Maohi orthography, the directors advised delay; Davies had to wait 12 years to see it in print, but it was accompanied by a second edition of his *Short Grammar*, originally published in 1823 (J. Davies 1991[1851]:vi). In 1841 LMS sent out Alfred Smee to relieve Darling, and the press moved from Punaauia to Papeete (Lingenfelter 1967:28-29).

By then Catholic priests, who had begun to arrive, had appealed to France, which sent a warship captained by Du Petit Thouars. As the French and Catholics gained ground, LMS published anti-papist tracts to inflame the public. Smee printed French regulations at the same time, so LMS relieved him of his job. In retaliation, he took the final draft of their Tahitian-English dictionary on a ship leaving for London in 1847. In the end, the manuscript did not go amiss because he died en route (Buzacott 1985[1866]:196; Lingenfelter 1967:29-30; Garrett 1982:266). American, Belgian, British, and French personalities jockeyed for position. Britain recognized French interests in Polynesia in exchange for France's recognition of Britain's claim to New Zealand (Garrett 1982:255). To no avail, Pomare III requested in a letter to Queen Victoria that the British queen remove her, her people, and her land from the French protectorate (1845). French annexation happened officially in 1880 (Saura 1993:43) for Tahiti, the Marquesas, the Australs, and in 1897 for the Leewards (Garrett 1982:258). Pomare progressively lost power as the administration and the Tahitian Assembly gained ground, as districts disappeared, and fewer traditional chiefs were elected (Saura 1993:43).

William Howe had arrived in 1839; he followed Smee as printer and ran the training institution set up at Afareaitu in 1842. He went to London in 1844 to revise the Bible translation by Nott and Maohi evangelists. In 1848 the Leeward press moved to Papeete. Darling continued to print, including the first books for Fiji and the Marquesas and *Te Faaite Tahiti* (The Tahitian Teacher), a quarterly that Davies edited and that included diverse subjects from scriptures to astronomy to anti-papist tracts. Howe returned to Tahiti in 1847, advocating handing over the mission field to the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS, Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris). Arguments with French officials about ecclesiastical policies and French government labour obligations for students eventually stopped instruction at the training institutions by the mid-1850s. Howe continued printing until PEMS missionaries arrived in 1863, then he trained his successor, G. Morris (Lingenfelter 1967:28, 30-31; Garrett 1982:256-257; Lange 2005:47). In 1852 all LMS missionaries but Darling, Davies, and Howe had resigned in objection to the French governor's appointing pastors to the national church. Gunson maintained that Howe's continuation as minister of the English church and as LMS's agent in Papeete and his strong stand against intimidation by the French government and the Catholic Church were principal factors in sustaining the Evangelical Church in these islands (1978:26). Continuing to run the press assisted the endeavour, for it maintained forms, rituals, and symbols of ideological power.

Over the years and at multiple stations, missionaries and islanders worked to publish many books and the codes of law for different islands. Books were also printed for the Marquesas, Fiji, and Samoa. In bringing the written word, the missionaries set in motion an irreversible chain of events that changed society to incorporate lessons, then schools, then laws, then government, and rivalry between governments. Saura wrote that writing was the nerve of evangelism (1993:37), and evangelism was the premier cause for political evolution into a centralized estate (p.38). Text culture perpetuated by book publishing was also the premier instrument for perpetuating Maohi language, which contributed to a sense of identity that would help Maohi sustain themselves in the inevitable colonial era that followed. Davies, Ellis, Williams, and others wrote of their experiences and of Polynesian cultures—to persuade (potential) benefactors and to recruit new missionaries. Missionaries' books were generally published in London and massaged for a growing middle-class market (Crowl 2003a:35). The Polynesian contribution to local publishing was immense:

informing, translating, printing, sewing, binding, distributing, and teaching others to read.

Feeding the *Kai Parau* (Book Eaters)⁵ in the Cook Islands

In 1821 Williams landed *oremetua* (teachers/pastors) Papeiha and Vahapata, members of the church at Raiatea, at Aitutaki; he subsequently sent letters, books, and presents to them, and from their letters learnt of Rarotongans who wanted the Gospel (J. Williams 1840[1837]:10-11, 15; Gilson 1980:20; Lange 1997:3, 2005:62). Rarotongans Tairi and Teiro journeyed to Aitutaki, met Papeiha and asked him to come to Rarotonga (M. Crocombe 1983:55fn78). En route to Rarotonga in 1823, Williams picked up Papehia. Then Papehia, Taua and his wife, and Haavi and his wife went ashore at Mangaia but swam back to the ship after rough treatment by the inhabitants. After the visitors departed, the Mangaians used the books for ornaments, but when dysentery decimated the population, they threw the book leaves into chasms where they habitually buried their dead (Gill 1984[1894]:326-328). Williams left Papeiha at Rarotonga with a small amount of Tahitian literature. “Tairi and Teiro distributed some of these [scripture extracts] to the high chiefs, their families and friends because the Rarotongans desired to own them above all else” (Maretu 1983[1871]:56). People thought fluttering, flashing bible pages were God himself (p.58, and see M. Crocombe 1983:58fn88). J. Williams wrote that missionaries had laboured 15 years to convert Tahiti and nearby islands, but *oremetua* converted Rarotonga and nearby islands in two years (1840[1837]:29).

In 1824 LMS missionaries Bennet and Tyerman left *oremetua* Davida and Tiera from Tahaa with the Tahitian New Testament at Mangaia (J. Williams 1840[1837]:22; Gill 1984[1894]:328). Until Maretu arrived in 1839, all religious instruction was in Tahitian and the Tahitian *oremetua* had much greater command of the Bible than any Mangaians. Aratangi claimed both these advantages gave the Tahitians authority, command, and power (1996:84, 88). Later on translation of Old Testament genealogies, wars, and commandments facilitated the Bible’s acceptance because they were similar to Polynesian society (Gill 1984[1894]:352-353). William

⁵ Introduced by early missionaries, the Tahitian term literally means “to eat of the words or instruction” and denotes “to receive religious instruction” (Savage 1980[1962]:80). *Kai parau* came to mean “those who were friendly to the new order of things,” ie Christianity (Gill 1984[1894]:336).

Wyatt Gill⁶ approved of the chiefs' subsequent adoption of a code of laws for the protection of life and property (1984[1894]:337). Mangaian Christians took the power of writing so seriously that they effected new laws that were draconian in comparison with traditional taboos. Because their religious system was so intertwined with their social system, their culture, identity, and pride changed as they accepted and enforced Christianity (Buck 1993[1939]:46-47). As political and economic power had always been intimately linked with spiritual power, chiefs saw Christianity as means to retain their position. As spiritual power passed from the Mangaian gods to Jehovah, the symbols, rituals, and institutions of the old religion were made increasingly redundant (Dixon & Parima 1993:4). The book became the new symbol, reading the new institution: "much time was spent in learning the word of God" (Buck 1993[1939]:19).

In 1827 Williams and Charles Pitman established a permanent mission on Rarotonga. Williams brought the Raiatean code of laws with him; legality, Christianity, and politics became inextricably bound together (Gilson 1980:28-29). Williams translated texts into Rarotongan, including *John* and *Galatians*, which Charles Barff printed on Huahine in 1828. Barff sent them in sheets, which the Rarotongans sewed and bound using wood and skin of cats, dogs, and goats (J. Williams 1840[1837]:32; Prout 1843:248; Buzacott 1985[1866]:67-68; Lingenfelter 1967:50). Barff and Threlkeld continued to print Rarotongan material for some years (J. Williams 1840[1837]:35; Lingenfelter 1967:50). Pitman stayed until 1854 on Rarotonga and worked with Ta'unga to translate 19 books of the Bible (Buzacott 1985[1866]:222; Garrett 1982:83).

By 1828 Aitutakians had formed an Auxiliary Missionary Society, subscribing hogs and making rope to obtain books (Prout 1843:269). Arriving on Rarotonga in 1828, Aaron Buzacott stayed to work 25 years. In 1832 Buzacott travelled to Tahiti and learnt to print with Darling at Punaauia, making several hundred copies of *First Peter* in Rarotongan, which he took back unbound to Rarotonga (Buzacott 1985[1866]:115-116; Lingenfelter 1967:50). LMS sent Ellis's old press and fonts to

⁶ William Gill repeatedly visited Mangaia, staying months at a time (Gill 1984[1894]:337). His brother George arrived in 1845 as the first resident missionary and stayed until he left for Rarotonga in 1857. W.W. Gill arrived in 1852 (p.338).

Rarotonga in 1834,⁷ and Buzacott printed *Browne's Catechism* and the *Moral Law*. He trained a young Rarotongan to do everything from composing to presswork. A year later they had printed a catechism, a hymnal, and two tracts (Lingenfelter 1967:51-52). Buzacott's wife and daughter corrected proof sheets, and his son interpreted, translated sermons and speeches, and composed and printed (Buzacott 1985[1866]:178). When Williams went to London to see the Rarotongan New Testament through the press, he sent other publications, slates, and other things to Rarotonga. Pitman reported that the people read the gospels and tracts as soon as they were placed in their hands and asked Pitman many times to read Williams's letter that promised the arrival of the New Testament (in Prout 1843:452).

Pitman and Buzacott had studied at Gosport and knew the benefits of such a training institution; Williams advocated native agency (Lange 2005:66). They established the Institution for the Training of Native Teachers at Takamoa in Avarua on Rarotonga in 1839. Rev William and Mrs Gill arrived at Rarotonga that year (Buzacott 1985[1866]:69). On the same vessel were John Williams and 5,000 copies of the first edition of the Rarotongan Testament, which had been printed under BFBS auspices. Eager converts soon exhausted the supply and completely repaid the printing costs (p.70, 178). In 1839 Pitman's helper Maretu was sent to bolster Davida's teaching; Mangaia then came under the Rarotonga mission rather than the Tahiti Mission: "What had been but dimly apprehended before, because expressed in a foreign tongue, became clear and attractive in their own." Maretu saved the language of Mangaia from disappearing (Gill 1984[1894]:337). Children stole produce from the plantations in order to be taken before authorities in the Christian settlement. After punishment, they stayed many days to attend school, then they obtained school books and hymnals, which they took home to the valleys and they instructed themselves (Buck 1993[1939]:22). People learnt to write in sand with their finger: "the idea of book-learning became inseparably connected with Christianity" (Gill 1984[1894]:336). Cook Islanders saved sermons: "It is quite a common practice to take down the outline of the discourse on paper or slates, or even rudely to scratch it on the leaf of the banana or the coco-nut" (p.364).

⁷ Buzacott wrote 1832 (1985[1866]:68), but Lingenfelter wrote 1834 after Smith had struggled to revive printing at Huahine (1967:27).

In 1843 and 1844 Buzacott enlarged the training institution and built a sizeable printing office (Buzacott 1985[1866]:217, 224). He translated David Bogue's lectures into Rarotongan, had his students copy them (Garrett 1982:117), and later printed them (Buzacott 1985[1866]:134, 185). The Rarotonga institution gained influence as the Tahiti institutions declined in the increasing presence of Catholic priests and French officials. Chiefs wrote to LMS headquarters asking for British protection should France attack (Gilson 1980:41). In 1846 Buzacott translated and printed *Pilgrim's Progress* on Rarotonga; it was "highly prized by the islanders." Islanders bought 3,000 copies of Mrs Gill's translation of *Peep of Day and Line upon Line* (Gill 1984[1894]:355). In 1846 a cyclone destroyed the printing office (Buzacott 1985[1866]:95), and Kiro went with Buzacott to England to help finish translating the Bible (p.196). Buzacott's wife and daughter helped to see it through the press, which BFBS sponsored (p.179, 187-188). W.W. Gill arrived in 1851, bringing 5,000 copies of the Rarotongan Bible, which islanders paid for with cash, or bartered for with produce.⁸ Some people had paid in advance. In two years 5,000 copies sold out (Gill 1984[1894]:346, 349). In 1855 BFBS issued 5,000 more copies for Rarotonga (Buzacott 1985[1866]:206-207). In 1872 it published a third, greatly improved edition of 5,000 copies (Gill 1984[1894]:350). From 1846 William Gill directed the institute and press. Laws of Aitutaki, 1847 were printed (James 1924). When he departed in 1857, Buzacott claimed everyone could read, the majority could write, and many knew biblical history, astronomy, and geography (Buzacott 1985[1866]:242). Gilson wrote that this might have been true for Rarotonga but not for the other islands. Non-biblical material and special crafts were still the province of children of chiefs and missionaries (1980:30). Nevertheless, observers remarked on the relatively quick acquisition of literacy skills on outer islands (Anonymous 1933-1970). William Gill ran the press until 1860, E.R.W. Krause until 1867, and James Chalmers afterward (Lingenfelter 1967:55).

Buzacott wrote, "The Rarotongan Bible is a sacred memorial, more enduring and honourable than the most costly mausoleum....The highest ambition can desire no better mission or loftier place in the moral and religious life of a people than this, to be

⁸ Many people did not mind paying a high price (Maretu 1983[1871]:102-103, 109, 143; Anonymous 1933-1970; M. Crocombe 1983:94fn20, 109fn17). Stealing of books also occurred (Maretu 1983[1871]:144; Anonymous 1933-1970).

the translators into a new language of the inspired Word of God, thus enabling a new nation to read and study in their own mother tongue” (1985[1866]:187). He listed more than 100 works published by the mission press and several taken to England for printing: besides religious matter, a Rarotongan and English vocabulary and a grammar; school books for astronomy, geography, math, and reading; Aitutakian laws; books in languages of Grande Terre, the Loyalties, and Tanna; periodical issues; annual reports; and a calendar. He listed Mrs and Miss Buzacott, W. Gill, Pitman, Henry Royle, Ta’unga, Upokumana, Williams, and himself as translators (p.180-185). Papeiha, Ta’unga, Kiro, the Rarotongan printer, and others translated, checked drafts, realigned type, and worked the press (1985[1866]:69, 178, 196).

The mission press enjoyed a fine reputation: castaway Lamont wrote of his rescue from Tongareva (Penrhyn) and delight in returning to Rarotonga with its printing establishment, books, and tracts (1994[1867]:357). Expatriate missionaries sent their anthropological, biographical, or historical work to London for publication. W.W. Gill earned a doctorate based on his studies (Garrett 1982:121). He acknowledged the contributions of Maretu, Ta’unga, Mamae, and Rupe in perpetuating Maori language and in recording Maori customs, legends, myths, songs, and chants (Gill 1984[1894]; Lange 2005:71). Islanders’ works appeared long after they had died (in Crocombe & Crocombe 1984[1968]{Ta’unga 1833-1896}; Ta’unga 1982[1846]; Maretu 1983[1871]; Mamae 2003[1852-1872]). About revising the Bible, W.W. Gill wrote, “If my work is a success, it is due mainly to the untiring aid of Taunga, who for considerably more than forty years has been a faithful preacher of the Word in the Western Pacific, in Samoa, and latterly in Rarotonga—the land of his birth. Taunga, the pupil and beloved friend of the late Rev. C. Pitman, is acknowledged to be the best living authority on the Rarotongan language.” Ta’unga also translated a scripture history from Samoan into Rarotongan (297 pages), which was eventually printed at the Mission Press on Mangaia in 1896 (Crocombe & Crocombe 1984[1968]{Ta’unga 1833-1896}:146). Ta’unga’s son Tamuera Terei, once an *oremetua*, left manuscripts on traditional history (p.147-148).

Many mission publications went out of print as island life changed (Gill 1984[1894]:352). After the French had taken over islands further east, British trade moved west, and Rarotonga was lively with activity. Cook Islanders worked at home

and abroad. Economics and politics affected religion and society in new ways, as people pursued European life-styles (Gilson 1980:41-56). In 1888 the British government annexed the Cook Islands. Moss became British resident, promoted English instruction in school, and opened the islands to Catholics, Latter-day Saints (LDS), and Seventh-day Adventists (SDA) because he thought competition would benefit islanders. Turmoil followed and LMS teachers often reverted to using the vernacular (p.73-76). LMS printed second editions of W. Gill's church history, Mrs Buzacott's translation of *Peep of Day*, and pamphlets attacking the Catholic Church. *Galatians* and a smaller publication were printed at Malua in 1910 (Eastman 1994, Rademaker 1994:35, 38). After New Zealand had annexed the islands in 1901, LMS told Gudgeon the people wanted instruction in English. Despite government subsidy, LMS could not cope with rising costs and in 1915 handed over its school property to the Administration (Gilson 1980:169-172).

Matatia, Pao, Teava, Ta'unga, the Gill brothers, Henry Royle, John J.K. Hutchin, Henry Bond James, and other served many years (Garrett 1982:119, 120, 195, 1992:250, 425; Lange 2005:70). Rev George H. Eastman, who was appointed in 1913, drafted a Rarotongan-English dictionary (Eastman 1994). LMS received less financial support from Britain during the world-wide depression and fewer British missionaries came out (Gilson 1980:203-204). Takamoa continued to operate, but by the mid-1900s Cook Islanders were migrating en masse to New Zealand. The Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC) became a member of the New Zealand Council of Churches by 1960 (Ta'ase et al 1989:21). Rev Bernard Thorogood strengthened Takamoa, assisted CICC to write its independence constitution, and because of *oremotua's* roles elsewhere, served on the Pacific Theological College's (PTC) inaugural council (Garrett 1997:265). In May 2003 CICC released a list of recently reprinted works by Bogue, Buzacott, Cullen, the Gills, Hill, Hutchin, Malan, Orsmond, Pratt and Murray, and Turner for sale at Takamoa Theological College and the Christian Bookshop (CICC 2003).

Although it has competition, CICC remains the majority church. Participation in religious life is part and parcel of participation in local politics. Political leaders continue to rely on the organization of society influenced long ago by the mission's book-based way of life.

Opening the *Fale Lomi Tosi* (Printing Office) in Samoa

News of Christianity had spread in Samoa from sailors, beachcombers, and castaways; one named Salima had even translated part of the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer* (Murray in Kamu 1996:65). Samoans reported to George Turner that *palagi* (whites) conducted services (G. Turner 1986[1861]:9, 11). Samoan Siovili, who had travelled to Tonga, the Society Islands, and Australia, had preached to Samoans on his return. He used a book, although Turner believed he could not read it (G. Turner 1986[1861]:12; Meleisea et al 1987c:45; Kamu 1996:71-75). Kamu wrote that given the importance of the Bible in Protestant worship and given Siovili's own travels, Siovili probably had obtained a bible. Moreover, he credited Siovili with being the first Samoan to grapple with questions of culture and gospel (1996:74-75). Chief Saivaaia, returning from a visit to Tonga, brought Wesleyanism; chapels existed in 1828 (p.69, 75-76).

In 1830 Williams and Barff left Moia and Boti from Huahine; Taataori, Umia, and Arue from Raiatea; Taihere from Borabora; and Rake and Teava⁹ from Aitutaki (Garrett 1982:84; Meleisea et al 1987a:56; Kamu 1996:75; Lange 1997:14-15). The *oremotua* worked through Samoan chiefs. Malietoa's welcome was due to Williams's having taken Samoan chief Fauea onboard in Tonga;¹⁰ Williams's landing at Sapapali'i, where introductions soon became friendly; Tamafaiga's passing from the scene; the residence of Malietoa (Samoa's most powerful chief); and Nafunua's prophecy "to expect a kingdom from heaven." People followed their *matai* (title holders) in accepting Christianity and the population converted quickly (J. Williams 1840[1837]:80, 93; Henry 1980[1935]:163; Garrett 1982:122, 124-125; Meleisea et al 1987a:56-58; Kamu 1996:77-80; Lange 2005:80). Williams returned in 1832 with a Rarotongan chief and a teacher, and Fauea's wife Puaseisei became the first LMS convert (Meleisea et al 1987a:58).

Williams prepared a small elementary book and catechism in Samoan (J. Williams 1840[1837]:124). In 1834 Charles Barff returned with Aaron Buzacott, bringing copies of the first book printed in Samoan, which Barff had printed at

⁹ Teava's knowledge of Samoan language became "accurate and extensive" (Murray quoted in Garrett 1982:126).

¹⁰ where he had converted to Wesleyanism

Huahine (J. Williams 1840[1837]:124; Lingenfelter 1967:69; Meleisea 1987a:58). There Buzacott found that the Samoans desired the *lotu* (worship) so much that they asked beachcombers to lead services—which some did, reading in English any book to hand, baptizing, and holding communion. Some beachcombers gained “considerable influence” over the Samoans (1985[1866]:118). In 1835 Wilson arrived from Tahiti and stayed until 1839 (Murray 1863:451). He translated *Matthew*, which Barff and Buzacott printed along with several elementary books (p.453). In 1835 Rev George Pratt arrived and began compiling a dictionary and grammar (Meleisea 1987a:58), which has been reprinted and revised many times. In 1836 A.W. Murray arrived and stayed until 1854, when he shifted to ‘Upolu. In books and articles, he publicized the mission’s work (Murray 1863:451; Garrett 1982:126). Although Tongan Wesleyans were first to bring the *lotu* to Samoa, Williams had been the first *palagi* missionary to step foot in Samoa. In his tour to promote his very successful *Missionary Enterprises*, he advertised a comity that he wanted: LMS to retain Samoa, Methodists to work in Tonga (Thornley 2005:42).¹¹ Despite the agreement, Wesleyans sent books from their press in Tonga, and LMS countered with its own publications (Lingenfelter 1967:69; Meleisea 1987a:58).

Rev John B. Stair (a printer) and his wife arrived in 1838 (Lingenfelter 1967:69). While waiting for the press to arrive, Stair built a printing office at Falelatai. In 1839 he printed *O Le Tala I Lotu Ese Ese*, an anti-Papist (p.70) and anti-Wesleyan tract. Charles Wilkes of the US Exploring Expedition, in Samoa at the time, denounced it as un-Christian (p.71). Within a few months of his setting up the press, Stair had trained two Samoans “who had travelled overseas and spoke English,” (Meleisea 1987a:59) to do the presswork and another to compose (Lingenfelter 1967:71-72). In 1839 he started Samoa’s first periodical, *O Le Sulu Samoa* (The Samoan Torch), which ran sporadically for years (Lingenfelter 1967:72; Meleisea 1987a:59). Due to his wife’s ill health, he moved the press in 1841 to Leulumoega and all the stations contributed to building a new office (Lingenfelter 1967:72). Leulumoega was a strategic choice, for its talking chiefs were the most influential in

¹¹ Garrett wrote that by 1836 the Wesleyan hierarchy had agreed to cede Samoa and LMS to cede Fiji (1982:84, 122-123).

choosing high chiefs (Garrett 1982:128). That year *Pese ma Viiga* (hymns)¹² appeared (Peleseuma 1998:3). Murray wrote, “The press gave a powerful impetus to the good work. Its arrival formed an important era, and tended greatly to advance the interests of our mission. From that time every department of labour continued steadily to progress” (1863:453-454).

His wife’s health caused Stair to leave in 1845. James P. Sunderland took over the press and printed books for Efate, Tanna, Lifu, and Mare as well (Lingenfelter 1967:72). Revs G. Turner, Charles Hardie, William Day, William Mills, and Rarotongans Matatia, Napoto, and Malama used Takamoa as a model to establish the Samoan Mission Seminary at Malua(papa) in 1844. All subjects were taught in Samoan so all books were translated (Garrett 1982:119; Liua’ana 1995:53-54; Lange 2005:83-84). G. Turner wrote out his lectures so that his students might copy and add to them, and later take them when the students left the institution. He copied 15 publications by hand. Women also copied everything that was given to them (1986[1861]:39-40). The students studied arithmetic, astronomy, geography, and writing, along with religious material (Liua’ana 1995:54). From 1846 wives attended with their husbands. As more and more students attended school, the Samoa District Committee sought financial help from churches in Britain and Australia (p.55). Ta’unga of Rarotonga went to Manu’a in 1849 and stayed until 1879; he and his wife Ngapoto Terei taught literacy. When the mission ship came, people bought books with coconut oil (Crocombe & Crocombe 1984[1968]{Ta’unga 1833-1896}:127, 130). Education was an important element in the mission’s programme. Until the 1950s village pastors educated most Samoans, and many leaders have since come from Malua Theological College, Leulumoega Fou School, and Papauta Girls’ School (Meleisea 1987a:59-60).

A war among Samoans left Leulumoega Village burnt and some of its people murdered in 1848, but the chapel, mission house, and printing office were unscathed. Samuel Ella arrived shortly thereafter and began printing with Abijah Bicknell and a Samoan. He ran the press for almost 16 years before he and his wife moved with a

¹² Revised in 1851, 1861, 1895, 1899, 1909, and 1986, *Pese ma Viiga* is also used by Methodists, Catholics, and the government (Peleseuma 1998:3-4). The current edition is nearly 500 pages (EFKS nd-a).

new press to Uvea, Loyalty Islands (Lingenfelter 1967:73). The New Testament [1846] and the Old Testament [1855] were entirely printed in Samoa, mostly by Samoans, and proceeds paid for expenses. In 1848 BFBS printed 15,000 copies of a revised New Testament; all copies sold; and Samoans reimbursed the society with £ 1,300 (Murray 1863:460). Except for the first publications, the missionaries sold all works because Samoans then valued the books and the books got into the hands of those who wanted them (p.462). Rev Stephen James Whitmee followed Ella, and several years later the press moved to Malua (Lingenfelter 1967:73).

Translation of the Bible into Samoan, and publication sponsored by BFBS, perpetuated polite and ordinary forms of the language. Va'aelua Petaia helped to translate the Bible. Peniamina, renowned for his traditional knowledge, wrote hymns (Lange 2005:100). Murray wrote that the language barrier could prevent implementation of missionaries' goals, and he counselled study of vernaculars. LMS taught its *faiife'au* (teachers/pastors) to study yet others' languages to spread the Word (cited in Kamu 1996:112). Many Samoan *faiife'au* and their families served in Niue, the Gilbert and Ellice islands, Tokelau, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and Papua. They took their lecture notes and books with them (Murray 1863).

From the 1860s to 1890s conflict almost never ceased among Samoans and settlers, with divisions between rival churches, European factions, Samoan clans, and branches within clans. Robert Louis Stevenson wrote that the missionaries might have been to blame in some cases, but that Samoan politics were unknowable to foreigners and that the missionaries in Samoa were not in a position to stick only to religion and to avoid politics (1996[1892]:133). He confessed that his prejudices about missionaries were annihilated after he lived in the Pacific (cited in V. Smith 1998:140). Stevenson did, however, report in a book an incident wherein a missionary had tried to persuade US Consul H.M. Sewall to deceive and seize Mata'afa (1996[1892]). The missionary subsequently tried to sue Stevenson and H.J. Moors for libel. The matter reached LMS headquarters in London, and the missionary left Samoa (Moors 1911:128-144). Stevenson wrote that he did not expect every missionary to be wise or honest, but he believed missionaries in Samoa to be the best he had seen. He approved of the Samoan Bible as literature and "a desirable piece of typography" (quoted in Moors 1911:65). When he first arrived, Stevenson had studied Samoan language with Whitmee. After

Stevenson had designed and written *The Bottle Imp* for a Polynesian audience, he worked with the missionary Arthur Claxton to draft a Samoan translation (V. Smith 1998:180-181). LMS published *O Le Fagu Atiu* as serial in its *O le Sulu O Samoa* before *The Bottle Imp* appeared in English elsewhere (Moors 1911:97-98; V. Smith 1998:180).

James Edward Newell was the editor of *O le Sulu O Samoa* (Garrett 1992:199), and he had given the moniker Tusitala to Stevenson (Moors 1911:65). They shared appreciation of Samoan people and their language and ways. Newell served from 1880, spoke fluent Samoan, edited Pratt's *Grammar and Dictionary*, and made extensive notes about culture. The career of W.W. Gill, his father-in-law, no doubt had influenced him (Garrett 1992:190). He mediated among Samoans and between Samoans and foreigners, including under German rule. He learnt German, worked with German missions, studied their schools and textbooks, and trained Samoans to assist their stations in New Guinea (p.191-196). Newell left Samoa in 1910 for London, where he gained approval from the LMS Board for the Samoans' *toeaina* (council of advisers). Samoans were already paying for many of their church's activities, including publications. According to Forman, Samoa became the first country in the world to fund its expatriate missionaries (Forman 1982:129). In 1906 a new printing office opened; new machinery arrived in 1907; and H.S. Griffen managed book and magazine operations with Samoans working 8-hour days (*Cyclopedia* 1984[1907]:68). Wilhelmina Franzeska Louise Valesca Schultze and Elizabeth Moore started Papauta School for girls in 1892; it helped to form the Samoan nation and other nations. Moore then went to Atauloma on Tutuila (Garrett 1982:277, 1992:195-197). Schultze helped to prepare a German-English-Samoan grammar. She complained to Newell of German reserve officer and planter Richard Deekin, whose negative comments about LMS in his published book, *Manuia Samoa*, caused a row (Meleisea et al 1987b:111; Garrett 1992:193-194). In 1915 Malua published *O le Tusi Faalupega o Samoa*, a book of titles that Le Mamea Faletō'ese began and Te'o Tuvalē and a pastor brother Faletōese completed (these were sons of pastor Va'aelua Petaia). The book "greatly assisted preservation of a traditional element in Samoan political life in times of change." Te'o Tuvalē also wrote a history of Samoa to 1918 (J. Davidson 1967:69-70 quote, 437; Fairbairn 1996:20-22).

Conflict among high chiefs and between Britain, Germany, and the United States; the 1918 influenza epidemic; the Mau; and two world wars affected teaching at Malua (Liua'ana 1995:57-58). LMS agreed to teach German as required by the German government, but was also allowed to teach English, for its students continued to go as missionaries to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Niue, and Papua (Garrett 1992:195). Many people, including Samoan political and religious leaders died during the epidemic, including Rev Kirisome, who assisted Griffen at the Malua Printing Press (Garrett 1992:202; Liua'ana 1995:58). Fewer missionaries and funds came from England (Liua'ana 1995:58). As the Mau asserted power against New Zealand, it also asserted its independence from LMS headquarters (Garrett 1992:404-405). By 1939 LMS had given management and control of the press to the Samoan District Committee (Peleseuma 1998:2). When BFBS informed the Congregational Christian Church (CCC, LMS) in the 1950s that its plates were too worn to reprint the Samoan Bible; CCC asked BFBS about revision of the 1884 edition before making new plates. BFBS agreed, and CCC invited the Catholic and Methodist churches to participate, which they did, and the new edition was published in 1969. It was a major step in ecumenical life in Samoa (O'Reilly 1969:306-307; Kamu 1996:168). A version with the deuterocanonicals was published for the Catholics, one without for the Protestants (O'Reilly 1969:307).

By the mid-1950s the Samoan church was largely self-supporting financially. From 1954 to 1968 Rev L.H.B. (Hugh) Neems opened and ran church bookshops in Apia and Pago Pago (Garrett 1997:247). Dr J. Bradshaw (a layperson) was Malua's principal from 1956 to 1963 (Liua'ana 1995:60). He introduced new subjects and changed the language of instruction to English, which Liua'ana reported as worthwhile, for "it was very hard to obtain textbooks in the Samoan language. It opened up new opportunities for the students to utilise the vast knowledge in print" (p.61). Bradshaw helped to prepare a new book of worship in Samoan and advised the church about its independence constitution (Garrett 1997:246). In 1967 Rev Mila Sapolu became Malua's principal; other Samoans followed, including Rev Oka Fauolo, who promoted fellowship with Piula (Wesleyan) Theological College and Moamoa (Catholic) Seminary (Liua'ana 1995:62). Many people wanted to join the ministry. There were not enough jobs for the number of students that LMS trained, but the students found jobs with government (p.60). Their training served them well, especially in the lead up

to independence. The *toeaina* led their church's struggle to become independent as Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa (EFKS) in 1961. The state became independent in 1962 (Garrett 1997:408). Since mission days, *faiife'au* have not been allowed to become *matai*, but they have a *feagaiga* (covenant relationship), they are greatly respected, and they have influential roles in village and national life and civil matters (Kamu 1996:83, 143-144; Lange 1997:24).

Today the majority of Samoans are EFKS members, and EFKS is basically self-supporting. The World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Council for World Mission (CWM, LMS's successor) occasionally contribute for specific projects (Ernst 1994:167-169). In its schools, EFKS follows the national curriculum, but it also teaches religious studies, for which the EFKS Department of Education and Malua Printing Press publish books (Samuela interview 2003). By 1968 Malua Printing Press had shifted into Apia for accessibility. The press continues to be "a tool to develop Samoa, spiritually, mentally and academically" and "for building Christianity on Samoan soil" (Peleseuma 1998:2). In addition to its biblical publications and church administration and news, it provides materials for village, community, and national development in culture, education, environmental awareness, health, and history. It continues to publish *Sulu Samoa* (p.3). Malua Press keeps in print some of the missionaries' Samoan works (eg EFKS nd-b; Hills nd; Hough nd). It prints prayer books by Christian Endeavours and Prayer Watchers, which have "bread and butter" commercial value (Peleseuma 1998:2). The Samoan Bible is printed overseas. In May 1998 the EFKS General Conference passed a resolution to commemorate Malua Printing Press's service to the church and country by restoring the printing house at Malua and creating a museum (p.4). Malua exports books and pamphlets for daily and weekly prayers to Australia, Fiji, Hawai'i, the US mainland, New Zealand, and elsewhere so that Samoans in the worldwide EFKS body may contemplate the same message simultaneously. Malua also prints a great deal of commercial work (Milo interview 2003).

Religious, governmental, and regional publishing phases have overlapped, as we shall see more clearly in the following chapters. For instance, in 1958 LMS appointed Rev Dr Bruce and Gweneth Deverell to serve as missionaries on Savai'i, Samoa. Bruce served on Apia at Leulumoeaga Fou High School, in EFKS's Christian

Education Programme, and as minister at the Apia Protestant Church. The Deverells moved to Suva, Fiji where he worked with the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC), taught at PTC, was minister at St Andrews Presbyterian Church, coordinated the Interfaith Search Fiji, and chaired the Fiji Council of Churches Research Group (Deverell 1995:129, 132, 135). Bruce wrote periodical articles, Gweneth authored children's books (published by the University of the South Pacific's [USP] Institute of Education), and the pair edited *Pacific Rituals* (1986) for USP's Institute of Pacific Studies (IPS). Another example of overlap occurred when Mr Indar Singh, a volunteer from the government-supported Australian Executive Service Overseas Project (AESOP), trained workers in pre-press, press, and post-press tasks, repair, and maintenance at Malua Printing Press (AESOP 2002:9).

Samoans were eager for the *lotu* and there is evidence of their beginnings of participation in text culture before the missionaries arrived. Samoan respect for oratory meshed with Christian preaching, teaching, and emphasis on words in a new communication technology—the book. High chiefs and *matai* turned new tools and events to their purposes. Commoners found new and literate ways to elevate themselves in their status-filled society. Consciously and unconsciously, they chose to change their lives economically and politically around text.

Fiji and Rotuma

LMS preceded the Methodists in these islands, did the spadework, but did not stay. News of Christianity reached Fiji due to traditional ties with Tonga and to European ships. Isireli Takai, who had links in Fiji and Tonga, was in Tonga during Walter Lawry's stay, 1822 to 1823. Subsequently, Takai and Langi, a Tongan, worked as pilots and interpreters for Peter Dillon and went to Sydney and then Tahiti, where they met Davies. Takai requested a teacher for Fiji. Davies had previously recorded Fijian words and phrases while stranded on Kia, Fiji in 1809, so Takai, Langi, and he compiled a Fijian spelling book, which was printed in 1825 (Lingenfelter 1967:60). Davies used it to instruct Hape and Tafeta from Papara, who left in 1826 for Fiji with Takai and Langi. Asserting his colonial prerogative, Tupou (Aleamotu'a) waylaid the four in Tonga. They stayed for awhile, preaching, teaching, building a chapel, and opening a school, but eventually returned to Tahiti. In 1830 Takai with Taharaa from Papara and Faaruea (also called Arue) and Hatai from Moorea arrived on Lakeba.

Unsuccessful there, they went to Oneata, but lost their books in a shipwreck, or possibly Fijians on Oneata burnt the books. The Polynesians carried on with what they had memorized. After Wesleyans arrived in 1836, Arue and Hatai worked within them until they died 10 years later; Taharaa might have gone to Vanuabalavu (Calvert 1985[1858]:9; Thornley 1995d, 1996a:1-11b, 1996c).

A Rotuman called Friday, who lived in Samoa and converted to Christianity, asked to return to his country to share the good news. John Williams and Friday arrived on Rotuma in 1839. While there, Williams made a spelling book before leaving Friday, Leiataua, and Sa'u¹³ (Langi 1992:12-13). In 1840 Rev Thomas Heath and 10 teachers arrived. Heath asked chief Tokainiua to help him expand Williams's spelling book, but Heath's efforts over time did not succeed. The two Samoans reported their own difficulties with the Rotuman language and local fears of worshipping the new god if their chiefs did not. At the request of chiefs, however, Heath left teachers Sako, Reatau, and Sakopo under the chiefs' protection (p.16). Disappointed that the Samoans could not communicate in Rotuman, chief Tokainiua turned to Methodist Rev John Waterhouse, who visited in 1841, and asked for Christianity in English as many Rotumans spoke broken English (p.18). Revs G. Turner and Murray called at Rotuma in 1845 to announce the LMS-WMMS comity: Methodist missionaries would assist Protestantism (p.19).

The stories of LMS in Fiji and Rotuma are short but important ones in demonstrating the serendipitous nature of publishing in the Pacific. Indigenous travel followed by contact and work with foreigners, led to trials, errors, and negotiations, but ultimately acceptance of Christianity and its book-based way of life. Shipwrecks not only provided opportunities for creating books but also caused loss of books. By the time people lost their books, however, they were already living according to text.

Tohi (Books) on Niue

Niueans Fanea, Niumaga, Peniamina, and Fakafitienua (Fakafitifonua) introduced Christianity to their own people (Talagi 1982:111-113). Traditional priest Kilipalua had predicted that Peniamina, who had gone to Samoa, would return with a

¹³ also called Luitama or Liratama and Jacopo (Langi 1992:13).

small object called a *tohi* and report that the sky had only one god. After studying with G. Turner, Peniamina returned to Niue in 1852. Niueans were impressed by his ability to read and write and literacy's connection to material goods (Talagi 1982:113-115; Lange 2005:192). Peniamina worked with Samoan Paulo and his wife, who had arrived in 1849 (Murray 1863:361, 363; Lange 2005:192). Paulo created orthography for Niueans' language. Samoan teachers used Samoan spelling books to prepare a Niuean primer, a scripture history, a doctrinal catechism, and *Mark*. Malua printed, and missionaries delivered, 1,000 copies of the first three and 4,000 copies of a revised Niuean primer. Niueans collected 2,240 pounds of arrowroot to pay for their books. Missionaries left a few copies of the Samoan New Testament, for some Niueans understood the language, and copies of commentary on *Matthew* in Samoan for islanders to use in translating *Matthew* (Murray 1863:369-375, 385). By that time enormous changes had taken place in political and social life as Niueans moved from huts in the bush to build houses in villages, stopped destroying crops after deaths, and found peaceful means of settling grievances (p.388). In Samoa, Pratt and a Niuean at Malua revised and readied *Mark* for printing (p.390). When Pratt and William George Lawes delivered 3,000 copies of *Mark* in 1861, they discovered that teachers had translated *Matthew*, *Luke*, and begun to translate *John* (p.392).¹⁴

W.G. Lawes arrived as Niue's first white pastor, translator, and teacher to find a well-organized, non-violent community. Pratt stayed a year to translate *Acts* and *Philippians* and to revise *Mark*. He returned in 1864 to check Lawes's translation, a pattern that continued until 1866 and the New Testament translation was complete. They sent it to Sydney for printing; 3,500 copies arrived on Niue in 1868; 500 copies were sold in a few days. Lawes's younger brother, Frank E. Lawes, also arrived that year, bringing a printing press. W.G. Lawes translated *Genesis* and *Psalms* before leaving in 1872 for Papua. F.E. Lawes translated the rest of the Old Testament and stayed until 1910. Frank's wife Sarah taught literacy and other things to women. The indigenous ministry grew quickly and helped to spread Christianity to Tokelau, Tuvalu, and Melanesia (Garrett 1982:137, 1992:221; Talagi 1982:117-120; Lange 2005:192-195).

¹⁴ See also Garrett 1982:135-136; Loeb 1926:30-34; S.P. Smith 1983:92-94; Lange 2005:190-191.

The economy changed: traders and missionaries created the need for cloth, furniture, tools, and books. The Lawes brothers disciplined the people and protested against ships that took Niueans for labour elsewhere. Returning labourers brought problems. F.E. Lawes drew up laws in 1875 and assisted Niueans who called on England to help against local disorder and foreign intrusion (Garrett 1982:137; Tafatu & Tukuitoga 1982; Talagi 1982:118-120). The Lawses rejected Niue's being part of the LMS Samoa District. Their successors advocated the opposite—particularly as SDAs threatened the LMS monopoly (Garrett 1992:220-221). The Bible reinforced discipline: after World War II, *palagi* missionaries preferred New Testament grace; Niuean deacons preferred Old Testament commandments (p.107). LDS arrived, two cyclones destroyed churches (p.255-256), the LMS training school at Vailahi closed, and LMS resolved to leave Niue (Garrett 1997:411; Lange 2005:192). Ekalesia Niue came into being in the late 1960s (Ta'ase et al 1989:23).

A Niuean brought Christianity and text culture to his own people. Over time Niueans also accepted the Word from Samoans and *palagi*. Their participation in text culture, along with other aspects of a greater trading Pacific, led to laws and government through books and documents.

Book Battles in New Caledonia

From 1840 at least 25 Samoans and Rarotongans went to New Caledonia. They received spelling books that were printed in Samoa in 1846 and Rarotonga in 1847 (Lingenfelter 1967:88). Ta'unga went to Tuauru, Grande Terre in 1842, where he distributed Rarotongan books to children as he evangelized. He, Noa, and Daniela lived under the protection of chief Uadota, but their lives were in constant danger. Ta'unga was the first person to develop a writing system for any language in New Caledonia, and he wrote lists of translations. During a local war, the village was burnt and his writings about his experiences were lost. He returned to Rarotonga in December 1846, where he wrote two books in Tuauru language, which were printed at the mission press (Crocombe & Crocombe 1984[1968]{Ta'unga 1833-1896}:xvii, 43-44, 75, 112, 116, 153; Ta'unga 1982[1846]:103).

In 1852, Rev William Nihill of the Melanesian Mission arrived and set up the Loyalties first press at Guahma, Mare (see p.191 below). LMS objected, and Bishop

George Selwyn agreed to withdraw Nihill. LMS did not send replacements until two years later, during which time Nihill kept the press active (Lingenfelter 1967:88-89). Samuel M. Creagh, John Jones, and Sunderland (Malua's printer) arrived in 1854. Creagh and Sunderland moved Nihill's press to Neche, where Sunderland began printing a spelling book, which Nihill had prepared, and trained Creagh to set type (p.90). Sunderland and his wife left in 1855 (Murray 1863:317). By 1857 Mrs Jones was running a school for literacy. In 1861 Murray was impressed by publications in Mare language and a school book with two dialects of Uvean, printed by Mareans under Creagh's superintendence (p.318-320, 444). The islanders were almost constantly at war; religious wars did not always coincide with political wars. The Protestants prevailed in numbers, and Jones opened a school in 1863. French possession in 1864 did not stem disagreement, and by 1870 the government evacuated 1,000 Catholics to the Isle of Pines (Dauphiné 1999:3-27). Creagh moved the press to Lifu in the early 1870s (Lingenfelter 1967:90).

Mare Islanders introduced Christianity on Uvea. King Jokuie later met Rev Turner at sea and asked for missionaries (Murray 1863:355). LMS teachers could not cope with the French Marists on Uvea, so LMS directors agreed to send a missionary. Two French frigates prevented Malua's printer Ella's first attempt to arrive (see p.172 below), but by December 1864 he had set up a press at Fajaue. To which a chief said, "This instrument for diffusing light, I believe has increased the bitterness of my priestly neighbors. The people, however, are full of delight." Ella soon printed a revised version of the Uvean primer that Creagh had printed in 1860 (Lingenfelter 1967:91). He printed many other works until he left in 1875 (p.92).

In 1857 Murray reported the teachers could make no further progress on Lifu "until they get the Word of God to put into the hands of the people" for which they needed a missionary (1863:345). In 1859 Samuel M'Farlane arrived on Lifu (p.347); in 1862 he opened a seminary (Dauphiné 1999:35). LMS and Marist missionaries became involved in disputes between local chiefs, and escalating violence led the French to send soldiers, three of whom were killed along with nine Lifuans. M'Farlane was confined to his house. He reported the matter rather differently: In 1864 Creagh had sent two cases of Lifuan books, after which the resident French commander forbade the distribution of Lifuan books and public instruction, according to the

October 1863 decree that islanders be taught in French (M'Farlane 1873:131, 136). M'Farlane closed his seminary and sent messengers to tell islanders to close their schools, some of which had operated for more than 20 years. He reported that hundreds of islanders arrived at Chepenehe because the Bible—"the enemy of darkness, despotism, and Popery" had been forbidden (p.132). Fearing an attack, the commander ordered M'Farlane to disperse the islanders (p.134). M'Farlane blamed the Marists (p.135) but dissuaded islanders from attacking the French garrison (p.136-138).

Although he believed that the Loyalties ought to be separate from Grande Terre due to their distinct geography, language, and politics, M'Farlane wrote to the governor of New Caledonia to acknowledge French authority and to point out that he had abided by the instruction to close schools but to warn him that the islanders "set a high value upon instruction and the sacred Scriptures" and that denial of "their dearest and long-cherished interests" might lead to bloodshed (M'Farlane 1873:138-140). M'Farlane also wrote letters and reports to alert the Australian and British publics of the dire situation. *Sydney Morning Herald* broadcast the difficulties; an LMS delegation in Sydney approached the governor of New South Wales (NSW), who informed London. The English press defended the Protestants, the French press defended France. English and French diplomatic offices entered the fray. As France was unwilling to sacrifice its relations with England to support its governor in a remote location, Napoleon III sent a letter to the *Moniteur* on 10 February 1865 supporting the Protestant and Catholic missions in bringing Christianity and civilization to the islanders (Dauphiné 1999:29-60).

Tempers abated, and islanders taught each other. M'Farlane reported that most of the young people were literate. In 1866 he wrote to the governor to ask permission to re-open the seminary and to circulate the Bible in accordance with Protestant faith. He particularly wanted to circulate books without having to wait for each portion to be sent to Port-de-France, translated, approved by the governor, and returned. The governor allowed the mission to circulate works directly after translating and printing and, after negotiating about the programme of instruction, allowed the seminary to re-open. In the midst of sporadic hostilities, M'Farlane reported translation of biblical works, a school book, and a geography, and New Testament revision, which had been

sent to England for printing (1873:333). M'Farlane advocated that educated islanders were better adapted to be teachers and pastors among "heathens" and to break new ground because "[t]he missionary's time is most profitably employed in training and supervising such men, and translating and preparing books for the natives" (p.339)—a statement that obfuscated islanders' immense contribution to translation, preparation, and publicizing of books. Jones on Mare, M'Farlane on Lifu, and Ella on Uvea stoked a pamphlet war with the Marists, rousing their congregations. Despite temporary cessations of open enmity, the book battles lasted until the French withdrew their governor, Charles Guillain, and the British withdrew M'Farlane (Garrett 1982:197-205). The French government evicted LMS in 1887 and PEMS took over (Lingenfelter 1967:92). Books were central in political battles for hearts, minds, and territory in these islands. Although LMS had to depart, it had paved the way for PEMS and French administrations would have to contend with the power of the Evangelical Church.

Fulitusitapu (Bible Translation) in Tuvalu and Tokelau

LMS never printed books in Tuvalu or Tokelau, but the history of their missions in these islands demonstrates creation of audiences, the status of books, publishers' efforts to achieve economies of scale, and the political consequences of literary colonialism. In 1861 Erikana (Elekana),¹⁵ an LMS deacon of Manihiki, and other Cook Islanders drifted to Nukulaelae. A Cook Islander woman there interpreted for him. He asked permission of the chief to teach Christianity to the people. He taught in his language, which islanders came to understand (Garrett 1982:120, 155-156; Kofe 1983:110). Elekana reported that previously Nukulaelae Islanders had bought a bible from a passing ship, and Tom Rose, shipwrecked there for four years, conducted Christian services by leading people in singing a hymn, then reading from the English bible and translating the message into the vernacular (cited in Besnier 1995:39). When Elekana began teaching school, the islanders stopped working "and would do nothing but learn to read" (quoted in Besnier 1995:57). When Elekana departed Nukulaelae, he tore pages from his Rarotongan Bible to leave a few with each adult (Kofe 1983:107). LMS used his story in their subsequent propaganda (Besnier 1995:40). Nanumeans Temumuni and Fagota who had lived elsewhere brought

¹⁵ who had been trained by Maretu

Christianity to their home island; Fagota was literate and knowledgeable about the Bible (Kofe 1983:116).

LMS sent mostly Samoans¹⁶ to the Ellice Islands. Working with the Bible in hand, they taught literacy to many people (Garrett 1982:157-158; Kofe 1983:112-114). Islanders eagerly bought bibles, hymnals, and other books, and the mission ship gave away school books and scripture portions (Murray cited in Besnier 1995:63). By 1878 Christianity was well established and the islands were treated as a district of the Samoan church. *Palagi* missionaries visited yearly; Samoan *faiife'au* lived and directed locally. The latter became more powerful than chiefs and created new laws (Kofe 1983:117). Social standing depended on church membership, which depended on the Samoan *faiife'au*. The *faiife'au* also influenced politics because most of the Ellice Islander deacons were drawn from the council of elders (Munro 1996:134). Thirty-six Samoans and their wives served in the Ellice Islands, among a population of fewer than 2,400 (Garrett 1982:156). Kirisome stayed for 35 years, Ioane 23, Tema 19, Ieremia 15, and others for at least 10 (Munro 1996:141).

Despite LMS authorities' prediction of Samoans being able to adapt linguistically, the communities adapted to the pastors. The Bible was (and continues to be) the only readily available reading material. Islanders used Samoan for formal contexts, which affected the structure of their own dialects (Besnier 1995:40, 43, 54). Larger print runs in Samoan language were more economical than publishing new materials in Tuvaluan. Literacy, sacredness, and status came with the Bible, thus with Samoan language (Garrett 1982:157-158, 1992:216; Lange 2005:203). Samoan church roles were "a type of ecclesiastical colonization from within Polynesia...largely spelt out in Samoan terms and voluntarily absorbed by Tuvalu people" (Garrett 1992:411). As time passed, Ellice Islanders continued to respect yet resented the Samoan language (Garrett 1997:105). Nukulaelae Islanders, at least, found ways to control pastoral demands and to pull the wool over the eyes of religious examiners (Besnier 1995:41, 178), something akin to Scott's "hidden transcripts" (1990). Ellice Islanders sometimes requested that Samoan *faiife'au* be removed and they were (Lange 2005:204). Ellice Islanders themselves often became deacons, lay preachers, and

¹⁶ Elekana, Niuean Sione Paea, and Tokelauan Timoteo were the only non-Samoans who served (Lange 2005:201).

faiŋe'au, serving on their own islands, but more often on other islands in the group, or farther afield (p.206). They turned their literacy skills to many other family and community activities and used unpublished books to guard knowledge (Besnier 1995, esp. p.69, 123).

LMS founded a boys' school¹⁷ in 1900, which endures, and ran a girls' school from 1912 to 1920 (Kofe 1983:119, 120; Garrett 1992:217-219; Besnier 1995:60). Few *palagi* LMS teachers meant that Ellice Islanders had little exposure to people who could advocate on their behalf within church or administrative bureaucracies, for instance to get a printing press (Besnier 1995:42). Ellice Islanders knew the value of a press. Pastor Lusia trained at Malua, became a tutor in 1917 under Eastman at Rongorongo training school on Beru, and went as pastor in 1938 to Ellice Islanders on Banaba. Lusia was familiar with the Rongorongo press and wanted a Tuvaluan bible for his own people, and he knew the Samoan church had its own written, printed constitution. He spoke with LMS's secretary from headquarters, Norman Goodall, who visited in 1939. He began to have a church magazine, *Te Lama Elise*, printed at Rongorongo and he published it, arguing for a separate church and bible. Church authorities stopped its distribution. Other Ellice Islanders who trained at Rongorongo also wanted religious materials in their own language (Garrett 1992:254, 411-412). After World War II and from his post on Banaba, Lusia led demands to de-Samoanize the Ellice Islands church. Pastors Lauti and Kaua and educated laymen, such as Kamuta Latasi, supported him (Kofe 1983:119).

In 1958 the Samoan District status was dropped. LMS stationed Rev Brian and Margaret Ranford at Funafuti to organize an independent church and a Tuvaluan translation of the Bible; they stayed until 1967. The Tuvalu Church gained full autonomy under local leadership in 1969 (Garrett 1982:159, 1997:255; Kofe 1983:119-120). Laumua Kofe saw publication of the Tuvaluan Bible as part of religious independence and essential to political independence (1983:120). Alovaka Maui, a PTC graduate, also wanted publication of the Bible to promote national unity and consistent official orthography (Goldsmith 1996:237-238). He went to New Zealand to assist translation of the New Testament (Garrett 1997:411). Maui reported that the

¹⁷ with the approval of British administrators who were financially strapped (Garrett 1992:217)

team had used simple English versions and referred to the Samoan Bible only for contentious points. In 1977 the Bible Society of the South Pacific (BSSP) published the New Testament (Kofe 1983:120; Goldsmith 1996:237). The complete Tuvaluan Bible appeared in 1987 (Besnier 1995:54). Carrying a bible to church remains essential as a status symbol as well as to follow the sermon (p.116, 128).

LMS also chose to use Samoan in Tokelau and did not print there. Lea trained at Malua and brought a Samoan bible and other mission books when he and Faivalua returned to Fakaofu from Samoa in 1858. Over the years Cook Islanders, Niueans, and Samoans were posted on Fakaofu and Atafu (Garrett 1982:137; Elders 1991:84-86; Lange 2005:197-198). Tokelauans used Samoan for all written and printed work. They went to Samoa to study, the church operated the school system through the 1940s, and Tokelau was part of the Samoan church until 1999 (Lange 2005:198-199). Bible translation was very late and contentious. In 1999, 30 people at a time reviewed translation. Ioane Iosua, a reviewer, said “It’s a question of choosing between everyone having a say in this Bible or everyone having a Bible” (in Pike 1999). By 2003 the gospels had been published, the New Testament was in draft, and translation of the Old Testament was getting underway (UBS 2003).

Although Samoan was not their language, the Tuvaluans and Tokelauans were so eager to participate in text culture that they willingly, if perhaps unconsciously, accepted use of the Samoan language along with myriad other noticeable and incremental changes to their societal organization.

The New Hebrides

Between 1839 and 1860, LMS ships visited Melanesia 15 times, bringing Samoans and Cook Islanders. They faced violence daily; some were killed; others died from local fevers and diseases introduced by European ships, including LMS deputations and other missionary ships. More than 70 Samoans and Rarotongans, and their wives, went to the New Hebrides, where they held worship services and classes, translated scriptures and school materials, and sent reports back to Malua and Takamoa (Murray 1863). The “most formidable obstacle to the evangelization of the New Hebrides” was the number of languages (p.441-442). Islanders led the publishing effort.

On Futuna LMS stationed Samoans Samuela, his family, and Apela in 1841. They authored a book, which was printed in Samoa in 1843. This was the first printed book in a New Hebridean language (Ferguson 1917:19, 22, 1943:40-41; Lange 2005:249).

On Tanna, Revs G. Turner and Henry Nisbet, LMS's only *palagi* missionaries to reside in the New Hebrides, stayed only nine months (1842-1843) (Ferguson 1918:6; Lange 2005:248-249). Rarotongan Upokomanu worked on Tanna from 1845 to 1850, returned home, married, studied again at Takamoa, and translated Christian writings into the Tanna vernacular he knew. He returned to Tanna, where he and his wife died of smallpox (Murray 1863:260; Ferguson 1918:17-18; Lange 2005:249). Presbyterian missionary William Watt wrote that "Eastern islanders" authored three catechisms from Tanna. The first was probably written by Samoans, edited by Turner and Nisbet, and printed by LMS in 1845 at Samoa. The second catechism was written solely by Rarotongans and printed in 1851 at Rarotonga. W. Gill printed these works at the mission press (Buzacott 1985[1866]:182). The third was printed by Presbyterian John Geddie at Aneityum in 1855 (Watt in Ferguson 1918:18).

On Erromanga, LMS teachers held regular worship and classes and translated scripture extracts and school materials into an Erromangan vernacular, and their wives taught literacy (Lange 2005:250). Akatangi and other teachers on Erromanga sent two books to LMS in Samoa to print in the early 1850s (Ferguson 1917:32). In 1849 Ni-Erromanga Joe and Mana had gone to Malua and they returned three years later (Murray 1863:188-189; Liua'ana 1996:63). Joe (who spoke Samoan) and Mana continued to teach. They later worked with Presbyterian George Gordon to publish books. When driven from Erromanga by violence, they went to Aneityum to teach (Murray 1863:197-199, 412-422).

On Efate, LMS stationed teachers in 1845. Samoan warrior Sualo, lost at sea, had drifted to Efate and married chief Pomare's daughter there. Although the teachers died, left, or were murdered, chief Pomare, Petela, and others continued to worship. Tongalulu of Havannah Harbour and three other Ni-Efate returned from Malua in 1852, more followed, and a Ni-Efate went to Takamoa in 1859 (Lange 2005:256). When LMS missionaries Harbutt and Drummond visited in 1857, the evangelized Ni-

Efate asked for more teachers. When Stallworthy and Gill arrived in 1858 to leave Rarotongans Teamaru, Teautoa, Toma, their wives, and children, they observed a service in which Petela read hymns from a small manuscript book, preached, prayed, and asked Pomare to pray (Murray 1863:260; Parsonson 1956:121). In 1864 Geddie printed a hymnal for Efate by “Eastern teachers” (Ferguson 1917:39).

In 1848 LMS had entered into a partnership with Presbyterians: Revs John Geddie and Isaac Archibald went with Thomas Powell to Aneityum. Samoans Simeona and Pita gave their house to the Geddies on arrival, which Murray thought proper, for missionaries needed to study the language and prepare books (1863:35-36). Simeona, however, did the bulk of the work until Geddie could work effectively. Simeona knew the language, helped Geddie with translation, and laboured (with a brief return to study at Malua) on Aneityum until his death in 1860 of measles (Murray 1863:402; Garrett 1982:168-172; Liua’ana 1996:48, 50). New Hebrideans asked to go to Malua and Takamoa; the Presbyterians sent them. Presbyterian and Anglican *palagi* ministers and their wives published tributes to Polynesian teachers. The toll of Polynesians, however, contributed to hastening indigenous training and placement (Liua’ana 1996:73-74; Lange 2005:248-257). LMS teachers generally stopped coming by the late 1850s (Garrett 1992:94; Lange 2005:258). LMS islander missionaries had been the path breakers, doing the hard work without the many comforts that white missionaries brought with them. The islanders’ foundation accelerated New Hebrideans’ acceptance and imitation of their Pacific neighbours’ book-based life. Presbyterians modelled their practices and training institution after those of LMS (Garrett 1992:93).

Papua

As French influence rose in New Caledonia, LMS reached toward Papua (CWM 2003:129). Murray, M’Farlane, and eight Loyalty couples arrived in 1871 (Garrett 1982:206; Lange 2005:292). Cook Islanders, Tahitians, other eastern Polynesians, Niueans, Samoans, Ellice Islanders, and more Loyalty Islanders followed (Chalmers & Gill 1885; Gill 1984[1894]:361; Lange 2005:292-293). Rarotongans Ruatoka, Rau, Piri, Adamu, Anederea, Heneri, their wives, and a child arrived in 1873 at Manumanu near Port Moresby; those who survived moved the next year to Hanuabada, and then inland. W.G. Lawes arrived from Niue in 1874 and Chalmers

from the Cook Islands in 1877. They relied on islanders, especially Ruatoka,¹⁸ who supervised in Lawes's absence, stayed 31 years, and died in Papua. His wife Tungane excelled her husband in teaching and taught literacy among women (Gill 1984[1894]:361; M. Crocombe 1982; Garrett 1982:207-208, 210; Lange 2005:294). The first baptized Papuan, Aruadaela, helped Lawes and Chalmers enormously (Lange 2005:298).

One of the initial Loyalty Islander teachers (although of Tongan origin), Mataika translated hymns and bible portions on Mer (Murray) Island in Torres Strait. Lawes began printing in 1875 (Winduo 1993:5). Rarotongan Anederea's Takamoa training, including in translating and printing, bloomed in Papua. Rarotongan Piri and his Mangaian wife served at Boera until 1888 when they died of dysentery. Samoan Mana'aima at Milne Bay and Kwato in the 1890s had linguistic talents (Lange 2005:294). Samoan Luteru's wife (not named) shared her husband's work at Kabadi and continued school and worship after he died. British official Hugh Romilly said the Polynesian teachers had aptitude for Papuan dialects. The Polynesians translated works and transmitted literacy skills (p.295). Josaia from Mare could speak and write four languages plus English and translated the Bible into Papuan languages. Elia was also a good translator (p.296 & n37).

Lawes believed in Christianity as a civilizing agent (cited in P. Smith 1987:3). He began teaching in 1883 in Port Moresby; his wife assisted with literacy teaching. He used Motu as a lingua franca and translated the New Testament into Motu, but allowed students to use their own languages. After two years in the college, students left with *Matthew* and *Mark* in their own language or a language near to it. He built the Vatorata Training Institution at Rigo in 1894, centralizing the training institutions, and taught until 1905 (Chalmers & Gill 1885:330; M. Crocombe 1982:69; Garrett 1982:211, 213; Mullins & Wetherell 1996:189; Lange 2005:299-300). The institution moved to Fife Bay in 1924 and became Lawes College. Later theological education came under Rarongo College near Rabaul when the United Church was created (Oram 1971:121; Thorogood 1995:11).

¹⁸ His adopted son Teina Materua (grandson of Erikana of Manihiki) became the first non-European in the British administration (Garrett 1982:210).

Chalmers perceived English as neutral among vernaculars and inevitable as the island opened to the world (Garrett 1982:211); nevertheless, he advertised Lawes's Motu New Testament widely among the locals (p.213). Chalmers used beads, cloth, and tobacco to interest people in his message (p.212). He based himself first on Suau Island; he entrusted the mission to Pi and other Rarotongans while he roved inland (p.212, 215). He moved to Port Moresby in 1879 (p.215). By 1884 LMS had 140 students at the Port Moresby station and 1,000 in its 20 other coastal stations (Waiko 1993:24). Chalmers praised Rarotongan Pi Vaine, who translated hymns and *Mark* (Chalmers & Gill 1885:253). Pi's translation of *Mark* was waiting for the missionaries' revision, and Pi asked for a white missionary resident to help with biblical translation. Gill reported that Pi's book was used at Suau, Samarae, and Barabara. At Teste Island, Dien prepared a manuscript book, from which he taught people to read. Chalmers praised Maka, stationed at Maiva, for preparing a book in Roro dialect. Lifuan Ibunisi, stationed at Samarae, translated the first four chapters of *Mark* from the Lifuan New Testament. At Dinner Island, people could read the Suau book. There, Ibunisi reported that the boys stayed up at night to read, and he worried that promised books would not arrive. Gill wrote that white missionaries had to provide books quickly; otherwise, the teachers' work would be for nought (p.272, 322-323, 330).

In 1885 RTS published Chalmers and Gill's *Work and Adventure in New Guinea 1877-1885*, the introduction of which called for British annexation to protect the territory from the German state and Australian capitalists (Chalmers & Gill 1885). Their book is replete with instances of rising Christian literacy amidst cannibal feasts—just the kind of text that attracted readers and donors. With Germans settling and indigenes attacking the Polynesian teachers and their families, Chalmers lobbied the British for retaliation and protection. British New Guinea became a colony in 1888 (Garrett 1982:213). By 1895 more than 250 male and female islander teachers were in Papua. By 1899 at least 130 family members had died (Lange 2005:293). Chalmers had moved to Toaripi, then to Iokea (Garrett 1982:215-216), before shifting to Saguane, where Hiro from Rarotonga assisted. Chalmers later moved to Daru, the government station in the Western Division, where he and the acting administrator, A.H. Jear, quarrelled (p.217). Chalmers, Rev Oliver Tomkins, nine Kiwai students from his Daru training school, and two others were

killed at Goaribari in 1901. Against LMS wishes, the government sent three punitive expeditions, which led to more slaughter (p.218). Due to Chalmers's sharp comments about his colleagues, white and islander alike, they destroyed his papers after his death (p.217), but he left extensive records about the people he contacted, thereby laying foundations for the British administration that followed (Lacey 1972:152).

Governor (later Sir) William MacGregor knew he needed mission help to spread ideas of law and order. On 17 June 1890 he met with W.G. Lawes, George Brown, and Albert Maclaren to delineate spheres of influence for the LMS, Methodist, and Anglican missions. LMS retained its Kwato-based work (Garrett 1982:231). Frederick W. Walker and Charles W. Abel co-founded Papuan Industries, an agricultural and industrial mission near Samarai. Their Kwato mission lasted 30 years (p.218, 1992:38) and taught printing (Woodburn 2003a:99). The Methodists lent illustration blocks, with which the Kwato mission printed the first picture book in a New Guinea language (Suau). Its message was that wisdom came with book learning at the mission (F.W. Walker cited in P. Smith 1987:12). Abel explained the purpose of secular education was primarily "to place the Word of God" in Papuan hands and to give Papuans mental training to understand it and secondarily so that Papuans as British subjects could live under British rule and in touch with British civilization. Others encouraged literacy and numeracy so that Papuans could act within a changing society (cited in P. Smith 1987:13). Abel wrote his *Savage Life in New Guinea* for English children as a Sunday school prize (P. Smith 1987:47). The Kwato mission attracted industry interest and financial support from South Australian John Howard Angas and revivalist business people (Garrett 1992:42). Partnership with J.B. Nicholson and A.A. Stewart created a stock company called ENESI, which became the Kwato Extension Association (KEA) in 1918. Its board of directors included LMS members and former British administrators Sir William MacGregor and Sir George Le Hunte. LMS leased land to KEA for 10 years (p.43). The Kwato station suffered during the Great Depression, but Abel's sons Cecil and Russell carried on (p.335). Cecil Abel advocated use of English language (Garrett 1997:171).

From early on, minutes of the district committee meetings show that the missionaries disagreed, and changed their minds, about the use of English, Motu, and vernacular languages in their crusade to “place the New Testament in the hands of every teacher” (quoted in P. Smith 1987:9). Language issues involved the islander teachers: after 1886 fewer Loyalty Islanders were teachers, but Cook Islanders were one quarter of all teachers. By the 1890s the Samoans were the majority, but among *palagi* missionaries, only A.E. Hunt spoke Samoan. Samoans, who vastly outnumbered *palagi* missionaries, asked for their own district. They were denied, although no one disputed their contribution to publicizing the Word in Papua (Mullins & Wetherell 1996:189, 204). John Henry Holmes, who lived successively at Iokea, Moru, and Orokolo, and William James V. Saville, on Mailu Island, informed anthropologists Haddon and Malinowski (Garrett 1982:218, 1992:37). Saville produced *Papuan School Reader* in 1928 for use in government-subsidized mission schools. It was too difficult, so LMS missionaries and government school-inspectors collaborated to produce *Papuan Junior Readers* (P. Smith 1987:70).

Benjamin T. Butcher arrived at Aird Hill in 1912, to which a British man, Arthington, left £ 1 million for mission work. Butcher re-opened relations with the Goaribari people and stayed 36 years (Garrett 1982:218, 1992:39-40). LMS gave technical training at Aird Hill (Waiko 1993:66). LMS worked with Sir Hubert Murray, patrol officers, and police (Garrett 1992:41). World War I and the Great Depression affected aid from Britain and Australia (p.332). Percy Chatterton arrived in 1924 as an LMS school teacher and was later ordained. He was fluent in Motu, wrote a series of primers in Hiri (Police) Motu, and advocated Motu over English or Tok Pisin. He also wrote a column for *Pacific Islands Monthly* (Garrett 1992:332, 1997:170-171). In 1952 he wrote a manual for mission teachers to guide their organization of village schools; he revised it in 1959 (P. Smith 1987:201-202). In 1964 he retired as a missionary to go into national politics (Garrett 1997:330). Herbert Brown arrived in 1938; he translated the Bible into Toaripi language and illustrated it. He also illustrated Chatterton’s published memoirs. Although Brown’s bible translation, diaries, books, dictionaries of local languages, and a thesis draft were lost in a fire that destroyed his home, he re-wrote them. He put two languages into writing (Garrett 1992:332, 1997:171).

LMS worked with auxiliaries in the Australian state colonies. LMS business agents in Australia raised funds there for work in the South Seas (Garrett 1992:40, 334-335, 1997:21, 168). Business experience also served LMS adherents in the islands well. In Orokelo, the district officer from Kerema used to visit the LMS school to hire its pupils as clerks, shop assistants, and medical aides (Saroa 1982[1935]:107). By the mid-1940s four gospels and *Acts* had been translated into the Orokelo language (p.109). As Congregational churches in Britain and Australia declined and as the Great Depression continued, LMS missionaries faced cuts in their stipends and many retired to Australia (Garrett 1992:335). LMS schools continued during World War II, but director of schools Chatterton could neither train nor recruit teachers, for Papuans were helping Australian troops and American engineers (Garrett 1997:18).

Life in and around Port Moresby accelerated. By 1945 Papuan ordained pastors asked to meet annually as the white missionaries did. With Chatterton's encouragement and the district missionaries' cooperation, they drafted a constitution by 1959. After 1954 assistance to missions in the developing world had moved to inter-church aid coordinated by WCC (Garrett 1997:168-169). During the late 1950s and early 1960s the Congregational CWM replaced LMS. Papua Ekalesia became independent in 1962 (p.169), and Kwato united with Papua Ekalesia in 1964 (p.172).

In the mid-1960s LMS still had missionaries working in Papua: 43 Europeans, 23 Samoans, and 1 Cook Islander (Teauariki 1996a:20n8). Cook Islander Turakiari Teauariki had trained at Takamoa, and en route to serve in Papua, his training included courses at All Saints College and the Australian School of Pacific Administration (Teauariki 1982:124, 1996a:2, 1996b:260-261). A government patrol officer arranged for Teauariki to stay at Rouku Village, and Teauariki opened a school, which the officer wanted to help pacify the area (Forman 1996a:257). In one instance, by holding up the Bible, Teauariki prevented a village invasion (Teauariki 1996b:267-268).

In 1968 Papua Ekalesia joined the Methodists of Papua, New Guinea, and Solomons and with the United Church of Port Moresby to form the United Church of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands (Garrett 1982:303, 1997:329). Reatau

Mea became superintendent of its Port Moresby district in 1969. Chatterton's student Ravu Henao became a bishop of the United Church (Garrett 1997:172). Waiko wrote that among missions, LMS made the greatest initial success (1993:24). Along the journey, tensions had existed among white missionaries, islander teachers, and Papuans (Lange 2005:297), but Christianity survived due to local teachers (p.299), literacy, and books.

Kiribati

From 1870 until the 1950s, 69 Samoans served in the Gilberts, as did many fewer Ellice Islanders (Lange 2005:211). LMS enjoyed success as *faiife'au* integrated themselves into village life (Ieuti 1992:75-76). In 1900 William E. Goward became the first resident white missionary (Etekiera 1979:39; Garrett 1982:290). Goward had 13 years experience in Samoa, and he went to Sydney to learn Gilbertese language with a Gilbertese teacher before leaving for the islands (Garrett 1982:290, 1992:262). He set up the Rongorongo Training Institution on Beru in 1900 (Ieuti 1992:77, 79). His wife taught women; his niece Beatrice Simmons taught in the girls' school from 1910 to 1936 (Garrett 1992:263, 265). LMS's first publication was possibly Goward and Samoan pastor Iupeli's *Church Manual* in 1908, printed in London (Woodburn 2003b:18). In 1911 the press on Ocean Island produced a 71-page book (Eastman 1994). In 1913, after the LMS-ABCFM trial agreement, ABCFM gave its press to LMS, which LMS set up at Rongorongo on Beru. The first printing on Beru was *Lessons from the Native School Primer* in 1913. By selling curios in Sydney, LMS was able to purchase new equipment, and Goward went to Sydney to receive instruction for using it (Woodburn 2003b:17-18).

Trainee teachers were printers and bookbinders. Female students made linocuts for illustrations. Goward trained (later Rev) Ruteru to compose, and he became head printer, working into the 1950s (p.19). In 1917 LMS officially took over from ABCFM in the central and northern islands (Garrett 1982: 290). Bataeru, the first Gilbertese pastor, helped Goward and Eastman with written language (Garrett 1992:269). Goward stayed until 1919; Eastman arrived from the Cook Islands in 1918 to replace him (Garrett 1982:290, 1992:428). LMS reprinted some of ABCFM's works and published Alfred Sadd's book on ethics (Eastman 1994). Eastman compiled a vocabulary and wrote school texts, religious works, and other books.

Eastman's wife Winifred and Emily May Pateman wrote primers on nature, geography, child care, and stories of women missionaries. Pateman had arrived in 1921 to head the girls school and retired in 1953. She recorded Gilbertese arts and customs. Pastor Bataeru and she compiled a Kiribati composition and grammar book. Pastor Kireata and she translated Harry Emerson Fosdick's *The Manhood of the Master* (Eastman 1994; Garrett 1992:430, 1997:276; Woodburn 2003b:18). Bataeru and she translated and published myths and legends in 1942, but indigenous pastors discouraged circulation (Woodburn 2003b:20n17).

Wilfred A. Levett, a married lay accountant, had arrived in the early 1920s. He managed the press, emphasized practical pricing, and distinguished between printing and publishing. The press turned out works for government and individuals, and it was profitable (Garrett 1992:430; Woodburn 2003b:18). Levett even translated an African tale and put it through the press (Eastman 1994). The press produced nearly 100 biblical works, geographies, grammars, and primers over about 40 years (Woodburn 2003b:18). Eastman and other missionaries were evacuated during World War II; Alfred Sadd refused to leave and was later beheaded by the Japanese (Garrett 1997:120). Gilbertese had begun to revise the Kiribati Bible in 1938. When the Japanese occupied Beru in 1942, Kaitara Metai buried his manuscripts. He recovered them in 1944. After the war Eastman returned, and he and Metai worked on bible translation. Metai finished his work in Fiji in 1948 and submitted the manuscript to the American Bible Society. He later became a pastor and a member of the Kiribati Language Board (Garrett 1997:274; UBS 2002).

Emlyn Jones wrote a history of the ABCFM mission, which the Rongorongo Press printed, and LMS reprinted ABCFM work. A pamphlet about the centennial anniversary of the missionaries' arrival came off the Abaiang press in 1957 (Eastman 1994). By mid-century, most members of the Gilberts' "native government" also held posts within the church (Macdonald 2001[1982]:139). Tangintebu Theological College in Eita, Tarawa opened in 1960; Rev Bernard Thorogood came from the Cook Islands to be its principal (Garrett 1997:275). Rongorongo Training Institution became a secondary school (Ieuti 1992:77, 79). In 1968 Kiribati Protestant Church (KPC) achieved independence (Lange 2005:215). Rev Baiteke Nabetari succeeded Thorogood, was the first Gilbertese principal, and later became PCC's general

secretary (Garrett 1997:423). Nabetari has worked on translation of the Bible and of biblical comics (Staham 2002a). Raubane Naikara and Teikabu Rara have also translated parts of the Old Testament (Staham 2002b). Woodburn reported that in the colony's 1973 census, only one man worked in printing (2003b:21n18). In 2003, however, KPC's Levett Printer had many employees and printed for other organizations and individuals as well (Crowl 2003c:112-113).

LMS sent an experienced missionary to the Gilberts, and he immediately set up a training institution. A decade later LMS printing began in the islands. As elsewhere, mission workers published a variety of material, including local myths and legends. Gilbertese participated in document-based governance over time. Traditional struggles, aggravated by rivalry with Catholics, were lessened by LMS-ABCFM conviviality and later ABCFM's willing withdrawal in favour of LMS. The combined (LMS-ABCFM) Kiribati Protestant Church helped with nation building.

The LMS Publishing Legacy

LMS missionaries began their first journey to the islands with a Tahitian vocabulary, a press, and a printer onboard. Although that press and printer did not survive, LMS spawned other books. Henry Nott and other missionaries set to work: translating with chief Pomare, conducting school, sending their manuscripts abroad for printing, establishing their own press, and relying on islanders to help translate, print, bind, distribute, and publicize their texts. The system of islander agency that came to pass was exported throughout the Pacific. Islanders in Polynesia and Kiribati quickly achieved near universal literacy. The task was much harder amidst Melanesia's multiple languages and malaria-infested villages. Still, LMS influence in Papua played a significant role in developing literacy, which in turn fostered pastors who exercised authority in many ways (Oram 1971). LMS influence in the New Hebrides was also fundamental in fostering literacy generally, and higher education among New Hebrideans who went to Malua and Takamoa.

LMS set up multiple presses in the Society and Loyalty Islands, which printed books for other island groups, but LMS negotiated a PEMS takeover after French governments made Anglophone mission work too difficult. LMS enjoyed scarcely rivalled influence for years in the Cook Islands, Niue, Tuvalu, and Tokelau.

Its publishing staff in the Cook Islands was highly productive, also printing for other island groups. The press on Niue took care of Niueans. Many Polynesians volunteered to take the Word to Melanesia. LMS did not print in the New Hebrides and quickly conceded direction to Presbyterians but cooperated for years with them. LMS cooperated with government in Papua, shared the field with Anglicans and Methodists, and printed there. LMS graciously shared work in the Gilberts with ABCFM, taking over its press in later years. LMS was less gracious with Methodists in Samoa, and the Malua press had great influence nationally and in Tuvalu and Tokelau, which had no presses and whose peoples used Samoan texts.

From the beginning, islanders participated in publishing books. Pomare, Ta'unga, Mataika, Josaia, and others translated. Samoan Paulo created Niuean orthography. Rarotongan Ta'unga was the first person to write a New Caledonian language; Samoans Samuela and Apela the first persons to write a Vanuatu language. Society Islanders, Rarotongans, Samoans, Niueans, Mareans, Uveans, Papuans, and I-Kiribati did presswork. Kiro travelled to London to help publish the Rarotongan Bible. Islanders everywhere folded, cut, sewed, and bound books. Papeiha, Vahapata, Rake, Teava, Isireli Takai, Friday, Fanea, Niumaga, Peniamina, Fakafitienua, and thousands of others distributed and publicized the message. Adults and children eagerly became audiences and attended school. Islanders wrote their own manuscripts, although most of these remain unpublished, eg histories by Tamuera Terei and Te'o Tuvalu. Missionaries—Ellis, Williams, Buzacott, W.W. Gill, Chalmers, M'Farlane, Abel, Murray, Turner—published their biographies, ethnographies, and histories abroad to attract benefactors and more missionaries.

It would have been impossible for mission workers to avoid politics, for their very existence and ability to remain depended on choosing sides. Missionaries encouraged laws in many ways, including by printing and distributing them and by publicizing them in their preaching and teaching. Islanders took up promulgating their own laws. Islanders participated in the cycle of influence and expression. By bringing books to the islands and by publishing more books in situ, missionaries set in motion an irreversible chain of events that changed society to incorporate lessons, then schools, then laws, then government. Ironically, they set in motion ways to preserve

Pacific languages and cultures, which contributed to a sense of identity that would help islanders to sustain themselves in the inevitable colonial era that followed.

CHAPTER 5

METHODISTS

The Puritan revolution and then the Restoration unsettled the Church of England and led to individuals' searching for their own experiences with God. John Wesley, a visionary and highly organized pastor believed that "books, to be of value, had to be read;...that people would read books for which they paid—however small the price" (Bready quoted in Altick 1998[1957]:36). He abridged such popular works as *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Paradise Lost*, and he wrote his own works simply, to make literature more accessible to common people. The Methodist Book Room in London was a busy place; every chapel displayed and sold publications; and itinerant preachers carried publications to sell (Altick 1998[1957]:36-37). The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) required its missionaries to "draw up a comprehensive statement respecting the character of the language, the difference between it and other Polynesian dialects, the principles on which you have settled its grammatical form, and the rules by which you have been guided in translating it into the word of God" (Cargill quoted in Clammer 1976:13). London headquarters valued not only translations in the field but also directed the missionaries about their reports to the home audience: "Information as to the character, circumstances and superstitions of the people ought to intersperse all your communications" (Beecham quoted in Thornley 2005:254).

Methodists in the Pacific did not have near the geographic reach that the LMS missionaries did. Beginning in Tonga, they spread to Samoa, Fiji, Rotuma, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomons. This chapter discusses their operations and effects in these countries except Samoa, where the dominant mission was LMS. Some missionaries were more adept at sharing text culture than others. Differing skills and personalities made the introduction and maintenance of book publishing a negotiated and unpredictable activity that blended with local political arrangements. Methodists were able to centralize their operations with one chief and one language in Tonga and Fiji, but they worked among many big-men and in many languages and near other mission groups in Papua New Guinea and the Solomons.

Tonga

LMS landed missionaries in 1797, but civil war prevented Christianity from taking hold (J. Wilson 1997[1797]; J. Martin 1991[1817]; Vason 1975[1840]). Sailors also introduced Christianity, and a few Tongans accepted it (Latukeyu 1974:35). Missionary Walter Lawry, Marquesan Macanoe, and others arrived in 1822, but threats to their health and safety ended the mission. Tongans later responded to evangelism from Boraborans and Tahitians. In 1826 the British Wesleyan Conference sent Revs John Thomas and John Hutchinson and their wives, who worked in Hihifo. In 1827 Nathaniel Turner, William Cross, and I.V.M. Weiss opened a station at Nuku'alofa (Latukeyu 1974:27-29; Garrett 1982:71; Campbell 1992:52-54; Finau 1992:147-148; Lange 2005:102). Aleamotu'a Tupou, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, was baptized by 1830 (Garrett 1982:74; Campbell 1992:55). From Nuku'alofa, he sent messages to Finau 'Ulukalala on Vava'u and Taufa'ahau in Ha'apai to convert (Latukeyu 1974:61).

Conversion was generally not quick, for many Tongans opposed the missionaries, who were ill-prepared in many aspects, lacked constructive imagination for alternative courses of action, and disagreed among themselves (Latukeyu 1969:97, 1974:ch.2). The missionaries agreed in 1829 on a plan of translation for the Bible, for Turner saw that conversion necessitated material in the Tongans' own language (cited in Latukeyu 1969:102, 1974:54). Turner developed the Tongan alphabet and soon produced lessons and hymns by hand and lent them to Tongans, who read as fast as the books appeared (Latukeyu 1969:102-103, 1974:51, 55; Thornley 2005:33, 36). Although under-educated themselves, the missionaries read across a wide range of subject matter for self-improvement (Latukeyu 1969:96). Pita Vi became the first Tongan teacher and Turner's translation assistant (Thornley 2005:37). Some Tongans taught others to read and write, for literacy brought status. When they exhausted their stock of Tongan literature, the Tongans taught each other English. Cross prepared tracts, and the missionaries sent a book to Sydney for printing, which included spelling and reading lessons, biblical stories, and hymns. As early as 1829 Turner asked for a printing press (Latukeyu 1969:104, 1974:56). As elsewhere, medicine impressed the islanders. Rev George Lee's dependence on a medical book to assist Tongans (1969:100-101, 1974:57) might have persuaded some Tongans to obtain literacy.

Peter Turner, James Watkin, and William Woon arrived in 1831, and Woon set up his press on Tongatapu. He printed the first book in Tonga, a 4-page school book, and continued with other waiting manuscripts. People came from all over the kingdom to watch the press (Lingenfelter 1967:46; Latukefu 1969:103, 1974:51-52, 57). Discouraged by arguments with Thomas and the mission's slow progress among Tongans, Woon left in late 1833, replaced by John Hobbs (Lingenfelter 1967:47). Missionaries valued Jone Fifita's assistance with their language studies and translation work (Lange 2005:103). In 1831 Tongans Jeremiah and David were the first evangelists to Vava'u; when Cross arrived there in 1832, he recorded the people's eagerness for books (Thornley 2005:96). While visiting the Wesleyans at Tongatapu in 1832, John Williams was impressed by their production of 29,100 books with 5,772,000 pages (1840[1837]:123).

Chiefs and priests perceived that the *lotu* could undermine their own power, prestige, and privileges (Latukefu 1974:101), or they could turn the wealth, knowledge, and power related to the missionaries to their own political purposes (p.60). Likewise, missionaries depended on chiefly support (p.61). Taufā'ahau attended Thomas's school; later he asked for his own teacher and accepted Pita Vi, whom the missionaries sent to him in 1829 (Campbell 1992:56; Lange 2005:103). Commoners had little to lose and much to gain by converting (Latukefu 1974:72), at least nominally (p.103). In 1831 Taufā'ahau was baptized, and in 1832 Finau 'Ulukalala converted (Garrett 1982:74; Campbell 1992:57-58). Finau died shortly thereafter; thus, Taufā'ahau became ruler over two northern groups in 1833 (Latukefu 1974:66; Garrett 1982:74; Campbell 1992:59).

Peter Turner hesitated neither to throw himself into politics (Latukefu 1969:98, 1974:69) nor to evict Taufā'ahau from the church society when he objected to the pulpit being higher than his head. Taufā'ahau repented in 1834 (1974:72). In 1835 the missionaries moved the press from Tongatapu to Vava'u as their political base shifted to Taufā'ahau and impending violence threatened their operations (Lingenfelter 1967:47; Watkin in Latukefu 1969:107, 1974:85). Before 1834 the missionaries' school books, sermons, and journals, based on the New Testament, had touted "peace-making and gentleness," but as Taufā'ahau joined Tupou to fight Ha'a Havea chiefs, their publications, based on the Old Testament, represented power, conquest, and

physical vengeance (Gunson 1978:297; Garrett 1982:76). William A. Brooks took over the press and began to print for Fiji and Samoa (Lingenfelter 1967:47) as the Wesleyan mission sent Tongan teachers to evangelize there. Cross volunteered to go to Fiji; other missionaries nominated David Cargill to go with him. Cargill had a difficult personality, but Thomas also wanted control over local translation, although his skills did not match Cargill's (Thornley 2005:109-110).

In 1829 Peter Dillon set in motion Catholic entry into the South Pacific by writing to key Catholics, blaming Wesleyans, and suggesting land deals (Latukeyfu 1974:133-134n1, 143). In 1837 Dillon published his charges; Cargill joined the pamphlet war to refute them (Garrett 1982:76). Bishop Pompallier visited Vava'u in 1837 (Latukeyfu 1974:139) and returned in 1846 to leave Fr Chevron, Br Attale, and Tongans who had resided on Wallis and converted to Catholicism (p.145-146). By the late 1840s the priests had learnt Tongan and were distributing books equating Luther and Wesley with Lucifer (p.148). Religious differences fed into local power struggles and civil war (p.153). Latukeyfu wrote that missionary involvement in politics was inevitable due to the existing integration of traditional economic, political, social, and religious practices (p.119). Tautafa'ahau officially promulgated the Vava'u Code in 1839 (p.121). Much of it drawn from Methodist law books (Garrett 1982:78), the Vava'u Code ended the arbitrary powers of chiefs (Latukeyfu 1974:205).

Rev Francis Wilson opened the Friendly Islands Wesleyan Academy for the Training of Native Assistant Missionaries at Neiafu in 1841. Tautafa'ahau had the building erected free of charge to the mission and attended the institution regularly (Latukeyfu 1974:75; Lange 2005:104). Brooks left and George Kevern arrived in 1843, but his illness soon prevented printing (Lingenfelter 1967:48). Aleamotu'a died in 1845 (Latukeyfu 1974:86). Tautafa'ahau was elected Tu'i Kanokupolu, and advised by missionaries, he took the title of king and Aleamotu'a's adopted last name of Tupou (Rutherford 1996[1971]:20). Wilson died in 1846, and the next year the mission decided to move the institution to Nuku'alofa where George Tupou I, king of all Tonga, had decided to move his capital. Richard Amos, a qualified teacher ran the institution until he left in 1859, but the academy had few books (Latukeyfu 1974:75-76; Lange 2005:104). Rev Walter J. Davis, a printer, revived the press from 1847 and printed for a decade (Lingenfelter 1967:48).

French warships visited Tonga, and missionaries prompted Tupou I to ask for British protection. He discovered, however, that his messenger had led the British to believe Tongans wanted to be subjects, not allies. Subsequently, relations with the missionaries deteriorated (Latukefu 1969:110; Rutherford 1996[1971]:27). Tupou I revised the Vava'u Code, added provisions from the Huahine Code, and officially promulgated the 1850 Code (Latukefu 1974:127-128), which the king referred to as "the Book of our laws" (p.31, 56). Latukefu wrote that the success of the 1839 and 1850 codes was due to Tongan leaders deciding their content, different from the LMS missionaries who had written codes in the Society Islands (1975:27). Tupou I studied the codes and constitutions of other political entities. He gave copies of his laws to, and asked for advice from, a range of people in- and outside his country, particularly Charles St Julian, the Hawaiian consul-general for Australia and the Western Pacific. St Julian advised a constitution and a written code of laws that international powers would recognize (Rutherford 1996[1971]:27; Latukefu 1974, 1975). Universal literacy allowed the king to promulgate the codes (Cummins 1980:53). He also used his rank, leadership abilities, strong personality, and alliance with the missionaries to squelch all resistance to his rule by 1852 (Latukefu 1974:95). The press followed Tupou I back to Nuku'alofa (Lingenfelter 1967:48), and the first Tongan New Testament appeared in 1853 (Latukefu 1969:102).

A widening rift between church and state occurred in the 1850s as chiefs had to surrender privileges; literacy, school, and printing were no longer novel; the Catholic presence affected Wesleyan trade; European settlers challenged the missionaries' role as unofficial political advisers (Latukefu 1974:158-159, 175); and disputes with Davis caused the king and his wife to withdraw from the church (p.170). Rev Shirley Waldemar Baker arrived in 1860 (p.171) and quickly acquired working knowledge of the Tongan language (Rutherford 1996[1971]:24). Tupou I and his chiefs promulgated a new code in 1862, based on the 1850 Code (Latukefu 1974:172). It included an edict emancipating chiefs and people from serfdom (Rutherford 1996[1971]:31; Latukefu 1974:173), for St Julian had advised that if Tonga were not productive, *palangi* (whites) would intervene to make it so (Rutherford 1996[1971]:29). The code included compulsory attendance in schools, which were all run by the mission (Latukefu 1974:176), and it subjected the king to the rule of law (p.205). BFBS published the first Tongan Bible in 1862. A hymnal and catechism were also published (p.78). "The

mission property and the Bible in particular were held in utmost reverence. The old superstitious beliefs had now lost their former crude objects, but found new and more refined ones” that influenced people’s daily routines and rituals¹ (p.74, 81-82).

The training academy had declined by the late 1850s and had few texts. Tupou I asked for a missionary devoted to education (Cummins 1980:35, 54). In 1866 Rev James Egan Moulton founded Tupou College, which produced ministers, teachers, government officials, and community leaders (Latukeyu 1974:76). Moulton believed islanders could cope with a syllabus comparable to those elsewhere, and he translated a wide variety of material (Cummins 1980:ii). The college taught religious studies, English, geography, history, philosophy, arithmetic, algebra, astronomy, chemistry, geometry, and physics—leading to proliferation of books in Tongan (Rutherford 1996[1971]:41; Latukeyu 1969:105, 1974:77). Cummins listed 115 publications by Moulton (1980:368-373). When the mission press lapsed, Moulton put one in the college and trained his students to operate it. Tongan poets wrote religious poems, set to traditional tunes (Latukeyu 1974:77-78). Moulton devised a system of musical notation, and college students spread the system throughout the country and choirs took up hymns and classical music (p.79, 1996:24). Tevita Finau helped Moulton to translate the Bible and was a tutor at the college (Lange 2005:109). Moulton was gifted as a scholar and teacher (Rutherford 1996[1971]:41). Baker had journalistic acumen (p.39) and communicated effectively (p.236). Their personalities did not mesh; they disagreed about church organization, biblical translation, education, politics, and finances (A. Davidson 1996:13). In 1873 Baker aided government officials to establish a rival college (Lange 2005:105).

The missionaries in general lost ground, but Baker understood that the king wanted to preserve Tonga’s political independence internationally (Latukeyu 1974:198). Tupou I also wanted to use the Tongan Mission District’s contribution to the central mission fund at home, and he wrote in 1873 to the Conference asking to establish an independent church (1969:110). Baker, too, wanted the Tongan mission

¹ One woman placed an open bible by her doorway each night to prevent evil spirits from entering and harming the children (Latukeyu 1974:82).

independent of the Australian church² and its committee, so as to have local control of finances and no dues to pay to Australia. Plus, Tongan pastors would be easier to lead than his European colleagues (Rutherford 1996[1971]:56). Baker began publishing the monthly *Koe Boobooi*, to support his cause and to inform Tongan readers about religious and political matters locally and internationally (p.61-62). The Methodist Conference met Baker halfway, but he persuaded the king to believe the Conference had granted the Tongan church independence; thus, celebrations were held in 1875. That year Baker drafted a constitution, using NSW laws as a guide (Latukefu 1974:202). Concessions to the chiefs, to gain their support, resulted in a landed aristocracy (p.213). Baker used *Koe Boobooi* to publish the constitution, explaining it to the people (1975:41) as “a book of freedom...a book of rules for the administration of the country...” (quoted in Rutherford 1996[1971]:76). The chiefs accepted it; Parliament ratified it (Rutherford 1996[1971]:77; Latukefu 1974:202).

A month after the new constitution was promulgated, Baker initiated publication of an English-language newspaper, *Tonga Times*, to promote Tonga in the world. He also began soliciting among the representatives of foreign governments for treaties that might recognize Tonga (Rutherford 1996[1971]:86). Baker perceived himself in a good position, but he was not with traders, neighbouring British officials, or the other three missionaries in Tonga (p.91-101). Baker sometimes offended even Tupou I. In October 1879 the missionary society recalled Baker. In November governor of Fiji and high commissioner for the Western Pacific Sir Arthur Gordon and the king signed a treaty that recognized Tonga, declared perpetual friendship and peace between Britain and Tonga, and guaranteed most favoured nation status (p.89, 110-122). In 1880 Baker returned to Tonga, took up government office, and resigned before the Conference expelled him (p.133-134).

Having put the Scriptures through the press in England (Rutherford 1996[1971]:90), Moulton returned to Tonga in 1880—and disputed the government’s position. In retaliation, Baker instituted a national system of education. A newspaper battle raged: Baker’s *Koe Boobooi*, Moulton’s *Local Preachers’ Paper*, Robert Hanslip’s *Nui Vakai* (on behalf of European residents), and crown prince Wellington

² Weakened by the financial depression, British Wesleyans gave the Oceania field to Australian Methodists in the 1850s (Garrett 1982:80).

Ngu's *Koe Taimi o Toga* (with government support). European residents sent articles to *Fiji Times*. Baker sent articles to NZ newspapers and tried to use Tongan law to prevent publication of *Nui Vakai*. Using the mission press, Moulton published a pamphlet on Gordon's decision about the deportation of Hanslip, helped Hanslip to publish *Nui Vakai* in print, and used *Tupou College Magazine* to air his opinions (p.149, 153-161). Moulton attracted his own corps of educated élite, some of whom remained loyal to him and Tupou College in confrontations with the monarchy (Cummins 1980:ii).

In 1885 Baker announced the inauguration of the Free Church of Tonga—free of the Sydney Conference. Desiring the power of religion to enhance the power of state, Tupou I agreed to it. Chiefs, clergy, and commoners followed (Rutherford 1996[1971]:167-168); otherwise, they faced persecution, and some died from their punishment (Rutherford 1996[1971]:ch9&10; Latukefu 1975:61; A. Davidson 1996:15, 17). Overconfident, Baker published in 1888 an article in the Auckland *Evening Bell* discrediting Britain, and he printed and circulated a government blue book doing the same plus impugning Moulton. Moulton circulated a pamphlet to counter these allegations, but requested Rev George Brown be sent to replace him and to negotiate between the two churches. Baker's defamation of British officials and his signing, on Tonga's behalf, a treaty with the United States brought the wrath of the new high commissioner Sir John Bates Thurston. In the end Baker issued an apology, which Thurston had translated into Tongan, printed as a pamphlet, and distributed in Tonga between March and June 1890—which destroyed any remaining credibility for Baker among the Tongans. Thurston arrived in Tonga, met with the chiefs, and ordered Baker's deportation; to which Tupou I agreed (Rutherford 1996[1971]:205-218; Garrett 1982:275). Thurston ensured his version of events reached the Australian and NZ press first. Only the Auckland *Evening Star* and the New Zealand *Herald* printed doubts about the effect of Baker's deportation on Tonga's independence, but these papers had profited from printing Tonga's government documents for Baker (Rutherford 1996[1971]:220-221). Tuku'aho became premier, Basil Thomson became deputy premier, and Tonga came steadily under British influence—the latter sealed with a treaty of protection after the German-American partition of the Samoas.

In the long term, Tonga benefited from its independent church (Rutherford 1996[1971]:228; Latukefu 1974:217), for the conjunction of church and state preserved Tonga's independence (Latukefu 1974:220), when missionaries throughout the Pacific had been and were doing the opposite (Fusitu'a 1996). Rutherford wrote that Thomson's published material encouraged bias in future publications, which Baker's daughters' book did nothing to moderate. In publishing its own centennial history, the Australian Methodist Church sought to ignore the matter (1996[1971]:2-4). The well-entrenched propaganda machines of the British Empire and the Methodist Church supported and spread the work of Thomson and Moulton (p.227, 240). Baker returned in 1898 and started a new church in Ha'apai, but his influence faded to nothing (see p.201 below).

In the 1890s J.E. Moulton (the son), revived Tupou College with the help of Tevita Finau, eight Tongan tutors, and visits from his father (Lange 2005:113). Lesieli (Rachel) Tonga,³ the first woman to gain Tupou College's highest honour, became private tutor to Tupou II's daughter, Salote (Garrett 1992:145). Salote later attended an Anglican girls' college in New Zealand and took Holy Communion. The missionaries had used the *Book of Common Prayer* when they anointed her grandfather as king (1992:147, 1997:89). In 1918 Salote became Tupou III. Her Anglican experience and her marriage to Tungi, a Wesleyan, determined her to unite the churches (1992:383). She worked with Rodger Page, the Australian chairman of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga, for reunification, which happened in 1924 (Garrett 1982:275; Finau 1992:151). Page's assistant at Tupou College until 1924 was Dr Ernest E.V. Collocott, who studied Tongan language, customs, proverbs, and religion and who was close to Sione Havea, also at the college (Garrett 1992:147). Watkin and Finau 'Ulukalala maintained the church split, even taking the matter to court. Among many other issues was that the Free and Anglican churches used Moulton's first edition of the Bible, but the Wesleyans used his second edition; they compromised by accepting use of both.

Missionary A. Harold Wood arrived in 1924 and pulled out old church records to verify Tupou I's decisions. He studied Tongan language, wrote hymns, strengthened Tupou College, and helped to reunify the churches before leaving in

³ widow of Tevita Tonga, who had become an ordained minister and senior tutor at the college (Lange 2005:105) and acting principal when Moulton went to England (Rutherford 1996[1971]:145)

1937 (p.386-387). He later wrote mission history, and his daughter Elizabeth Wood-Ellem wrote a biography of Queen Salote (1999). Clerk Maxwell Churchward wrote a Tongan grammar and a Tongan dictionary. Cecil F. Gribble succeeded Wood, later became the country's director of education, and yet later helped to create PCC. Sione Havea, Sau Faupula, and others who received their education through the church helped the queen to guide the country (Garrett 1992:388, 1997:91, 407). In 1994 translators were producing a new version of the Tongan Bible to make the Scriptures more accessible with updated language (*LM* 1994:11).

After Watkin died, Finau split again, forming the Church of Tonga (Garrett 1982:275-276, 1992:387), which conducts itself much like the Free Church but has its own hymnal (Ernst 1994:151). The Church of Tonga gained its first Tongan church president in 1928, the Free Church in 1932, and the Wesleyan Church in 1977 (Forman 1996b:13). Sione 'Amanaki Havea (the son) was church president, king's chaplain, chair of the first Pacific Conference of Churches, and principal of PTC (Garrett 1997:386, 388). Rev Dr Sione Latukefu graduated from Sia'atoutai Theological College. Queen Salote shared some of her vast historical knowledge with him. He was the first Pacific Islander historian to earn a PhD, and Australian National University (ANU) published his book (Latukefu 1974). The Tongan government did not employ him, perhaps because of his balanced view of monarchy, state, and church. The Tonga Traditions Committee, however, did publish two of his works. He became an associate professor at the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG), principal of PTC, and a visiting scholar at ANU, and he continued to have his work published until his death (Munro 1995).

The Free Wesleyan Church runs the Friendly Islands Bookshop (FIB) in Nuku'alofa, with a branch on Vava'u. Former manager David May said the shop made its money on stationery, not on book sales. Nevertheless, he thought it was important to have a good book store, so he brought in a selection of classic and popular fiction in English, whatever books on Tonga that he could find, and general Pacific titles as well as bibles, hymnals, and religious literature. May was very good at finding books—including reprints of mission classics—tucked in storerooms of the church's buildings and schools, and he put them up for sale in the shop. FIB took on publishing when

people came to May, asking for local productions. May turned to Taulua Press⁴ for printing (May pers comm 1992, 1996, 1998). The shop's catalogue had an extensive list of older titles in Tongan by Moulton, Collocott, and others (FIB nd). FIB suffered fire damage in 1980, 1987, and 1997, losing TOP 600,000 in the 1997 fire. Arson was suspected (May pers comm 1998). By the time May left the shop in 1998, FIB was engaged in quite a bit of publishing. He prepared four books for publication before he left and continued to work with FIB through long-distance communication media (pers comm 1999).

Astute and visionary individuals shifted the traditional politico-religious method of ruling society to include new communication technology. Over time book publishing subtly changed people's adherence from simple objects to complex documents—both in religious life and in political life. Church and state grew side by side in Tonga as publishing for one lent authority to the other. For the most part, Tongans participated willingly in the construction of new knowledge and new ideological power, though force did have a role in change. Once Tupou had consolidated his hold, battles took place through publications, as mission workers, government, and the expatriate community published books, pamphlets, and newspapers to publicize their aims.

Na Bokola ma Na I Vola (Bodies and Books)⁵ in Fiji

Fijian Isireli Takai and Tahitian LMS *oremetua* brought copies of a Fijian spelling book from Tahiti in 1830, but the copies were lost in a shipwreck or burnt (see p.106 above). After WMMS missionaries arrived, they came to value the LMS *oremetua* and remarked that Fijians respected them (Lange 2005:128). At the Tui Nayau's invitation, Wesleyans Cross, Cargill, Fijian Josua Mateinaniu (of Fulaga, who had converted in Tonga), and Tongans arrived at Bucainabua, Lakeba in 1835, bringing a primer and catechism from Vava'u, prepared by Cargill and Mateinaniu, who had tutored him. Cargill had asked Hobbs to make a new symbol for Fijian's th sound. Not being a blacksmith, Hobbs used a spare letter: c denotes th. Mateinaniu

⁴ Based in Nukualofa, Taulua Press is owned by the Methodist and Catholic churches. From the mid-1980s to the early 1990s Graham Swinburne, a missionary from the Uniting Church in Australia, managed the press (WAAC-PAC 1992). In 1992 Taulua Press was using computer-to-plate technology (field notes 1992).

⁵ *Bokola* is the dead body of an enemy to be eaten; *i vola* are books.

acted as herald and spokesman for the missionaries. The missionaries sent him to scout the politics of Bau and Rewa and to persuade resident Tongans to join the missionaries' cause (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:1; Calvert 1985[1858]:6-7, 221; Garrett 1982:102-103; Thornley 1995a, 1996a:29, 2005:112-113; Baleiwaqa 1996:23; Lange 2005:128, 130). Contact between Tongans and Fijians was already great; Tonga had prestige and status among Fijians, who knew some Tongan vocabulary—indeed, some Lauans had Tongan as their mother tongue. This helped the acceptance of Christianity (Tippett 1980:33).

In 1836 the mission translated part of *Matthew*; its 12 pages were printed at Vava'u. Cross and Cargill sent an urgent request to England for a press and a printer. They commenced compiling a grammar and dictionary and continued translating scriptures (Calvert 1985[1858]:10). Margaret Cargill also studied Tongan and Fijian and transcribed material (Sovaki 1996:100). When the small Christian community helped to build a temporary chapel, Cross presented the workers with 100 books (Thornley 2005:155). Cross himself had a personal library of English books (p.239).

Cargill completed the four gospels, wrote a Fijian grammar, and compiled a Lakeban vocabulary by 1838, which greatly assisted the Tongan teachers who arrived that year, for Taufa'ahau sent Joeli Bulu, Uesili Langi, Semisi Havea⁶ and others (Garrett 1982:105; Lange 2005:128, 139). Conversion happened relatively quickly, for reasons of diversion, material advantage, medicine, and opportunities to avoid traditional obligations, but generally a chief's conversion brought a tide of others to the mission (Clammer 1976:55, 57; Thornley 2000:259). Ratu Namosimalua of Viwa accepted the *lotu* in 1838 (Calvert 1985[1858]:25), and hundreds of Fijians then followed his lead, which enabled the missionaries to stay. During 1838 the *valagi* (white) missionaries made Bulu, Langi, Ve, and Mateinaniu native assistant missionaries on probation and in 1850 ordained Bulu. Later more Fijian and Tongan teachers (*qase*) were accepted as native assistant missionaries on probation. In response to the English religious press,⁷ WMMS directors sent John Hunt, James Calvert, and Thomas James Jaggar in 1838. Calvert and Jaggar had trained as printers

⁶ Cargill wrote Joni (not Semisi) Havea (in Lange 2005:128). Bulu called Havea, James (1973[1871]:75).

⁷ Rev James Watkin's *Pity Poor Feejee* influenced not only Wesleyans but also others of different faiths and in different countries (Gunson 1978:62; Thornley 2000:22).

and brought a press and supplies. Mrs Brackenbury of Raithby Hall, Lincolnshire paid the expenses of the outfit and passage of Hunt and contributed £ 50 for each of three years' stipend (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:1; Calvert 1985[1858]:28; Lingenfelter 1967:61-62; Garrett 1982:105).

Meanwhile, the Cargills had been transcribing a grammar and vocabulary and translating biblical material. The missionaries copied Cargill's notes (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:3; Calvert 1985[1858]:222). In January 1839 Calvert and Jaggar commenced folding, stitching, and binding books⁸ (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:5). In February they built a printing office, set up the press at Bucainabua, and printed the first book in Fiji, a catechism (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:6-7, 9; Calvert 1985[1858]:31, 55, 221). "The establishment and starting of the printing concern greatly encouraged all who had to do with it, while it filled the heathen King and Chiefs with astonishment" (Calvert 1985[1858]:31). At once "representative of the high culture" and ready "to confer...the blessings of civilization," the press had "silent power," wrote Calvert. "The Heathen at once declared it to be a god" (p.222). Jaggar also wrote, "The Feejeeans look upon the Press as a God" (1988[1838-1845]:9).

Impressive as it was, printing was not easy. En route to Fiji, the binding glue and compo for rollers had melted together with packing sawdust. A blacksmith was necessary for major adjustments to the press. The belt rotted and caused accidents. Rollers did not work well in humid weather, and cockroaches ate the paper (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:*passim*). Sarah Jaggar assisted her husband to cover books (p.13), and an Englishman Joseph assisted with the press (p.19n43, 104-108). After the missionaries achieved a steady supply of books at Lakeba, school attendance "became attentive and constant" (Calvert 1985[1858]:223). Isaac Ravuata, a *qase* on Ono, sent word that he needed books (p.55). Fijian Lazarus Drala and Tongan Selemaia Latu took copies of the catechism to Ono in 1839 (p.57). With Silas Fa'one and Jonah Tonga, they doled out books supplied by the press over time (p.75).

Cross had already begun a mission in Rewa, with the powerful chief Rokotui Dreketi's permission (Lingenfelter 1967:62-63) and later participation (Thornley

⁸ Perhaps these were printed sheets from elsewhere or manuscript books for they had not yet set up the press.

2000:69). With the help of a Rewan living on Lakeba, Cross had written elementary books in Rewan before shifting there in 1837 (1996a:20, 2000:66). Cross translated *Psalms*, *Genesis*, and sections of the New Testament (2000:68) and sent a volume of writings to Lakeba for printing, but it was lost in a boat wreck (2005:259). In comparison with Rewa, Lakeba's population proved small and of marginal influence; thus, the missionaries decided to shift the press to Rewa, where "its Chief was of very high rank, and exerted great influence at the sea of supreme power," "where most books would be wanted," "where most Missionaries would be required," where food was plentiful, and where "men to work the printing establishment could also be easily obtained" (Calvert 1985[1858]:32). Personally, Cargill wanted to go to Rewa because he believed Tui Nayau to be a hindrance to Christianity and because he wanted to maintain control of scriptural translation, already a contentious issue among the tiny work force (Thornley 2000:86-87).

Cargill and Jaggar moved the press in June 1839 to Rewa (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:25). They established a Language and Translation Department⁹ to share the work (Thornley 2000:88). They received protection from the king's brother Cokanauto (Phillips), who spoke English (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:33; Calvert 1985[1858]:155) and assisted Jaggar with translating (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:26, 29, 57, 90, 91). Bulu was assigned to help with the printing (Calvert 1985[1858]:158). Jaggar reported that "Joeli"¹⁰ assisted with composing and other tasks (1988[1838-1845]:38, 41, 104-108). In 1840 BFBS sent 50 reams of paper (Calvert 1985[1858]:223). Influenza, dysentery, and other illnesses laid low the population; local wars left the mission pockmarked by musket balls; storms damaged the mission buildings, cannibalism was ordinary, and Fijians helped themselves to the mission's goods—all of which affected the pace of printing (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]; Calvert 1985[1858]:ch.5). When his wife Margaret and newborn died in 1840, Cargill took his other children back to England, leaving Jaggar and the Tongans to carry on (Calvert 1985[1858]:161-162). Ratu Matanababa (Luke) converted, was impressed by books, learnt to read and write, and spoke of the *lotu* to other Fijians (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:60-64, 73; Calvert 1985[1858]:164). As the supply of books increased, the number of students and church members increased

⁹ London headquarters had sent instructions for the missionaries to form such a committee, for disagreements in Tonga about translation had aggravated the work (Thornley 2005:253-254).

¹⁰ Thornley wrote that Jaggar trained Tongan Joeli Mafi (2000:156), but Bulu's name was also Joeli.

(Calvert 1985[1858]:168). Jaggar printed material in the dialects of Bau, Lakeba, Rewa, and Somosomo, and in Tongan (Jaggar 1988[1838-1845]:56; Calvert 1985[1858]:174; T. Williams 1842, 1982[1858]:257). Hunt wrote that Jaggar was “indefatigable as a printer,” agreeable, and kind (quoted in Thornley 2000:223, 235, 357).

After Richard Birdsall Lyth’s arrival from Tonga in 1839, he and Hunt went to Somosomo, Taveuni, in answer to its chief’s call for a missionary. On arrival, Tui Cakau and his son Tui‘ila‘ila evinced no interest in Christianity, and the missionaries witnessed widow strangling, cannibal feasts, live burials, and more (Calvert 1985[1858]:ch.2). Commodore Wilkes put in at Somosomo, drafted regulations about American whaling and European protection, called on the missionaries, and asked them to translate. Glad of the US show of order, Hunt thought the regulations honoured Fijian independence, and Tui Cakau signed the agreement (Thornley 2000:136-137). A canoe drifting from Wallis brought some heathen and some Catholic Wallisians, who listened to the Christian message with resident Tongans (Calvert 1985[1858]:43-44). When they returned to their homelands, Hunt sent *qase* Jone Mahe with them. At Mahe’s request and to help in the struggle against Popery, he prepared the Wesleyan liturgy in Tongan and in Somosomo dialect and summaries of published English texts on Protestantism and the Reformation (Thornley 2000:166).

Despite their troubles, Hunt translated many texts (Calvert 1985[1858]:49; Thornley 2000:135, 150, 166). Lyth translated *Mark*, and they worked together on a dictionary of biblical names in Fijian (Thornley 2000:150). Hunt and Lyth worked out principles to Fijianize Greek and Hebrew names in scriptural translations. Hunt grasped Fijian grammar, syntax, word construction, and perhaps most important, rhythms of speech. He sought among his converts for people to lead others in chant and song (Tippett 1980:2, 28-29). Hunt and Lyth composed hymns in Somosomo dialect, following Somosomo lyrics—a style that missionaries followed for the next 40 years (p.27). According to Calvert, David Hazlewood’s command of “philological information” also benefited from Somosomo’s hardships. The missionaries there had “more leisure” to pursue translation because the station had fewer converts and Hunt’s zeal was greater for having “matured and refined in that Somosomo furnace” (1985[1858]:49). After Hunt was appointed to chair the Language and Translation

Committee (Thornley 2000:137), the committee resolved to instruct students in theology, English, geography, writing, and other subjects and to distribute printed scripture portions (p.153).

Cross had perceived Bau's waxing political power, but chief Tanoa would not allow a mission on Bau, so Cross settled at Viwa two miles north of the island (Lingenfelter 1967:64). BFBS sent another grant of paper, and the missionary society sent a supply of types and other supplies. The press churned out religious works, almanacs, and certificates (Calvert 1985[1858]:223-224). Cross gave away books to those who professed Christianity, incurring the wrath of Cargill for not selling them as directed by the missionary society (Thornley 2005:346). Books had other uses: Cakobau ordered Tui Veikoso's kin on Viwa to send their books to him, for he wanted the paper to keep his gunpowder dry (p.339). After years of discussion, the missionaries concluded in 1844 that they had not resources, skills, or time to publish the complete Bible in even their four working dialects.¹¹ Bau's rising political power made choosing its dialect most efficacious for their own security as well as for Fijians who would follow the most powerful chief (Calvert 1985[1858]:223-224; Thornley 2000:249-253, 266-267). Because of their scarce labour, the missionaries were not guaranteed to have their work printed, and they objected to giving decision-making power to only one individual (Thornley 2005:347-348). The Rewa chiefs generally did not convert, violence continued, food became scarcer, and the valuable printing equipment was in danger. When outright war began between Bau and Rewa, Jaggarr piled boxes to protect himself while printing. The missionaries resolved in their 1844 district meeting to move the press to Viwa (Calvert 1985[1858]:174-178; Thornley 1995b).

On Viwa in 1842, Hunt began training students. Bulu was with him (Garrett 1982:281). Two of his students were Noa Koroinavugona from Somosomo and Ezekiel. Hunt and Noa revised the catechism. Their contemporary vocabulary caused controversy among Fijians used to older expressions. Hannah taught English. Hunt wrote lectures on Wesleyan doctrine and geography. He hired a literate young man, who had run away from local European employment, to copy his lectures; he asked

¹¹ They knew at least seven dialects (T. Williams 1982[1858]:257).

Thomas Williams to prepare maps; and he asked Jaggar to print the lot (Thornley 2000:230-232). He did not augment the number of students until his book was printed, for they would learn faster with copies than without them (p.255). Transferred to Bau, Hunt translated the New Testament with assistance from Noa, possibly Varani, and others. Noa also taught Fijian to John Watsford (Calvert 1985[1858]:225; Garrett 1982:111; Thornley 2000:356). Hunt prepared *Taro Lekaleka* and *Vunau Lekaleka* to guide *talatala* (pastors) and *qase*, who treasured copies of them (Calvert 1985[1858]:223). His memoir of Cross was published in London in 1846 (Thornley 2000:267).

Lyth moved to Lakeba in 1844, where he started a training institute. He taught theology and John Malvern taught writing. They could not supply enough books to meet demand (Calvert 1985[1858]:142-143). Lyth prepared a *Teacher's Manual* in Fijian (Calvert 1985[1858]:147, 149; Lange 2005:134). Watsford and Malvern composed educational songs for children to accompany their chores and personal hygiene. The missionaries used chants for school as well as church (Tippett 1980:25). Later, school master William Collis taught the Scriptures, literacy, arithmetic, geography, and natural history (Calvert 1985[1858]:150). On Bau, Hunt's literacy lessons and sermons paid off: Varani, nephew of chief Namosimalua, converted in 1845. Taking the name Ilaija, he campaigned for Christianity and taught literacy; hundreds converted and refused to go to war (p.260-270).

The press was idle immediately after its shift to Viwa while missionaries carried forward translations (Calvert 1985[1858]:224). Arrival of Catholic priests spurred a return to printing. Although the missionaries had formerly divided the Bible to speed translation, Hunt gradually assumed control over the New Testament (Thornley 2000:334-335, 354-358, 361-362). Lyth was transferred from Lakeba to assist Hunt and Jaggar. Joseph Rees also helped with printing. Hunt soon prepared the New Testament with the help of a Fijian, except *John*, which Jaggar (with some assistance from Watsford) translated and Hunt amended (Calvert 1985[1858]:226, 227, 272; Thornley 2000:417, 421). Hunt pushed for publication of the New Testament on Viwa, for he did not want to lose control of the translation should another missionary take it to England for printing, or risk amendments by editors unfamiliar with Fijian (Thornley 2000:421). Copies came off the Viwa press in 1847; missionaries folded,

stitched, and bound them at their own stations (p.431). Hazlewood taught Ono *talatala* to do so the same. The residents paid for copies with sinnet (Calvert 1985[1858]:82-83). The missionaries had mixed reactions to the work, but the Fijians were excited to have the whole (Thornley 2000:429-431). BFBS contributed funds and paper for continuation of the work (Calvert 1985[1858]:226).

Shipwrecked at Ovalau in early 1848, Lyth lost valuable manuscripts (Calvert 1985[1858]:412). Hunt translated *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and began *Psalms* before he died (Calvert 1985[1858]:226; Thornley 2002:431-432). The mission printed a short account of his death to distribute to the Fijians (Calvert 1985[1858]:278). Hunt left the bulk of *An Explanation of the Christian Religion*, which another missionary completed (p.228). Hunt's *A Vakatusa ni Lotu* was printed at Viwa in 1850. William Moore later enlarged it, Calvert edited it, and combined with *Ai Vakavuvuli ni Vola Tabu*, it was printed in London 1868 and reprinted in 1884 and the late 1930s (Tippett 1980:14, 66). Joseph Nettleton reported that he still used printed copies of Hunt's *Short Sermons*, composed in Fijian, in the 1860s and 1870s: "That book, next to the Bible, has become the seed-basket for the Fijian sower" (quoted in Lange 2005:133-134). Hunt's wife Hannah returned to England, taking his manuscript for *Letters on Entire Sanctification*, which was published in 1853. She helped Calvert and other missionaries with corrections to the revised New Testament and with the entire Bible in 1866 (Calvert 1985[1858]:227; Thornley 2000:481). Jaggar succumbed to the charms of a Fijian woman and was sent to New Zealand and expelled from the ministry. Calvert¹² left Lakeba to go to Viwa to run the press (Lingenfelter 1967:64-65; Garrett 1982:105; Thornley 1995b, 2000:449n61). Although Calvert was the only printer by trade, assistants did most of the printing¹³ (Thornley 2002:33). Missionaries appointed Bulu to assist Calvert with printing before reassigning him to help Lyth in Rewa (Bulu 1973[1871]:20).

¹² Lingenfelter asserted that Calvert was miffed at the press's moving to Vitilevu without him and did not record Jaggar's name for that reason (1967:63). Thornley reported that Calvert wrote that Jaggar was an uncomplaining worker who had endeared himself to his fellow missionaries (2000:265). In fact, Calvert occasionally mentioned Jaggar by name, and he wrote that "the missionary" worked quite hard in extreme circumstances and produced prolific literature (1985[1858]:*passim*). The circumstances of Jaggar's fall, however, caused embarrassment to the mission, and its members did not celebrate his name. In his journal, Jaggar rarely mentioned Calvert (1988[1839-1845]), but they were not posted together for long. I do not think it unusual not to refer to absentees when the missionaries' daily lives were full of immediate, even life-threatening concerns.

¹³ According to Lingenfelter, Calvert did not excel at printing and did not like the job (1967:65).

Providence intervened in 1848 in the form of Frenchman Édouard Martin, shipwrecked in Fiji and looking for means of survival. Calvert taught him to fold, stitch, bind, print, and compose (Calvert 1985[1858]:228). He in turn taught Fijians to do the same (Thornley 2002:33). Martin was interested in Fijian culture and transmitted a Fijian chant to Waterhouse (Tippett 1980:9). He stayed and printed tens of thousands of works in Fijian and Rotuman, plus a *Memoir of the Rev John Hunt* and Hazlewood's grammar and *Fijian-English, English-Fijian Dictionary* (Calvert 1985[1858]:228-229; T. Williams 1982[1858]:265). T. Williams claimed that almost every reader in the Vanualevu circuit possessed a copy of the New Testament, and people asked for work to obtain copies (Calvert 1985[1858]:382).

Calvert did not have time to be chained to the press; he was busy with politics. Influenced by Robert Young's *Suggestions for the Conversion of the World*, Calvert set his sites on using Seru Cakobau as his lynchpin (Thornley 2002:33). The battle was not just against heathenism, but also popery: in 1851 Bishop Bataillon returned to Fiji, which to the English and Fijians alike represented French power and the possibility of land alienation (p.47). Watsford returned to Fiji and assisted with revision of the New Testament at Viwa (Calvert 1985[1858]:320). Clammer argued that these texts, especially Hazlewood's grammar, helped to fix Fijian language, and that transliterated loan words brought new concepts into use, which contributed to social change (1976:46-53). The missionaries ordained a few Tongans and Fijians (Lange 2005:132-133). Other Tongans abused Fijian hospitality and caused mischief. Lyth wrote to Tupou I for help, and Tupou assigned his nephew Enele Ma'afu and Sefanaia Lualua as deputy governors of Tongans living in Fiji (Thornley 2002:59). Tupou visited Fiji and conducted military inspections with Cakobau. Tupou advised Cakobau to convert, which he did in 1854 and took up reading lessons (Garrett 1982:111-114). He was aware of the power of writing and sought out Europeans for information, medicine, and other aids to leadership (Thornley 2005:270, 376). Blessed by a militaristic service by Calvert, Tupou, Ma'afu, and Cakobau defeated Ratu Mara of Rewa (2002:78-82). Taufa'ahau's visit, Cakobau's conversion and victory, and "recognition of the material power of Christianity" convinced hundreds to convert (p.343). Clammer argued that literacy was at the base of almost every economic, political, and social transformation in Fiji (1976).

In 1853 Hazlewood completed translation of the Old Testament (Thornley 2002:61). In 1854 BFBS sent 5,000 copies of the New Testament (Calvert 1985[1858]:229). Having just printed 3,000 copies of a revised edition, Calvert was upstaged (Thornley 2002:61). In an age of war, Fijians tore up their books to use for cartridge papers (p.178). Missionaries and printer Martin supplied ammunition and even engaged in the shooting and killing (p.196-197). Calvert arrived in England in 1856 to oversee printing of the entire Bible under BFBS auspices (Calvert 1985[1858]:230, 351). He was to incorporate Hunt's and Hazlewood's revisions to the New Testament and oversee printing of the Old Testament, but Calvert—who was not a linguist—took liberties and BFBS's Rev T.W. Meller did not know the language. The result was an Anglicized and convoluted New Testament, which incensed the older missionaries of Fiji (Thornley 2002:193). Until this time, England and Australia had sustained the costs of the missionaries, the ordained Fijian ministers, boat maintenance, and the press, but their own financial constraints caused them to tell the Fiji team that it had to help pay its way (p.190).

A central academy was established at Mataisuva, Rewa in 1857 and continues to this day despite its own geographic shifts. At Kadavu in the 1860s, the academy students used handwritten copies of Hazelwood's translations until they received printed copies (Thornley 2002:223). Students compiled notes for future teaching and preaching (Thornley 2002:479; Lange 2005:144). Calvert's history is peppered with instances of the missionaries' not being able to meet the demand for books, and he included a plea to the Australian Conference to sustain printing within the mission (Calvert 1985[1858]:231). As theological tutor from 1868, Jesse Carey emphasized writing and the students' wives mastered literacy and numeracy for mission work (Thornley 2002:357). Carey himself wrote a life of Jesus. He wanted a training school attached to the theological school. Tui Cakau asked for such an institution on Taveuni, for by the 1870s chiefs were using mission-trained men as scribes for governmental laws and taxes. The Lakeba Circuit opened a school for chiefs' sons, a move Carey said should have been made years beforehand (p.382).

The academy moved to Navuloa, Rewa in 1873. Most of the missionaries imported ideas and promoted Western models, paying scant heed to Fijian society and culture (Thornley 2002:359). Joseph Waterhouse, however, appreciated Fijian language and culture and recorded what people dictated to him (Tippett 1980:9). His

four books were published in London. As academy director from 1874 to 1878, he advocated quicker moves toward indigenous ministry (Gunson 2006), but chairman Rev Frederick Langham did not. Langham also had disputes with Fiji governors Gordon and Thurston. Other missionaries had differences with the Australian Mission Board. Lorimer Fison and Carey promoted local leadership (Garrett 1982:280; Niukula 1996:190; Lange 2005:145). Carey translated pre-Christian tales (Tippett 1980:9), prepared a Fijian hymnal, and lobbied Calvert in London for a press for the academy (Thornley 2002:480). Fison studied Fijian language and oral history (Tippett 1980:15). Fijian and Tongan story-tellers Inoke Waqaquele, Ratu Taliai Tupou, Roko Sokotukivei, the Tui Oneata, and Ma'afu gave their tales to Fison in the 1860s and 1870s. Fison's relatives in England sought publication funds to no avail, but Fison was able to publish the work 30 years later when interest in anthropology rose and he was a fellow in the Royal Anthropological Institute (p.39-40). Fison took charge of the academy until 1884; he informed government with his learned papers about collective landownership; and his lectures were used until the end of the century (Garrett 1982:280; Lange 2005:144). Progress was slow, but by 1900 foundations for a self-governing church were apparent (Lange 2005:147-148).

Copies of the complete Bible reached Fiji in 1865, causing great excitement. By then Moore had translated *Pilgrim's Progress* and sent it to England for printing (Thornley 2002:193). As Moore prepared to leave Fiji in 1869, Bulu and others wrote to him, thanking him for the "books of teaching" that he had written (1973[1871]:77). *Talatala*, catechists, *qase*, and training-centre students had copies of the Bible. Fison reported two thirds of Methodist agents had converted by reading scriptural matter without formal instruction (cited in Thornley 2002:333). Clammer estimated that by the time of Cession, one third the population was literate, more were aware of literacy, and few were unaware. The combination of theological education and literacy created new professions that corresponded with local and introduced politics (1976:70, 83). Some people, however, continued to use the Bible for cartridge papers (Le Hunte in Brewster 1937:126).

In 1867 Cakobau became King of Bau using crown, sword, Bible, and a constitution based on Hawai'i's laws; the ceremony was held in the Wesleyan chapel (Thornley 2002:367). Cakobau created no theocracy, however. He sought political

solutions to his situations (p.380). Moore was in the middle of negotiations about Cakobau's debt, land sales, Australian trade, and US ships. His actions warranted criticism and set the mission at odds with acting British consul Thurston (p.368-374). Arguments between Wesleyans and Catholics, Fijian fears of land alienation, missionary desires for law and order, and rivalry among British officials also pointed toward annexation. Cakobau ceded only government, neither land nor people (p.503-507).

Local people accepted *qase* in their midst, hosted them, and began to assume support of the ministry (Lange 2005:135-136). *Talatala* and *qase* gained in authority, but chiefs did not lose authority. Sometimes the boundaries between them were indistinct (p.136). Other times, *talatala* felt constrained by chiefs and *valagi* missionaries (p.141-142), who sought a unified kingdom (Thornley 2002:482). Denied responsibility in their own country, many Fijian *talatala* went to New Guinea, Papua, and Solomon Islands where they took initiatives and contributed to the growth of the church (Garrett 1992:181-182). Bulu ran a training institution for *talatala* at Waikava, Vanualevu from 1863 to 1866 (1982:281) and became chaplain to Cakobau (p.115). Bulu's autobiography was published in London (1973[1871]). He stayed until he died in 1877; his revered wife Akesa died in 1910 (Lange 2005:128, 139). Havea stayed until 1881 and wrote an autobiography in Fijian, which was not published (p.129).

After 1870, Wesleyan schools received no financial assistance from government (Thornley 2002:486). *Qase* and student performance were variable. Literacy rates were highest on Vanuabalavu, where Ma'afu introduced compulsory schooling in 1873 (p.487). Song helped to publicize Christianity and literacy. In 1877 missionaries standardized Fijian hymns alongside English rhythm and harmony, but included some traditional chants in the new hymnal, which was used until 1913 (Tippett 1980:34). William A. Heighway translated hymns into Fijian and collected pre-Christian *meke* chants, which were turned to chants with scriptural themes for school children (p.27). The 1936 hymnal included hymns by Inoke Buadromo, I. Raseisei, Etonia Radrodoro, J. Raitilava, E.P. Tatawaqa, Loata Ratu, and T.T. Waqairawai (p.35). Hymnals and supplements were printed in Suva, Sydney, and London (p.70).

Rev Arthur James Small took up his Bua post in 1879 (Lange 2005:143), the year Indians arrived to work on the plantations. He translated *Aesop's Fables* into Fijian and stimulated Fijians to record Fijian fables, some of which appeared in the church's paper (Tippett 1980:39). Chairman from 1900 to 1924, he deferred to the colonial government and the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR) (Garrett 1982:286). John Wear Burton, Richard Piper, Cyril Bavin, and W. Reginald (Rex) Steadman deferred to neither government nor company (1982:286, 1992:160-161, 391). Published by the mission press in Suva, Burton's *Our Indian Work in Fiji* offended colonial officials and CSR (1992:162). Subsequent public furore caused the annual Methodist meeting of 1911 to issue a statement disassociating the church from the book's printing (Thornley 1996a:94-95), but it became "a powerful lever" for abolition of indenture (Mastapha 1996:139). Burton's other works were published overseas, where they garnered international support against indenture (Garrett 1992:161). Debate raged about indigenous leadership capabilities and immigrant needs (p.157, 163).

In 1900 as other missions moved into the Wesleyan field, the *valagi* missionaries published tracts to counter their influence, but Fijian *talatala* turned to using *bole* (legal sayings) to validate their position before Fijian congregations (Tippett 1980:46). The Methodist schools provided most elementary education long after 1900 (Lange 2005:139). The church received government subsidy for its hygiene mission; missionary sisters in villages used the press to reach growing congregations (Sovaki 1996:105). In 1904 Small bought property in Suva to house the printing press and bookroom (Thornley 1996a:140). Rokowaqa's *Ai Tukutuku kei Viti* came off the mission press in Suva. The English works of Carey, Fison, Nettleton, and Williams were published overseas (Tippett 1980:67). Alan Tippett's work was published locally and overseas (p.68).

The academy moved to Davuilevu in the early 1900s and contributed to training Fiji's teachers and white-collar workers until the government took over (Garrett 1992:166, 179; Meo 1996:160). R.L. McDonald, Leslie M. Thompson, and C.O. Lelean successfully sought government funding to expand Davuilevu (Garrett 1992:391). Ronald A. Derrick, a lay missionary who worked with Lelean, left Davuilevu in 1929 to work for government. He spoke Fijian fluently, wrote a history

and a geography of Fiji, spearheaded the government's technical education and the Fiji Museum, promoted the Fiji Society of Science and Industry, and had articles published in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Fiji Society* (p.392). While at Davuilevu, his wife Ruby initiated Ruve (Dove) in 1924, later known as Soqosoqo Vakamarama (Sovaki 1996:105). One of its members Akosita Lolohea Ratu Waqairawai wrote two hymns, and a book in 1948 at the request of government to assist village mothers with child welfare and village sanitation and organization (p.106-107). Many women came to assist the ministry among Fiji's Indians, establishing schools and distributing bibles, especially Elizabeth Phulkuar, who was called "the Bible woman" (Garrett 1997:244-245).

The Methodist Church's three separate synods—for Fijians, Indians, and Europeans—united in 1943 (Garrett 1996:193). Stephen's 1944 Report concluded the Methodist mission could not cope with the numbers of teachers that Fiji needed trained, beginning immediately; thus, government took over responsibilities that the Methodist training institution had had for generations (Meo 1996:163). Methodist schools dwindled to 23 due to difficulties in recruiting people from overseas and to government subsidies (p.164). Davuilevu established a Bible School and Theological College to encourage new forms of worship and higher academic standards. Training occurred in Fijian language until students had to prepare for English examinations. Principal of Davuilevu from 1957, Tippettt perceived changes in government policy as drying up Fijian narrative within theological education (Garrett 1997:238-239). He recognized Fijian authorship and leadership and worked for an independent church (p.240). The church became independent with its own constitution in 1964, and Setareki Tuilovoni became its first indigenous president (p.242-243).

Divisions within the church—between missionaries, between missionaries and Fijian *talatala*, between Fijians and Indians—grew as the church grew. The coups of 1987 split the church. Methodist lay ministers Sakeasi Butadroka and Sitiveni Rabuka used their faith as part of their justification for their political actions. Methodist minister Tomasi Raikivi joined Rabuka's interim government. Ratu Isireli Caucau and then general-secretary Manasa Lasaro organized the church to endorse the army's fait accompli. Other Methodists condemned the coups, eg then president Josateki Koroi (onetime military chaplain), Paula Niukula, and Tuilovoni (Garrett 1997:398-400).

Niukula and Aquila Yabaki edited the church newspaper *Na Domodra* and criticized the coups, with Koroi's consent, but it ceased publication in November 1987 (Thornley 1996a:144). Indians had been a slight majority of the population before the first coup in 1987; large numbers migrated in the aftermath, the flow was steady, peaking again after the 2000 coup. Indians now constitute about 40% of the population. At the time of Ernst's study, the vast majority of Fijians were Methodists and had the world's highest percentage per head of population of Methodism among indigenous peoples (1994:206). Undemocratic measures took place within the church.¹⁴ Without church agreement or even knowledge in some cases, Lasaro entered into financial arrangements with overseas donors, but failed to carry out annual audits (Thornley 1996a:144). Lack of accountability by the church caused overseas agencies to cease donating (Ernst 1994:210).

When Lasaro's presidency expired in 1995, Rev Dr Ilaitia Sevati Tuwere, a former PTC principal, sought to mend fences (Garrett 1997:401). For the 1995 Fiji Methodist History Conference, *talatala* from the 32 districts were charged with bringing their oral histories to the conference (Thornley 1996a:137), where the stories were recorded and published in *Mai Kea Ki Vei?* (Thornley & Vulaono 1996) and serialized in *Nai Lalakai*. Tuwere said that Methodists needed to confront the manipulated takeover of the church's leadership in the aftermath of the 1987 coups: "We must honestly face the facts of the past to move into the future" (quoted in Mataika 1996). A church study found that the authority, privilege, and status of ministers oppressed the wider church and its training institutions (Meo 1996:165, 169). In 1997 some ministers voiced wishes for a political arm within the church. When Veitokani ni Lewenivanua Vakarisito, a Methodist political party, formed in 1998 outside the church, Tuwere warned that ministers running for political office would have to relinquish their ministerial duties (Wise 1998). Two years later Tuwere released a book, in which he tried to explain God through the *vanua* (land) and why people should care for and cultivate the *vanua* (Taylor-Newton 1998). An English translation of this book sent a gentle message for races to cultivate the *vanua* together

¹⁴ *Personal* differences between the former Ro Dreketi, Adi Lady Lala Mara, and her half-brother Ratu Mosese Tuisawau, compounded by *political* differences between then president Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara and Butadroka's Fiji Nationalist Party led to a *religious* breakaway and formation of the Rewa Wesleyan Mission in 1992. Theology does not separate this mission from the main church; politics does (Ernst 1994:210; Thornley 1996a:125, 129).

(Tuwere 2002). The church has continued to play a powerful role in state affairs and to influence Fijian political thought, eg church members were at Parliament following the 19 May 2000 coup and Indian members raised concerns about supportive statements by certain ministers for Laisenia Qarase's interim administration (Chambers 2000). The World Council of Churches recently criticized Fiji's Methodist Church for political involvement in national affairs, which prevented its ability to critique government policies constructively (Fijilive 2006). The present is a legacy of the past. Thornley observed that for a long time, Fijian ministers were so few that their role had to be organizational rather than pastoral (1996b:48). They learnt from the missionaries, who also were few and per force had to organize and maintain political relationships to guide worship, education, and publication to perpetuate the church at great distances.

Indigenous and *valagi* missionaries have left rich records of the calculations, dangers, disagreements, tribulations, and unexpected events that led over time to the confirmation of one high ruler and the predominance of one written language. Books and their publishing were both the means of achieving such centralization and products of political outcomes. The conjunction of church and politics continues today in Fiji, and participants on all sides use books to express their desires for the status quo or for change.

Rotuma

Rev John Waterhouse visited Rotuma in 1841 (Langi 1992:17-18, 1996:89). At Taufa'ahau's invitation, Rotuman chief Tokainiua visited Tonga, learnt the *rotu* (worship) and returned to Rotuma with four Tongan couples: Hesekaia and Semaima, Paula Fukefu and Kilisitiana, Lavaka and Mele, Paula Faklolongo and Sela (1992:19, 1996:89). Fijian Eliesa (Eliezer) Takelo arrived in 1854 to evangelize the islands, learnt the language, and made a promising start; however, he stirred the chiefs to anger by declaring traditional customs immoral (1992:22). Returning to Rewa, he translated scriptures into Rotuman, and Dr R.B. Lyth and a Rotuman prepared an alphabet and translated a catechism, which Joseph Waterhouse edited (1992:22-23, 1996:90). On leave in Hobart in the late 1850s, Waterhouse wrote religious works and elementary books in Fijian and in Rotuman with Takelo (Calvert 1985[1858]:359, 418-419, 428). In 1859 Jesse Carey brought two boxes of printed copies of Takelo's translation, which Christian sub-chief Sorpapel had to guard day and night for fear of unconverted chiefs

taking the books. Carey and Takelo did not stay, and the Tongans left because of the chiefs' anger (Langi 1992:23; Thornley 1996a:38; Lange 2005:132-133).

Sorpapel used *Matthew* in translation to teach others to read, keeping the church alive until missionaries came back. Returned Rotuman sailors and pearl-divers persuaded their people that the key to the whites' prosperity lay in literacy (Garrett 1982:284-285; Langi 1992:24; Lange 2005:140). Rev William and Mrs Fletcher went to Rotuma from 1865 to 1870 and from 1873 to 1875. He translated the New Testament; the Bible Society sponsored its printing in Sydney in 1870. He translated *Psalms* and compiled a Rotuman vocabulary, which were not printed (Langi 1992:26). He also translated 30 hymns, and his wife Mary taught literacy to girls (Thornley 2002:336). Fletcher's New Testament proved to be a bestseller, but he encouraged the chiefs to debate doctrine with the Catholic priests (p.381).

Taxes to a heathen chief caused civil war in 1871. The Wesleyans advised not to pay the taxes; the Catholics advised the opposite (Langi 1992:33). Arrival of the French warship *Homelin* brought respite (Tanu 1991:16; Langi 1992:34). Rev William Moore, who arrived in 1875, fanned the flames of the 1878 war (Langi 1992:32, 36-39). In 1881 chiefs officially ceded Rotuma to Britain. Rev William Allen, who ran the mission until 1886, brought up council decisions in church to influence chiefly decisions (Tanu 1991:17, 20). Religious animosity continued. Fijians, Tongans, and Rotumans were in charge until 1905 (Langi 1992:26-27; Lange 2005:140). Rev H.C. Roget lived on Rotuma from 1905 to 1916, set up a printing press, and published his biblical translations and a monthly newspaper, *Rogorogo*. He revised and enlarged Moore and Allen's Rotuman hymnal and catechism, which were later printed at the mission press in Suva (Langi 1992:27, 53).

Rev P.M. Waterhouse resided on Rotuma from 1916 to 1922 and left a 54-page vocabulary for Dr C.M. Churchward (Langi 1992:27), who compiled a *Rotuman Grammar and Dictionary* and translated the New Testament, part of the Old Testament, and a hymnal (Howard 1998:iii; Langi 1992:54). Churchward's work, including *Jipear Fo'ou*, a spelling system printed at the Mission Press in Suva in 1928, "contributed greatly to the preparation of indigenous leaders" (Langi 1992:57-58).

Minister Mesulama Titifanue¹⁵ worked alongside Churchward and wrote stories that were originally published in Australia, but only Churchward's name appeared as author (Churchward in Titifanua & Churchward 1995[1939]:iv).

Rev Donelson, the last *palagi* minister to serve on Rotuma, left in 1941 (Langi 1996:91). Rev Jotama Vamarasi worked for many years with the Bible Society to complete the Rotuman Old Testament (p.92). Religious relations, complicated by clan differences, were strained over many decades. As a result of chiefly struggles abetted by Catholic and Protestant rivalry, the few thousand Rotumans have had three orthographies: an English-based system designed by the Wesleyans, a French-based system designed by the Catholics, and Churchward's linguistics-based system (Howard 1998:iii). Minor differences are bones of contention (Tanu 1991:21). In a global age of ecumenism, however, Catholics and Wesleyans agreed in 1967 to revise the Rotuman Bible and language together (p.22).

Religious rivalries fed into traditional rivalries as chiefs and entrepreneurs used the *rotu* to gain advantage and others perceived the utility of books and publishing to persuade their society. Book stocks—tangible symbols of new and threatening authority—had to be guarded. White missionaries did not just translate and lead people in prayer but also became embroiled in local rivalries. Authority over translation and authorship remains contested to this day, and biblical revision requires hard negotiation.

Papua New Guinea

Members of the Methodist Overseas Missions of Australia were the first Methodists into New Guinea. In 1875 Dr George Brown led 10 Fijians and Samoans, including Elimotama Ravono, Ratu Livai Volavola, Timoci Lase, and some of their wives to Port Hunter, Duke of York Island (Garrett 1982:222-223; Latukefu & Sinclair 1982:2-3; Lange 2005:301). Brown prepared a collection of lessons, the catechism, hymns, and other texts in the local language. The book reached the mission in 1879. He also translated *Mark* in 1882 (P. Smith 1987:11; Threlfall 1975:48, 64e). Brown

¹⁵ He also went as a teacher to New Britain (Langi 1992:54). The modern spelling of his name is with –e, the older version with –a.

lent printing blocks to the LMS mission so that it might have illustrated books (P. Smith 1987:12).

Rev Benjamin Danks, who arrived in 1878 (Garrett 1982:226), and New Guinean Peniamini Lelei opened a central school for higher education at Kinavanua (Threlfall 1975:48; P. Smith 1987:2). Danks cut and unrolled kerosene tins, straightened the sheets, wrote on them, and hung them: the school's first publication (P. Smith 1987:4). Lelei became the first appointed teacher in 1884; he also preached and translated (Lange 2005:304). He visited Australia to help with biblical translation (Garrett 1982:228). Danks prepared religious works and lesson books (Threlfall 1975:55; P. Smith 1987:11). He wrote, "The creation of a literature is no light task. When created, there still remains the equally difficult task of inducing the people to avail themselves of it. The work done must be considered in relation to the time occupied, and to the number and circumstances of the agents employed. Measured thus, the translation and other literary work in New Britain is far from insignificant" (quoted in P. Smith 1987:11). New Britons liked books so much that they pestered the missionaries for them long into the night. "As soon as they got them they began to read....Reading finished, the book was put away as one of their possessions of which they were proud" (quoted in P. Smith 1987:6).

After 14 years in Fiji, Isaac Rooney arrived at New Britain in 1881. He worked with Danks on orthography and biblical translation (Garrett 1982:226) and advised him about the dictionary that Brown had begun. The dictionary was published in 1883 (Threlfall 1975:55; P. Smith 1987:11). Rooney revised all the Duke of York books (Threlfall 1975:55). He translated parts of the Bible, and he and his wife translated hymns. In 1883 they went with Rev R. Heath Rickard to reside on the New Britain mainland. They realized Kuanua (Tolai, Blanche Bay, Gunantuna, Tinata Tuna) would reach more people and began translating into that language. Danks prepared the first book, a primer. He used a typograph to print leaflets of scripture verses and hymns. When a small hand-press arrived, he taught himself and two Kabakada men to use it to print his Kuanua translations and a comparative dictionary of Duke of York, English, Fijian, Kuanua, and Samoan words (p.56). Within four years, they had translated biblical texts and school books and created a dictionary and a grammar (Threlfall 1975:56; P. Smith 1987:11).

When Germany annexed New Britain in 1884, the Methodists wrote to the German Methodist church for missionaries (Garrett 1982:229). The missionaries developed central schools at Kinavanua, Kabakada, and Raluana into circuit training institutions (Threlfall 1975:57). In Papua, on 17 June 1890 Gov William MacGregor, W.G. Lawes, Brown, and Albert Maclaren agreed on a comity, delineating spheres of influence for LMS, Methodist, and Anglican churches. With Macgregor, in 1891 Brown chose the d'Entrecasteaux islands for Methodist headquarters (Garrett 1982:231), Dobu Island in particular. Brown conducted the mission party there (p.232). Dr William E. Bromilow, 4 other Europeans, 15 Fijians, 10 Samoans, and 4 Tongan missionaries, most of them accompanied by wives, began work in 1891 in the south-eastern mainland and the Louisiade and d'Entrecasteaux islands (P. Smith 1987:39; Latukefu 1996:21; Lange 2005:305). J.T. Field and Rickard assisted. Bromilow stayed 10 years; some of the Fijians and Tongans married locally (Garrett 1982:233; Lange 2005:306). Dobu became the mission language (Garrett 1982:236), and the Methodists established training facilities at Dobu. The first Papuan teacher, Daniel Didiwai, was appointed in 1898 (Lange 2005:306). Before World War I, the Fijian, Samoan, and Tongan missionaries were three times as many as the Australian and New Zealander missionaries (Garrett 1997:29).

In New Guinea, Methodists had three main mission stations and 101 out-stations staffed by 26 Fijians and Samoans and 76 New Guineans (P. Smith 1987:27, 29). The Methodists decided to make Kuanua the district language and to use it in all schools (Threlfall 1975:69). Oversight of the mission was transferred from the British Methodists to the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. German Heinrich Fellmann arrived in 1897 (Garrett 1982:229). He knew English and learnt Kuanua (1992:44). In 1900 Rev John Crump took the Kuanua New Testament to Sydney to see it through the press. The first printed Kuanua copies reached the district in 1902 (Threlfall 1975:86). The Methodist Missionary Society sent a “specially bound copy and one copy bound as for the natives” to the German governor of New Guinea to present to the German emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II (Danks in P. Smith 1987:11). In translating, the missionaries used Fijian and Polynesian words, which have since become part of the local languages and Tok Pisin (Threlfall 1975:55). Those who did not attend school asked students to teach them to read, and the students complied (p.57). Fellmann chaired the mission from 1902 to 1912 (Garrett 1992:46). By 1906

Fellman was on his own to direct 150 stations, 3 circuit institutions, and the District Training Institution (p.48). Fellman went to Sydney in 1912, where he and Iona To Gigi from Raluana (who had previously assisted Rickard) were sponsored by the Bible Society and the Mission Board to translate the Bible. Financial support from churches in Germany to the Methodist Church in the Bismarck Archipel District and the inability to return to Germany until 1920 because of the war allowed Fellmann to continue to translate literature into Kuanua. He revised the New Testament and the Kuanua-English dictionary; translated 23 books of the Old Testament, a book of Old Testament stories, and books for pastor-teachers on teaching in schools, preaching, and theology; and wrote *Short History of the Church in the Bismarck Archipel District* (Threlfall 1975:88, 102; Garrett 1992:50).

Fellman had appealed for funds to replace Danks's hand-press; gifts from Germany enabled the purchase of a larger machine. After it was installed at Vatnabara, Fijian printer Mesulame Uluimoala taught two local men, Penias Vatongnasoi and Benjamin, to assist him (Threlfall 1975:87; Jakes 1996:116). Gordon Thomas became the mission printer from 1911 to 1912 (and later editor of *Rabaul Times*), Vatongnasoi from 1912. The mission sent large books overseas for printing. Schmidt, Wenzel, and Pratsch translated scriptures into Patpatar and Susurunga languages. Reddin and Boettcher translated works for Tigak. Kuanua, however, dominated (Threlfall 1975:87, 103). Isikel Mulas became head printer in 1918, the mission moved the printery to Malakuna, and it ordered a larger press. In addition to publishing church literature, it printed commercial material and showed a profit (p.102). After Fellman, Rev William H. Cox became chairman and learnt German (Garrett 1992:46). Australian Methodists sent teaching and nursing sisters, more Fijian pastor-teachers, and some of their wives; the German missionary societies sent missionaries and deaconesses (p.49). In Australia, Bromilow and Lemeki Muiowei translated and revised the Dobu Bible (1982:236).

In 1915 the Methodists appointed the first native minister, Peni To Pitmur of Matalau, followed by Isimel To Puipui in 1920 and Aisak To Guere in 1921 (Threlfall 1975:103). Ordained Samoan Siaea spent nearly 20 years, many at Molot in the Duke of York Group, before he died of influenza in 1919 (Garrett 1992:50). Aparam To Bobo of Vunabalbal became an outstanding layman, a leader for Vunamami, and knew

how to balance business, church, government, and tribe (Threlfall 1975:68; Garrett 1992:50). In 1923 J.W. Burton toured Papua to photograph the mission's work. He later used the photographs for the Australian Methodists' *Missionary Review*, which he edited (Quanchi 1996:161). Methodists trained Osea Ligeremaluoga as a pastor-teacher, posted him to New Ireland in 1917 and the mission college at Vatnabara in 1923. Translated from Kuanua, his writing became the first published book by a New Guinean, in Melbourne in 1932 (P. Smith 1987:113; Wolfers pers comm 2003). At Vatnabara, Apelis To Maniot taught geography, Timot Tikai composition, and Ligeremaluoga writing (P. Smith 1987:113).

In the 1930s the church reprinted some of Fellmann's books and published school books and a new outline of theology by Platten. Rev Laurie Linggood became fluent in Kuanua and gave up part of his leave to study printing in Australia. When the press was moved to Raluana in 1938, Linggood worked with head printer Mulas. Linggood and Trevitt revised and printed the Kuanua dictionary but sent the Kuanua hymnal, New Testament, and partial Old Testament overseas (Threlfall 1975:134). Rev Chenoweth learnt Braille to teach it to William Watlugan, and the Bible Society prepared Braille volumes in Kuanua for him (p.135). Wilf Pearce collected and edited a book of Tok Pisin hymns and prepared a catechism (p.140). For nearly 48,000 members and adherents, the Wesleyans showed 13 white missionaries, 4 indigenous ordained ministers, 41 catechists, 381 pastor-teachers, 627 lay preachers, and 880 class leaders in 1941 (Garrett 1997:29). After 25 years of leading and instructing, Hosea Linge was made a probationer (p.30-31). Tongan Rev Isikeli Hau'ofa arrived in Misima just before war broke out, stayed through the war, and helped to rebuild afterward. He translated *Genesis*, *Psalms*, and *Isaiah* into Misima language (Latukeyfu 1996:37fn15). He and his wife taught a mission school in Bagilina village (P. Smith 1987:237). Occupation and bombing destroyed Methodist buildings. Japanese interrogated, imprisoned, tortured, and killed New Guinean Methodists, for fear that they were colluding with Australians (Garrett 1997:29). The Japanese ordered Christian literature destroyed; Papuans and New Guineans were able to save only a few bibles and hymnals. The press at Raluana was destroyed (Threlfall 1975:169).

After the war the church reprinted books as quickly as possible overseas, then at the Methodist Press at East Cape in Papua in 1949 and 1950, and later at the

Lutheran Press at Madang from 1950 to 1952. Mannering and Saimon Gaius went to Australia in 1949 and translated remaining Old Testament books, although checking and publishing occurred much later (Threlfall 1975:169). Jean Poole returned from Australia to train teachers and to translate at George Brown College (Garrett 1997:176). She prepared two books in Kuanua, which were duplicated and used in schools. The Administration convened a meeting in Rabaul in 1949 with Methodists and Catholics to achieve a standard orthography for Kuanua (Threlfall 1975:169). As the Highlands opened, the Methodist mission expanded (Waiko 1993:53). Cecil E. Gribble worked with Australians, New Zealanders, Fijians, and Tongans—and minister for territories Paul Hasluck and Lutherans (Garrett 1997:173). Hosea Linge taught at the college and helped to pave the way for Gaius and Akuila To Gogo (p.176). Tevita Mone and his wife Latu went to work near Mendi River, to help with conversion, literacy, and translation (p.179).

Len Wright arrived in 1951 to re-establish the Raluana press; gifts of machinery and money from Australia enabled commencement of operations in 1952. Seno To Karaik (a press worker before the war), Keni To Varlu, and Aminadap To Vakanga were only the first of Wright's assistants. More machinery arrived, and the volume of printing increased: reprints, revisions, and Kuanua publications, eg Miss Hudson's teachers' handbooks, Lutton's life of John Wesley (Threlfall 1975:191), and F.G. Lewis's *The First Sixty Years* (p.272). Neil Eastman and Keith Gay arrived from Australia as printing staff (p.191-192). In the late 1950s the Sisters prepared bible studies in Kuanua and sent them to all the circuits to increase women's fellowship (p.190). The mission moved the press to Rabaul in 1959, into a bigger building with more machinery. The press printed commercially and for other districts, other churches, and the Bible Society. The church began to buy Christian literature in Tok Pisin from other churches in the territory and in English from overseas. Ministers sold them in their circuits, as did the chairman from Rabaul headquarters; thus, a Christian bookstore evolved (p.192).

By 1963 the four Methodist districts of New Guinea, Papua, the PNG Highlands, and Solomon Islands had cooperated to establish a Teachers' Training College and Rarongo Theological College and to form the United Synod of the Methodist Church in Melanesia (Boseto 1995:93). Rev Gaius represented the New

Guinea District in 1964 meetings with the three other districts, Papua Ekalesia, the Kwato Extension Association, the United Church in Port Moresby, and Lutheran observers (Threlfall 1975:213). In 1964 the church sent out proposals, statements, and suggestions as booklets to involve members of the negotiating churches in discussions of unification (Boseto 1995:96). Using literature in Kuanua and Tok Pisin, the New Guinea District carried out an education programme from 1965 to 1967 (Threlfall 1975:214-215). The United Church of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands was inaugurated in 1968. The first church moderator, Rev Jack Sharp, ran series of studies about the new church, which were translated into Dobu, Kuanua, Motu, Roviana, Tok Pisin and other languages (Boseto 1995:100).

Medical doctor David Lithgow went from Ba, Fiji to Papua New Guinea, where he did translation work (Bali 1996:279). The press printed the Kuanua New Testament for the first time in 1961-1962 and could not keep pace with orders (Threlfall 1975:210-211). In the early 1960s the Methodist mission at East Cape still operated a printery and gave incidental training in printing (P. Smith 1987:237). Rev Euan Fry, Rev Iosia, and Anasain To Kunai went to the Bible Society's Canberra centre in 1965 and 1966 to complete the Old Testament. Wright revised and printed the Kuanua dictionary. Gay became manager of the press, and young men began to train as apprentices (Threlfall 1975:211). Serubabel Tokmun was the first printer to complete his apprenticeship at Trinity Press (p.2081), as it was called from 1967, and he became a qualified tradesman in 1970 (p.233). In the 1960s the church facilitated the development of combinations of imported and indigenous hymns, rhythms, and tunes (p.212). The press added an offset section to its letterpresses in 1967-1968. Book sales increased, and the church registered The Book Depot as a store. Methodist publishing staff became involved in regional efforts, eg Brenda Frankham attended the first regional Christian Writers' Workshop in 1963 and became a board member for the Pacific Islands Christian Education Curriculum (PICEC). The Rabaul press printed many PICEC books, and the Department of Christian Education taught villagers how to use them. In 1966 Revs Beniona Lenturut and Neville Threlfall attended the first Christian Writers' Workshop in Papua and New Guinea, helped to compile a list of national literature needs, and began to work with other churches on literature (p.211). United Church staff assisted the national department of education (DoE) to prepare and

revise Kuanua school materials (p.230) and established its own Christian Education Centre in the late 1960s (Boseto 1992:113).

Director of the Literature Department Val Brown translated Sunday school materials into Kuanua and Tok Pisin. Threlfall directed from 1971 to 1973 and Miss Josie Runes afterward. Gerson Igua joined the department in 1972 after taking a course at the Creative Training Centre at Nobanob, became first indigenous editor of the periodical *A Nilai Ra Davot* in 1973, and assistant director in 1974 (Threlfall 1975:231). Runes and Igua ran creative writing workshops in United Church schools and institutions and published some of the workshops' contributions. The press reprinted and revised Kuanua material (p.232). G.L. Lockley's *From Darkness to Light* and R.G. Williams's *The United Church in Papua, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands* appeared in 1972 (p.272). The Education Department began to publish more English materials for the wider church, including Rev Leslie Boseto's *Preaching and Preacher*. From 1969 the United Church cooperated with the Bible Society, Catholics, and SDAs to publish the complete Bible. Rev Mikael To Bilak and Sister Pederick played instrumental roles in the work (p.232). Igua handled press releases and radio liaison for the Toksave na Buk Dipatmen (Information and Publications Department). The United Church participated in Lit-Lit (Literacy and Literature, New Guinea) and the Christian Publishers and Booksellers' Association. WCC and the United Methodist Church's Global Ministries gave grants to help the PNG United Church. Manager Gay was followed by Lloyd Nowland, Sam Batstone, and Max Edwards. Elison Basuai, Rupen Tabua, Ilias Niligur, and Oscar Burua qualified as tradesmen. In 1973 the Synod decided that all press profits would be used to expand the church's literature (p.233). The press published Threlfall's history of the church (1975).

Fijian Usaia Sotutu had gone to Skotolan, Buka, stayed nearly 30 years, and wrote a book about Jesus in the Petats language. In 1987 his wife Makareta's memoir of her experiences there was published in Fiji (Garrett 1992:352, 354; Jakes 1996:120). Tongan Sione Taufa served in the western Solomons and then as minister at Roreinang near Kieta before he became bishop of the North Solomons (Garrett 1992:349). As moderator of the United Church, Boseto worked with Catholic bishop Patelisio Finau to mediate between churches as Bougainville erupted into

civil war (p.350). Methodist ties to the Solomons complicated the picture (p.351), so Solomon Islands came to have a separate administration (p.352).

As in Tonga and Fiji, books proved popular in Papua New Guinea. Achieving economies of scale was harder though, for the country had so many more languages. Methodists chose among the languages. English and English-trained missionaries had to negotiate with German authorities to continue their work. Wars simultaneously interrupted and accelerated translation and publishing. Training in text culture expanded geographically, creating shared identity in some regards among diverse peoples. Church cooperation fed into governmental arrangements at national and regional levels.

Solomons

After Solomon Islanders, returned from labouring in Fiji, unsuccessfully tried to establish their own mission, the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia stepped in. With the assistance of British district commissioner Charles Woodford, Rev George Brown visited New Georgia, Roviana in 1899. By 1901 the General Conference approved a mission. Rev John Francis Goldie; Steven Rabone Rooney; carpenter J.R. Martin; 4 Fijians and 2 wives; 3 Samoans and their wives; Samuel Aqarau, a Solomon Islander convert brought up in Fiji; and a New Hebridean settled near Munda in 1902. Mrs Goldie and Mrs Rooney arrived the next year. Methodists from Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, Australia, and New Zealand followed them to Choiseul and Vella Lavella (Garrett 1982:300, 1992:76-78; Latukefu & Sinclair 1982:3; Little 1995:85; A. Davidson 1996:23). Fijian Joveni Vatunitu later wrote a dance chant about the journey of Rooney and the Fijians to New Georgia, which school children in Nadroga, Fiji performed (Tippett 1980:27).

Goldie became a political force and sometimes disagreed with government policy (Garrett 1992:77, 354). He believed education had to be along agricultural, industrial, and technical lines (Garrett 1982:300; Latukefu 1988:90). By about 1910 missionaries had begun to translate the Scriptures into three languages (Carter 1990:10). Aqarau and Fijian Ratu Aporosa went to Vella Lavella. Reginald C. Nicholson followed in 1907. Daniel Bula who grew up in the mission there helped to translate *Mark* and other works. Nicholson's tribute to Bula, published in London, sold

well in Australia, Britain, and New Zealand (Garrett 1992:78-79). In 1913 authorities divided the Australasian mission and gave responsibility for the Solomons to New Zealand (p.352). Fijians, Tongans, and Samoans were the majority of missionaries to the Solomons, Papua, and New Guinea until World War I (Latukefu & Sinclair 1982:3).

In 1905 Tongan Semisi Nau and his wife Matelita had gone to Roviana, the first Tongans to do so. The church used the Roviana language as a lingua franca, and he wrote his journal in Roviana (A. Davidson 1996:3, 23). Nau and Samoan Polonga were posted on Ontong Java in 1906. Nau established a church and a school (p.30) and used the Ontong Java language. German ethnologist Ernst Sarfert remarked on Nau's fine ethnographical observations; Danks used Nau's information in an article he wrote; and Brown quoted him at length (p.69). Mary Gartrell, a nursing sister in the Western Solomons from 1912 to 1916, translated Nau's journal. Rev W.H. Leembruggen, resident from 1914 to 1917, edited it with a view to publishing it. The general secretary of the Wesleyan Overseas Mission encouraged publication of Nau's writing (p.3), but the work was not published until 80 years later (Nau 1996).

Women's contribution to publishing was large. Helena Goldie had a better command of Roviana language than her husband (Carter 1990:9). She translated many hymns (p.12). Although she left in 1922 for health reasons (p.14), she continued to make translations into Roviana from her home in Australia. In 1924 pastor-teacher Stephen Agolo and Opeti Pina went to Australia to help her with translation work; later Goldie took Opeti and Belshazzar Gina to New Zealand to raise money for the mission (p.15). In 1926 Simeon Tavaeke went to help Helena with translation (p.22). Lina Jones, a missionary in the Solomons from 1924 to 1950, reorganized and re-systematized the mission's educational system from elementary level upward. Inspecting educational arrangements for the government, William C. Groves commented favourably on the Methodist schools. Mission headquarters provided curricula and resources to the village teachers (Little 1995:85).

Rev Frank Hayman ran the Munda training college (Carter 1990:33), but Goldie was slow to develop the indigenous ministry (p.28). Ishmael Ngatu, leader of Roviana people, and Gina were friends (p.32, 33). Ngatu's diaries indicate unofficial

meetings of *bangara* (big-men) to consider implementing Goldie's plans rather than planning their own (p.31). Tongan Paula Havea worked in the Solomons from 1919 (p.47). He taught arithmetic, English, geography, music, and the scriptures at Kokeqolo's main station. One of his pupils was Gina (Latukefu 1996:35). He received ordination with Gina in November 1938 (Carter 1990:47). Anglicans had enough Melanesian deacons for every village in their diocese; yet, Methodists did not allow Havea and Gina to administer the Sacraments or make church policy (p.48, 49).

The Great Depression caused copra prices, thus income, to fall in the Solomon Islands. Contributions in funding and personnel from New Zealand declined (Carter 1990:37; A. Davidson 1992:62), but Australia and New Zealand sent the most missionaries to the Solomons, Papua, and New Guinea between the world wars (Latukefu & Sinclair 1982:3). Gina went to New Zealand again in 1937 to help raise money (Carter 1990:41). He returned with funds, gifts, and books donated for the school (p.44). Gina negotiated with the district officer about the head tax on Simbo and received £ 10 for school materials. Goldie reported that Gina trained his students as well as any European (p.50). Methodist schools produced nearly all the Solomon Islanders employed in government service before World War II (Forman 1996b:11). Although Methodists and Anglicans agreed that the former would work in the west, the latter in the east (Fugui & Butu 1989:88), Goldie sent a Solomon Islander missionary to Aola, Guadalcanal in 1838 at its villagers' request. They said they could not read books, but they could understand the role of books in the employment of native clerks, medical practitioners, and policemen—most of whom were Methodists (Garrett 1992:356).

Solomon Islanders became involved in World War II in 1942 (Carter 1990:52). Kokeqolo Hill was destroyed, and Goldie's diaries were lost (p.1). Goldie had already contributed ethnological articles about Roviana to journals, and he might have contributed more had his diaries not been lost (Garrett 1997:192). He dominated the Methodist mission and outlasted his colleagues until he retired in 1951 (Carter 1990:21). After the war, the government needed Gina's skills, so he became a public servant (p.70). As guide and translator, Gina travelled with the district officer. Gina represented the Solomons at the first South Pacific Conference in 1950 (p.71). Bible translation was slower in the Solomons than elsewhere and extremely slow for a

Methodist mission. The Roviana New Testament was not published until 1952. Language had changed; the translation was already out of date. Gina was asked to translate the remainder of the Old Testament and to revise what had been translated. The Bible Society arranged for him to take a course in bible translation in Papua New Guinea in 1974 and another in Honiara in 1975 (p.79).

Tensions grew between *araikwao* (white) missionaries who did not believe local people were ready to govern the church and Solomon Islanders who did. Personalities played a part in the conflict (Garrett 1992:56, 191). In 1960 Silas Eto and others broke away to form the Christian Fellowship Church (Tuza 1977). In 1962 the Methodists of Papua, New Guinea, and Solomon Islands joined the Ekalesia Papua and the United Church in Port Moresby to become the United Church (Garrett 1982:303). In 1973 Bishop Boseto became the first indigenous moderator of the church (Fugui & Butu 1989:91). In 1984 the United Church in Solomon Islands achieved administrative independence (Boseto 1992:106). As overseas funding was phased out, congregations took responsibility for themselves and began to support the theological college and the church assembly (p.109). In 1991 Boseto became the first Pacific Islander elected president of the World Council of Churches (Garrett 1997:332). In the age of global ecumenism, Methodist, Anglican, and Catholic churches formed the Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA) in 1967 (O'Brien 1995:231). As government policy was for 30 minutes per day of religious instruction in schools, SICA drew up an education syllabus, which government approved (Fugui & Butu 1989:73-75). SICA has published books for Pijin literacy (Lee 1981a&b; SICA 1982; Beimers 1995), including custom stories (Beu et al 1982) and biography (P. Anderson 1982). Fugui and Butu wrote that although the churches do not participate directly in politics, they do foster unity and tolerance among people, which accords with government policy for nation building (1989:92).

The Solomon Islands church was late in achieving independence, possibly because Goldie held the reins of power for so long. The Methodist mission was much slower with translation and book publishing here than elsewhere in the Pacific, but it was quick to train people in other aspects of text culture and in doing so, prepared its followers to take up the harnesses of administrative activity that fed into government work.

Methodist Publishing

Islander leaders were instrumental in the acceptance of Methodism and participated in translating, writing, printing, and publicizing its texts: Tupou I in Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji; Ilaija Varani and Cakobau in Fiji, Tokainiua in Rotuma; and Saiva'aia in Samoa. Mission personnel spent a great deal of time learning vocabulary, translating works, writing sermons, copying one other's work, and keeping accounts. They corresponded with other mission personnel. Even those who did not work in the printing room engaged in sorting, folding, stitching, gluing, binding, and cutting books. Methodists produced prolific bodies of literature in situ. Tupou I and Cakobau became literate and confirmed their position with religious books and constitutions. Pita Vi, Josua Mateinaniu, and Peniamini Lelei were first among many translators. Tokainiua and Samuel Aqarau were among many publicists. Moulton's students, Joeli Bulu, Mesulame Uluimoala, and Penias Vatongnasoi, and many others operated the presses. Countless others participated in publishing tasks.

Among missionaries, Moulton was probably the most productive in publishing; Goldie, the least. Moulton arrived after orthography and Tupou I's command were firm. Goldie arrived in a new and politically divisive field; he was not a linguist; and his attributes lay in other directions. Missionaries had their own work published overseas to advertise their work and garner support, eg Cargill, Hunt, Calvert, T. Williams, Brown, Bromilow, Danks, and Wood. Some missionaries had more impact than others: Baker fought for an independent state; Brown, Danks, and Fison against labour traffic (Forman 1996b:9); Goldie for human rights and land rights (p.11); Burton against indenture; and Setareki Tuilovoni and Lorini Tevi for independence and against nuclear testing (p.10).

Much education took place outside the church as people eager to read learnt from those who had already been taught. The Methodist Church emphasized education of all kinds. Over the long term, Methodism brought peace, and peace brought opportunities for secure economic arrangements and development (Forman 1996b:8). Organizational skills developed for church work lent themselves to administrative work for government. Methodist churches contributed to the formation of many government workers. Command of the written and printed word

was essential in budding bureaucracies. Methodism and government are intertwined in several Pacific Islands countries.

Methodists were late in electing indigenous leaders of the church: Fiji 1964, Samoa 1966, Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands 1973, and Tonga's main church 1977. However, Methodists 'Amanaki Havea, Setareki Tuilovoni, and Lorini Tevi led the ecumenical movement in the Pacific Conference of Churches. Methodists led PCC's programmes in Family Life, Christian Communication, and Action for Development, including Tongan Lopeti's efforts as first editor of its education curriculum (Forman 1996b:13). Boseto became the first indigenous moderator of the church and the first Pacific Islander elected president of the World Council of Churches. Church leaders have negotiated with church-educated politicians as their countries have developed.

CHAPTER 6

PRESBYTERIANS

According to H.-J. Martin, “After 1560, when Catholics were eliminated from Scotland and the Church of Scotland was established, the Presbyterians showed an exemplary zeal for reading. John Knox’s first tract on religious guidance contained a proposal for universal education that was confirmed by act in 1646 and 1696” (1994:340). Presbyterian emphasis on reading manifested itself in the thriving book trade in Edinburgh and among Scots in London. Presbyterians were among LMS missionaries to the South Pacific, but Presbyterians took control of work in the New Hebrides, and they cooperated with LMS for years to come. Conditions were rough and offered plenty of scope for individual Scots to manage their own affairs on isolated islands. The independent Scots, however, often had to cooperate in text culture to produce the books that their religion and their culture deemed essential.

Presbyterian Rev John Geddie learnt to print, and the synod in Scotland gave him a second-hand press and fonts (Ferguson 1917:6). Geddie, his wife Charlotte, Isaac Archibald, and his wife arrived in Samoa in October 1847, where LMS missionaries and teachers convinced them to go to the New Hebrides. While waiting there seven months for *John Williams* to take them westward, Geddie learnt Samoan to direct the LMS teachers already in the New Hebrides (Parsonson 1956:109-110; Lingenfelter 1967:80). During Geddie’s stay, LMS printed 500 copies of a spelling book to send to its teachers. With Thomas Powell and his wife from the LMS Samoan mission, Geddie and his group went to Anelgauhat, Aneityum, landing in 1848 (Ferguson 1917:6; Lingenfelter 1967:81). Several circumstances favoured the Presbyterians’ choice: Aneityum was strategically placed for monitoring other islands; it had only one language; its people were more docile than those of other islands; and they were used to foreigners, for French Catholic priests and sandalwood trader Paddon had settled there (Parsonson 1956:110).

Geddie and Powell established a chapel and set up the press—the first in the western Pacific. Samoans Simeona, Munumunu, and Sakaio helped to construct the printing office (see p.117 above). Geddie acknowledged Simeona’s valuable assistance (Lange 2005:250). Ni-Aneityum Wumra helped Geddie with language study and

translation. He and his wife Singonga had trained in Samoa from 1845 to 1848 (p.251). Powell wrote a hymn, which Geddie printed, followed by sheets of alphabets, words, sentences, hymns, an elementary book, and a catechism (Ferguson 1917:6-7, 10, 11; Lingenfelter 1967:82-83). Geddie had expected two Rarotongan printers to arrive, but Ni-Aneityum Lathella (son of chief Nohoat) and Kaka became the mission's printers (Ferguson 1917:7).

By the time John and Jessie (McClymont) Inglis arrived in 1852, the mission had printed scripture extracts and Geddie had translated *Matthew* and begun to work on *Mark* (Miller 1978:113). Inglis wrote that "we found what might be called a system of National Education hopefully inaugurated" (quoted in Ferguson 1917:11). Ni-Aneityum Epeteneto helped Inglis, and his wife Lune worked with Jessie (Lange 2005:268), who educated women with Charlotte Geddie (Garrett 1982:174). Inglis and Geddie finished *Mark* and sent it with Sunderland of LMS to Sydney, where it was printed in 1853 (Murray 1863:108; Ferguson 1917:5, 12; O'Reilly 1957:77; Lingenfelter 1967:83, 109). The mission printed other material before the church in Scotland sent a new press funded by Edinburgh and Glasgow congregations in 1855 and new type in 1856 (Ferguson 1917:8; Lingenfelter 1967:83). The press at Aneityum released at least 62 works from 1849 to 1920 (Ferguson 1917:10-18, 1918:47-51, 1943:39-40). Output is difficult to measure for some print runs were unrecorded and copies were lost. The missionaries often printed and circulated a few copies to trial among the islanders. Bible Societies often paid printing and binding costs up front, and New Hebrideans paid back the sums, using arrowroot, other commodities, and cash. RTS subsidized some publications. The Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland and the Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales also subsidized individual works (Ferguson 1917, 1918, 1943).

The Aneityum mission printed books for islanders on other islands: a primer in Erromangan in 1852 (Ferguson 1917:32), a book in Tannese in 1855 to send with Abraham and Nimtiwan (1918:18), booklets in Futunese in 1856 after having sent Ni-Aneityum Waihit and Yosefa there in 1853 (1917:19, 22, 1943:40-41), and an Efate hymnal in 1864 (1917:39). By the time the Aneityum mission printed these works, Polynesian LMS missionaries had been stationed on the islands; New Hebrideans had

studied at Malua and Takamoa; and LMS had printed works for these islands (Lange 2005:256; see p.116-117 above for LMS work).

Using traditional cultural links with other islands to share the Gospel, Ni-Aneityum went to Futuna in 1853, south Tanna 1854 and 1855, Erromanga 1857, Aniwa 1858, and south Efate 1860 (Miller 1985:159). Inglis reported that middle-aged chiefly men were the most effective teachers. The teachers' first job was to learn the language, then to help make books, and then to start formal education (cited in Miller 1985:160-161). Many indigenous people soon accepted Christianity. In 1855 the Presbyterians began electing and ordaining deacons: Simiona, Karaheth, Topoe, Navalak, and Neiken (Garrett 1982:174). By 1857 Inglis's classes grew into an institution in Aname, Aneityum (Lange 2005:254). By 1858 schools numbered 56 and the ratio of teachers to total population was more than 1 to 100. Congregations supported their teachers (p.252).

Presbyterians on Aneityum enjoyed relatively rapid success with their mission. Their efforts effected immense changes in festivals, exchanges, entertainments, and clothing. They prevailed on men to marry just one partner and people to stop strangling widows. These changes in family relations affected political alliances. The people constituted an assembly of chiefs to form laws and apply them. The missionaries kept people busy with worship, education, construction, and making roads, which also restructured social and economic life. The number of teachers multiplied; half the island was nominally Christian. Geddie encouraged other islanders to stay at Aneityum to experience Christianity's benefits (Parsonson 1956:113-115). Purchase of *John Knox* in 1857 lessened Presbyterians' dependence on LMS's *John Williams*, which visited at most once a year, and increased their ability to transport, re-provision, support, and monitor missionaries and teachers (p.116).

George N. Gordon, a colporteur of bibles from Prince Edward Island (O'Reilly 1957:82), and his wife Ellen Catherine (Powell) joined three Samoans at Dillon's Bay, Erromanga in 1857 (Ferguson 1917:8; O'Reilly 1957:82; Lingenfelter 1967:84). Joe and Mana, Ni-Erromanga who had studied at Malua, were there (see p.116 above). Ellen wrote school materials, which worked as editorial drafts: "The Gospel is now being read in school from Mrs. Gordon's autograph, and this plan we trust will save

many pounds for premature printing,” wrote George (quoted in Ferguson 1917:30). He translated a primer and biblical works. *Luke* was printed at Aneityum by LMS Rev Samuel Ella,¹ and Gordon expected to send printing to the Anglican bishop in Auckland (Ferguson 1917:30, 33). Then, the old press from Aneityum arrived, and Gordon constructed a printery. He was revising his translation of *Acts* when he was killed, in revenge for epidemic smallpox deaths (Ferguson 1917:29; O’Reilly 1957:82; Lingenfelter 1967:85; Miller 1978:109, 1986:232-233). From 1860 when the sandalwood vessel *Bluebell* had begun to spread smallpox among the islands, missionary fortunes declined. Epidemics of dysentery, fires, storms, famine, tribal wars, and their stoking by profiteering traders also provoked misunderstandings. Some of the missionaries made no effort to understand local customs and morals, mis-employed the teachers, failed to cultivate chiefly support, and did not recognize such backing when they received it (Parsonson 1956:117-120).

From 1859 Rev Joseph Copeland assisted Geddie and Inglis with an edition of the Bible, which was republished twice more. In 1866 he went to Futuna and later sent a primer to Aneityum for printing. He sent four other works abroad for printing, but he left Futuna in 1876 without having baptized anyone (Ferguson 1917:23; O’Reilly 1957:46-47, 136). He had not had confidence in native agency for church leadership (Lange 2005:255). Missionary deaths and indigenous depopulation almost closed the mission (Miller 1985:161). Early workers agreed in synod on a standard orthography for the sounds throughout the islands (1978:109). In 1859 Inglis had suggested British annexation of the New Hebrides and nomination of a consul. He carried a petition from Aneityum chiefs, who asked for British protection (Parsonson 1956:129) when he and Williamu went to England to see the Aneityumese New Testament through the press in 1863 (Ferguson 1917:15; Garrett 1982:175). In 1864 Geddie, on furlough in the United States, had *Psalms* printed. Jessie Geddie (his second wife), who Ni-Aneityum said “spoke just like an Aneityum woman” (Ferguson 1917:15), translated *Pilgrim’s Progress*, which the Aneityum mission printed in 1868 (O’Reilly 1957:77; Lingenfelter 1967:83-84). Geddie journeyed to Australia, Britain, and Canada to promote the mission and to have the Old Testament printed (Garrett 1982:177). Inglis

¹ Forbidden by French authorities to land at Uvea in the Loyalties, Ella waited for five months at Aneityum. He set up his own press there and printed at least Gordon’s translation of *Luke* (Ferguson 1917:33).

went to London in 1877 to see the complete Bible through the press; it appeared in 1879. He did not return to the New Hebrides, but wrote several books, which were published in London, including an Aneityum dictionary, and had his letters published in *Reformed Presbyterian Magazine* (Ferguson 1917:17; O'Reilly 1957:109).

By 1862 John G. Paton had lost his wife and daughter and lived in constant peril on Tanna. He departed with only his bible and some manuscript translations, leaving the press he had taken there. He went to New South Wales and found his calling in fundraising and politics. He raised immense sums of money to post missionaries and teachers, to construct infrastructure, and to buy ships, but he believed the mission would benefit from displays of military might against rebellious New Hebrideans and rapacious traders. During Geddie's absence in 1865, Paton persuaded commodore Sir William Wiseman, *Curacoa*, to bombard villages, even those whose people had protected Paton (Parsonson 1956:122). From 1866 Paton used Aniwa as a base to lobby Australia, England, and the United States against trade in alcohol, arms, labour, and sandalwood. Paton took Gordon's press from Erromanga, with missing bits and deficient type, and made substitutes from scrap iron. He could print only four pages at a time, but turned out readers and hymns in Aniwa vernacular, which gave joy to chief Namakei, who protected Paton in the early years. Later publications were sent abroad or to Rev William Watt on Tanna for printing. The church officially began in 1869 and Ni-Aniwa manifested Christianity by 1871 (Ferguson 1918:30; Miller 1981:48). Paton acknowledged contributions from Ni-Aneityum teachers Abraham, Kowari, and Namuri (Lange 2005:253). In 1898 he wrote, "Every person on the island above infancy can read..." (quoted in Ferguson 1918:33). His verbal and published attacks on French Catholics and settlers, however, caused many people to view self-government for a New Hebridean church with alarm (O'Reilly 1957:176; Garrett 1982:177, 291).

Over the years Paton raised £ 80,000 for the mission (Ferguson 1918:29). On home leave in 1884, he wrote material for an autobiography,² which his brother James shaped into a book, published in 1889 and 1890, and later published in various

² and used his wife's letters from Aniwa 1867-1879 to do so (O'Reilly 1957:177)

editions³ and languages (O'Reilly 1957:175, 176). His tale of tribulations on Tanna was a bestseller. He used the word cannibal often to engender support and to raise funds (Garrett 1992:92, 176). Reading Paton's autobiography, young people, such as Robert Boyd, were inspired to volunteer for the mission (Ferguson 1918:29; O'Reilly 1957:27). Paton's second wife Margaret, whom he married in Edinburgh in 1864, was a daughter of John Whitecross, who authored books of scriptural anecdote. She wrote her own book, *Letters and Sketches from the New Hebrides* (published in London), and greatly helped her husband until she died in 1905 (O'Reilly 1957:177; Harrison 2006).

Miller attributed failure in the early years to missionary deaths, small tribes or language groups, lack of workers, rapid depopulation, and loss of vision, for few were as committed as Geddie or Inglis (1978:113). Rev Thomas Neilson on Tanna and Donald Morrison and James Cosh on Efate made a few translations, some of which were printed overseas. However, Neilson gained no converts in 14 years, and sickness caused the other two to leave very quickly (Ferguson 1918:7, 19; Parsonson 1956:123; O'Reilly 1957:158, 164). George Gordon's brother James Douglas Gordon wrote a biography of his brother and sister-in-law, *The Last Martyrs of Erromanga*, published in Halifax in 1863 (O'Reilly 1957:83). He went to Erromanga in 1864 to take up George's work (O'Reilly 1957:83; Lingenfelter 1967:85). He revised and enlarged George's catechism and hymnal and translated books of the Bible, some of which were printed overseas. He also prepared a primer in a Santo language⁴ (Ferguson 1917:29, 30, 33; O'Reilly 1957:83; Miller 1986:233). The Gordons encouraged Ni-Erromanga Yomot and Soso (Lange 2005:256); Soso worked with James on biblical translation (Miller 1986:234). James was revising George's translation of *Acts* when he was held responsible for another epidemic and killed in 1872. James MacNair arrived in 1867, translated *Revelation* in 1869 (Ferguson 1917:36), but died in 1870 (O'Reilly 1957:83, 142-143; Lingenfelter 1967:86; Miller 1978:109).

Four teachers from Aneityum accompanied Rev William John and Agnes (Craig Paterson) Watt to Kwamera, south Tanna, in 1869. In the Watts' first 12 years,

³ James wrote the penny edition in one night; 150,000 copies were printed (O'Reilly 1957:175).

⁴ Parsonson wrote that he also essayed a mission on Santo (1956:125).

no one converted. In their first 20 years, the Watts found little indigenous interest in reading, but Watt continued to translate (Ferguson 1943:43; Miller 1986:270). The Glasgow Foundry boys gifted a press to the mission in 1873, and Watt printed until his retirement in 1910 (Ferguson 1918:13). Watt attributed great acceptance of Christianity to the death of the chief of Kwamera, who had opposed it (cited in Miller 1986:271). He wrote that the missionaries could not work without local teachers (Lange 2005:262-263). When interest in books finally rose, the Watts were prepared. The mission published many biblical works, school books, philological sheets, almanacs for the New Hebrides (previously printed on Aneityum), and the English part of Inglis's Aneityumese dictionary to create a wordlist for other missionaries. Watt's New Testament was printed in Glasgow and Agnes's Old Testament history in Paisley in 1890. Ni-Tanna and Watt translated a catechism and hymns, which he printed in 1909 (O'Reilly 1957:232-233). Agnes also composed religious chants and her letters were published in 1896 by Watt's nephew, Rev T. Watt Leggatt: *Agnes C.P. Watt; Twenty-five Years Mission Life on Tanna, New Hebrides* (Ferguson 1918:14; O'Reilly 1957:231, 233; Miller 1981:38). Watt printed for mission stations on Ambrym, Aniwa, Efate, Epi, Futuna, Nguna, Tanna, and Tongoa (Ferguson 1918:13-14). Rev William Gray, his wife,⁵ and a teacher, his wife, and a young man from Aniwa opened the Weasisi, Tanna mission. Gray went to Kwamera to put works in Weasisi language through Watt's press; other works he sent abroad (Ferguson 1918:10, 24-25, 1943:45; Miller 1986:270). Ferguson listed 22 works printed on Tanna and elsewhere (Ferguson 1918:17-27).

In 1870 Peter and Mary Ann (Veitch) Milne went to Nguna and worked on Emae and Makura until he died in 1924 (O'Reilly 1957:152; Garrett 1982:294). Rarotongans Ta and Iona assisted Milne, and Mary Ann was a great help to him until she died in 1906 (O'Reilly 1957:152). His first effort, a school book, was printed in Sydney in 1873. Other books were printed on Tanna, but he sent most works abroad. He worked with Daniel Macdonald and Oscar Michelson to translate the Old Testament, a compromise of several languages and dialects (Ferguson 1943:10-16; O'Reilly 1957:152-153). Ni-Emae translated some of Sankey's hymns, the only book

⁵ The Grays spent their own funds to erect mission property at Weasisi station. Gray wrote that his mission was to Christianize, not English-ize, that it made more sense for one missionary to learn the local language than 500 to 1,000 people to learn English, and that Anglo-Saxonizing indigenous habits of thought would require English government and influence (in Ferguson 1918:10).

to appear in Emae language (Ferguson 1943:7). In 1881 the Anglicans and the Presbyterians agreed that the Anglicans would work north and east of Santo (Lange 2005:258), but Milne and Paton did not always abide by this decision (Garrett 1992:92).

Yomot assisted Rev Hugh A. and Mrs Robertson when they arrived on Erromanga in 1872. Robertson praised Yomot's understanding of the Bible and contribution to evangelization. Yomot was an authority in Erromanga's and other languages. He and his wife Navusia set examples for other people to follow (Lange 2005:256). During conflict from 1872 to 1882, Yomot protected the mission family. He served 42 years, until he died of influenza in 1899 (Miller 1986:232). Robertson revised the Gordon brothers' catechism and hymnal and completed the Erromangan New Testament. Perhaps Usuo also translated with Robertson (p.233-234). Robertson's *Erromanga, The Martyr Isle* was published just before trouble broke out in 1900, threatening mission peace (p.234). The Gordons and Robertson produced at least 22 printed works in Erromangan, most of which were printed overseas (Ferguson 1917:29, 30, 32-36, 1918:52, 1943:43).

Daniel Macdonald and his wife (Geddie's daughter) arrived in 1872 at Port Havannah (Efate). His *Book of Glad Tidings* was printed at the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Society's Press, but other works went to Australia. To achieve economies of scale, he and J.W. Mackenzie contributed chapters in similar dialects to the New Testament. He, Mackenzie, and Milne did the same with the Old Testament. The Bible, a melange of three languages, was well received on Efate, Nguna, Emae, and part of Epi. Macdonald wrote comparative linguistics, ethnography, stories of *Dayspring*, an essay on the labour trade, and a discussion of Christianity, but his hostility toward the French caused British commandant Rason to judge his departure beneficial. Macdonald went to London in 1906 to oversee printing of the Bible and did not return (Ferguson 1918:37, 41-46; O'Reilly 1957:136-137). Mackenzie, at Erakor (Port-Vila), Efate from 1872 to 1912, produced a primer and biblical works, sending most abroad for printing. Mackenzie's work on the Efate Bible earned for him a doctorate in theology (Ferguson 1918:36, 42-47; O'Reilly 1957:138).

In 1878 Norwegian Oscar Michelsen, a former Bible Society colporteur in New Zealand, began his ordained career on Nguna. He learnt the language there, then went to Tongoa in 1879 and stayed 53 years (Ferguson 1943:6; O'Reilly 1957:149; Garrett 1982:294). Michelsen knew three New Hebridean languages (Miller 1987:264), used *The Child's Bible*, and churned out many translations (Parsonson 1956:126). From about 1886 he ran a press (O'Reilly 1957:149), but he also sent printing to Melbourne, Dunedin, London, and Edinburgh. He produced biblical works and English grammar. He collaborated with Milne (Ferguson 1943:10-17), but mostly Michelsen was his own master, rarely reporting to synod or his home church. He and his family went to New Zealand from 1919 to 1921, where he completed *Bibel Vuru* and had it printed, presumably at his own expense (O'Reilly 1957:150; Miller 1987:310). He compiled two works in Makura, one printed by Watt, the other in Sydney (Ferguson 1943:17). He published seven works, one with Smaill, in Tasiko language. He printed some himself and sent the others abroad (p.23-24). Although Ti Tongoa-roto of Bongabonga and most church leaders supported Michelsen, Ti Nabua-mata and others did not. Michelsen left in 1924 (Miller 1987:310), but he returned in 1926 as fewer and fewer missionaries came to the New Hebrides (p.311). He left notes, not systematic cultural writings (p.264). His *Cannibals won for Christ* and *Misi* were published in London, the former translated into Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish (Ferguson 1943:6; O'Reilly 1957:149).

Rev Dr William Gunn arrived on Futuna in 1883 and stayed until 1917. Habena of Aneityum was a teacher on Futuna from 1883, where he was Gunn's right hand (O'Reilly 1957:89). He was finally ordained on Futuna in 1900 and served until he died in 1916 (Lange 2005:268). A press was sent before 1895, but without instructions or enough k's for Futuna's language. More type was sent in 1896. The mission's first printed matter was lost when *Dayspring* wrecked off New Caledonia. The press produced *Jonah* and a hymnal before a book on printing found its way to Gunn's hands. He composed and distributed; Ni-Futuna pulled the press. People came from far and wide to watch the press in action; one person thought gods did the work. Although initial efforts were poor, a Sydney printer later declared a Futuna hymnal well printed (Ferguson 1917:20-21). Teitoka (son of Futunan chief Yarei and a literate mother) studied with Gunn, then helped with translation, became a printer, and earned enough money to travel away from Futuna. He became a deacon in 1905, served on

Tanna for a year, and returned to help Gunn with his Old Testament history and his *Harmony of the Gospels* (O'Reilly 1957:222). Popoina, Roroveka, and Saula collaborated in biblical translations (Ferguson 1917:24). Saula's wife Teiau could read and worked with Mrs Gunn (O'Reilly 1957:210). Gunn and his wife put the work of Popoina and Saula in their own book *Heralds of the Dawn* (O'Reilly 1957:89; Lange 2005:257). His other book, *The Gospel in Futuna*, showed enmity toward the French and advocacy for British annexation (Garrett 1982:293). Both books were published in London (O'Reilly 1957:89). Besides using his own press, Gunn had works printed at Tanna and overseas. More than 30 works appeared including eight issues of *New Hebrides Magazine* (Ferguson 1917:24-27, 1918:52, 1943:41).

After the death of William B. Murray, the first missionary on Ambrym, his brother Charles⁶ arrived there in 1885 with his wife Flora (Cheyne). Charles brought a cyclostyle for printing (Miller 1989:90-91). He learnt the language rapidly and compiled a primer, biblical readings, and some hymns into the first book for Ambrym, which was printed on Tanna in 1886. The *Journal of the Polynesian Society* published one of his articles. Due to ill-health, he had to leave in 1887. Kal(a/i)song⁷ of Pango, Efate maintained the mission in the absence of a missionary. He and his wife were invaluable to Dr Robert Lamb, who arrived in 1893, translated, and had printed four works. Volcanic eruption destroyed the mission and book stock, but Lamb carried on until 1896, when tuberculosis forced him to leave. From New South Wales, he wrote thinly veiled fiction, *Saints and Savages*, published in London in 1905 (Ferguson 1943:31-32, 37-38; O'Reilly 1957:120, 159; Garrett 1992:96; Lange 2005:263). Jamie Taltaso, a Ni-Ambrym who returned from labouring in Queensland, also worked with Lamb, and when Lamb left, Taltaso carried on alone, converting many people (Frater 1922:41-60).

In 1882 Rev Robert M. Fraser arrived on Epi, where he had to learn four languages. From 1883 to 1914 he prepared 16 works in Baki and seven works in Bieran. Watt printed a primer and another book in Baki language for Fraser; other books were printed abroad. Fraser's grammars of Baki and of Bieran were published by Macdonald in his *New Hebrides Linguistics* in 1891 (Ferguson 1943:18, 20-23;

⁶ These brothers were related to LMS missionary A.W. Murray (O'Reilly 1957:159).

⁷ Kalsong also served at Eratap, south Efate (Miller 1987:342).

Miller 1987:342-343, 360-361). In 1890 Rev Thomas Smaill arrived at Nikaura and produced four works, printed in Dunedin and Melbourne (Ferguson 1943:25). He visited Paama many times and met a Ni-Paama called Willie, teaching class in French. Raised and converted in Noumea, Willie had returned home and entered into trading. Together, Willie and Smaill made a Paamese primer (p.19, 26, 29).

Rev T. Watt Leggatt at Aulua, Malekula devised orthography and translated hymns and scriptures from 1888. He used a press sent from Scotland (Miller 1989:225). He produced material for Fred Paton at Pangkumu, Gillan at Uripiv, Bowie on Ambrym, and A.H. Macdonald on Santo. Leggatt worked in the languages of Aulua, Ahamb, and Kuliviu, producing many works and sometimes printing books overseas. He printed the catechism in Kuliviu and translated *Mark* in Kuliviu with the help of a teacher, Moses, and another man. He translated *Luke* with teacher Ebram. Leggatt noted that informants did not always work at the same pace but became jealous if he asked another person to help. Teachers John Toro at Kuliviu, Ahamb, and Aulua; Samuel at Kuliviu; David at Ahamb; and Judah of Onua and his wife Leah at Kuliviu might have also assisted Leggatt. Due to Mrs Leggatt's health, the Legatts removed to Melbourne, but Leggatt continued to write articles and books, including one on J.G. Paton and another on his aunt Agnes Watt (p.233, 257-258, 278-279).

Rev Joseph Annand worked at Iririki near Efate from 1873 to 1876 and at Anelgauhat, Aneityum before going to Tangoa in 1888. He resumed Geddie's training programme. Books and materials were limited. In 1894 after nearly 30 years of discussion, the missionaries resolved to establish a central Training Institution for Native Teachers and Pastors on Tangoa, off Santo. They chose English for teaching, for there was no lingua franca, although Nguna was used from Efate to south-east Epi (Ferguson 1917:6; Miller 1978:109; Garrett 1992:93; Lange 2005:255, 264). Annand was principal and main teacher until he retired in 1913. Mrs Annand taught the wives (Lange 2005:265). In 1913 John T. Bowie took over the Tangoa institute. One of three brothers in the mission (Garrett 1992:93), he had arrived in the late 1890s, financed by the Paton Fund. He translated *Mark*, which was printed in Dunedin (Ferguson 1943:33, 38). He compiled a hymnal in Ambrymese (O'Reilly 1957:26) and sent it to Leggatt to print (Miller 1989: 257-258).

Educational standards among the missionaries were high—often master’s degrees, some medical degrees, and a few doctorates. Many were competent linguists and translators (Garrett 1992:362). They were reluctant to turn over the mission to people who spoke in broken and pidgin English (p.93). Some of the missionaries wrote ethnology, eg Wilfred Paton earned a doctorate from Melbourne by writing about *The Language and Life of Ambrym* (p.363); however, they did not mix Presbyterian theology with Melanesian cultures (p.362). Moreover, the Scots created clans in the New Hebrides—Patons, Mackenzies, Bowies, Macdonalds—who sometimes engaged in Highlands-like acrimony with each other (p.99). European missionaries remained present and in charge well into the 1900s. This lack of local governance jarred with Presbyterian philosophy (Lange 2005:266). Missionaries controlled the wealthy John G. Paton Mission Fund, and the Paton family stayed involved (Frater 1922:285-288; Parsonson 1956:126-127; O’Reilly 1957:175), which set back congregations from achieving self-support (Lange 2005:263). In 1897 the first ordained pastor was Epeteneto, who was 60 years old and living on Aneityum, which had no white missionary (p.267). Such a late appointment jarred with Presbyterian practice of ministerial parity. Epeteneto died seven years later. Habena of Aneityum, Gunn’s right hand, was finally ordained on Futuna in 1900. He served until he died in 1916. The two pastors were not invited to attend synod (p.268). Not until 1920 were three more ministers ordained (p.269).

In 1896 Frank H.L. Paton (John’s son) and his wife had opened a new station on Lenakel, Tanna. Paton already spoke the language of Aniwa. Ni-Tanna Lomai, chief Iavis, Numanian, and returned labourer Nabuk Tom Tanna were his helpers. Lomai and Paton translated hymns and *Mark* together. Lomai was a church elder until he died in 1917, Iavis until he died in the 1930s (O’Reilly 1957:253; Garrett 1992:97). In 1898 Frank received a small press and printed *Mark*, hymns, and a catechism. Later he sent other works to Leggatt on Malekula and to Basel and Melbourne. For health reasons, Paton and his wife quit Lenakel in 1902 (Ferguson 1918:12, 26-27; O’Reilly 1957:176-177). His memories, *Lomai of Lenakel*, were published in London in 1903. He used his writing and speaking skills effectively to support Presbyterian activities and became secretary general of overseas mission for the Presbyterian Church in Australia. His brother Fred married the Robertsons’ daughter and served 48 years at Pangkuma and Onua, east Malekula (Garrett 1997:98, 362). Pastor Judah of

Pangkumu was ordained in 1920 and became Fred's helper (1992:363), a good translator (Miller 1989:258), and a notable teacher (Lange 2005:263). Fred also sent translations to Leggat on Malekula for printing (Miller 1989:225).

In 1899 a Ni-Epi teacher visited Paama. With *John* in his own language of Lewo, the teacher read to Maile, who converted. Maile was one of the first to greet Maurice Frater (Miller 1989:36) when he landed at Paama in 1900, the last island to receive a white missionary. Six teachers from Efate, Nguna, and Epi had preceded him (Lange 2005:257). To start his mission, Frater brought three hymns that Smaill had translated (Frater 1922:169). Six works came out in Frater's time on the island, most of them printed abroad (Ferguson 1943:29-30). Frater had a small press on Paama, and he and M.V. Milne produced a Lewo primer for Epi. Mrs Frater taught English school (Miller 1989:37-38). Frater put the power of schooling as second only to God in transforming people (1922:132). "In bringing about this result the native teachers had a large share" (quoted in Ferguson 1943:27). Paamese welcomed him, built churches and schools, and went themselves to evangelize Ambrym (Parsonson 1956:129). Frater was a Paton Fund missionary and his book carried an appendix explaining the fund, its activities, its officers, and ways to assist the mission financially (1922:3, 285-288). Frater found "the babel of tongues spoken by the natives" a barrier to mission work⁸ and wrote hopefully of British annexation to hasten "the end of the polyglot system" (p.5, 36-37).

The latter half of the 1800s saw the height of mission activity, including printing. Presbyterians had taken at least 10 presses to the New Hebrides—more than any other mission group—although the population was not as large as those of other islands countries. After the advent of steamer service, missionaries more often sent their works overseas for printing (Ferguson 1918:14), for they could send (or accompany) large, complex works to city printeries and have the published books in much less time than it took to set type, pull sheet after sheet, trim, stitch, and bind by hand—even with their many competent indigenous assistants. By 1900 Presbyterian missionaries numbered 26; few islands were without one; and Malekula, Santo, and Tanna had several (Parsonson 1956:127). Most advocated annexation by Britain

⁸ Ironically, the book's appendix on the Paton Fund advertised arrowroot for sale to finance "printing the Scriptures in the polyglot languages of the Group" (Frater 1922:287).

(p.129). Labour trading provoked even stronger missionary cries for annexation, especially when English traders advocated French annexation. Britain and France agreed to entente in 1878 (p.130). Vast land purchases by the French-connected businessman Higginson provoked reaction and greater involvement from the Australian colonies, fanned by the Australian trading company Burns Philp, which had strong ties with Presbyterians and Anglicans in Australia and the New Hebrides (Parsonson 1956:130-131; Garrett 1992:365).

After the French raised a flag at Efate and Malekula, Paton spurred the premier of Victoria and others to protest, resulting in a mixed naval commission (Parsonson 1956:132). When Frenchmen chased Ni-Epi from their tribal lands, Fraser broadcast their deeds to the wider world (p.132-133). France suggested dividing the northern islands from the southern ones, but Presbyterians objected to Catholics' being able to evangelize the more populous north; so Britain and France established a condominium in 1906. All problems were suspended until a condominium bureaucracy was formed, after which the bureaucracy proved incapable of dealing with any problems (p.133). Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Churches of Christ condemned the condominium (Garrett 1982:293). Given French sacrifices to the Allied cause during World War I, Britain was willing to make concessions at the same time that less financial aid came from New Zealand. F.H.L. Paton and others mobilized their resources to prevent further discounting of the British presence (Parsonson 1956:135). Yet, fewer missionaries came from Scotland or Nova Scotia, in effect turning the mission field over to their southern partners (p.136).

Returning from Queensland, labourers brought new religious elements into the mix. Ex-labourer Dick Ti Napua of Tongoa collaborated with three chiefs—his brother Ti-Napua-mata, Taripoaliu of Nguna, and Kalsakau of Fila Island near Port Vila; the latter two had graduated from Tangoa Teachers' Institute (TTI). Dick Ti Napua probably wrote *The Book of Desires of Taripoaliu*, which articulated the chiefs' wishes for local self-government, land control, equitable wages, sanitation, and chiefly authority—but under the mission (English) flag. Chiefs discussed it until 1917; it resurfaced in 1934-1935, when it was translated into English. The document was similar to Peter Ambuofa and Benjamin Footaboori's document, written at a mission station in Malu'u, Malaita (Garrett 1992:94). John W.P. Gillan, a grandson of J.G.

Paton, arrived from Victoria in 1933. He wanted to upgrade the curriculum; his colleagues did not support him. A wider split between Scotland and Australia, between biblical infallibility and experience with Christ, was apparent and had ramifications for the church in the New Hebrides as conservative and liberal missionaries wrangled about indigenously governed congregations (p.364).

Soppi of Efate was a notable teacher in the 1890s (Lange 2005:263). After Eric M. Kirk Raff arrived on Efate in 1917, Soppi assisted him, gave services in simple English and Bislama, and was ordained in 1920 (Miller 1987:72). Raff learnt to print in Vila and published a monthly newsletter in vernacular and for three years printed the mission's almanacs (p.73). Rev William F. (Wilfred) Paton (John's grandson, Fred's nephew) and his wife served on Ambrym from 1933 to 1948. He produced three works (Ferguson 1943:35, 38-39). He and James Kaum, a returned labourer, translated and wrote hymns together. Kaum, who was ordained in 1934 (Garrett 1992:363), and a leper Rebecca carried the Gospel to many Ambrym villages (Frater 1922:ch.3). TTI used elementary texts, biblical knowledge, and imported revivalist material, eg translated versions of the *Sacred Songs and Solos* by Sankey (Garrett 1992:95). By 1939 biblical works had been translated into 41 New Hebridean languages, including the Bible in Aneityum and Nguna-Tonga and the Old Testament in Nguna-Efate. Presbyterian missionaries and New Hebridean workers translated 34; Anglican or Church of Christ missionaries translated seven. More appeared later (Miller 1978:106-7).

World War II and the presence of American soldiers changed society. New missionaries arrived, and the synod agreed to upgrade education (Garrett 1997:76). J. Graham Miller served on Tonga six years before the war, cooperated with the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society in New Caledonia, and became TTI principal in 1946. He re-gearred the institute for pastoral training rather than elementary-school teaching (p.77, 219). Despite all the translations, books were in short supply. Titus Path of Hog Harbour recalled as a student passing one book down a line so that the children could read in turn (Shing 1981:111). Supplying elementary books across a range of languages had slowed production of higher-level books.

Path studied with Miller, attended Croyden Missionary and Bible College (Shing 1981:112), and returned to teach others to be pastors. The church began higher education at Onesua, Efate in 1952. The Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides became autonomous in 1958; the church itself had been inaugurated a decade beforehand (Garrett 1997:220). TTI graduates went on to PTC, to earn a degree, where PTC's first principal, George A.F. Knight, was a Presbyterian (p.373). Onesua High School, Navot Farm School on south Santo, and Ken Calvert's Christian Institute of Technology of Weasisi benefited from funds WCC raised through development organizations. E.G. (Paddy) Jansen, TTI director from 1959 to 1970, used money from Christian Literature agencies in the United States to build a church bookshop in Port Vila, which contributed to raising educational and literacy levels. The Presbyterian Bible College (PBC) took over from TTI in 1970. Miller ran the college from 1971 to 1973 (Shing 1981:112; Garrett 1997:220, 373-374) and later wrote a multi-volume history of the church (1978-1990). With Ernest Leslie Sykes and Marian Miller, he compiled a Tamambo (Malo) dictionary, published in Australia in 1990. Path, who had been moderator of the church in 1961, directed PBC from 1973 to 1982 (Garrett 1997:375). In 1978 the Bible Society continued to guide translators, most of whom were New Hebridean (Miller 1978:108). Missionaries began preparing a Bislama Bible (Garrett 1997:216-217).

Some of TTI's students found employment in government. Vanuatu gained independence in 1980. The Presbyterian Church and the Vanua'aku Party had many members in common (Garrett 1997:372). Some former PTC students became active in the Vanua'aku Pati; some became parliamentarians, eg Ni-Emae Fred Karlomuana Timakata, Ni-Iripiv Sethy John Regenvanu, Ni-Ambrym Jack Tungen. In theory, church and governmental (national and international) agencies were separate; in reality, they overlapped as church-educated politicians juggled aid and representative offices to help fund their new country. The New Hebridean church worked with Australia's United Church and with the Presbyterian Church within it (p.376). The US United Presbyterian Church also worked with the New Hebridean church. Freire's philosophy impressed workers, who advocated literacy training. In 1978 Lini suggested a Pacific Churches' Research Centre, which the New Hebrides Council of Churches approved. Its publications were useful, but staff changes and fund shortages shortened its life (p.375). It published, with IPS, short biographies of leaders in government, political

parties, civil and public affairs, traditional customs, churches, business, and associations for women, youth, and sport (Macdonald-Milne & Thomas 1981). Contributors to the book discussed negotiations among these groups and their members that affected political outcomes for the nation-state of Vanuatu. When government resources were insufficient to assist women with literacy, the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union initiated in 1989 a programme in Bislama for communication and leadership. As part of the UN International Year of Literacy (1990), the Australian government gave financial assistance, and World Vision later took up managing the programme, which involves publishing local materials and cooperation with other governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Netine 2000).

Presbyterian Publishing

Presbyterians worked with LMS from the beginning, imitated their use of native agency, and printed works prepared by Polynesian teachers. Missionaries soon relied on New Hebridean translators Wumra, Epeteneto, Williamu, Yomot, Soso, Habena, Popoina, Roroveka, Saula, Kalsong, Willie, Moses, Ebram, Lomai, Judah, and James Kaum and printers Lathella, Kaka, and Teitoka. Women, eg Lune, Teiau, and Rebecca, taught school and publicized Christianity and shared books and literacy. Many other New Hebrideans taught one another literacy and contributed to publishing—long before Freire espoused his philosophy.

The missionaries provided elementary education throughout the islands, but they did not agree on a central institution until 1895, nearly 50 years after Presbyterian evangelism began. Still, the mission workers provided the only formal education until the 1940s and the only secondary education until the 1950s. Not only did they provide instruction in literacy, but they had a plethora of presses in the country, which enabled indigenous contact with accelerated means of production. The white missionaries trained their local counterparts to use the presses and to publish their books. Their independent efforts helped to preserve languages that would have been soon lost to English or French.

Although mission workers agreed on a standard orthography for the islands' sounds at an early date, they were late in choosing a lingua franca. They favoured English for political reasons, and they did not begin preparing a Bislama Bible until

1978, 130 years after they had entered the field. This turn to Vanuatu's common language strengthened Ni-Vanuatu identity, and biblical printing helped to elevate the status of that language.

The late establishment of a training institution and the late choice of Bislama as a lingua franca probably contributed to Vanuatu's late independence. For all their own independent efforts, however, the Presbyterians were united about the inseparability of the island group. Without their advocacy, which heightened indigenous awareness of the group, England and France might have partitioned it. The English part might now be independent and the French part still dependent. Presbyterian publications and their methods of reproduction became symbols and rituals that bound workers together, and the methods of publicizing spread rituals of literacy, with greater implications for nationhood.

CHAPTER 7

ANGLICANS

H. Thompson pointed out the political nature of religion as Mary I and Catholics, Elizabeth I and Anglicans, and James I and Presbyterians, Independents, and Puritans gathered forces for their particular reign and views (1951:11). Aerts called the English Reformation “a mixture of ‘theological conviction and political advantage.’” Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, introduced the *Book of Common Prayer* to promote simplified liturgy in the vernacular (1991:106). Feeling limited by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), Evangelicals in the Anglican Church established the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799. CMS excelled at promoting itself. SPG revived by mimicking CMS methods of going into the countryside (facilitated by railroads and better roads) and enrolling parishes (H. Thompson 1951:106-109). SPCK’s founder Thomas Bray was particularly concerned with “useful knowledge” (p.11). SPCK and SPG made full use of literature, sending small libraries with missionaries, establishing libraries, publishing books, and subsidizing missions (p.714-718). “The spoken word was backed up by the printed page” as CMS’s publications multiplied (p.109), with the hard work of Rev Archibald Montgomery Campbell, joint secretary for SPCK and CMS from 1833 to 1843, and his assistant Rev Ernest Hawkins, who became secretary in 1843 (p.109-112).

Unofficial Anglican connection to the Pacific Islands began long ago as sailors carried their religious books on their voyages. Serendipity played a large role in the occurrence of Anglicanism in Oceania, from the uncharted islands of Pitcairn, to the erroneous coordinates in assignment of the New Zealand mission’s area, to a printer’s arrival by happenstance on Norfolk, to war that provided time to write textbooks. People accepted Anglicanism, however, as they perceived that it could improve their place in society. On one hand Anglicans’ ‘civilizing’ ways and emphasis on training young people made for an extended start, but islanders’ participation in book culture gained strength over time. On the other hand, Anglicans’ willingness to incorporate local elements in Anglican worship and their

readiness to study and learn from local cultures had profound effects on anthropology, Western philosophy, and ideas of societal governance.

Pitcairn

Bounty mutineers kept journals, used Bligh's books and charts to find their new home, and took a Bible and prayer book from *Bounty* onto Pitcairn in 1790 (Clarke 1986:59, 91; Maude 1968:2, 26, 31-32). After the Tahitian men and all mutineers but John Adams had killed one another, Adams governed the women and children, using the *Book of Common Prayer* (Govt of Pitcairn 2004b). Once the plight of Pitcairners became known, the Calcutta SPCK Committee sent bibles, prayer books, and teaching materials in 1819. Lt George Hunn Nobbs lived on Pitcairn before he was ordained in England as deacon and priest and sent back as an SPG missionary with donations from SPG and SPCK, as well as public subscriptions. As Pitcairners multiplied, their island could not support them. In 1855 HMS *Juno* went to arrange the move to Norfolk, putting up buildings and delivering "a plentiful supply of books, enough for everyone." In 1856 *Morayshire* shifted the Pitcairners to Norfolk (H. Thompson 1951:431-433, quote p.432). SPCK published a book about the island, its people, and Pastor Thomas Boyles Murray (PISC 2006).

The Melanesian Mission

The official Anglican mission to the Pacific Islands began in the mid-19th century. Despite competing and overlapping interests, SPCK, SPG (the two dominated by High Churchmen and moderates), and CMS (dominated by Low Churchmen) cooperated in donating funds for a bishopric in New Zealand (H. Thompson 1951:109-112). Appointed bishop, George Augustus Selwyn set sail from Plymouth in 1841 and studied Maori language en route with a Maori, Rupai. In 1844 he built in Auckland St John's School and College, which enrolled both Maori and white boys. Because his Letters Patent erred in including islands north of New Zealand to the equator as part of his diocese, he visited the Friendly, Navigator, and New Hebrides islands in 1848 on HMS *Dido*. He returned in 1849 in his own schooner *Undine*, accompanied by HMS *Havannah*, and took five boys from New Caledonia and the Loyalties to New Zealand. To avoid the harsh winter, he returned the boys to their islands in 1850 and continued the twice yearly trip thereafter. For

reasons of race, English boys' attendance at St John's fell, but Maori stayed and islanders joined them (p.222-225). Selwyn preferred to train local evangelists rather than expatriate staff and encouraged cultural maintenance (Aerts 1991:12-13), but he chose English as the lingua franca (Hilliard 1978:34).

In 1854 Selwyn went to England to campaign for a diocese for Melanesia, gained approval from the church and CMS, recruited John Coleridge Patteson, and collected an endowment of £ 10,000. For reasons of climate, Selwyn shifted to St Andrew's College at Kohimarama in 1857. Patteson bore most management expenses himself, and his cousin Miss Charlotte M. Yonge¹ paid for buildings there. Rev Lonsdale Pritt and his wife managed Kohimarama (H. Thompson 1951:420-426). Patteson studied indigenous languages, put into writing six or seven vernaculars, translated works, and taught doctrine to his students in their languages. By 1867, however, Pritt's inability to learn more than one Melanesian language, the older Banks boys' leadership, and the ease with which new students acquired Mota eventuated in its use throughout the school and English being supplanted (Hilliard 1978:34, 41). Pritt and Rev John Palmer supervised the press; students worked in the printery (*PCH* nd:32, 37). The mission published biblical works, grammars, and vocabularies in 11 languages (H. Thompson 1951:426). Patteson was consecrated bishop of Melanesia in 1861. He wrote the mission should not distinguish between black and white, but remember that the former were the "permanent" and the latter the "transient" elements (quoted in Garrett 1982:184).

The NSW colonial government sold 400 hectares of land on Norfolk to the mission (Hilliard 1978:35), and in 1867 Patteson transferred mission headquarters to St Barnabas' College. Palmer served as administrator of the diocese for three years after Selwyn resigned, and in 1895 became the first archdeacon of Southern Melanesia. For 25 years, Palmer spent half the year on Mota and could speak Mota better than any other missionary (*PCH* nd:25). Rev Robert H. Codrington joined Palmer in 1867 and stayed for 20 years (H. Thompson 1951:426). He worked in Florida and Mota languages, compiled a Mota dictionary with Palmer, and completed the Mota Bible. His study of Melanesian languages included 34 dialects

¹ a novelist, and a biographer of Patteson (Garrett 1982:183)

and languages (Hilliard 1978:146; Woodburn 2003a:94, 2003b:10-11). To have indigenous points of view for his linguistic and ethnographic work, Codrington relied on his students to write about their customs (Hilliard 1978:37). He translated Clement Marau's (1894) autobiography. W.H.R. Rivers's *History of Melanesian Society* boosted the profile of the mission and of anthropology through indigenous eyes. He influenced Dr Charles Eliot Fox, who continued investigating Melanesian mentalities and who held Melanesians in high esteem. W.G. Ivens, a brilliant linguist and ethnographer, had less empathy for the people themselves. The mission in general appreciated Melanesian cultures and pragmatically tolerated their inclusion into Christian forms of worship, for its missionaries did not see themselves as bearers of 'civilization.' Their studies contributed substantially to anthropology as a discipline (Hilliard 1978:192-194). Their methodology changed anthropological field-work (Sohmer 1994:332).

Norfolk's peaceful routine, friendships, and European way of life that included games, festivals, clothes, allowances and access to books were "powerful inducements to eventual identification with the Mission's goals and aims" (Hilliard 1978:40-41). The first book printed at Norfolk was Patteson's Motu translation of *John*. Palmer supervised the press until Codrington took over; the presswork was part of the students' duties (Woodburn 2003b:11). Henry Menges, a German from the United States, who learnt printing while at the *New York Herald*, joined a whaler and arrived at Norfolk. John Selwyn thought Menges had been sent by God (p.12). Menges was the printer until St Barnabas' College closed. In 1913 Fred R. Isom from England joined him (*PCH* nd:37; Woodburn 2003b:12). Each of them served for 40 years. The press produced nearly 150 publications in 30 languages and dialects while on Norfolk (Woodburn 2003a:95, 2003b:13). Isom sent samples of his work to *Wimble's Reminder* (a trade journal) in 1922, and he called head boy Stephen Taharavin a first-class book binder (2003a:104), which demonstrated mission efforts to stay abreast of the publishing trade and to turn out products of quality.

In 1871 Patteson spoke out against the labour trade. Shortly thereafter, he, Joseph Atkin, and Stephen Taroaniara were killed at Nukapu, north of Santa Cruz, in retaliation for *Emma Bell's* kidnapping of five Nukapuans for labour. Their deaths resulted in an act of Parliament regulating the labour trade, and in donations of

thousands of pounds for mission use (H. Thompson 1951:427; Garrett 1982:187-188). Codrington took charge, but refused to be bishop; his talents lay in ethnography, linguistics, philology, and translation. Patteson's successor was not appointed for seven years after his death: Bishop Selwyn's son, Rev John Richardson Selwyn, came with his curate Rev John Still to lead the establishment (H. Thompson 1951:428; Garrett 1982:188). White missionaries began to stay for winter months on some islands, and more native teachers, trained at Norfolk, worked in the islands. SPG was able to end its grant to the well-funded mission (H. Thompson 1951:428), which did not pressure congregations to support their teachers and pastors (Lange 2005:285). St Barnabas' College stayed open until 1919, when the mission moved to the Solomons (Fugui & Butu 1989:86-87). The mission had begun to discuss shifting its headquarters when Cecil Wilson became bishop in 1894; it might have moved earlier than it did had World War I not intervened (Woodburn 2003b:12fn7). Still, church- and school-based life in New Zealand and on Norfolk created and changed rituals over time, accustoming young people to book-based organization. Islander students took these skills back to their own people in New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, the Solomons, and Papua New Guinea.

New Caledonia

Selwyn brought boys from the Loyalties to New Zealand in 1849 (H. Thompson 1951:225). In 1852 the mission landed William Nihill, his family, and some Mare students and they settled at Guahma, Mare. Nihill, an instructor from St John's, had learnt Mare language from students and begun to translate *John* before leaving for the Loyalties. The Anglican party brought a small press from St John's. They worked with two Samoan LMS teachers, who had been stationed on Mare since 1841 and who had had their translations printed in Samoa in 1846 and on Rarotonga in 1847. Nihill printed short and long versions of *John* and a prayer. LMS objected to Anglicans taking over its field, so Selwyn agreed that Nihill would leave as soon as LMS could post a white missionary there. During the two following years, Nihill printed hymnals, scripture extracts, and school books (Lingenfelter 1967:88-89). After the LMS missionaries arrived in 1854, he continued to work for them while waiting for a ship to take him home, but he died before it arrived (H. Thompson 1951:425). Anglican work supported LMS work and spread books among people, gaining their participation and changing their perceptions of power over time.

The New Hebrides

Beginning in 1850 the Anglicans brought to New Zealand boys from Ambrym, Efate, Emae, Erromanga, Epi, Paama, Santo, Tongoa, and other islands (Lange 2005:270). In 1858 boys began to come from the Banks and other islands (H. Thompson 1951:425-426), and after the 1870s they came mainly from the north. Eventually, the boys stayed for several years, and girls came to New Zealand and Norfolk to be trained as wives for future teachers and clergymen (Lange 2005:257, 270, 272). Patteson was prepared to work in many languages (p.272) and had printed on Norfolk a Paamese vocabulary (Ferguson 1943:28). Relations between Anglicans and Presbyterians had been, and would continue to be, amicable (Garrett 1982:170, 182). From 1881 they agreed in a gentlemanly manner that Anglicans would work north and east of Santo, Presbyterians from Santo south (1992:104). Charles Bice, Henry Drummond, Peter Moltata, and Richard Godfrey were a few who contributed to translation (*PCH* nd:24-27, 37).

George Sarawia left Vanua Lava in 1857 and went to Lifu, Auckland, and Norfolk. He set up and printed *Acts* in Mota in 1864 and became Pritt's assistant teacher in 1866. He became a deacon in 1868 and an ordained priest in 1873. At Patteson's request, he went back to Mota to care for his people until he died in 1901 (Sarawia nd[1968]; *PCH* nd:23; Macdonald-Milne 1981:xii; Garrett 1982:186; Lange 2005:275-276). Sarawia's history of the beginnings of the Banks mission was published at Siota in 1968, long after his death. Sarawia's younger brother, Edward Wogale, left Vanua Lava in 1863 for New Zealand, then Norfolk. He made invaluable contributions to the mission's Mota translations (Lange 2005:277) and was head of the printing office until he had eye problems (Woodburn 2003b:11). He became a deacon in 1872 (Garrett 1982:186; Lange 2005:276). He worked with Sarawia on Mota, then he went to Fiji in 1876 to minister to Melanesian labourers. In 1879 he pioneered in the Torres Group and died there in 1883. Clement Marau of Mere Lava left the Banks in 1880, went to Ulawa in the Solomons, learnt the language, married a local woman, and remained for the rest of his career. He became a deacon in 1890 (Lange 2005:278, 287). He used family groups astutely to effect religious and social change (Garrett 1982:186). SPCK published his autobiography (Marau 1894). He was ordained a priest in 1903, but he fell from grace in 1907. After penance, he was reinstated, but Ulawans rejected him and he

returned to Mere Lava. His son Martin, however, was highly respected as a clergyman (Garrett 1982:186; Lange 2005:287).

The first generation sometimes had a difficult time personally and socially as they tried to convert their societies. Nevertheless, their participation in translating, printing, and publicizing the Word hacked a trail and eased the labour of those who followed.

Solomon Islands

A Royal Navy ship recruited William Didimang of Mwato Village, Makira, for Selwyn in 1850. Didimang and Selwyn translated the Lord's Prayer into Arosi. Provided with books and school materials, Didimang returned to his island in 1852, but found few followers (*PCH* nd:23; Fugui & Butu 1989:86; Lange 2005:283). Charles Sapibuana went to Auckland in 1866. He accompanied Patteson to Nukapu. He returned to his village of Gaeta, Nggela in 1877. He became the first ordained Solomon Islander deacon in 1882 (Lange 2005:287). He and Dudley Laukona translated Nggela's first prayer book (*PCH* nd:24). Although Ysabel's heathen chief Bera tried to stop the Anglican school begun by Mano Wadrokai of Mare and his wife Carrie, Bera's son Monilaws was later baptized, became a great Christian leader, and helped translation work (*PCH* nd:23, 25, 37; Lange 2005:286). Charles Brooke stayed three months of each year on Nggela and translated. Alfred Penny, who served the mission from 1875 to 1886, translated the gospels and *Acts* into Nggela (*PCH* nd:26).

Bishop Cecil Wilson, who led the Melanesian Mission from 1894 to 1911, worked well with resident commissioner Charles Woodford, who had also attended Tonbridge in Kent (Garrett 1992:68). Woodford's headquarters were at Tulagi, Nggela Island; the Melanesian Mission had a residential station nearby at Siota² (p.69). *Pax Anglicana* eased the path for *pax Britannica*, ie Woodford's suppression of fighting and headhunting (p.71). Other churches had to reckon with the connections between the Anglican Church and Woodford's centralized government.

² Bishop Baddeley later moved mission headquarters to Taroaniara on Gela, near government headquarters at Tulagi (*PCH* nd:19).

As financial support in England declined, the mission looked toward New Zealand (p.70).

Henry Welchman on Isabel translated the New Testament into Bugotu (Hilliard 1978:146). Fox wrote a handbook of advice in 1907 for new missionaries, who were generally left to themselves at their posts to learn about the essentials of survival: language, food, medicine, clothing. He translated the gospels and *Acts* in Arosi, and wrote a linguistic study published at Norfolk, a history of the Solomons published at Taroaniara, and histories of the mission and the brotherhood and a study of Arosi culture published in London (*PCH* nd:27; Hilliard 1978:145-146, 314-315). W.G. Ivens translated the New Testament into Sa'a, Ulawa, and Lau. Most other printed translations, however, declined in quality and quantity with passing years (Hilliard 1978:146). As the Queensland Kanaka Mission quickly gained footholds on Malaita, Pijin speakers wanted prayer books in English, thereby threatening the Mota-ordered life of Anglicans (p.179). In the 1920s the senior training institutions at Siota and Lolowai had only the Bible, *Book of Common Prayer*, a catechism, Codrington's *Lessons on the Parables of our Lord*, and a few other Mota translations (p.223). Arthur I. Hopkins, who translated on North Malaita, aimed not to pour knowledge into students but encouraged their filling notebooks with sacred and secular outlines and tidbits, as "their only library for future reference" (quoted in Hilliard 1978:223). Others, however, saw danger in undirected study leading to tedium and malaise. One such was the anthropologist Rivers, whose opinion rippled through Anglican circles (Hilliard 1978:226). Fox, Hopkins, Ivens, and Ellen Wilson generally published their anthropological, biographical, or historical works overseas. Fox's *Lord of the Southern Isles*, Hopkins's *From Heathen Boy to Christian Priest*, Ivens's *Darkness and Dawn*, and Penny's *The Headhunters of Christabel* were titles designed to attract readers, but Fox and Ivens were known for their solid linguistic and ethnographic work.

Carrying their bibles and prayer books with them, bands of young men supported one another in the field (Macdonald-Milne 1989:39, 42, 45). The Melanesian Brotherhood (Ira Retatasiu or Company of Brothers) was founded in 1925 (Garrett 1992:348). Fox, called Kakamora (mountain sprite) by the people, joined the brotherhood in 1932, served under Ini Kopuria for 11 years (1992:348,

1997:198), and spent nearly 75 years in the mission (1982:297). On Santa Isabel, Richard Fallowes established a system of church headmen for discipline, but its members began to question the government head tax. After a brief respite, Fallowes returned to the Solomons, without Bishop Walter Baddeley's approval, and supported meetings in the central and eastern districts and Malaita. These people petitioned Western Pacific high commissioner Sir Harry Luke; he and Baddeley dismissed the demands of this Chair and Rule movement—which would have repercussions later (1992:349-350).

Sisters of the Cross arrived in 1929 at Siota, Nggela to teach at Holy Cross School and the Catechist College. In 1936 they took charge of the Girls' Central Boarding School at Bungana (Cross 1982:1, 21) and trained indigenous sisters from the Solomons and the New Hebrides (p.18-20). Over years Sr Gwen designed an education system adapted to Melanesian ways of thinking and environments (p.7). She involved her student teachers in production of school materials using local and cast-off products (p.14-15). Inspecting schools on the government's behalf in 1939, William C. Groves (p.31-33) approved of Sr Gwen's books and the sisters' method for melding school and local ways of life (p.36-37; see p.218 below). During World War II the Sisters and girls were evacuated to Taroaniara, Siota, and Malaita, and later Aoba in the New Hebrides. They took a typewriter, textbooks, and materials for new books with them. Through the long wait, Sr Gwen wrote textbooks (p.49, 88-89). After five and a half years away, the sisters returned to Bungana (p.120). They gave up speaking Mota and concentrated on English, which the villagers desired after contact with many English speakers during the war (p.122-123). Sr Gwen represented the Melanesian Mission on the government's Education Committee (p.127). The perspective of long-serving missionaries was needed, for all records at Tulagi had been destroyed in the war and incoming administrators were unfamiliar with Solomons cultures (p.128). The mission press published readers that Cross wrote for English, geography, science, and health (p.148). Years of shifting leadership and war took its toll: Sr Gwen joined the Catholic mission and eventually left the Solomons (Garrett 1997:199-200), but she visited from 1967 to 1968 to help with a secondary-school maths syllabus and to share Vatican II documents to improve village education (Cross 1982:142). Sr Gwen wrote 58 titles, which Longmans published under the title Tropical Library. The series was used in many

developing countries and continued for 25 years (p.111-112). She also had 10 books about mission history and life published (p.148).

After the Anglicans' school had shifted from Norfolk to the Solomons, Isom ran the press in Hautabu. The students turned the press by hand for many years, but in 1927 an engine was installed to do so. From 1931 Isom's wife helped in the printery (*PCH* nd:37). In 1942 Japanese bombs destroyed the machinery. During the war Solomon Islanders identified with black American soldiers, and anti-imperial talk rose, especially among those who had been plantation labourers or part of Chair and Rule (Garrett 1997:49). The mission printed in Sydney until 1952, when it established a new workshop at Taroaniara. The Isoms returned to run the press, and Isom died there in 1956. Men worked the presses, and women helped in binding. Over the years SPCK contributed financially. Later it became more efficient for the Bible Society to print and supply books (*PCH* nd:37). John Wallace Chisholm, who became bishop in 1967, modernized the English in the *Book of Common Prayer* and encouraged people to translate it into their own languages, moved the printing press from Taroaniara to Honiara, and opened a bookroom in Honiara to sell religious books. He also closed the technical school at Taroaniara, for the government had a technical institute in Honiara (p.21). The *Handbook of the Companions of the Melanesian Brotherhood* was published in 1970 (Aerts & Ramsden 1995:II:40). The mission published many translations, including work from Makira by Ben Monongai; North Malaita by Arthur Inia, Mrs Mason, and Henry Jote; Santa Ysabel by Hugo Hebala, Monilaws Soga, and Edmund Bourne; and Sa'a, Ulawa by Joe Wate and Martin Houalaha (*PCH* nd:24-27, 37).

The mission continued to teach English, considering Pijin a language for trade. The mission claimed about a quarter of the population, and Anglicans became civil servants, lawyers, and political leaders (Garrett 1997:198, 353). Sir Frederick Osifelo later wrote his own book (1985). Relations with other churches were not always smooth, but Welchman and W.H. Edgell shared books with Catholics (Hilliard 1978:141). The mission's well-educated élite had influence disproportionate to their numbers. University-educated missionaries were later joined by working-class members, including Rudolph Sprott, who had experience in a London publishing house (p.145). Brilliant anthropologists and linguists wanted to protect their charges from

‘civilization’s’ assault and respected Melanesian cultures and languages, but also held to their own. The missions’ practical steps to their goal of a self-governing church were “hesitant and often inconsistent” (p.294). Despite promising beginnings (a Banks Islander priest in 1873 and a Solomon Islander priest in 1900), the Church of Melanesia was very late in promoting Melanesians into responsible positions within the church hierarchy. Nevertheless, as J. Bennett pointed out, local teachers and catechists challenged big-men’s authority (1987:215).

The mission had created enduring, book-based structures of governing that islanders were able to perpetuate and to turn to their own purposes. In 1975 the mission became the Church of Melanesia and a province of the Anglican Communion, which includes Vanuatu. The episcopate was fully localized in the 1980s (Garrett 1997:353). The top posts are filled by Solomon Islanders. Only 6% of the missionaries are expatriate, but funding is largely from overseas, particularly New Zealand (Ernst 1994:119-120). The Anglicans established Bishop Patteson Theological College and seven schools. From 1979 the Summer Institute of Linguistics seconded Ernest and Lois Lee to the Solomon Islands Translation Advisory Group, under SICA auspices. At the theological college, Ernest formally taught translation techniques to students while Lois informally taught literacy to their wives (Lee 1996:193). Ernest required his students to write an autobiography in Pijin (p.198). He used books published by SICA as well as the Pijin New Testament published by the Bible Society in the South Pacific (p.192). The Church of Melanesia has a committee that develops curricula for use in churches, Sunday schools, and schools, and it runs a bookshop in Honiara (Minemura pers comm 2002). The church continues to evangelize by sharing books in many aspects of life, which feeds into national administrative and political arrangements.

Papua New Guinea

In 1886 the Australian General Synod sent missionaries to New Guinea, where Britain had just extended its rule (Pinson 1989:31). Albert Maclaren became first private secretary to then lieutenant governor William MacGregor in 1890, which gave him opportunities to explore the colony (Aerts 1991:13). Valuing missionary efforts in pacification and noting the spread of “Mohammedanism” throughout the Malayan Peninsula (MacGregor in P. Smith 1987:38), governor MacGregor

suggested to Anglicans that they work between Cape Ducie and the border with German New Guinea, and fostered a comity with LMS and Methodists. SPG gave a one-time gift £ 1,000 for Fr Albert Maclaren to start a mission (Garrett 1982:245; Aerts 1991:13-14). He and Copland King, a layman, arrived at Kaieta beach near Dogura in 1891 (Garrett 1982:245-246; Pinson 1989:29). Their guide, Abrieka Dipa of Taupota, had been a labourer in Queensland and became a man of status on his return. He led services and negotiated the Anglicans' purchase of land at Dogura (Garrett 1982:246). King translated for the Wedau-speakers near Dogura (p.248), and he created musical notation to teach singing (MacGregor cited in P. Smith 1987:19). *Giruma Iavara Wedauei*, a school book outlining government laws published in Wedau language by the Anglican mission in 1897, showed the overlapping interests of colonial officials and missionaries (P. Smith 1987:41-42). After the first bishop of New Guinea arrived in 1898, King went north; worked with the Binandere (Orokaiva) people, with whom he made Binandere translations; and pursued botanical studies (Garrett 1982:248).

The mission established a boarding school at Dogura in the 1890s; six Papuan teachers were on the staff by 1901 (Lange 2005:310). The élite Dogura schools used English; the rural church used vernaculars (Garrett 1982:248-249). In the 1910s Peter Rautamara became the first Papuan ordained priest (Garrett 1982:249; Lange 2005:311). Biographies of Albert MacLaren, Albert Alexander, and Francis de Sales Buchanan, published abroad, promoted missionary advances and promises for the future (Quanchi 1996:163-164). Arthur K. Chignell defended the ability of teachers to evangelize and to convey basic education, and he advocated the use of Tok Pisin to heighten communication (in P. Smith 1987:50-51). His own book was published in London. Henry Newton emphasized the indirect and far-reaching effect of schools as children influenced their fellow villagers (in P. Smith 1987:82-83). His staff collected Papuan stories and legends (Aerts 1991:38). Chignell and Newton praised Kanaka's understanding of the people. Because the teachers' level of education was low, however, the white missionaries believed themselves needed for years to come (Chignell in P. Smith 1987:23; Lange 2005:309-310). Samuel (Tama) Tomlinson, at Mukawa near Cape Vogel and at Dogura, translated the entire Bible as well as many liturgical texts into Are language (Garrett 1982:251). Reginald Guise ran the press at Dogura for many years; it

closed when he died in 1928 (Woodburn 2003a:98). His son John Guise, a Papuan-European, became Papua New Guinea's governor general after a career of church, commercial, and colonial service. Other Anglicans also entered government service as administrators and teachers (Garrett 1982:252).

Philip Strong became New Guinea's fourth Anglican bishop in 1937 (Garrett 1997:32). He was loyal to the British Empire, did not study local cultures, and did not encourage nationalism (p.33-34). As World War II began, Strong urged Anglicans to stay at their posts. Japanese killed some missionaries and some Papuans for their part in a confusing war (p.34-36). Hostilities destroyed 95% of mission buildings (Aerts 1991:63). Anglicans opened the Martyrs' Memorial School for boys at Sangara in 1948, the Holy Name School for girls at Dogura in 1950, and the Newton Theological College in 1951, but when Mount Lamington erupted, Anglicans lost many of their teachers (Aerts 1991:65-66).

Bishop Hand shifted headquarters to Port Moresby in 1963 as the mission's population became increasingly urban. He became the first Anglican archbishop of Papua and New Guinea in 1973 and worked to establish an inter-denominational department of religious studies at UPNG (p.71-72). The mission spread into the highlands and islands, and in 1977 Papua New Guinea became an autonomous full province of the church (Garrett 1997:338). Hand retired in May 1983, having coached closer relations with mainline churches and overcome some difficulties caused by new sects entering the field (Aerts 1991:74). Papua New Guinean George Ambo became archbishop, and the Anglicans began to discuss union with the Catholics, for they were theologically and ceremonially closer to them than to other Protestants. They enlisted various religious bodies to help with publicity (p.25, 89). Aerts (1991) and Aerts and Ramsden's (1995) discussed similarities, but Rome would not recognize Anglican orders. Initially reluctant to accept Tok Pisin as a working language (Garrett 1997:337), Anglicans eventually cooperated to publish the Tok Pisin Bible and asked with the Catholics for a second edition with the apocrypha (Aerts 1991:101; Aerts & Ramsden 1995:I:12-15). The Anglicans continued to publish their sacred books and study materials in English and increasingly in Tok Pisin (Aerts 1995:25, 29). The more extensive and complex (other missions, many languages) field of Papua New Guinea meant different experiences for Anglicans

there, but Anglicans' book-based training fed government's slowly growing administrative community.

Fiji and Polynesia

In Fiji and Tonga, Anglicans are outside the central cog-pin that unites church and state. Here and elsewhere in Polynesia, Anglicans arrived after others' founding missions. Still, with book-based church and school, Anglicans have played a crucial role in conforming outsiders, the disaffected, and the marginalized to existing power arrangements, yet at the same time carving a place for them and increasing their status vis-à-vis the majority society.

Although Rev William Floyd went to Levuka in 1870 to look after Europeans, the Wesleyans resented his presence. In 1880 Bishop John Selwyn visited and came to agreement with Langham that the Anglicans would take care of Europeans, Melanesians (Solomoni and New Hebrideans), Indians, and Chinese while the Wesleyans ministered to the vastly larger population of Fijians (H. Thompson 1951:429-430; Pinson 1989:31). The Anglican mission spread to Labasa, Lautoka, Suva, and Makogai, opening schools for the children. Over time some high chiefs, who became unhappy with Methodist moralism and attracted to Anglican ceremony, switched churches (Garrett 1982:285), eg Ratu (later Sir) Josefa L.V. Sukuna, who had administration experience and liked the church's prestige in Britain's imperial establishment (1992:179).

In 1941 the church obtained land at Wailoku and settled Melanesians there (H. Thompson 1951:673). Moffatt Ohigita from Santa Ysabel, Solomons and other Brothers helped to run St John's School. He became in 1944 the first Melanesian priest of the Diocese of Polynesia (Macdonald-Milne 1989:47). John Auvuru Shaw translated texts into Fijian, taught school, and conducted church services. During the war, he helped to fortify Suva. Afterward, he worked in government service for almost 40 years (Halapua 1996:291). As one of the few Solomoni in professional employment, he became spokesman for his people (p.292). The Venerable Dr Winston Halapua, now Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Polynesia in Aotearoa, wrote about the social marginalization of Solomoni (1996, 2001). According to Halapua, only five Solomoni from Wailoku had a university degree: Aduru Kuva,

200

William Sanegar, Elenoa Didovi, and two daughters of Luke Oli, but all of these spent their teenage years schooling elsewhere (1996:297). Kuva and Sanegar had work published by IPS, but few people of advanced education did not garner enough political attention to improve the plight of the Solomoni. Addressing Fiji's troubles of the past 20 years, Halapua explained how the political choices of a small group of people rest on militarism, Methodism, and traditional rank and status—and exploit the majority of Fijians. He reminded readers of Sukuna's service for the nation of Fiji (2003).

Enlightened about Rev Shirley Baker's fraudulent invocation of Anglican orders,³ followers of Siasi 'o Vika petitioned help from Bishop Alfred Willis in Hawai'i. His status was anomalous and debated, but he settled among Tongans as an SPG missionary and under the jurisdiction of the bishop of London (Garrett 1992:143; Campbell 1995). In 1908 Anglicans established a Diocese of Polynesia (Garrett 1982:276). Willis opened St Andrew's School for boys and had outposts on other islands. Besides his pastoral work, he wrote a theological work of three volumes, translated material, and issued pamphlets until he died in 1920. His Chinese assistant, Fr Sang Mark, carried on until 1928 (Campbell 1995; H. Thompson 1951:674-675). In the 1920s as the divided Wesleyan churches in Tonga discussed reunion, the Anglicans were linked to the Free Church through their common use of the older Tongan Bible versus the newer one favoured by the Wesleyans (Garrett 1992:386). The Diocese of Polynesia grew to include American Samoa, Fiji, French Polynesia, Nauru, Tuvalu, and Western Samoa. It depends on funds from the New Zealand and Australian Anglican boards of missions and receives assistance through the Fiji Council of Churches and the Pacific Conference of Churches (Ernst 1994:213).

Anglican Publishing

Enthusiasm for Melanesian languages rarely paled among Anglicans, and hundreds of publications appeared in many languages. Economies of scale made the group as whole communicate in Mota and English in the southern isles. With the

³ Shirley Baker persuaded Princess 'Ofa (renounced by George Tupou II in favour of Lavinia) and other disgruntled nobles and followers to form the Siasi 'o Vika, the Church of Queen Victoria in 1899. He invoked Anglicanism to legitimize himself, but Tupou II discovered the ruse, and Tongans discarded Baker (Garrett 1992:143).

flowering of anthropology as a discipline, some missionaries encouraged their students to write about their cultures. Melanesians' participation in publishing boosted their status locally. Missionaries' participation in publishing boosted their own status and that of the mission internationally. Many islanders participated in publishing: Didimang, Sapibuana, Laukona, Soga, and Shaw translated; Sarawia and Wogale worked in the printery; Taharavin bound books; Clement Marau wrote an autobiography; indigenous Sisters helped to create books; and Melanesian Brothers and indigenous Sisters publicized Christianity and literacy with manuscript and printed books. Anglican books and publishing routines conditioned people to the rule of documents and bureaucracy.

Anglican missions and British administrations in the Pacific had close links, which made criticism by the former of the latter difficult (Pinson 1989:29). The Anglican Church became a church of the people in Melanesia, but a church mostly for expatriates in Fiji, Micronesia, and Polynesia (p.32). Its publishing influenced Melanesians, whose social arrangements changed as people participated in literate culture and were able to challenge customary authorities on new grounds. Arriving after the Wesleyans' ground-breaking labour of translation and introduction of literacy, the Anglican Church in Polynesia did not focus on publishing in the same way that it had in Melanesia and on Norfolk. Over the years SPCK, SPG, the Colonial Bishops Fund, and the Polynesian Missionary Association in London offered start-up funds, ministerial salaries, and subventions for particular activities to support Pacific missions (H. Thompson 1951; Garrett 1982:245, 1992:179; Pinson 1989:31; Aerts 1991:13-14). SPCK still supports occasional projects in the Pacific Islands (Parks pers comm 1999).

The pressure for change, however, comes from within independent Anglican churches. Anglican churches spread through the Pacific without a coordinating body, but the South Pacific Anglican Council (SPAC) developed to meet regional needs. Sanegar wrote that as many Pacific leaders are products of church schools and as church leaders tend to become involved in politics, such supportive organization as by SPAC, can make political involvement "more purposeful, useful, and relevant" (1989:35). The Anglican churches do not deny the overlap between religion and

politics. To the contrary, they hope to share their book-based learning so as to influence actions for peaceful and equitable change.

CHAPTER 8

POLITICS AND BOOK PUBLISHING BY MISSIONS

Missionaries brought books to guide them in ‘useful knowledge’ and unfamiliar skills: manuals for boat building, medicine, printing, etc; Greek and Hebrew bibles for translation purposes, and teaching materials. Langmore noted the improving rather than entertaining nature of literature in missionaries’ libraries (1989:101). These imported books were a beginning step in creating book culture, for islanders took note of how literature, especially about medicine, helped their visitors.

From the missionary point of view, education was means to understanding the Scriptures. From the indigenous point of view, education was means to new commodities, better living standards, and higher status (Koskinen 1953; Meggitt 1968). Association with missionaries often brought novelty, physical safety, and ways to avoid traditional obligations (Clammer 1976). Kamu disputed accepted belief that Samoans began to proclaim the Gospel because of perceptions of associated wealth; rather, he saw this as valid expression of the life experiences in rapidly changing communities (1996:85). Meleisea wrote, “For Samoans, knowledge is power” (1987b:vii). To fall behind in learning about new ideas and things, was to fall behind in power struggles. Small societies were competitive; literacy was another means of competition for wealth and power. Clammer argued that literacy levelled society before it re-hierarchized it (1976:76). 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 (1937). Granted, Pacific populations were smaller, but they did not have Europe’s history of literacy, education, or public acquiescence to the rule of documents. Conversion and literacy accompanied each other. Over time, chiefs learnt literacy skills and professed Christianity, sometimes relying on deputies who did so first. Chiefs were not always the first to convert, but many people followed their lead. Those at the forefront were the brokers or gatekeepers of new information and new media to their societies.

Generally, islanders turned toward missionaries, for they were better informed, more reliable, and more able than beachcombers to assist islanders to negotiate in a rapidly changing world. Books, their publishing, and their use were central in the changes. Although missions were different from each other, and missionaries' experiences differed from place to place, they introduced new methods of organization that hinged upon literacy.

In small societies, missionaries had to compromise with political power to survive. They shifted stations geographically as indigenous power waxed and waned. Chiefs, in turn, perceived that they could use missionaries and their skills and resources to political advantage. Chiefs were sometimes quick to profess Christianity and to learn literacy skills, or to use other people who did so. General conversion often came after victories on the battlefield. Competition existed between missionaries within groups, between missions, between missions and chiefs or traditional priests, and between missions and governments. Choice of faith or mission often fed traditional rivalries. In some cases, islanders wanted the education but not the religion offered by a particular mission. Cooperation, however, also existed between missionaries within groups, between missions, between missions and chiefs or traditional priests, and between missions and governments.

Missionaries thought books essential to proselytization and began publishing with hand-copied books. Students made yet more copies. Mission workers—expatriate and islander—translated, wrote, printed, sewed, bound, distributed, sold, and promoted books. Missionaries brought presses to hasten the local publications process, to expand the number of copies, and to control the publication of books. They sent large works—accompanied by a missionary and often a local language expert—for printing in London, Paris, Sydney, and other cities. The age of steamships facilitated printing overseas, for it meant less time away from the mission.

Although their primary concern was publication of biblical matter, mission workers published a range of subject matter: dictionaries, grammars, agriculture, arithmetic, astronomy, biography, community development, culture, family and societal relations, geography, governmental regulations, health, history, hygiene, and

illustrations. The missionaries' messages were generally foreign. Their finance was also foreign, until islanders began to support the missions. Patrons, congregations, Sunday schools, and relatives in the sending countries forwarded funds for publishing and things that affected publishing, eg boats to carry manuscripts and printed copies. The missionaries published biographies, ethnographies, and histories overseas to promote their mission, to gain recognition, to attract donors, and to recruit new missionaries.

Publishing was often part of competition and cooperation. Mission workers published books to create and to reach wider audiences to influence their thoughts and behaviour. Thorogood wrote that Protestants' respect for the Word of God meshed with Pacific respect for oratory (1995:8). Christianity shaped political ideas (Leymang 1969, Lini 1980a). Islanders brokered new information and new media to their societies. Islanders chose to use and to publish books for reasons of gaining employment, prestige, status, and power. Missionaries—expatriate and islander—wanted books to teach and for status. Missionaries and islanders knew the value of having a press, as a symbol of power, as a means of communicating, as a producer of yet more symbols of power. Missionaries, teachers, and preachers translated, wrote, printed, sewed, bound, distributed, sold, promoted, and used books. Many other people became involved in publishing.

The organization of society, establishment of new kinds of government, and publishing affected each other. Publishing is one measure of ideological power, at the same time that it contributes to that power. Its products and records show the concerns of their makers and the results of their actions. Some of the long-term effects have been unintended and in no way foreseeable. Missionaries did not everywhere want annexation (Hilliard 1974:94); yet, some did and they were often a powerful lobby (K. Martin 1924).

Conjunction of church and state worked well in some countries, but certainly not all. Over the course of history, publications in metropolitan languages by missionaries promoting their own work have obfuscated the extent to which islanders created political, economic, and social change, and the extent to which islanders participated in publishing to do so. Islanders quickly perceived the influence of the

press and were eager to participate in publishing as a means of participating in ideological power, although some of their choices might have been unconscious. They expressed themselves in their work—translating, printing, teaching, publicizing—which influenced others. Their books were catalysts, means, and products of power.

The provision of reading matter was not a simple matter. Missionaries met indigenous resistance. They competed among themselves, with other missions, and with other foreigners. Arguments among the island populations affected the missions' ability to publish. Publishing operations affected and were affected by economics, linguistics, personalities, and politics. World affairs and unexpected events affected publishing. Machinery broke down everywhere, and some of the paper and type were used for cartridge papers and bullets. Manuscripts and printed copies were lost at sea. In Fiji, on Norfolk, and elsewhere, sailors serendipitously arrived to man the presses. One can only look back in wonder at the missions' productivity. They were highly productive, however, because islanders participated in every task of publishing, and in some cases, they led the publishing effort.

Missionaries and chiefs benefited socially and politically from cooperation. For those who were not chiefly, command of the Word offered an alternative path to power. Publication of law made authority tangible. Publication spread the symbols (books) of law. Islanders turned the missions' influences to their own ends, participated in communication, expressed themselves, and used publishing to influence their communities. Parsonson emphasized the failure of the literate revolution because of drunkenness and epidemics, failure to teach more than biblical literacy and in vernaculars, failure to convey the means of obtaining goods, and failure to establish political and economic bases for local chiefs to expand (1967:55-57). His was a short-term view. Although he wrote that "the real revolution had been the adoption of a literate culture in place of the old non-literate mode of life" (p.54), he did not develop the idea. In fact, the long term had changed irreversibly, as people began to mould their lives around governance by the book: the Bible, codes of law, school books, reports, etc.

A significant change was economic. Missionaries' main sources of finance were foreign, until islanders began to support the missions. Relatives, patrons,

congregations, and Sunday schools in the sending countries forwarded funds for publishing and things that affected publishing, such as boats to carry manuscripts and printed copies. According to Forman, all missions introduced different sources and higher levels of wealth. Although some missions became self-supporting and others made great strides, church costs rose with political independence of nation-states and with new activities brought about by ecumenism. The LMS-derived, French Reformed-derived, and Methodist churches receive assistance for non-essential expenses from their mother church. Anglicans in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands could not survive without assistance from their mother church (1985). Perhaps early gifts from Patteson and others following his death made Anglican missionaries complacent about funding security. Although administration of received aid shifted from foreign missionary personnel in the islands to islanders themselves, church finance is part of the North-South debate as capital stays in the north and injections encourage continued dependency (Garrett & Flannery 1989:163, 169). The churches continue to rely on effective use of communication and media, particularly book publishing, to sustain and augment congregations. They continue to offer paths to status and wealth through access to the Word.

Communication, technology, and control affected each other. Mission-educated islanders became leaders not only in the age of mission but also that of colonialism. At the same time that mission-ordered life eased the imposition of colonial rule, literacy and publishing enabled islanders to negotiate with colonizers. Mission workers perpetuated vernaculars by establishing orthographies; by writing dictionaries, grammars, and vernacular literature; by inculcating the use of books in daily life for religion and education; and by publishing books to reach wider audiences. Using metropolitan and vernacular languages, creoles, and pidgins, mission workers recorded customs, genealogies, histories, and other things—knowledge that would have been otherwise lost. Such knowledge has helped to foster identity and community. Significantly, many of the island churches gained their independence and indigenous leaders before the island countries gained theirs. Noticeable exceptions were in Solomon Islands, where the Methodist mission was slow to translate the Bible, and in Tonga, where the relationship between the monarchy and Methodists left little room for the people to manoeuvre.

Islanders were active participants in change, quickly acquiring alphabetic literacy skills where none had existed beforehand and expressing themselves through the production of texts. Through book publishing, missions contributed to ideological power, accustomed people to the rule of documents and books, and eased the path of colonial governments. Colonial governments and missions then often worked together to maintain control and to share scarce resources to publish books for education, health, and law. At the same time, and through publishing, missions prepared islanders to negotiate with colonizers (although not always equally); perpetuated vernaculars, which assisted independence struggles; and created records of culture, which islanders would turn to in future. Colonial governments are the subject of the following chapters.

SECTION 3

FROM EMPIRE TO DEVELOPMENT: COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS

Flags generally followed trade and missionaries. Hezel wrote that colonial rule was “almost the natural consequence, of years of extensive contact...,” and was simultaneously “an imposition” and “an acquired taste” (1983:xii). This section discusses the colonizing powers that followed missions established by the London Missionary Society, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Anglicans. Britain took up colonial rule across the Pacific often, but not always, at the request of missionaries and islanders. France’s reach was not nearly as extensive and its relations with missionaries were much more troublesome. New Zealand’s and Australia’s colonial moves followed Britain’s in half a dozen countries, but actions by individuals and groups in New Zealand and Australia and by New Zealanders and Australians in the Pacific often contributed to Britain’s claiming territory and New Zealand and Australia gaining it later.

Officials in British territories often had similar colonial experiences, as did officials in French territories, for Britain and France had experience elsewhere in the world and carried their policies and practices to new lands. Officials from New Zealand and Australia based some of their policies and practices on those applied to Maori and Aborigines, but being a colonial power was new to Australian and NZ governments, and policies and practices varied among and within their territories over time. Nevertheless, colonial officials read material about administering foreign peoples and some officials corresponded not only with other officials and scholars within their own empires but also with other officials and scholars in other occupied territories.

Hempenstall argued that three objectives underpinned colonial rule: resource exploitation, power affirmation, and islander conversions to Western images (2000:229). Book publishing exploited local labour resources; assisted the imposition and affirmation of power; lent itself to measures of taste; and through imagery, aided conversion to Western images. Governments initiated assessments and reports of their territories’ resources, which helped to put boundaries around those resources and to create “imagined communities” (B. Anderson 1991).

Few colonial officials knew the language(s) of their territories before arriving; many never gained command of the nuances of the language(s). Official bureaucracies often relied upon metropolitan languages: English and French in the territories under examination in this dissertation. European languages became the languages of record, with consequences for access to information. Governments published laws and regulations, thus inculcating respect for written and printed words as symbols of authority. Such publications inscribed functions and structures that became routines and rituals. Governments subsidized mission schools, opened their own, prescribed textbooks, and published their own to prioritize certain information and to foster affiliation with government. In these schools, they trained islanders to become the clerks and messengers of government and labourers for more technical or vocational employment. When the government did not provide enough schools, missions and islanders often funded their own, and governments also recruited from these schools, for they needed middlemen between themselves and the communities. Late in the game, governments established institutions for research and higher education, thereby training successive generations to contribute to growing bodies of knowledge, made tangible in reports and books.

As knowledge increased, internal and external pressure brought re-evaluation of power balances. Political developments provoked assenting and dissenting publications—some of them labelled political education. Some of the publishing happened in Oceania, and some of it happened overseas but had ramifications for political order in the islands. Everywhere, books, reports, and records by expatriates and foreigners generally had far greater impact upon Pacific Islands countries than publications by people of those countries.

Access to books was not equitable in any country. Some administrations were quite tardy in sharing written and printed information and education with their populations. World events changed colonial administrations' objectives, methods, and timetables. The international push for independence for developing countries led colonial administrations to publish materials about political systems and governmental procedures. People involved with writing and publishing had power disproportionate to their numbers, but that power was only partially effective. Disjunctures occurred between the governments' intentions and the peoples'

understandings and reactions.

The Pacific's history since European contact might be seen as a long interaction of books and events. The following chapters explore, in a generally chronological manner, actions and reactions in politics and publishing as colonial powers have sought to influence islanders and as islanders have participated in the construction of ideological power.

CHAPTER 9

BRITAIN

Britain claimed Norfolk in 1788 and assumed responsibility for Pitcairn in 1808. Fijians ceded government to Britain in 1874. Britain began claiming parts of the Solomons in 1877 and signed a treaty of friendship with Tonga in 1879. It declared a protectorate over British New Guinea (what is now Papua) in 1884 and reached successive agreements with the French government about the New Hebrides beginning in 1887. From 1886 Britain gained control of the Gilberts, Ellice, Ocean, Line, Phoenix, Tokelau, Cook, and Niue islands. Britain continued its oversight for all but five (Norfolk, Papua, Tokelau, the Cook Islands, and Niue) for long into the 20th century.

Britain used common administrative procedures, eg through the Western Pacific High Commission (WPHC), set up education departments and government printeries, and initiated schemes for islanders to study and train in Britain. Although Britain's official policy was protection of indigenous peoples, populations declined in the late 1800s due to introduced diseases, plantation labour, changes in life-style, and migration (Scarr 1967:292-297). Publications such as Victor Murray's [1922] *The School in the Bush*, the Colonial Advisory Committee's [1925] *Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa*, *The Colonial Problem* by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and studies on education in Africa in the 1940s had profound effects, not just in British territories, but also in Australian and New Zealand territories, and provoked more publications (Groves 1936:65, 1951; G. Smith 1975:32; Ralph 1978:513; Tavola 1992:19-20). Colonial public servants shifted among posts in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, bringing practices and theories (MacClancy 2002b:123; Pitkeathly 2002:398).

Rumblings of Indian independence, the Great Depression, Britain's impoverishment from World War II, formation of the United Nations, and mounting international criticism of imperialism brought reappraisal of colonial policy. In 1964 the British government announced that it would reduce commitments east of Suez, and the Colonial Office was folded into the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. By 1980 Pitcairn was Britain's only colony in the Pacific (Macdonald 1994:171-175, 180; Scarr 2000:241).

Pitcairn and Norfolk

Britain assumed responsibility for Pitcairn in 1808. All 193 Pitcairners migrated to Norfolk (which Britain had claimed in 1788) in 1856, but 17 returned to Pitcairn in 1858 and 27 in 1864 (Clarke 1986:146-147). Pitcairn became a British colony in 1898. School remained in mission hands until H.E. (Harry) Maude's philately scheme in 1940-1941 brought income, which was used after the war to build a school and to arrange for a secondment from NZDoE. From 1959 the teachers published a newsletter, *Pitcairn Miscellany* (Woodburn 2003c:165, 187fn12). The government has published six editions of *Guide to Pitcairn* (Govt of Pitcairn 2004a). Pitcairn has a local Council (elected by universal suffrage since 1838) chaired by the island magistrate (Christian 1994:13). Pitcairn remains on the UN decolonization list; its population numbers fewer than 50; and the British high commissioner to New Zealand looks after the islands. For Norfolk, an Order in Council in 1897 transferred powers of government from the Norfolk governor to the NSW governor, the Norfolk Island Act of 1913 made it a territory of Australia (Hoare 1983:4), and in 1914 Britain relinquished authority for the island (Clarke 1986:179). Norfolk is a self-governing territory with a population of approximately 1,800 (CIA 2007). Its administration contracts the NSW Department of Education and Training to provide curriculum and teachers (Govt of Norfolk Island 2007). Norfolk Island Central School's website does not list curriculum in Norfolk language (NICS 2007).

Fiji

The missionaries' use of Lawa Vakatonga (law the Tongan way) to record judgements (Brewster 1922:49), printed money, gazetted laws, and other publications (Derrick 1950, 1954, 1958; Routledge 1985) were practices and symbols that helped to condition people to government before Cakobau's cession of Fiji in 1874. Afterward, settlers sent petitions, memorials, and memoranda to England's queen, New Zealand's premier and parliament, and Victoria's parliament, calling for better government and annexation (Derrick 1954:125, 131). Besides articles and letters in the local press, people took to pamphleteering in 1900 (p.132-133). The colonial government was mainly concerned with political stability for the sake of economic benefit. It institutionalized and regulated what had been a loose order to accompany shifting land boundaries (Halapua 2003:5-13). Published laws

inscribed structures and functions, thereby elevating the authority of the administration. As the missionaries had, the government used the Bauan dialect for its publications, thus solidifying the psychological hold of Bau on Fiji at large. The government published an almanac of Fiji history each January (Brewster 1937:162-163). From the 1880s the government published writing by Fijians in its periodical *Na Mata*, and *Na Mata* serialized books, for which Fijians wrote the translations (Geraghty 2001, 2004:6). A.B. Brewster, a colonial servant for 40 years, recorded legends, histories, and genealogies, and from his own pocket, paid Fijians to do so (1922:85-86). Brewster noted “a considerable literary and clerkly strain in many of the Fijians” (p.49) and collected writings by Malakai Navatu of Boubuco, by Joseva Bebe Tubi of Yalatina (p.185), and by a disciple of Navosavakadua, as well as the *Tuka Gazette*, compiled by Sailose Ratu (1922:253, 1937:117). The Bible and *Pilgrim’s Progress* were the only books in the vernacular, so Brewster, Sir William Allardyce, and Ratu Esava Kombiti translated Arthur’s *History of England* into Fijian, and Wesleyan schools used it. Based on the work, Ratu Esava produced a *meke* (opera) and presented a libretto of it to Brewster (1922:148, 1937:117). Brewster’s own books were published in London.

Fijians opened and financed their own schools (Coxon 2000:69), including the prestigious Queen Victoria School in 1906, which suited the colonial administration, for it wanted traditional leaders to act as intermediaries between government and Fijians (Tavola 1992:12). Under the 1916 Education Ordinance, grant-in-aid fostered voluntary schools for the majority of the population and government schools for only a few (p.13). In the early 1920s cooperation with NZDoE brought a director, syllabi, textbooks, examinations, and teachers to Fiji and lasted until the 1970s (Morrell 1960:437; Tavola 1992:15). In 1926 schools used a geography prepared by a government headmaster and books prepared by the missions (Hoodless 1926), including ones on agriculture and hygiene (Conference 1926). The 1926 Review of Education report brought reorganization of education, creation of an Education Department (Usher 1979:21), and language policy: the first three years in the mother tongue and English thereafter—policy that has not had a major shift. “The colonial administration saw English as the language of social and political cohesion....which secured the rule of law and forged a colonial bureaucracy” and helped to form Fiji’s political community, hence the nation

(Subramani 2000:290). Although the Legislative Council accepted secondary and academic education for Indians, the director of education reinforced practical and agricultural education for Fijians (Tavola 1992:20-21). The government granted the franchise to Indians but not Fijians in 1929, which further separated the two races, for Indians became politically and nationally aware while many Fijians retained parochial and provincial aspirations (Ali 1980:138-139).

By the 1930s when the Methodist Church had handed over most of its schools to local committees, DoE's lack of support had harmed Fijian education (Tavola 1992:16). During the 1930s and 1940s Hindi textbooks for primary schools were written and printed locally (Kanwal 1980:103). In the 1940s DoE published Bulicokocoko's collection of proverbs (Tippett 1980:35, 65). The government increasingly intervened in schools from the late 1940s, even publishing comprehensive plans, but still emphasized vocational and technical education for Fijians (Tavola 1992:22-24). Davuilevu Technical School published civics and geography books by R.A. Derrick (p.30). Such government agencies as DoE's English Teaching Unit, the Fiji Museum, Medical Department, and Government Printer published censuses, laws, and works on agriculture, aquaculture, anthropology, geography, health, land tenure, language, and local legends.

The 1959 Spate Report on economic performance emphasized agriculture, so Fijian schools continued to prioritize agriculture (Tavola 1992:24). Not until the 1960s, when Britain pushed Fiji toward independence, did the colonial government take many measures to promote education for other trained manpower. Increasing pressure at primary and secondary levels led to pressure at the tertiary level: the Derrick Technical Institute opened in 1963 and the University of the South Pacific in 1968. Nasinu Teachers' College had been established in 1948, but frustrations with an outdated NZ syllabus led to establishment of the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) in 1968 to revise curricula and to produce supporting texts for classes 1-6 and forms 1-4 (p.30). The 1969 Royal Commission found that lack of books contributed to the low quality of schools (p.31), recommended an increased supply of books and comprehensive curriculum changes to incorporate local content (Coxon 2000:71), and recommended sponsorship and subsidy of local literature (Kanwal 1980:104). Although the commission supported vernacular languages, the

need for a lingua franca, the presence of many expatriate teachers who did not speak local languages, and divided loyalties among vernacular speakers perpetuated the status of English (Subramani 2000:291). Practically nothing was published in Fijian in the 1950s and 1960s (Geraghty 2004:7). Children read *Caribbean Readers*, *Oxford English Readers for Africa*, and the University of London series, *Reading for Meaning*, in school (Lal 2003:41-42). Fiji became independent in 1970.

Some colonial servants had respected Fijians' customs and worked to publish in Fijian language, but the presence of missions allowed the administration to leave educational responsibility to them. Introduction of Indian labourers complicated the picture. English was the official language, Fijians often established and paid for their own schooling, and book production received short shrift. Such policies and practices had consequences decades later when Indians campaigned for independence but Fijians did not. The uneven nature of book-based governance has had implications for modern governments. Fijians have not had as many opportunities to participate and to express themselves, and Fiji has experienced three military coups and a civilian takeover.

Solomon Islands

From 1877 to 1893 the Solomons were under the jurisdiction of the Western Pacific high commissioner in Fiji (J. Bennett 1987:104). Britain annexed the southern Solomons in 1893 (Alasia 1989:140) and expanded its territory to the Bougainville Strait in 1900 (Scarr 1967:263). Resident deputy commissioner Charles Morris Woodford had served in Fiji in the early 1880s, from where he had made expeditions to the Solomons, about which he published several scientific papers and a book (p.262), which drew attention to the problem of raiding (Morrell 1960:343). In his budget-stricken administration, Woodford had printed only a few copies of the 1910 labour regulations—so few that the planters did not know the laws (J. Bennett 1987:157). Woodford, the high commissioner, the Colonial Office, and various companies wrangled about land rights and plantation revenue. In 1915 Burns Philp launched a publicity campaign, seeing its articles published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and subsequently published as a booklet, *British Mismanagement in the Pacific, No.2*, which was distributed in Australia and Britain. The campaign was part of a wider battle to separate the small protectorates from Fiji

in order to get an administration more susceptible to local (meaning Australian) commercial and political concerns (p.137-138, 149).

World War I, creation of the International Labour Organization in 1919, and the India Emigration Act of 1922 created interest in the British public about colonial peoples. The protectorate administration undertook measures to improve labour conditions, including publication of a handbook on common diseases and treatment, Crichlow's *Brief Guide* printed at the Melanesian Mission (J. Bennett 1987:152, 176, 474). Development, however, happened at the convenience of the protectorate administration and for the economic well-being of Britain (p.197-198). Implementing the Native Administration Regulation of 1922 soon brought into question settlement of custom disputes and land and reef tenure and use. Writing for *Pacific Islands Monthly* and *Oceania*, anthropologist Ian Hogbin warned of social chaos if the elders were not incorporated into councils. Although WPHC resisted, resident commissioner F.N. Ashley and his district officers had already begun studying, recording, and codifying custom (p.281-282).

The Great Depression and local difficulties in copra production affected political policies. J. Bennett wrote that although by the 1930s most Solomon Islanders were nominally Christian, their command of text was minimal (1987:283). Waleanisia, however, argued that Solomon Islanders' use of writing in letters and petitions for political purposes—protecting Solomon Islanders' interests—could be seen as precedent for Maasina Ruru or Rule (1989:36). The government had offered only small grants-in-aid to mission schools that offered technical training, but in 1939 William C. Groves, an Australian educationalist, was commissioned to survey schooling. He recommended government participation (Wasuka et al 1989:102). Britain's secretary of state was considering Ashley's request for government schools along with other measures,¹ when Britain's effort in World War II took priority (J. Bennett 1987:239). The extent of publications by Solomon Islanders were articles by Geoffrey Kuper and George Bogesi published overseas in 1937 and 1948

¹ Faced with riots in the West Indies, Britain passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CDWA) in 1940, which shifted policy from colonies being self-supporting to Britain giving them significant aid. The aid, however, covered only reconstruction and basic social services, and not until the 1950s (Macdonald 2001[1982]:123, 143-144, 162, 1994:172, 180). CDWA set aside £ 1 million per annum for activities, which gave the Colonial Office greater say in policy in the colonies (J. Bennett 1987:239).

respectively and a letter by another individual to the editor published in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate *News Sheet* in the 1950s (Waleanisia 1989:38).

Expatriates' evacuation during World War II proved they were not omnipotent. Expressing pent-up feelings of resistance, Nggela people burned law books in the judicial commissioner's house at Tulagi (J. Bennett 1987:290). American troops, black and white, changed Solomon Islanders' perceptions of race relations and encouraged their thoughts about redressing economic, political, and social balances. From 1943, individuals used the SSEM-fostered network to help form Maasina Ruru and gathered a great following (p.293, 297, 299). Adherents of Maasina Ruru imposed their own head tax for education and economic development. They compiled, copied, and translated genealogies and drew up codes of customary law, for which they used notebooks (Laracy 1983a:19, 21, 27). Individuals, such as Marcellianus Dioko of Takwa, Malaita (p.136) and George, who worked for the SDA press in western Solomons (p.24-25) wrote, typed, copied, and distributed their material; thus, the material was locally published. Laracy stated that the recording of custom became political acts, which combined literacy, religious ideas, labour experience, and pride in custom to organize political gain (p.6-7, 34). The Fallows Movement (p.49), Mathew Belamatanga and the Society for the Development of Native Races (J. Bennett 1987:299), and Silas Eto and the Christian Fellowship Church (p.301) were other groups that adapted the introduced skill of literacy to advocate better education, greater political participation, recognition, and self-expression. In 1950 government appointed Solomon Islanders to the Advisory Council (p.305) and established the Malaita Council in 1952 and other councils throughout the country by 1964. A constitution in 1960 created executive and legislative councils (Alasia 1989:142-143).

From 1946 government had increasingly taken over education to train leaders for self-government and to inform people about democracy and citizenship (Wasuka et al 1989:103). In the 1950s government opened a school at Auki, Malaita to produce good citizens and public servants (Laracy 1983a:6) and Government Primary School in Honiara, where Belshazzar Gina (see p.164-166 above) became the first Solomon Islander appointed as a government teacher and helped lay the foundation for King George VI Secondary School (Carter 1990:73,

81). From 1955 Britain gave direct grants-in-aid to schools. Budgets allocated monies for communications as well as research, but much of the data collected for planning were often useful only to the British government and in Honiara, not for involving islanders throughout the Solomons in development (J. Bennett 1987:313). Nevertheless, the Solomons attracted investment because the government could provide information on the protectorate's resources and had passed legislation to enable exploitation (p.315). Higher education often took place overseas for lack of local institutions. The Teachers College opened in the 1960s, and its textbook officer, I. Searle, wrote a manual for head teachers, which was published by the protectorate's department of education in 1970. In the early 1970s a committee chaired by Francis Bogutu produced a White Paper on education that called for new secondary schools in each major rural district to provide appropriate education for village life. Many people objected because the plan depended on purchases of land, which few wanted to lease or sell, and because they thought the educated élite were proposing second-rate education under the guise of upholding traditional values, but villagers traditionally valued wealth and perceived education as means to attain it. The plan was shelved and education continued to emphasize academic achievement (J. Bennett 1987:340-341; Habu 1992:98).

In 1970 government created a new parliament, and Solomon Islanders were the elected majority. Mainly a few of those in Honiara understood constitutionalism, but they were wary of sharing information and abetted by lack of protectorate-wide media (J. Bennett 1987:320; Macdonald 1994:183). Only from 1971 did the government emphasize training for the public service (Devesi 1992:5). There was little sense of nationalism. General desire was to stay associated with Britain, but a small number of Western-educated élite criticized Britain and spread ideas. From 1970 to 1975 Henry Raraka and Ella and Francis Bugotu edited and published *Kakamora Reporter* to gather support for national unity, self-identity, and self-government (Raraka 1973; Bugotu 1983). From the 1970s Solomon Islanders' writing appeared in Waigani Seminar publications by UPNG and ANU. From 1972 individuals—including Lindsay Wall, Solomon Dakei, Peter Kenilorea, and Alfred Daga—formed a voluntary Museum Association, which became the publishing arm

of the National Museum.² From 1972 its *Journal of the Solomon Islands Museum Association* recorded indigenous knowledge, but faltered in 1978 when Solomon Islanders became more involved with political events (Waleanisia 1989:39-40).

Events in Africa, experiments in free association with Caribbean countries, membership in the European Economic Commission, the fuel crisis, and Papua New Guinea's impending independence from Australia determined British resolve to become independent from the Solomons (J. Bennett 1987:320-321; Macdonald 1994:184). Exposure to Western technology and products, massive aid projects, an influx of expatriate public servants, development of Honiara and district centres, and access or exposure to media and schooling accelerated people's desire for goods and services—which independence promised to deliver (J. Bennett 1987:339). Independence came in 1978. Although the protectorate administration had been “probably the most prolific of all forces for the production of written records” in Solomon Islands (Waleanisia 1989:34), little of it involved Solomon Islanders as authors until the 1950s.

Tonga

A combination of external pressure from other metropolitan powers and internal pressure from settlers paved the way for a treaty of friendship between Tonga and Britain in 1879 (Latukeyu 1975:69; Campbell 1992:81). Such geostrategic considerations as Vava'u's deep harbour and the large number of Tongans in Fiji, who might pose a threat if Tonga were held by another power, influenced Britain to declare a protectorate in 1900, taking control of Tonga's foreign affairs (Campbell 1992:111-112). A Supplementary Agreement in 1904 clarified that financial matters and senior official appointments came under the British consul's authority and that laws were to be published in English and Tongan (Campbell 1992:115; Wood-Ellem 1999:27-28). Further amendments to the treaty were negotiated over time, and by and large Britain provided protection against insiders and outsiders. This stability encouraged Tongan nationalism (Campbell 1992; Macdonald 1994:179; Wood-Ellem 1999). The foresight, political astuteness,

² Anna Craven, a technical cooperation curator from England, Daniel Miller, a Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) archaeologist from England, and Henry Isa, a local trainee, worked together to administer the museum (Rukia 1992:129). Tekarei Russell said Craven also assisted the Tungavala Society in Tarawa with its publishing and exhibition endeavours (interview 2003).

and strength of Tonga's monarchs rendered Tonga's experience different from Pacific Islands colonies. Tongan law had been written, printed, published, and acted on since 1838. Queen Salote respected law as an essential principle of an ordered society; thus, she did not interfere with court decisions and expected others to follow legal procedures (Wood-Ellem 1999). Chief justice Horne undertook revision of the Laws of Tonga in 1929, as did J.B. Thomson in 1948, and Sir Campbell Wylie in 1967.

In the early 1880s the government took over the mission's day schools and established Tonga College (Morrell 1960:324). Performance of schools, most of which were under government control, was poor (Campbell 1992:135). The education act of 1927 was intended to improve schooling, but many of the reforms failed. Education was a difficult concept, for people of rank continued to rely on their rank, chiefs who had not been ennobled saw education as their way forward, and commoners valued education for reasons of status rather than utility (p.133-136). In 1934 English became part of the syllabus for primary schools. The government began to contribute to the cost of the British Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, as did other British colonies (p.137). Campbell wrote that in the 1930s books except for the Bible and a hymnal were absent (p.152), but Tongans have stated that books were available (Latukefu 1974:77-78), but kept in boxes³—and still are, under lock and key (Taufe'ulungaki pers comm 2003). After passage of Britain's Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CDWA),⁴ Tonga received development funds (Macdonald 1994:179).

Queen Salote's son Tupouto'a became minister for education, reformed Tongan spelling, decided education should be bilingual, moved Tonga College, began a fund for sending Tongans overseas to study, opened Tonga Teachers' College (TTC) in 1944, and later started its monthly magazine, *Tokoni Faiako* (Help for the Teacher). In 1946 he appointed Dr C.M. Churchward as linguistic research officer to prepare a grammar and a dictionary of Tongan language (which were published in the 1950s). In 1947 government opened the Matriculation School (later

³ Investigating (and recording) Europeans accustomed to bookshelves might have been rewarded for their efforts if they had thought about the bookcases of the European Middle Ages.

⁴ see footnote 2

called Tonga High School) to prepare students for the New Zealand University Entrance (NZUE) Examination, and Tupouto‘a arranged for New Zealander teachers to be seconded to Tonga College, Tonga High School, and TTC. He even wrote a music handbook: *Koe Tohi Tu‘ungafasi ‘ae Kolisi Tonga*, published by Tonga College (Campbell 1992:162, 163, 168; Wood-Ellem 1999:224-225).

World War II and the presence of American soldiers brought material advantages and other Western ways of doing things. Queen Salote was adamant that Tongans should know their own culture and language and believed that Tonga’s development as a nation depended on the unique identity of its people. In 1949 the queen supported a recommendation before the House to codify Tongan customs and traditions, advocating “their permanent recording and publication in a form which would lead to a more widespread knowledge thereof and a more general observance of them...as a further step forward towards the preservation of Tonga’s national identity” (quoted in Wood-Ellem 1999:272). “Research into the social past of a people is...the characteristic of an enlightened community....and...will enable them to modify those customs to meet the demands of modern progress along lines most beneficial to their well-being” (quoted in Campbell 1992:169; Wood-Ellem 1999:274). Parliament proposed to set up what became in 1954 the Komiti Tala Fakafonua (Tonga Traditions Committee). The noble Ve‘ehala (Leilua) was the Secretary and Keeper of the Public Record⁵ and his father Feleti Vi was on the committee as well as Havili Hafoka, Rev Dr S. ‘Amanaki Havea, Tupou Posesi Fanua, and others at different times. The queen paid the committee’s expenses until government began to pay salaries in 1959 (Wood-Ellem 1999:272). The queen personally directed the committee, and foreign experts contributed when asked (Campbell 1992:168). Anthropologist Elizabeth Bott Spillius was appointed in 1958 to work with the committee; she and her husband worked for two years collecting copious amounts of material. Ula Malatoa and others went to villages and collected stories. The queen herself wrote multiple manuscripts and encouraged others to transcribe, research, and write (Wood-Ellem 1999:272-273, 278-279, 351). Later Tongan scholars were sent abroad to research and record Tonga’s history (Campbell 1992:168; Wood-Ellem 1999:272).

⁵ “sometimes referred to as Keeper of the Palace Records, a revealing confusion, for the Palace determined what would be the public record” (Wood-Ellem 1999:272)

The committee hardly published its findings. Some chiefs were afraid of standardization of genealogies unfavourable to their point of view (Wood-Ellem 1999:273), for published genealogies and histories would have carried more authority than unpublished ones.⁶ One of the few books published by the Tonga Traditions Committee was Latukefu's (1975) *The Tongan Constitution*. The Polynesian Society published Bott and Tavi's (1982) *Tongan Society at the time of Captain Cook's visits*. Researching in 1993, Rory Ewins had difficulty even finding members of the committee, for it had no offices. One of the two members he found reported little work by the committee, "But it's [the committee is] a stabilising factor. The media come to [it] on Tongan words, [asking if a word is] the right one. It's the only body that I know that has things written down....It's the official body that is recognised as the [authority on] Tongan traditions; they have to approve of things" (quoted in Ewins 1998:139). The committee had kept knowledge secret, and by virtue of its records, had gathered ideological power. As Lenski explained, by controlling the surplus and exchange [of knowledge], it has power (1966).

As monarch (1918-1965) for most of the protectorate era (1900-1970), Queen Salote consolidated her family's hold through her knowledge of genealogies; mastery of the Bible; forgetting political slights by Tongans, so that records—largely written by foreigners not always familiar with the nuances of Tongan politics—were unlikely to show the strength of opposition to her measures (Wood-Ellem 1999:86); using such strong and supportive personalities as British consul Islay McOwan and Rev Rodger Page in the role of scribes; encouraging Western education, which enabled her to appropriate it through bestowing it on her subjects (Campbell 1992:136); and authorship of poems, songs, and dances, which captured an oral audience but were reinforced in writing (Campbell 1992; Wood-Ellem 1999). These points are not to deny Queen Salote's birthright to power or her marriage to a royal and supportive consort or the confluence of international events, but to emphasize that familially, spiritually, officially, educationally, and even orally she commanded text. Contrary to her rhetoric of education and democracy, she created a monopoly on text culture. Wood-Ellem wrote that "she discouraged that

⁶ The queen's own papers went to Auckland University's library (Wood-Ellem 1999:278). Islanders sometimes prefer overseas preservation of their papers in climate- and security-controlled institutions in less political environments.

healthy public debate that allows a country to adapt to its own times” (1999:299).

Government established a new secondary syllabus in 1954 and gained secondary school teachers on secondment from New Zealand from 1955 (Campbell 1992:169). Government set up its newspaper, *Tonga Chronicle*, in 1965 (p.187). Britain (and to a smaller extent Australia and New Zealand) made loans available for education and scholarships in Britain (p.192). Educational reforms encouraged by Taufa'ahau Tupou IV in 1968 included a new primary curriculum and emphasis on English as a second language, supported by the donation of thousands of books from Australia and the United States (Macdonald 1994:179). That year Tonga revised its treaty with Britain and gained the right to join international organizations (Campbell 1992:193). In June 1970 Tonga gained full political independence, but crippled by the monarchy's monopoly of power in book-based culture, Tongans retained much ideological dependence on Anglophone educational systems and had limited abilities and opportunities to express themselves for new kinds of political order.

British New Guinea

Britain declared a protectorate over south-east New Guinea in 1884 and annexed the territory in 1888 (Waiko 1993:28-29). Britain's colonial administrator from 1888 to 1898, MacGregor, devised spheres of influence for missions in 1890 and encouraged their efforts to record vernaculars, to make school attendance mandatory, and to teach English so that British New Guinea would become an English-speaking country (P. Smith 1987:38-40; Waiko 1993:34-35). The appointment of the first government printer was made in 1888 (G. Smith 1975:22). The administration published the *British New Guinea Annual Reports* and *Government Gazette* locally, and officials found opportunities to publish their work in Britain, eg in *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute* (P. Smith 1987:38-39). Letters Patent in 1902 formally transferred British New Guinea to Australia (Morrell 1960:423-424; H. Nelson 1989:26). Its tenure was short, but Britain initiated government publishing, which Australia would continue. Such publishing advertised the existence of government, came to symbolize authority, and contributed to the spread of ideological power.

The New Hebrides

Under pressure from Presbyterians (who were often astute businessmen) in Australia and New Zealand, Britain became an administering power (Salmond 1969) and with France, established a Joint Naval Commission to protect the lives of British and French nationals in 1887, followed by a condominium in 1906 (Scarr 1967:190, 206-207; Sope 1980:17). Australian and New Zealander groups and businesses held sway (Trease 1987:36), but disorder persisted, with New Hebrideans' interests being disregarded at best (MacClancy 2002b:105). Finally, in 1957 the joint administration set up an Advisory Council, which included New Hebrideans, and local councils (p.131-132).

Britain looked toward self-government for the New Hebrides but spent virtually no money for education there until 1959 (Woodward 2002:49), when the first education officer for the British Residency arrived and discussed education with the churches (Kalpokas 1980:233). The new British Education Service began to standardize education in English (Miles 1998:46). By the 1960s the separate administrations built or renovated schools and contributed to mission schools (Kalpokas 1980:239). In the 1960s about 80% of New Hebrideans had ties with English-speaking missions (Trease 1995:17), and Anglophone enrolments vastly outnumbered Francophone enrolments (Woodward 2002:70). The British constructed Kawenu Teachers' Training College in 1962 and opened the British Secondary School in 1966. According to teacher Hilda Timms, Onesua High School had only out-of-date textbooks, donated library books, and nothing for local culture (2002:518-521). Anglophone schools turned to learning materials geared toward the South Pacific and produced for non-native English-speakers (Miles 1998:47, 52). In response to French school expansion (p.46), the British developed and put into use a primary-school curriculum specific to the New Hebrides. Still, primary education was not available to most of the population until 1970 (Kalpokas 1980:233; MacClancy 2002b:126). In 1972 the British National Service through District Education Committees took over English education from the Presbyterians (Kalpokas 1980:237).

The bilingual education system "provided the main basis of division between the Melanesians" (Kalpokas 1980:239). The late and divided start for government

education also had profound economic, political, and social effects, including the struggle for independence and the arrangements of political parties and government agencies (Champion 2002:145, 147; Woodward 2002:70). Duplication of educational facilities, however, stemmed from indigenous rivalries as much as British-French rivalry, according to Miles (1998:51). New Hebrideans auctioned their favours in return for education (Charpentier 2002:173; Hackford 2002:278). Where they had access to both systems, they put children in each to hedge their bets (Trease 1995:56). J.-J. Robert explained that differences were useful for those trying to influence others and for those who could gain by bartering their attention. New Hebrideans benefited from the “competition for influence” (2002:425). Miles reckoned that because of the Condominium, Vanuatu is able to play off bilateral and multilateral donors alike (1998:197).

Walter Lini was instrumental in producing *Onetalk* published by the Western Pacific Students’ Association at St John’s College, Auckland (Lini 1980a:15) and *New Hebrides Viewpoints*, published by the New Hebrides Cultural Association in May 1971 (which later evolved to the New Hebrides National Party, and later yet to Vanua’aku Pati).⁷ The cultural association’s mission to promote New Hebrideans’ advancement evolved to raise awareness of their rights (Kele-Kele 1977:24; Lini 1980a:24-27; Henningham 1992:31-32; Trease 1995:21, 23; Kalpokas 2002:344-345; S. Regenvanu 2004:100). Other political parties formed in the 1970s and called for independence (Plant 1977; MacClancy 2002b:135-136). Political leaders were those who were aware—through their élite, urban, and overseas education—of Third World liberation movements and decolonization elsewhere and who believed in *kastom* (custom) and used it to their political advantage (see Miles 1998:69-74; Bresnihan & Woodward 2002). They also used publishing avenues for political explanation and persuasion (see Sope 1974; Plant 1977).

In 1973 the UN Special Committee of 24 (the Decolonization Committee) found schooling was poor in the New Hebrides, urged that Britain and France prepare New Hebrideans for self-government and economic development, and

⁷ Its leaders had their education at USP, which J.-J. Robert claimed was “instructing those whose countries were not yet independent in the techniques of gaining power, by either persuasion or revolution” (2002:430).

requested detailed information about educational measures, particularly political education (in Plant 1977:99; Lini 1980a:38). Proposals for constitutional development in 1974 led to a Representative Assembly, which did not sit until 1976 due to elections, protests, threats of secession, and re-elections (MacClancy 2002b:136-139). Political struggles continued before a Government of National Unity was formed in 1978 (p.146), elections were held in 1979, and Vanuatu became independent in 1980.

In the lead up to independence, Gordon Norris had produced an *Election Handbook for Polling Staff* (2002:388). The British Residency had proposed that the New Hebrides Cultural Centre⁸ undertake a history to be used as a general textbook. The centre's staff and board agreed and arranged for a British PhD student, Jeremy MacClancy, to write it. The British government bore most of the costs of producing the book, *To Kill a Bird with Two Stones*. Burns Philp (Vanuatu) Ltd assisted with funding for printing the first edition at Imprimerie Hébridaise and the second at Imprimerie SOCOM (Huffman 2002:7-8). The book was thus testimony to at least fleeting cooperation between British, Australian, and Vanuatu governments and Australian and French businesses. Books marked struggles and achievements, eg Kalsakau (1980) and Lini et al (1980). Another was Weightman and Lini (1980), in which the foreword stated: "This book is the story of our achievements. This book is the witness to our victory. This book is the celebration of our history and our victory" (Lini 1980b:7).

The late and sparse recognition of Bislama as lingua franca, the existence of multiple missions, the predominance of Scottish Presbyterians, and especially the Anglo-Franco divide combined to hinder government in the New Hebrides. The complexity of the situation made doing nothing easier than doing anything. British government was not involved in education and New Hebrideans were not involved in government until quite late in the game. Late and limited venues for Ni-Vanuatu expression hindered independence and encouraged post-independence reliance on post-colonial publishing.

⁸ At the New Hebrides Cultural Centre, Frenchman Jean-Michel Charpentier held the post of curator from 1976 to 1977, a post funded by the Australian government (Charpentier 2002:155).

The Gilbert, Ellice, Phoenix, and Tokelau Islands

The Anglo-German demarcation line of 1886 put the Gilbert, Ellice, and Ocean islands into Britain's declared protectorate. After phosphate was discovered in 1900, the British government officially annexed Ocean Island (Banaba) that year. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC), established in 1916, included Banaba, Fanning, and Washington islands. Christmas Island was included in 1919 and most of the Phoenix Islands in 1937. Tokelau became a British protectorate in 1889, was added to the responsibilities of the resident commissioner in the Gilberts in 1909, and was annexed to GEIC in 1916 (Macdonald 2001[1982]:115). Britain transferred to New Zealand administrative responsibility for Tokelau in 1925 and sovereignty over Tokelau in 1948.

British resident Charles R. Swayne wrote a common constitution and *Native Laws* (Macdonald 2001[1982]:76-82). From each of the Ellice Islands, Swayne later gathered copies of laws that the pastors had written in Samoan, and they formed the basis of the government's laws issued in 1894. These laws were printed in English and Samoan at the insistence of LMS pastors. In the first election of magistrates, held in 1895, only candidates literate in Samoan were to be chosen. Each island had a magistrate, a scribe, a council, and policemen to assist the high chief (N. Teo 1983:129-130). The first law provided that the scribe record in the Court Book all judgements, thereby boosting the status of literacy (Besnier 1995:64). British resident William Telfer Campbell extended regulations throughout the protectorate and to Ocean Island and added more laws, many of which were printed in English, which few islanders were able to read (Macdonald 2001[1982]:82-93). He also set up land registers and encouraged the formation of large villages (N. Teo 1983:131). He encountered resistance from Samoan pastors, one of whom asked if the Bible or the law was to rule the people (Munro 1996:146). It was a choice between books that symbolized power. The Bible was published in Samoa. The *Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate Reports* 1910-1922/23 were published by HMSO in London (Eastman 1994:1). Arthur Grimble, who served from 1914 to 1932, promulgated the 1930 law code, written in English and Samoan (Macdonald 2001[1982]:127; N. Teo 1983:133; R. Thompson 1994:79-80). Grimble's *Instructions and Hints to District Officers, Deputy Commissioners and Sub-Accountants* was to guide succeeding administrators (Woodburn 2003c:59). His own entertaining but romanticized

memoirs were later published abroad (eg Grimble 1952).

Because of mission work, most Gilbertese and Ellice Islanders had become literate. Government required school attendance; made small grants to the three missions from 1913; increased the grants in 1917; created an education department (with one official) in 1920 to liaise with the missions and the European and Banaban schools on Ocean Island; and to meet its need for interpreters, opened King George V School on Tarawa in 1922. Ellice Islanders paid for and established their own school in 1924 (Macdonald 2001[1982]:134). After resident commissioner McClure opposed educational expansion, Banaban and Gilbertese education deteriorated (p.135). Far from GEIC government headquarters, Ellice Islanders themselves made a go of their school based on the practices that D.G. Kennedy had inculcated (p.136). Kennedy's contribution to education and his book on Tuvalu's culture earned him an honoured place with the people (N. Teo 1983:138). He also compiled a handbook on Tuvaluan language with the unacknowledged assistance of Elise Fou students (Besnier 1995:60), and the Government Printer in Suva published it (Laracy 1983b:202).

By the 1930s anthropology and international events were influencing colonial policy and practice. Resident commissioner Harry Maude and his wife Honor wanted to produce textbooks on Gilbertese history and language, "to endeavour to inculcate in the modern generation a pride in 'things Gilbertese' and the ancestors of their own race, and help to break that curious apologetic inferiority complex which causes them to prefer a shoddy, second-hand, European thought or object to one emanating from their own culture" (Harry Maude quoted in Woodburn 2003c:89). They sent a copy of a preliminary text to Captain F.G.L. (Francis) Holland, headmaster of the Colony Education Scheme (p.51, 89). Their history project and orthography revision met with official support, although not always immediate approval (p.90). Subsequently, they found support for their publishing projects from anthropologist Camilla Wedgwood, who had worked in New Guinea and Nauru (p.97). From 1930 Maude pushed for revision of island regulations. He and others sent the codes to Camilla Wedgwood, who passed them to her father, Colonel Josiah Wedgwood. As a member of Britain's House of Commons, he threatened to table the regulations for debate in the House, thus gaining London's

support for Harry's revisions. Reform in the Ellice Islands took much longer, delayed by ignorance on Tarawa of Ellice customs, followed by World War II (Macdonald 2001[1982]:138-139). Sometimes the government pamphlets that appeared in Gilbertese did not appear in Tuvaluan (Besnier 1995:53). The GEIC government had its works printed at the Rongorongo mission press and at the Government Printer in Suva (Eastman 1994:2).

During World War II Japanese occupied the Gilberts, left untouched the Ellice Islands, and decimated the Banaban population. US liberation brought devastation, then affluence and contrasts with parsimonious British administration. Impoverished by the war, Britain had to find ways to govern economically (Macdonald 2001[1982]:143-159). In 1945 Fox-Strangways began *Tero*, the colony newsletter, which Harry Maude wrote was read cover to cover and paid subscriptions were escalating (in Woodburn 2003c:206). Maude stressed localization with a supporting educational and scholarship scheme (p.161), but re-settlement issues meant his departure from the Gilberts to another posting (p.165). Most of Maude's educational plans were swamped by the effort to re-establish administration and to reconstruct Tarawa, where the administration moved its headquarters (p.163-164). The geographic difficulties of GEIC contributed to concentrating employment and education in south Tarawa.

Significant CDWA funds arrived only in the mid-1950s (Macdonald 2001[1982]:162). Most education dollars went to building a girl's high school, a small teacher training scheme (p.172), and a teacher training college (p.173). In the 1960s the Ministry of Education, Training and Culture (METC) took over the Marine Training School and Tarawa Technical Institute (Talu & Tekonnang 1979:99). Resident commissioner V.J. Andersen emphasized 'education for change' and English, hoping the lingua franca would minimize differences between Gilbert and Ellice islanders (Macdonald 2001[1982]:175). A 1965 report under the auspices of the Colonial Office led to subsidies for Catholic primary schools, amalgamation of government and LMS schools under Island Councils, government grants toward running costs and teacher salaries, and English as the medium of instruction (Macdonald 2001[1982]:176; Talu & Tekonnang 1979:104). Education took one third of aid in most of the 1960s, but aid was short of expectations (Macdonald

2001[1982]:176). A 1968 socio-economic survey report emphasized literacy for all and education for self-government and criticized infrastructural development in the centre at the expense of the periphery (p.179). In 1969 primary education was extended to nine years, but Island Councils and missions had to absorb costs (Macdonald 2001[1982]:182; Sapoaga 1983:150).

Although laws and changes had been published, the drafts were written by foreigners, most of whom had little experience in GEIC and were based on measures from elsewhere in the empire (with contiguous land masses and generations of literacy). Although the administration consulted with the magistrates, it did not consult with islanders at large about proposals that would affect them (Macdonald 2001[1982]:189-190). From 1951 magistrates conferences were training courses, and in the mid-1960s the government initiated an official government training course (p.190-193). Still, measures were not explained well beyond Tarawa despite broadcasting and written propaganda (p.193), and customary obligations and sectarian rivalries fueled the disjuncture between published law and local practice (p.195). An Executive Council was established in 1962, and an Advisory Council in 1963 (p.225). English was the official language for the Advisory Council. The government provided occasional information papers in English, but even summaries of legislation and development plans did not appear in vernaculars (Macdonald 2001[1982]:226; Teiwaki 1988:6). The government had a limited number of interpreters; not all elected members had English skills proficient enough to understand debate; and most lacked familiarity with administrative and constitutional concepts (Macdonald 2001[1982]:232; Teiwaki 1988:6). In the circumstances, the people perceived the councils as belonging to the government (Teiwaki 1988:4).

Although the 1971 constitution guaranteed their representation, Ellice Islanders worried about their future as a minority among the more conservative Gilbertese (Isala 1983a:25, 31; 1983b:155, 159-160). Sir Leslie Monson's report in 1973 recommended that, if Ellice Islanders chose separation, the British government should support that, but the Ellice Islands should receive neither assets nor phosphate royalties (1983a:32). The 1974 elections showed that literacy in English was key in gaining votes (1983a:26, 1983b:156). Because of their own culture,

literacy, experience paying for and organizing school, and no wartime interruption, Ellice Islanders were more acculturated to text and able to embody their nationalism. Legal separation took place in 1975, administrative separation in 1976, and independence in 1978 (1983b:169). Symbolic of the recognition of independent peoples was the appearance of Neli Lifuka's (1978) autobiography, transcribed by K.-F. Koch. In another age, it would have been merely a biography.

Around 1970 Elaine Bernacchi School introduced Kiribati Studies into its curriculum, but only one book was available as a resource (T. Russell 1985:115). METC requested Prof Ron Crocombe to make suggestions on the recording, conservation, and continuing development of Gilbertese culture. Crocombe recommended transmission of Gilbertese knowledge and skills through an open system of books, schools, adult education, radio, and other means (1975:22). In the mid-1970s the Kiribati Language Board was set up within METC to standardize grammar and orthography, to compile a dictionary, and to develop Kiribati literature. METC appointed 13 members with dialectical differences from government, churches, and the Tungavalu Society. The board was to make recommendations to METC's minister to forward to Cabinet, and schools and the national newspaper *Te Uekera* were to adopt any official recommendations. Planners accepted that a "long period of education" would be necessary for uniform acceptance by the public (Taoaba 1985:101-102). In 1977 METC took over all primary schools (Talu & Tekonnang 1979:99).

The Gilbertese had welcomed the separation of the Ellice Islands, for it freed up higher posts in government. The Gilbert Islands began to plan for self-government in 1976, and government issued a White Paper with constitutional proposals, political responsibilities, and advisory provisions (Teiwaki 1988:11). Governor John Smith vigorously promoted a political education programme (Macdonald 2001[1982]:270). Government printing took place on Tarawa (Eastman 1994:3). Kiribati gained its independence in 1979 with Banaba within its jurisdiction, and the British government agreed to provide budgetary support for the next three years (Teiwaki 1988:15).

I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans' experiences were very different, for their mission

experiences had affected their engagement with colonial government. Although I-Kiribati gained the written form of their own language earlier, Tuvaluans turned lessons from Samoan literary colonialism to forging Tuvaluan identity separate from I-Kiribati culture. Kennedy's maverick personality and Tuvalu's geographic distance from the centre of British government also enabled Tuvaluan independence. Both I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans adopted and adapted book-based culture to their own purposes, but at different paces.

The Cook Islands and Niue

In 1890 Britain formally annexed six southern Cook Islands (C. Ward 1933:6-8). New Zealand paid for the British resident, who acted for the NZ governor (Gilson 1980:62). F.J. Moss arrived at Rarotonga in April 1891 and worked with local chiefs to establish a federal legislature (p.64-71) and to provide primary and secondary schools. All teaching was to be in English and Auckland textbooks were to be made available at cost (Morrell 1960:290-291; Gilson 1980:74-76), for Moss believed the printed literature of the missions too restrictive in ideas and information to prepare the people for the future. His travel experiences and writing his own book influenced his ideas for the Cook Islands (Gilson 1980:73). Not everyone agreed. Rev J.J.K. Hutchin wrote to Moss to recommend teaching the native language with local publications: *The Rarotongan Alphabet Book*, Mrs Harris's *Reader Grammar*, Miss Nicholas's *Phrase Book*, *The History of the Macabees*, and *Torea* (1897). Moss's scheme failed because the chiefs did not want their allowances reduced and disliked collecting funds over which they had no direct control (Gilson 1980:81). The free public primary schools closed in 1898. New Zealand annexed the islands in 1901 (p.104). During the same year Britain ceded Niue, which it had gained through the Samoa Convention of 1899 (Morrell 1960:297; Tafatu & Tukuitoga 1982:125-126). The short-lived British protectorate had left Niue's education in mission hands.

Britain's Tenure and Aid

Morrell wrote that although Britain might not have had a coherent, long-term policy for the Pacific Islands, it saw that European influence might destroy Pacific peoples and their cultures and Britain contributed to solving a problem it could not prevent (1960:361). Administrators, however, could only act in ways with which

they were familiar—ie British ways. Many of Britain’s colonial personnel served in other parts of the empire, and they applied their experiences in new posts and often corresponded with officials elsewhere to share ideas. They met in the course of shifting to their posts or at conferences. The exchange of ideas and employment (or not) of them influenced publishing for years to come, as publishing influenced political action. The administrations were forces for the production of written records. Fijians and Tongans participated to a much greater extent than Solomon Islanders, New Hebrideans, and Gilbert and Ellice islanders. Formal education—use of English and academic subjects—supported the power structure. Even those officials who wanted to educate ‘appropriately’ for living in the islands were outmaneuvered by masses of parents and pupils aspiring to a few places. As Macdonald pointed out, emphasis on urban secondary education and teacher training formed only a tiny élite to manage each country’s political system and relations with the wider world (1994:180). Administrations hardly published for the general audience or in order to create such; their political education campaigns were late in their tenure and rushed for precipitous independence. The neglect of book publishing yet simultaneous proliferation of government records cannot be viewed as malicious control of knowledge to maintain power, but it can be viewed as neglect that perpetuated power imbalances.

According to Mackensen, Britain maintains its political relations with Pacific countries to maintain its raw material strategy and its trade situation. As head of the Commonwealth and because it has particular and supportive relationships with Australia and New Zealand, Britain is able to leverage influence among the Pacific Islands. Britain shares language and some aspects of life and political thinking with many Pacific Islanders (1983:171-172). These shared attributes have been brought about in part by publications.

Britain’s Department for International Development (DFID) contributed substantial financial assistance to publishing programmes in its former territories before it closed its office in Suva in 2002. DFID reported educational projects in Fiji (Regional Rights Resource Team), Kiribati (primary curriculum, Tarawa Technical Institute, Te Itibwerere Theatre), Solomon Islands (primary curricula reform in English and maths, Solomon Islands College of Higher Education),

Vanuatu (Vanuatu Rural Development and Training Centres Association, Wan Smolbag Theatre), and with USP (1999:7). Wan Smolbag Theatre in Vanuatu received aid from Britain for books (Dorras nd), and Wan Smolbag Theatre had a full-time employee in Britain to seek grants (Dorras interview 2002). DFID funded *Vanua Readers* in Vanuatu and *Nguzunguzu Readers* in Solomon Islands, which were published by the respective ministries of education. A DFID staff member mentioned that despite Vanuatu and Solomon Islands having some of the same stories and the differences between Bislama and Pijin being minimal, the governments would not accept using copies from one print run; they insisted on their own publications (field notes 2000). Although the project produced hundreds of *Vanua Readers* and thousands of copies, it could not guarantee the transfer of literacy skills, as Valia and Henningsen (2004) pointed out. After closing its DFID office in Suva, Britain continued to fund projects through its high commissions. Britain's VSO volunteers sometimes have become involved in publications projects, eg Stephanie Hornett, who worked in the Graphics Section of USP's Media Unit and shifted to the Fiji Museum to assist with their publications. The British government is well aware of the trifling cost of educational material in contrast with heavy expenditures for diplomatic, governing, or military personnel.

CHAPTER 10

FRANCE

From 1842 to 1901 France expanded its sovereignty over all of what is now French Polynesia. It proclaimed a protectorate over Wallis and Futuna unofficially in 1842 and officially in 1887 and 1888 and made the islands an overseas territory in 1961. France annexed New Caledonia in 1853, incorporated the Loyalties in 1864, and made the group a territory in 1946. In the New Hebrides, France established a joint naval commission with Britain in 1887 and a condominium in 1906, which lasted until Vanuatu's independence in 1980 (Henningham 1994:121; Thierry et al 1994:34, 42; Langdon & Fortune 2000:574).

France's approach to administration was more unified and purposeful than that of other colonial powers discussed in this dissertation. This chapter explains how from early on the French government used publishing to gain adherents to its rule. People in its dependencies appropriated the tools of their colonizers, but in a further twist, the French government funded indigenous expressions to promote the illusion of indigenes' influence but the reality of their greater dependence. The extreme minority position of Francophones in the Pacific as a whole has determined the French government to increase its promotion of French culture and French presence, even if it means using English to do so.

In 1844 the French government in Tahiti established the first non-religious press (Héyum 1982:253). In 1859 Marists in New Caledonia gave their lithographic press to the French government, which established the Imprimerie du Gouvernement at Noumea (then Port de France). The government printed its newspaper, *Moniteur Impérial de la Nouvelle Calédonie et Dépendances* (later *Le Moniteur de la Nouvelle Calédonie*) among other documents. The Imprimerie du Gouvernement had no competition for the next decade (Lingenfelter 1967:95-96). Political parties began publishing their own papers in the 1920s (Dornoy 1984:235). As well as laws and regulations, the Imprimerie Officielle in Papeete and the Imprimerie du Gouvernement in Noumea have published grammars and histories. Formal education began in vernaculars, but the language of education changed with political circumstances. Ordinance No.284 of 1862 made teaching French language

obligatory in French Polynesian schools (in Davies 1991:413). Vernacular languages were prohibited in schools until the 1980s in New Caledonia.

Léopold Senghor's *négritude* (quality, fact, or awareness of being of black African origin); the 1944 Brazzaville conference; exposure to other peoples and places during World War II, particularly American blacks who seemed to be treated with equality; and liberal tides in France itself had ripple effects in Oceania. In French Polynesia, indigenous nationalism led by Pouvanaa a Oopa in the 1940s developed into substantial political participation. Pouvanaa used the Bible to reinforce his campaign (Deckker 1994:263). A typographer, Jean-Baptiste Ceran-Jerusalem, founded Pouvanaa's party, the Tahitian People's Democratic Rally (RDPT), using printed matter among other means to publicize its cause (Robie 1989:27). French constitutional reforms in 1956 gave the overseas possessions considerable autonomy, but General de Gaulle's leadership of the French Republic from 1958 arrested decolonization (Deckker 1994:258). In French Polynesia, the popular majority voted in 1958 to remain a territory and Pouvanaa was sentenced to jail and exile (p.263).

By 1953 in New Caledonia, the Union Calédonienne and a workers' movement obtained Kanak rights for voting, schooling, pay, etc (Uregei 1982:120; Henningham 1994:141). Some political parties printed booklets to advocate their agenda (Dornoy 1984:90-92, 250; Henningham 1992:23, 55). An armed uprising by European settlers in 1958 set back moves for independence, and subsequent laws reduced the powers of local representatives (Uregei 1982:121-122). Because of the Algerian crisis, relocation of nuclear testing apparatus to the South Pacific, and the nickel boom, France fostered immigration (by convicts, Asians, Wallisians, French), which threatened the Kanak population (Uregei 1982:118, 123, 127, 131; Robie 1989:85, 89). Their marginalization strengthened Kanaks' sense of nationalism and complicated its realization (Dornoy 1984:93-95; Henningham 1992:56, 61-63; Deckker 1994:264-265). According to Uregei, the French government and the political Right in New Caledonia financed an ideological indoctrination campaign to disparage pro-independence parties and to legitimate repression (1982:129). The press—government and privately owned—played a significant role in politics particularly because New Caledonia lacked communication with the Anglophone

Pacific around it. In the 1970s conservative interests dominated the press; the French administration denied Kanak liberation movements the right to publish in vernaculars (Dornoy 1984:232-235). The political party Rassemblement pour la Calédonie used booklets as well as other media of propaganda in the 1977 elections and united enough pro-government parties to gain 12 seats in the Assembly that year (p.250).

The French government maintained its economic hold and its cultural and linguistic influence in New Caledonia, where Kanak were the minority, and in French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna, which had fewer resources but whose peoples were accustomed to a high standard of living. Despite cries of colonial exploitation, people in the territories were eager to work and willing to migrate to work, eg for mining on Makatea and Grande Terre, hydroelectric projects, infrastructure works, and even nuclear testing sites. France's political decision to remain a great power by maintaining its nuclear capabilities had direct effects on education in the territories, eg the technical training facilities associated with the Centre d'Experimentation du Pacifique (CEP) formed the basis of present-day technical education in French Polynesia (Shineberg 1988:79).

Using Literacy to Negotiate the Divide

Global currents of liberalism in the 1960s and 1970s affected the colonies. French administrations sent the best and brightest students to France for tertiary education, but those students found they could not, or were not allowed to, apply their lessons of personal and theoretical equality (Henningham 1992:47). Kanak leaders who emerged nationally were those who had the oratory skills necessary among their own people and the literary skills to debate Caldoche, French, and foreign opinion (p.67). In 1975 Déwé Gorodé and Nidoishe Naisseline were convicted, sentenced to serve time, and fined for writing and issuing pamphlets that supposedly incited rebellion. Gorodé also used other publications to promote the Kanak Liberation Party (Dornoy 1984:207-209). Jean-Marie Tjibaou inspired the Melanesia 2000 Festival, the first national manifestation of Kanak culture, one outcome of which was publication of *Kanaké: the melanesian way*. Tjibaou wrote, "Through this book, we want to resume the dialogue to rebuild to tell the world that we are not survivors of prehistory, still less archaeological fossils, but men of flesh

and blood. Today, Kanaké....claims his place in the sun” (in Tjibaou & Missotte 1978:5). Tjibaou was outspoken about his use of imported tools¹ to promote Kanak identity and culture to achieve political ends: the uplifting and eventual independence of his people (see Waddell 1993; Tjibaou 1996; Bensa & Wittersheim 1998).

Likewise, in French Polynesia, cultural revival was part of politics, at once reactive and assertive. In the early 1960s the French government increased its spending in the territory, to encourage acquiescence to relocation of its nuclear testing site (Henningham 1992:127), and supported the immigration of state personnel and private French settlers, whose numbers threatened the Polynesian population (Danielsson 1983:209). Increased budgets brought more access to more forms of communication; yet Polynesians lacked a forum to express pro-independence views (p.215). Danielsson railed against the government’s hiring Polynesians for “useless paper work” (p.210). According to Nicole, French writing and literacy were “technological colonialism” over Maohi orature (2001:175), but Maohi adapted the technology of writing to reinstitute Maohi forms of discourse, thus creating forms of historical and political importance (p.179). From the mid-1970s community and political leaders used *reo Maohi* (Tahitian language) to reassert Tahitian identity (Henningham 1992:132) and to appeal to the public. *Demi* (part-Europeans) took advantage of their command of literacy and work opportunities to gain, then to consolidate, their political, commercial, and administrative holds. Distinction between *demi* and Maohi lies in literacy in French and ability to cope with French administration (Shineberg 1988:79). Tellingly, it is a question of text culture, not of blood.

In the New Hebrides, Francophone schools imported texts from France and followed the national ministry of education’s curriculum (Miles 1998:52). By the 1940s Vila and Santo had French National Service schools (Kalpokas 1980:237, 239; Woodward 2002:49). Impending independence made education a matter of great “political importance” (Woodward 2002:70), to create a majority of voters in favour of France (Trease 1987:110). From the mid-1960s France supplied teachers

¹ Tjibaou once said Kanak culture was a culture of borrowers (in Fitzgerald 1998:54).

and materials, began teacher training (Miles 1998:48-50), assisted Catholic schools, and built more schools (Kalpokas 1980:233; R.E.N. Smith 2002:457-458; Woodward 2002:50-51), even in areas that already had English-medium schools (Kalpokas 1980:239). Enrolments almost evened out in the late 1970s (Miles 1998:48-49). The result of two school systems was Ni-Vanuatu who not only spoke different European languages but were trained to think and reason differently (p.52). French authority was weakened by land rights championed by the Vanua‘aku Pati, church-established education, and Anglo-affinities with other emerging nation-states. Vanuatu’s independence was a turning point in Pacific politics, for the French government feared a domino effect that might entail the loss of New Caledonia and French Polynesia (Robie 1989:17). The French invested in education even after Vanuatu’s independence: one third of its budget came from France, much of it going to educational and cultural projects (Henningham 1992:44). The long-term trend, however, has been decline in Vanuatu’s *francophonie* (French culture and civilization) as young people opt for English, which leads to more educational and employment opportunities (p.201).

Supporting Culture and Language

The Maison de la Culture de Polynésie Française published periodicals in the late 1970s (Ravault 1988:151). Also called Te Fare Tauhiti Nui, it supported the *salon du livre*, French Polynesia’s book fair. The first *salon* occurred in 2002, the second in 2003, with major financial support from the Ministry of Culture to promote local publications (Peltzer et al 2003). Other, new institutions bolstered culture and language (Toullelan & Gille 1994:3, 174). The territorial government lifted the ban on *reo Maohi* in schools and media from 1980 (Henningham 1992:144, 146). The internal autonomy statute of 1984 elevated *reo Maohi* to an official language, from which time legislative debate in the Assembly has taken place mostly in *reo Maohi* (p.147); granted the territory jurisdiction over cultural affairs and primary, secondary, and technical education; granted the right of expression for Tahitian identity (p.149); and provided for teaching *reo Maohi* in primary school, optionally in secondary school, and instruction at the teachers’ college for such language teaching. Later, instruction evolved to include degrees at the university (Peltzer 2000:88-89).

Béniéla Houmbouy explained that “awareness of the language as a focal point for identity...can virtually be dated to the rise of the Kanak political struggle in the 1970s and 1980s” (in P. Brown 2000:31). A Socialist government in France announced in 1981 establishment of institutions to bolster Kanak culture and consultative practices (Henningham 1992:72). Tjibaou served as chairman of the Office Culturel, Scientifique et Technique Canaque (OCSTC) from 1982 to 1986 and set up a Kanak cultural centre in Hienghène (p.78). OCSTC² published at least half a dozen titles, of which at least one was by a Kanak author. At the same time that the state encouraged some Kanak expressions, political tensions increased, especially in Grande Terre’s interior. The Front de Libération Nationale, Kanak et Socialiste (FLNKS) established *écoles populaires kanak* (Kanak people’s schools) in 1985 to counter the imposition of Western thinking and values and to employ vernaculars to support education rather than relegating them to specialized study (Wapone cited in Henningham 1992:88), and to counter marginalization (Tjibaou 1996:279). EDIPOP published Apollinaire Anova-Ataba’s³ *D’Ataï à l’indépendance* [1984] and Gorodé’s *Sous les Cendres des conquies* (1985) while she participated in a boycott of French schools and taught at an *école populaire kanak*. Even to be associated with her work was to take a political stand (Mwateapoo 1985). Although children in areas that did not have Kanak schools had no formal education during the boycott of French schools (Fraser 1990:200) and although the majority of the Kanak schools faltered, the initiative forced the French administration to reform its curriculum to include vernacular languages and Kanak culture and to teach French as a second language (Henningham 1992:88-89).

From 1988 prime minister Michel Rocard introduced progressive measures to strengthen France’s bilateral and regional relations. French budgets and efforts increased to perpetuate language and to sustain culture (Henningham 1992:237, Thierry et al 1994). The Matignon-Oudinot Accords and the Noumea Accords in New Caledonia and the cessation of nuclear testing and recent approval by the French parliament that gave yet more autonomy to French Polynesia (RNZI 2004) have helped to assuage territorial and regional concerns. In 1999 Don McKinnon

² In 1986 OCSTC became the Caledonian Office of Cultures.

³ Anova-Ataba was the first Kanak recognized to have his work (poems) published, but controversy delayed publication of his dissertation on Melanesian thinking (1969; see O’Reilly et al 1969:190, 198).

visited French Polynesia and said there would be a void in the Pacific if France left (cited in Dunis 2000:192).

In 1988 the Matignon-Oudinot Accords provided for establishment of the Agence pour le Développement Culturel Kanak (ADCK), which is now headquartered in the Centre Culturel Jean-Marie Tjibaou. ADCK has an active programme of conferences and presentations. It has published scores of books, its journal *Mwà Vée*, conference papers, and compact disks (P. Brown 2000:7). It promotes heritage and scientific research through archeology, anthropology, and linguistics (Haut-Commissariat N-C 1992:46). Dr Liliane Laubreaux-Tauru said that its conference proceedings are printed in A4 format with a variety of covers and bindings to make the information available to the public quickly (pers comm 2003). The agency has published books in Kanak languages, but it has experienced difficulties with the diversity of languages and the lack of publishing expertise in those languages (Laubreaux-Tauru 2002:95). ADCK has “sometimes recruited non-indigenous art and communication specialists on three-year contracts;” nevertheless, ADCK has been a leader in publishing Kanak art (Graille 2001:2, 7). Its catalogue showed generally one to two books published each year, 13.6% (3 of 22) written in indigenous languages (ADCK 2000). ADCK is funded by the Ministry for Overseas Departments and Territories, the Ministry of Culture and Communication, New Caledonia’s Congress, and the three provinces (Hunin 2002:12). Marie-Claude Tjibaou leads the Board of Administrators, which has 12 representatives from the French government, the provinces, and the customary authorities. A Scientific Committee and a Cultural Committee, composed of representatives from cultural, educational, and research associations and institutions, assist ADCK (Togna et al 1992).

The organic law of 19 March 1999 gave to New Caledonia’s provinces responsibility for cultural matters and to the state responsibility for supporting infrastructure and for guaranteeing equal access to assistance (Lataste 2002:5). To democratize access to artistic and cultural knowledge, the Southern Province supports the training of book professionals, particularly for the province’s interior, and the production of literature (Fradet 2002:6). The Province du Nord publishes to promote culture, eg Mokaddem (2000) for the Festival of Pacific Arts and Goa

(2003a&b), in which Kanak related, transcribed, and translated the material.

New Caledonians Claude Lercari, Léonard Sam Drilë, and Gorodé advocated political decisions to support vernacular publication (in P. Brown 2000:20-26 *passim*). Political struggle and accommodation have brought “greater awareness concerning a common cultural heritage,” which is visible in “school textbooks and curricula and in the work being carried out today by the Tjibaou Cultural Centre” (Gorodé in P. Brown 2000:36). New Caledonians are cognizant of the power of print to sustain culture, eg wide circulation of a catalogue that included pictures of three remaining pieces of engraved bamboo regenerated the art (Roger Boulay in P. Brown 2000:40). The Matignon-Oudinot Accords provided for adaptation by provinces of state (French) curricula to match cultural and linguistic needs (Haut-Commissariat N-C 1992:7). Recently, primary education became the responsibility of the New Caledonian government rather than the French government, and local curricula are begin adapted or developed (Jouve et al 2005:10).

French Polynesia and New Caledonia have Territorial Centres for Research and Pedagogical Documentation (Centres Territoriaux de Recherches et de Documentation Pedagogiques, CTRDPs, also called Centres de Documentation Pedagogiques, CDPs), whose heads are French. CTRDPs publish works of local history, geography, civics, environmental studies, science, culture, language, art, health, and pedagogy. Their books (many of which are accompanied by other media) show collaboration of French and indigenous authors, eg Thierry et al (1994). Jean-Pierre Duponchel explained that CTRDP in French Polynesia began producing textbooks in 1997, concentrating on history and geography. In 1998 it imported the majority of its texts from France. CTRDP published with in-house photocopiers and through printeries in Singapore and sold its books to the schools and commercially. The teachers were free to choose their books to meet the needs of the children, although an inspection system maintained accountability. Although most of the books were in French because the students must pass their qualifications in French, CTRDP had a *reo Maohi* section (interview 1998). Christian Robert, whose private company had published textbooks on contract from CTRDP, said that the competition to obtain government contracts was stiff as no publisher could survive without them (interview 1998).

Curriculum development centres were opened in 1989 on Grande Terre's east coast and on Lifou, which were linked with a newly established Territorial Teacher Training Institute in 1990 (Haut-Commissariat N-C 1992:19). Gérard Dubrulle explained that CTRDP in New Caledonia received a subsidy from France but it had to earn some of its funds so it sold its publications to schools and to the general public. In addition to books, it published video cassettes, slides, posters, brochures, and compact disks. CTRDP imported maths and science books in the belief that maths and science were not culture specific.⁴ Teachers chose their materials within their budgets; book purchases were not part of student fees. Because of having to earn funds, CTRDP had to make economic choices about what and how to publish. Its Kanak language publications were more economical in presentation and price because they did not appeal to everyone and would not be bought by everyone. CTRDP had difficulty publishing in vernaculars because of Kanaky/New Caledonia's nearly 30 languages, orthographical disagreements, and some clans' not wanting to share knowledge. Nevertheless, CTRDP published stories that teachers collected; people at the university helped with language studies; and a Kanak oversaw production of CTRDP's vernacular publications (interview 2000). Of publications in its 2000 catalogue, 5.26% (14 of 266) were in Kanak languages, and those were listed toward the end of the catalogue (CDP 2000). CTRDP in New Caledonia covers Wallis and Futuna as they are too small to have their own CTRDP, even though Wallis and Futuna would like to have one (Dubrulle interview 2000).

The Université de la Polynésie Française (UPF) has published a couple of books with Haere Po No Tahiti, one of which included the work of students (André 1993). The Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie (UNC) has published grammatical and historical works. The driving forces for publication at UNC appear to be French or Caldoche, whereas those at UPF appear to be French and Tahitian. This difference might be due to French Polynesia's longer publishing history, vastly greater predominance of one vernacular, and historically greater political freedoms

⁴ This is a different tack from other publishers of materials in Pacific Islands languages who advocate use of indigenous words to describe mathematical and scientific concepts. Furthermore, importation of books deprives people of the chance to make their own books. Understandably, with scarce resources, such an agency as CTRDP has to make choices about how they can get the most indigenous value from which publications.

than in New Caledonia. Much younger than the universities of Guam, Papua New Guinea, and the South Pacific, the French Pacific universities⁵ do not yet have as many published titles. Citing oral tradition, Peltzer excused the modest number of publications (2000:88-89). I believe the matter is not so much the existence of oral tradition, but the long impediment by the French government to development of indigenous publications.

France has promoted research in its territories through the Office de Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer (ORSTOM), which opened branches in Noumea after World War II and in Papeete in 1964. It liaises with scientific and technical institutions throughout the world. A policy shift in the 1980s emphasized the need to provide more than grey literature to the scientific community, ie to exploit technological changes in the publishing world to create documents that would interest a larger public. Its strategy included developing “politics of co-publication with private structures as well as research institutes” and “politics specific to disseminating scientific culture.” Its book publishing practices have linked communication through other media and library services (Sabrié et al 1994:64-66, 98-100; quotes p.66, LC’s translation). The Noumea and Papeete offices have published anthropological, geographical, and political books, mostly by French authors, but many of the scientists have their work published by more prestigious houses in metropolitan countries. In 1998 IRD’s Information Office undertook reforms in its publication selection and production, as well as contacting potential local and regional partners to assist with distribution, in recognition of Oceania’s majority Anglophone environment (IRD 1999:72).

Unlike French Polynesia and New Caledonia, which have significant Protestant populations, Wallis and Futuna’s population is overwhelmingly Catholic. Their traditional monarchies, population expansion, and limited resources contribute to minimizing independence sentiments (Henningham 1994:130; Thierry et al 1994; Huffer & Leleivai 2001). The Catholic Church provided education until 1933, when public school opened (Thierry et al 1994:36). Education has been obligatory since

⁵ The French Polynesian government established a University Centre on Tahiti in 1984, and it worked with four universities in France to offer bachelors’ degrees. The Université Française du Pacifique (UFP) was established in 1988 at Noumea and Papeete (Deckker & Drollet 1988). UFP devolved to UPF and UNC in 1999.

1970, but primary education remains the purview of the Catholic Church (Gata 2001:132; Thierry et al 1994:42). The language of instruction is French (Tui 2004:114), with minimal indigenous language studies (Rensch 1983:15). France increased spending in Wallis, including for schools, in part to influence Wallisian votes in New Caledonia, where the majority of Wallisians live and have been against independence (Henningham 1992:185). Thousands of resident Wallisians and Futunans have significant effect in New Caledonia's politics (Dornoy 1984). Remittances from New Caledonia reinforce dependence and political ties (Rensch 1983:11). Futunans' and Wallisians' cultures have remained strong, but the people have not used them as a rallying point against the French (Henningham 1992:187). Government publishing has been slim. Service des Affaires Culturelles de Futuna published a book with IPS, as did Service des Affaires Culturelles d'Uvea (Huffer & Leleivai 2001; Huffer & Tui 2004). The Socio-Cultural Association for Wallisian and Futunan Art published at least one book. Under the auspices of the Association Socio-culturelle de Wallis, five Wallisian teachers have been working on an Uvean grammar with Claire Moyse-Faurie, a research scholar at France's Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Seo 2004:123).

Although the bulk of this section has addressed Franco-indigenous tensions in a dual way, neither side should be seen as monolithic. Oscillations in French governments from conservative to liberal have happened alongside competing identities and loyalties within Pacific societies (Dornoy 1984; Henningham 1992, 1994). Thus, Loyalty Islanders have fewer natural resources and different perceptions from Grand Terre inhabitants, and elite urban Kanak think twice about greater but poorer equality in the bush (Henningham 1992:96). Caldoches sometimes favour independence, sometimes not (Deckker 1994:267). The French government has played up the complexity of language issues: high commissioner Thierry Lataste recently said other-than-Kanak communities, eg Wallisian, other Polynesian, and Vietnamese, deserved recognition and reinforcement of their languages and cultures (in Oceania Flash 21 Mar 2000). Marquesans voice support for France in order to keep aid flowing to their remote islands (Henningham 1992:162) and threaten to secede from French Polynesia in order not to be colonized by Tahitians (*PIR* 21 Dec 1997). To emphasize their distinct culture, a Marquesan dictionary was recently re-published (Dordillon 1999[1904]). The 1984 statute

ordained that the Territorial Assembly could allow other Polynesian languages to replace Tahitian in kindergarten and primary school (Haut-Commissariat PF 1995:21, Title III, Art.90). *Reo Tuamotu* supporters formed an association in 2000 to explore ways of sustaining their language, including establishment of an academy in Papeete (Oceania Flash 13 Apr 2000). The government of French Polynesia began to support the creation of academies for other language groups (Peltzer 2000:90-91). Henningham reported that Futuna's kings asked of France in 1983 to be a distinct territory from Wallis (1992:191).

According to Henningham, the policy shift, with accompanying funds and effort, to perpetuate indigenous heritage could work to maintain French sovereignty or to reinforce moves toward autonomy (1992:237). Nicole wrote of Maohi ability to use their writing as a counterforce to French colonialism (2001:188). I argue that *published* writing can do this more effectively. Flora Devantine (Vaitiare 1980; Devantine 1998) and Chantal Spitz (1991, 2002) continue to use literature as a vehicle to express dissatisfaction with colonialism. The issue is complex: Devantine (2003) and Spitz (2003) spoke against colonialism at the Lire en Fête (book fair) held in Poindimié, New Caledonia, an event subsidized by the French government and held at the same time as the French national Lire en Fête.

When Oscar Temaru and Gaston Flosse fought for the presidency of French Polynesia in 2004, Temaru's supporters maintained control over key government buildings, including the government printers (Decloitre 2004b). In New Caledonia, politicians on all sides have marked their decisions with books as well as government publications, eg New Caledonia's anti-independence leader Jacques Lafleur's *Ce Que Je Crois* (Decloitre 2004a). Jaffre addressed the ability of the state to support the construction of New Caledonian culture through assistance to publishing literature, and called culture and politics inseparable, for people in positions of responsibility effect choices for society and New Caledonian identity (2003:35-36). Gorodé has pointed out that because publishing is expensive, much of the 'independent' publishing for New Caledonia, even Kanaky, has been accomplished with government funds⁶ (in Stefanson 1998:77). By granting the

⁶ Gorodé is now vice-president of New Caledonia's coalition government, responsible for Culture,

illusion of participation in expression and influence, the administrations have continued to foster dependency on the French state.

Book Markets in the Territories

The French territories' high incomes (relative to the region) and the French emphasis on promoting language and culture show in bookshops: the French territories have the largest and cleanest bookshops with the largest selection of books in Oceania, and they promote local publications. The government supports such events as local *salons du livre* and French book week in Sydney (Depierre 1997). It abolished all taxes on books on 1 September 2000⁷ (Pierre Faessel in Laubreaux-Tauru 2002:97). Nevertheless, about 95% of books in shops are from France (based on personal perusal in Papeete in 1993, 1998, 1999, and 2000 and Noumea in 1993, 2000, and 2003). One of the largest publishers in France, Hachette, has distribution outlets in French Polynesia and New Caledonia. Pierre Faessel, proprietor of Librairie Montaigne in Noumea, said he ordered about 95% of his books directly from France. He even purchased his English books from France because he found it more practical to pay in French francs and to work with a big book distributor (in his case, Nouveau Quartier Latin). He had tried without success for two years to find a distributor in Australia (interview 2003).

The market for vernacular books is tight: limited to those clans and a few other people who read those particular vernaculars. Educated mainly in the French language, most people find it easier to read French than vernaculars, even their own, because orthographies have not been standardized, because vernaculars have smaller or different vocabularies, or just because people are accustomed to reading French. Some writers have their work published in French because French readers comprise a greater audience than vernacular audiences; thus, the writers contribute to the continuing dominance of French-language publications in their own countries. Gorodé explained:

Of course, I also write in my own language, but that poses a problem in terms of publishing. Today, in New Caledonia, everyone reads

Women's Affairs, Citizenship, and Customary Affairs (see Ramsay 2005 for Gorodé's politics and prose).

⁷ The timing might have been unintentional but it assisted booksellers during the Festival of Pacific Arts in Noumea in October.

French, but not necessarily my language. So, who is going to accept to publish texts in the vernacular? And yet one day we must manage to publish contemporary texts also in the vernacular. It is important to teach languages, but we must also be capable of writing them and having them published via translation, if necessary....For an ADCK...project..., I wrote a story in Paicî, that I then translated into French, staying as close as possible to the original. This story appeared in a French version because that way it could reach the widest possible public (in P. Brown 2000:24-25).

Even writing in French, New Caledonian writers have said that they find it practically impossible to have their work accepted by French publishing houses (NC writers 2000; N. Kurtovitch cited in Laubreaux-Tauru 2002:95). Most people in France are not interested enough in the Pacific territories to create a large audience, and publishers in France are generally unwilling to take the risk. The market for books is limited to the French territories and the small number of people beyond them who are interested in these islands and who can read French. Dornoy wrote of the isolation of New Caledonia among English-speaking neighbours (1984). Bensa and Wittersheim discussed the effect on identity of double marginalization in the French territories—marginalized by France and marginalized by English-speaking Oceania (1998:371). Book publishing bears out their statements.

France's Tenure and Aid

In 1986, after the South Pacific (now Pacific Islands) Forum arranged for New Caledonia's re-inscription on the UN list of colonial territories and after most South Pacific countries had signed the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty, the French government increased its bilateral aid across Oceania, providing military equipment, cyclone relief, professional expertise, and travel (Henningham 1992:210-215). In 1996 as other countries geared down their aid to the Pacific, the French increased theirs. French aid for the region was exceeded only by that of Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. Although it promoted *francophonie*, it did not seek to combat the English language, for Francophones were only 5.5% of the population. In fact, people in France and its territories have seen a market for their works translated into other languages, especially English. France's aid comes bilaterally through its embassies and multilaterally through EU and UN agencies (*IB* Jul 1996).

In 2003 the French government announced it would increase its aid by 50% by 2007 (*The National* 1 Aug 2003). Included in its aid measures have been books published by the French government through its embassies (eg Gardère & Routledge 1991; Siers 1999) and books published by other agencies but subsidized by France. By 1989 France was the single largest bilateral donor to the South Pacific Applied Geosciences Commission (SOPAC) (Henningham 1992:214), which publishes books. The French Embassy in Suva donated FJD 10,000 to fund publication of *Major Environmental Issues*, which was produced by the Chemistry Society of the South Pacific, based at USP (Ho 2003). France subsidized IPS books (eg Huffer & Leleivai 2001; Trease & Macdonald 2002[1979]; W. Bennett et al 2003; Huffer & Tui 2004; Loeak et al 2004a&b). France supported private New Caledonian business, ie Grain de Sable, by assisting co-publication with IPS of *The Last Nightfall* (Gope 2002) and *A Caledonian Pastoral* (I. Kurtovich 2002). The French Embassy in Suva funded a translation of *To Kill a Bird with Two Stones*, which IPS produced on behalf of the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta (MacClancy 2002a&b). France was able to take advantage of IPS's worldwide market; IPS was able to promote Pacific Islander authors.

By making French language obligatory in schools and importing textbooks from France, administrations in the territories rendered vernacular languages and identities less important. Liberal leanings in France briefly encouraged indigenous nationalism and political participation in French Polynesia and New Caledonia. Subsequent retrenchment in France, the Algerian crisis, the relocation of nuclear testing apparatus to the South Pacific, and the nickel boom led to political propaganda campaigns, arrests, and violence. International liberalism from the 1960s led to increased funding for cultural and linguistic programmes and later to greater measures of political autonomy, including jurisdiction over education and right of expression. Vanuatu's independence spurred the French to invest in education there and publishing elsewhere. Publishing and politics show conflict and support in French Polynesia and New Caledonia. In Wallis and Futuna, the overwhelmingly Catholic population, traditional monarchies, population expansion, and limited resources help to limit leanings toward independence and expressions of difference. Across the region, France invests in publishing activities that raise the profile of *francophonie*.

CHAPTER 11

NEW ZEALAND

Humanitarian sentiment was a factor in New Zealand's colonial policy, but politicians really wanted to play a bigger role in South Pacific affairs (Ross 1969:7-8). However, "[a]s a small, weak, developing country itself, it lacked the people, the money and the markets to develop island territories" (Boyd 1997:298). It did not have tried and tested institutional structures, such as a colonial service or a large cadre of anthropologists, to inform policy, and official visits were infrequent and often tied to crises (S. Wilson 1969b:59). World events, such as the Great Depression, affected New Zealand's ability to provide services to its colonies. Moreover, responsibility for the islands shifted among its government departments (Boyd 1969c:129-130; S. Wilson 1969b:31-32fn23; Gilson 1980:186). Few officials had knowledge of the islands and their cultures (Boyd 1997:298). Over time, however, individuals within NZ governments and territory administrations worked with islanders to contribute substantially to educational efforts and constitutional settlements (Ross 1969). This chapter explains the changeable and differing nature of NZ policies in the Cook Islands, Niue, Western Samoa, and Tokelau.

The Cook Islands

New Zealand officially annexed the Cook Islands in 1901 and modelled its administration there on Native Affairs in New Zealand (Ngata 1932). Resident commissioner Colonel Gudgeon believed that over-educating islanders would lead to dissatisfaction (Gilson 1980:169). In 1901 New Zealand's chief justice Sir Robert Stout, Maori member of the House of Representatives Te Heu Heu, and under-secretary of Justice Waldegrave investigated and reported that poor mission schools and the dearth of vernacular publications retarded the people's progress (Davis 1969:275; Gilson 1980:128-129). Although government schools opened in 1915, that same year New Zealand passed the Cook Islands Act, which curtailed local decision making about finance and social services (Vai'imene 2003:171), and English was declared the official language (Goodwin 2003:96). The administration published *Cook Islands Gazette* from 1898 to 1926. The Government Printer printed a *Translation of the Cook Islands Act 1915 into Rarotonga Maori* in 1915,

Trotter's *Glossary of English and Rarotongan* around 1917, and H. Bond James's *Rough Notes on Rarotongan* in 1923 (Woods 1997:257).

Education became free, secular, and compulsory; schools opened steadily in the southern group; and the government subsidized LMS schools in the northern group. From 1921 the administration increased its efforts to train islanders for skilled and semi-skilled jobs and instituted a teachers' training programme (Gilson 1980:133). Training in printing posed problems. Efforts to train one boy involved discussions and correspondence with the printing office on Rarotonga, the resident commissioner in the Cook Islands, St Stephen's School for Maori Boys and the Phoenix Press in Auckland, the Cook Islands and Labour departments, the NZ Government Printer, NZ labour unions, the Typographical Council of New Zealand, and Malua Theological College in Samoa (J.D. Gray 1924a&b; A. Wilson 1924). The 1922 rules for management of public schools and a school syllabus emphasized patriotism and citizenship (Education Review 1936). "All instruction was carried out in the English language, as it was thought that as long as the children were sufficiently familiar in this tongue to read books, they could continue with their own education after leaving school; apart from this, it was at that time considered too great an expense to print any reading matter in the native language" (W. Graham & Davis nd:1-2). Sir Maui Pomare and others believed essential concepts and new ideas could not be expressed in the vernacular and that vernacular textbooks were too difficult to publish (Gilson 1980:172, 175). The policy for instruction in English endured into the 1940s (Davis 1969:280).

At the 1926 Conference on the Education of Natives in the South Sea Islands (held in Wellington), educational experts from the Cook Islands, Fiji, New Zealand, and Samoa agreed that textbooks in vernaculars and English were needed for the native schools and that textbooks should be compiled for reading and arithmetic first and hygiene and agriculture later (Conference 1926). The superintendent of CI schools advocated craft work and, if necessary, resurrection of such work from a book (Binsted 1926a:5). In 1927 the superintendent of Cook Islands schools wrote that it was "necessary to provide substitute material until sufficient information, experience, and knowledge of the interests of Maori pupils have been obtained to justify our attempting to produce our own books. The difficulties in the way are far

greater than appear at first sight for the material used must deal with local conditions; the reading must be written in a manner interesting to Maori children, and the vocabulary of each book must be within the capacities of the class of children who are to use it” (Binsted 1927:1). With books and reports from other countries, education officials in the Cook Islands revised the curriculum (p.3), and arrangements were made for the regular publication of a school journal, *Te Tuatua Apii* (1926b:3, 8, 11, 1927:4). Sir Apirana Ngata, named minister for the Cook Islands in 1928, emphasized that New Zealand had to help Cook Islanders adjust to the modern world that Europeans had introduced, and that education was key, for “civilization has not yet devised any better method than patient impressing of itself upon the mentality of subject peoples” (quoted in Gilson 1980:174).

J.C. Evison wrote of the need for reading material for children, that NZ books would be suitable but they might “have to be supplemented by books of our own production on the lines of these now being supplied for the Niue schools” (1930). The late chief inspector of primary schools noted limited facilities for reading and unsuitable textbooks and reported the vernacular was “dragging on” (Bird 1933:1). The minister for the Cook Islands issued Regulations relating to Schools in the Cook Islands, which called for civic and moral education to accompany exercises for writing and practice for business (Ngata 1934). In 1935 the education officer on Rarotonga (who had 10 years’ experience teaching in the Cook Islands) and New Zealand’s senior inspector of native schools, W.W. Bird, revised the syllabus (S.J. Smith 1936a).

Samoan nationalism affected New Zealand’s perceptions and actions elsewhere. In Wellington, officials justified “the training inculcated into the youth of the Cook Islands” as “a most valuable aid to our government of these people, each successive generation of whom will become much more amenable...than, say, the bulk of the native people [of] Samoa who have not the advantage of this culture” (S.J. Smith 1936b:1). Despite policies and appointments, the Great Depression saw the Cook Islands without an education officer for years, which affected what measures New Zealand did take. For instance, six new *Progressive Primer Readers* were sent but staff shortage meant they were forwarded to indigenous teachers without any guidance. Ball noted that instruction in English was counter-productive, for parents lacked interest in school because it was foreign to their cultural activities,

and he recommended changes in pedagogy, training in native education, and refresher courses (1937:1).

Economic unrest during World War II sowed the seeds of Cook Islands nationalism. New Zealand had offered little administrative, educational, and political training. No Cook Islander held a key administrative post before the war (S. Wilson 1969b:57-58). The Cook Islands Progressive Association (CIPA, begun in 1916, but lapsed) re-formed in 1943 but did not become organized politically until its leaders gained experience and adopted a popular programme (Boyd 1997:301; Gilson 1980:193). The only textbooks in use during the war were pupils' arithmetic for grades 5 to 8 (locally compiled) and a set of New Zealand-published readers for grades 1 to 4 (W. McKenzie 1948). Change came in 1944 when New Zealand's prime minister Peter Fraser visited the Cook Islands and directed that the vernacular be introduced as a subject (Gilson 1980:213). The education officer complained about the prohibitive cost of publishing vernacular texts and the difficulty of finding skilled people to do so. He argued that a "wider language medium is essential to progress and so long as the masses in a country are confined to vernaculars, then they will be counted as backward, *politically incompetent* and socially inferior. People who are limited to their local traditional speech are easily dominated and exploited and are excluded from the larger experiences in world affairs and the literary achievements of mankind." He advocated English to give "access to the stores of knowledge of civilization and thus progress...." and Maori *as a subject* in schools because cultural survival depended on language (K. Walker 1945, LC's emphasis).

Fraser arranged for an expert committee from NZDoE to survey schools in the Cook Islands, Niue, and Western Samoa (Gilson 1980:213). In 1945 Dr Clarence E. Beeby and others recommended local studies as well as agricultural, technical, and academic subjects; creation of an Islands Education Division; and appointment of an officer for islands education within NZDoE to "prepare readers, textbooks, and journals especially adapted to the needs of the schools in the islands" (Davis 1969:281). They advocated hiring of more European staff for training and supervision and use of vernaculars in early primary school, for "[t]he problems of health, education, trade, religion, morals, and politics with which the Cook Islander must grapple if he is to take a real part in the government of his country, cannot be

handled by men and women whose control of some language, either English or the vernacular, is not accurate, sure and free from confusion” (quoted in J. Graham 1951:1). The committee recommended Rarotongan as the standard vernacular (Gilson 1980:214) and compilation of a teachers’ manual in two subjects and a pupils’ textbook for one subject, but the secretary for island territories questioned whether the students would receive free copies and who was to pay for the cost of production (McKay 1946). Books were not common: The resident agent on Penrhyn noted the teachers had only a few Bible stories, school exercises, and some printed matter from the resident agent’s office dealing with the war (Gladney 1946). Re-introduction of the vernacular was slow due to lack of textbooks (Gilson 1980:214) and “by native parents, who took the attitude that a change of education to follow the lines of native culture must be construed as an attempt by those Europeans in authority to hold the native back from progress towards his European ideal” (W. Graham & Davis nd:2). English had high status because those who mastered it “obtained relatively lucrative positions and became prominent in the community” (J. Graham 1951:4). By 1946 three vernacular textbooks were supplied, and all classes had vernacular instruction for one hour each week (Gilson 1980:214).

Trouble on Avarua’s waterfront, political force gathered by CIPA, and Left-wing publications forced the NZ government to reassess its role in the islands (Gilson 1980:199). The CI administration had no news periodical to inform people about its decisions and actions (p.203-204). In 1948 the Schools Department proposed a complete overhaul of curriculum to include modern developments in education and to retain relevance for the local environment. The department began compilation of a Maori vocabulary and grammar (W. Graham & Davis nd:3; W. McKenzie 1948). The department wrote new language readers in Maori and in English, officials made a comprehensive plan for textbooks and teachers’ manuals, and the Cook Islands sought the assistance of the Education Department officer in Wellington who was compiling textbooks for Samoa (W. McKenzie 1948). A “considerable quantity of reading material” was translated and duplicated for schools, and an organizing teacher was appointed to work on development and instruction of Maori subjects (W. Graham & Davis nd:3). By 1950 vernacular textbooks and a dictionary had been prepared (Gilson 1980:214). From 1950 to 1966 70 issues of the *Cook Islands School Journal* were printed in New Zealand

(Long 1997:254). Six copies per year were shipped to the Cook Islands and issued free to the senior pupils. They proved popular with older people as well (Brief Report 1950:4; Allison 1951; Grant 1959), which “did much to reduce opposition to our policy” (J. Graham 1951:2). In implementing its new policy, the administration chose Rarotongan over the other dialects because the Bible and most other literature had been printed in that dialect, so it was understood throughout the group. The population of 15,000 limited the quantity of material that could be printed economically (p.4). Although the educational system employed Maori language, it did not forsake English because it saw the difficulty of teaching scientific and technical subjects if Maori words had to be invented (p.5). Maori language education was introduced to younger grades against popular opposition, but it facilitated learning (Allison 1951).

Although appointment of an officer for further education and establishment of village committees for out-of-school people of all ages were envisioned to assist higher education, the solution became a central training school (J. Graham 1951:6). Nikao Teachers’ Training College was built in 1954. Tereora College re-opened as a state secondary school in 1955, staffed partly by New Zealanders recruited by NZDoE’s Islands Education Division (Vai’imene 2003:171). Although schools used vernacular languages for the first few years of schooling and included CI history and culture in the curriculum (Kennedy 1984:268-269), NZ textbooks by and large were used. New Zealander educators wrote instructional materials but, as they were often on short contracts, the curriculum saw frequent revision. From 1950, when significant numbers of Cook Islanders migrated to New Zealand, authorities increased their concern about relevant curriculum given changing life-styles (p.283). According to Kennedy, the concern for environmentally, culturally, linguistically based education was sound in principle, but few Cook Islanders had the training to create such materials in practice (p.284). The Cook Islands’ scattered geography meant publication from the centre to the periphery (p.281).

According to Marjorie Crocombe, writing and publishing of Cook Islands Maori language materials were initiatives of Cook Islander teachers themselves, for when they returned from training in New Zealand, they had nothing with which to teach their own language (2003a). In the early 1950s Taira Rere began writing school

texts, histories, and Maori language books.¹ The government employed him as a full-time writer for schools until his death in 1995. The work of other writers was also published for schools. Some Cook Islanders, eg Charlie Cowan (who wrote in English), had their work published by the government newspaper, *The Cook Islands Review*. (Later Sir) Tom Davis and Johnny Frisbie had their work published by overseas houses (M. Crocombe 2003b:84). The first *Cook Islands Infant Reader* was published in 1958 and further books were being prepared to make a series. Many of the *Infant Readers* and vernacular reading and comprehension cards were produced on the department's duplicating equipment (Grant 1959).

In the mid-1950s a report by minister of island territories T. Clifton Webb, Beeby, Dr J.M. Wogan, and Mr C.W.O. Turner on political development, education, health, and public works led to cautious increases in Maori authority, responsibility, training, and positions (S. Wilson 1969a:75-77). In 1955 the director of social development remarked on the absence of reading material on Atiu Island, insufficient literary and technical sources of information in Maori language, use of imperfectly understood English, and consequent incorrect interpretations (Dir of Social Devt 1955:2). He advocated "two well-produced publications which might be called 'The Cook Islands and its People' and 'The Cook Islands and its Government', probably in English only" and a follow-up programme to produce good citizens, aware of the law and able to pursue knowledge to raise living standards (p. 6). One such book appeared three years later, R. Crocombe's *The Cook Islands* published by the School Publications Branch, wherein he pointed out, "as New Zealand provides much of the money which is used to pay for civil servants' salaries, medical and *educational supplies*, and other government services, certain powers lie in the hands of the Resident Commissioner rather than the Assembly" (1958:15, LC's emphasis).

In 1955 the minister of island territories commissioned Prof H. Belshaw and V.D. Stace to survey the CI economy. Their report recommended increased management by Cook Islanders of their own affairs, augmented adult education, and

¹ One such book was his *Conversational Maori*, published by the Nikao Teachers' Training College, financed by the Nikao Teacher-Trainees' Association fund, and printed by the Government Printer (Rere 1961:i).

constitutional development towards self-government (S. Wilson 1969a:79-82; T. Chapman 1976:11). Officials saw cooperative societies as the best way for Cook Islanders to learn to manage their own affairs, effected regulations on 29 May 1955, and appointed a registrar that year (Noakes 1956; S. Wilson 1969a:99). Model by-laws were drafted and produced, pamphlets were issued to the public, and accounting books to the societies. A manual was sent overseas on 22 August 1955 to be printed in time for use in a special course in January 1956, but appeals to the Department of Island Territories (DIT) failed to elicit the book before the course began (Noakes 1956:2). *Notes for the Guidance of Schoolmasters and Others Interested in Schools Savings Societies* was published in cyclostyled form in 1955. School societies were “to guide and educate the pupils in democratic procedure” (Dir. Ed 1955). Publicity included radio (Noakes 1955) and broadsheets of the radio talk to explain cooperation. Cyclostyled copies of the book were used until *Co-operation for the Maoris of the Cook Islands* was printed (Registrar 1956). The cooperation programme emphasized village societies as the centre of growth, education for business, government, and ethics according to Western values of democracy and economy (Noakes 1958b). Cooperation was to provide social advancement, better living standards, and education in leadership and citizenship and to incorporate assistance from the South Pacific Commission and other territorial administrations (1958c).

To support cooperation, R.J. Wilson, principal of the Teachers’ Training College, provided *The Story of the Village of Matangi Aue*, as stories, poems, activities, plays, formal lessons, and notes. Marjorie Hosking (later Crocombe) translated them. The stories were published in cyclostyled form, as a booklet, and monthly in the *Cook Islands Review*, which the administration published and sent free to school children throughout the island group. Teachers used the textbook *Co-operation for the Maoris of the Cook Islands* for their own reference (J.L. McEwan 1957; R. McEwan 1958; Noakes 1958b; Approved Syllabus 1959). As time passed most of the teaching of cooperation was in English, so the administration abandoned its planned translation (Noakes 1958b). The Department of Social Development led adult education and disseminated information to strengthen Maori society, including cooperation until a separate Department of Co-operation was established in 1960 (Davis 1969:286-287). The educational effort for cooperation led to greater societal and economic organization, eg a cooperative bank and a draft constitution. The Cook Islands

extended an invitation to SPC to send its cooperative officer to Rarotonga to assist the registrar. A course commenced in 1958, wherein all Rarotonga staff were expected to attend lectures and outer-islands staff were expected to study from textbooks sent to them (Noakes 1958a:1, 10).

The NZ government appointed Prof Colin C. Aikman, an expert on constitutional and international law at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), to carry out a constitutional survey (T. Chapman 1976:11). His reports in 1956 and 1957 supported moves toward self-government (S. Wilson 1969a:84-86). New Zealand succumbed to international pressure to end the colonial relationship (p.104); required achievements in economics, education, and health (Gilson 1980:217); and passed enabling legislation in 1957 for political development (Gilson 1980:219; Boyd 1997:308). Cook Islanders, however, did not want to sacrifice NZ citizenship and subsidies for independence (Boyd 1997:308). In 1962 New Zealand gave budgetary control of its subsidies to the Cook Islands Legislative Assembly (p.306). Aikman, J.B. Wright, and Prof J.W. Davidson applied their Samoan experience to assist Cook Islanders to draft a constitution based on a Westminster model (p.306-307). Their report on constitutional development, tabled before the Legislative Assembly in October 1963, recommended free association² (S. Wilson 1969a:109). The NZ Parliament passed the Cook Islands Constitution Act in 1964, after which the CI government organized a public awareness campaign that included pamphlets on the meaning of the constitution (p.111-112).

Following suggestions of the NZ Royal Commission on Education in 1960, the Cook Islands reorganized education, using Gloria Tate's Oral English scheme and other material. A committee set up to publish bulletins and journals in Maori and English, considered whether English would replace Maori as the number of Maori speakers would never suffice to justify publication (Proposed Re-organisation nd). In 1962, however, DIT published Savage's *A Dictionary of the Maori Language of Rarotonga*, which was printed on Rarotonga (Griffith et al 1997a:338). The Islands Education Division published M. Crocombe's school book about the Cook

² The UN Declaration for the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (the General Assembly's Resolution 1541 [XV]), adopted 15 December 1960, recognized alternatives for small territories, namely free association or integration (Boyd 1997:308).

Islands, Niue, and Tokelau (1962). Along with international pressure, developments elsewhere in the Pacific, eg Papua New Guinea and American Samoa, affected decisions in the Cook Islands (R. McEwan 1962:2). J.M. McEwen, secretary of island territories, recommended appropriate and prompt educational changes to secondary schooling so as to avoid a situation like Western Samoa's, wherein NZ educational aid was needed to accomplish what could have been done at less cost prior to independence (1963). More educational opportunities, improved facilities, teachers from overseas, and better trained Cook Islander teachers contributed to preparation for self-governance, achieved in 1965 (Kennedy 1984:269). After independence, the Islands Education Division continued to publish for DIT, eg Taira Rere's *Maori Lessons for the Cook Islands* (Griffith et al 1997a:336).

New Zealand's officials did not agree among themselves about the use of Maori language, and many Cook Islanders perceived retention of education in Maori language as a way to limit their participation in national affairs and the wider world. Global depression and world war inhibited New Zealand's ability to provide books even when it had resolved to do so. Having begun late with training for book publishing, New Zealand left Cook Islanders less than prepared for independent government. Free association left the door open not only for Cook Islanders to retain NZ services and opportunities but also for New Zealand to retain ideological influence in the islands.

Niue

When New Zealand annexed the Cook Islands in 1901, it included Niue, without asking Niueans and without including them in the Cook Islands Federal Council (T. Chapman 1976:11). The Cook and Other Islands Government and Amendment Act of 29 September 1903 established a separate administration and resident commissioner for Niue (Tafatu & Tukuitoga 1982:126). Niueans had their own Island Council, which was advisory with a minor legislative role (T. Chapman 1976:16). LMS ran the schools until government established schools in Alofi in 1909 and in Hakupu in 1920 (Davis 1969:288; Rex & Vivian 1982:128). When NZ director of education Caughley visited in 1917, he questioned the absence of the Niuean language in school and no production of vernacular texts, but the next year inspector of native schools W. Bird decreed that Niuean was not to be taught (Davis 1969:289).

The administration began subsidizing mission schools in 1925 (Davis 1969:289; T. Chapman 1976:7). A change in policy in 1927 meant use of Niuean language in lower division school primers (Rex & Vivian 1982:129). Anthropologists had their work published beyond Niue (eg S.P. Smith 1983 [1902/3]; Loeb 1926).

New Zealand offered little administrative, educational, and political training. No Niuean held a key administrative post before World War II (S. Wilson 1969b:57-58). In 1944 the Beeby commission recommended removing education from the missions (Davis 1969:289-290), which happened in 1946 and raised the standard of education. Prompted by events in the United Nations and New Zealand's rough record in Samoa, Niueans were sent overseas for teacher training (Rex & Vivian 1982:130). "Until the 1950s, education of any real significance was virtually non-existent" (T. Chapman 1976:7). The administration took over all responsibility for education by the early 1950s (Davis 1969:289), and the NZ subsidy increased (T. Chapman 1976:10). Education became free and compulsory. The secondary school and training college began in 1958 (Davis 1969:290; T. Chapman 1976:7, 84). From 1959 to 1966 the School Publications Branch published 51 issues of *Niuean School Journals* (Long 1997:254). Education rose in government schools, which taught English (Boyd 1997:307). Although this change broadened and deepened the minds of young Niueans (T. Chapman 1982:133), the "existing level of education precluded effective communication between the administration and the people" (1976:9). That changed, however, when J.M. McEwen was appointed resident commissioner in 1953. He had academic qualifications, was experienced in Maori affairs, learnt Niuean before he took up his post, and encouraged local decision making (T. Chapman 1976:9, 1982:133; Rex & Vivian 1982:131; Boyd 1997:307). When McEwen became secretary of island territories in 1956, his understanding of Niueans and their concerns helped Niueans to negotiate their decolonization (T. Chapman 1976:10, 21; 1982:133).

As a result of Belshaw and Stace's survey in the Cook Islands, New Zealand applied similar measures to Niue—without a similar survey. The Cook Islands Amendment Act of 1957 provided for the establishment of a Niue Island Assembly, an approach that Niueans resented (T. Chapman 1976:11). New Zealand announced to the United Nations that Niue and the Cook Islands were to have self-government by 1965 and that Niueans had unanimously approved the timetable for self-government—

neither of which Niueans learnt of until after the fact (p.12-13). Niueans preferred rule by New Zealanders to that by Niueans because the former could retain more distance from local politics (T. Chapman 1982:138; Douglas 1987:187). Prof Aikman and McEwen visited Niue in 1965 to discuss the timetable for self-government (T. Chapman 1976:21), and Niue's Assembly considered their report in 1966 (p.27-28).

By the 1960s education was the largest single item in the government's annual expenditure on Niue (T. Chapman 1976:10). At the SPC's Second Regional Education Seminar in 1964, D.R.A. Hillary, Niue's director of education, said, "The planned move towards internal government requires an educational system that will produce leaders and worthy citizens" and that Niue's curriculum included democratic procedures and understanding the modern world along with retaining suitable Niuean customs (1964). In the 1960s and 1970s the School Publications Branch published Niuean translations of nearly a dozen's children's classics, eg Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (Long 1997:254). Publications, however, were for the most part conspicuously absent from DIT's annual reports to the NZ House of Representatives. Boilerplate language from year to year informed readers that all books and equipment in schools were provided free and some came from NZ funds. The Community Development Office, a section of the Administrative Department, provided interpreting and printing services for other departments. *Tohi Tala Niue* and a quarterly newsletter from the Agriculture Department were almost the only government publications mentioned (DIT 1966-1974).

The exception was a new dictionary (DIT 1970:6). McEwen's (1970) dictionary, prepared by the Schools Publications Branch of the Department of Education, met with orthographic opposition because McEwen had used *ng* rather than *g*. Divisions appeared among teachers and the general public. A Niue Assembly member placed a motion in 1971 to retain just *g*. The Assembly adopted the motion, signalling that the leader of government business did not have the Assembly's support. A call for a vote of no confidence did not follow only because of Niueans' ignorance of Westminster procedures and Robert Rex's leadership (T. Chapman 1976:29-30, 1982:136). At the time, English was the official language of government. Debate in the Assembly took place in Niuean and English to satisfy Niueans with little command of English and expatriates with little command of Niuean. Debate in the Executive

Committee was confidential; therefore, an interpreter could not be present, which meant debate had to be in English (1976:30). Thus, the records are in English.

Prof R.Q. Quentin-Baxter became Niue's constitutional adviser in 1970 and prepared a report to Niue's Assembly (T. Chapman 1976:42fn41). To inform the public, documents were published in Niuean and English: the UN Declaration on Colonialism, Quentin-Baxter's report, the broadcast speeches of the leader of government business and the resident commissioner, their oral and printed statements about the introduction of the full member system of government, and full and detailed accounts of the Assembly's proceedings (p.43fn47). Until the early 1970s New Zealand had resisted UN visiting missions because it believed the micro-territories had significantly different concerns from the large countries of Africa and Asia and because it believed the United Nations might force solutions on the micro-territories before they were ready. In June 1971, however, New Zealand invited the United Nations to send a visiting mission to Niue and Tokelau in 1972. The mission found the lack of political education a serious short-coming (p.52). Based on a report by SPC's broadcasting officer, an Information Office was formed in 1973 in part to encourage people to use *Tohi Tala Niue* as a forum for public opinion to assist political education (DIT 1973:24).

The Niue Constitution Act of 1974 made Niue independent in free association with New Zealand, but economic independence did not follow. The NZ government has continued to subsidize Niuean public services. In 2001 the Niue Constitution Review Committee considered re-integration with New Zealand and even set up the Niue-New Zealand Joint Consultative Group to discuss possibilities (PINA 28 May, 5 Jun 2001). For catastrophic events, Niue depends on New Zealand, such as when the National Preservation Office assisted in salvaging material and documents from the Cultural Centre and the National Archives and Library after Cyclone Heta in 2003 (Cuming 2004). Furthermore, the curriculum continues to be based on the NZ model, which conditions Niueans to New Zealand (Douglas 1987:188). People have participated willingly as their culture has been increasingly determined by book-based organization. Whether publishing for government or beyond it, Niueans look to the NZ government for funding and models.

Western Samoa

At Britain's behest, New Zealand seized Western Samoa from Germany in 1914 (Davis 1969:291). Colonel Robert Logan, who had led the expeditionary force, became the NZ administrator. In an effort to uphold the Germans' discipline, he published an English translation of German administrator Solf's general policy statement, *Decennial Programme for Samoa*, which he distributed to staff (Meleisea 1987a:108). Laws were published in the government bulletin *Savali* (p.113). Samoans petitioned for legal recognition in local government, power to make laws and control finance, representation in the NZ parliament, and a free press, but the NZ government did not respond to these requests (p.131). New Zealand accepted the League of Nations mandate, confirmed in 1921, for strategic reasons and from a sense of national pride but quickly realized that Western Samoa was of little economic importance and that administration was difficult (Boyd 1969c:115, 125). New Zealand's officials generally knew little of the country or of colonial administration before going there (p.130-131).

Educational policy was to subsidize and extend mission work, to introduce the NZ proficiency examination and a visiting-teacher scheme (Boyd 1969c:132), and gradually to make the schools public and secular within the state structure. Authorities patterned studies after NZ syllabi (R. Thomas 1984:220). The first government school opened in 1916 (Davis 1969:291). The governor-general visited in 1919 and recommended the use of Samoan language as most of the mission teachers were Samoan, but the minister for external territories deleted the governor-general's comments on the Samoan educational system before publication of the governor-general's recommendations (Hiery 1995:193). When inspector Bird visited in 1920, he saw the strength of Samoan as the language of instruction and recommended vernacular for village schools but English for government schools (Davis 1969:291). Reacting to the assimilative tendencies that had marked Maori education, New Zealand thought it undesirable to Europeanize the Samoans through over-education, but mission and government educationalists wanted to educate Samoans to be good citizens. Ignorant of Samoan hierarchy, Major-General G.S. Richardson, administrator from 1923, pushed procedures similar to those of the British Parliament (Boyd 1969c:138, 140-141, 1997:299). The Fono acquired legal recognition through the Samoa Amendment Act 1923 and publication of its proceedings in Samoan—an innovation

introduced by Richardson. He encouraged the Fono to make regulations, and in 1925 the administration published a booklet, *Tulafono mo Samoa i Sisifo* (Laws for Western Samoa), which had regulations backed by legal force and Fono support (J. Davidson 1967:105&fn). The authority of the *faipule* (council) was not universally appreciated: between 1921 and 1926 the administration banished 53 Samoan *matai* and deprived them of their titles (Meleisea 1987a:133).

Opposition to NZ rule took shape in a citizens' committee from 31 January 1922, chaired by Olaf Frederick Nelson, a half-European, half-Samoan (Boyd 1969c:143). Nelson was connected through descent and marriage to prestigious Samoans and expatriates and was versed in biblical language and American notions of democracy (p.147). As a senior European member of the Legislative Council and owner of an extensive business, he was well placed to spread propaganda and win supporters to the Mau³ (opinion, opposition). To counter the pro-government views of *Samoa Times*, he and others started *Samoa Guardian* on 26 May 1927, which appeared in English with a Samoan supplement (p.148). Part of the Mau's non-violent protest against the administration was to provide education as supporters withdrew their children from government schools (Meleisea et al 1987d:135). Samuel Hornell Meredith went to New Zealand to appeal to its public on Samoans' behalf, and while there in 1927 Meredith published a pamphlet, *Western Samoa (formerly German Samoa): How New Zealand Administers its Mandate from the League of Nations* (Meredith 1928; J. Davidson 1967:118; Boyd 1969c:150fn124). Later Nelson went to New Zealand, and sensationalism about Western Samoa in the press found sympathy with liberal New Zealanders (Boyd 1969c:151-153). Richardson banished Nelson for five years. Nelson went to Geneva to petition the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations about national aspirations, Samoan representation, and independence. Although he had the support of the vast majority of adult male Samoans, the commission did not grant him an audience. Beginning on 8 November 1928 *Samoa Guardian* published his commentary in instalments, and Nelson had his commentary printed as a booklet, *Samoa at Geneva: Misleading The League of Nations*, in Auckland in December to achieve wider circulation than the Samoa press could give (O.F. Nelson

³ Members of the Citizens' Committee and some leading Samoans founded O le Mau (Meleisea et al 1987d:135).

1928a:*passim*). Nelson accused the administration of withholding information by not publishing a Samoan translation of government finances⁴ and of propagating disinformation by circulating among Samoans a “catechism” in Samoan to the effect that the League of Nations had no control over mandates other than to receive annual reports from governing powers (p.11-12). Nelson published a similar, larger work, *The Truth about Samoa: A Review of Events Leading up to the Present Crisis* (1928b).

In exile, Nelson founded the New Zealand Samoa Defence League and began publishing and circulating widely and freely the *New Zealand Samoa Guardian*. He and league members made public statements; contributed to other press, periodicals, and pamphlets; held street meetings; stayed in contact with Samoan villages via cable; and raised large sums to finance propaganda (Boyd 1969c:161). An NZ report in 1929 highlighted inefficiencies and extravagances in Richardson’s administration, which added fuel to the Mau fire, especially as parts of the report were withheld (J. Davidson 1967:135). The report advocated administrative reform, but it stated that education should cease after standard four because of lack of white-collar employment (Boyd 1969c:161-162). The report caused New Zealand to remotely control the Samoan public service. NZ officers found Samoans useful as translators and interpreters, local Europeans for routine clerical duties, and both for subordinate medical and educational services, but little more. Many local recruits eventually found wider opportunities beyond the public service (J. Davidson 1967:169). The report affected Samoa’s public service for decades (p.215). The report contributed to unease on the part of the Permanent Mandates Commission, which asked if, before New Zealand exercised its authority, it had conducted a study of Samoan customs and psychology (Boyd 1969c:169).

Nelson returned from exile in 1933 but fell afoul of the government within the year and was sentenced to imprisonment and 10 years’ exile in New Zealand, where he resumed his Mau activities (Boyd 1969c:171-172). The NZ government paid as little heed to them as they did to publication of F.M. Keesing’s *Modern Samoa*, the anthropological study prompted by the Permanent Mandates

⁴ The Germans had published in *O Le Savali* annual reports on Samoan taxes and expenditure (Hiery 1995:247).

Commission (p.173). Criticism from that commission plus the Great Depression further contributed to administrative paralysis (p.173-174). Finally in 1936, Labour victory in New Zealand shifted policy to goodwill toward Samoa, and the Mau became the dominant party in Samoa (Boyd 1969c:175-176; Meleisea et al 1987d:139-140). Public services were resumed, including establishment of a post-primary school and teacher' training college in 1938, but World War II delayed significant expansion of educational measures and the provision of literature (Boyd 1969c:177). Although the Permanent Mandates Commission suggested New Zealand increase Samoan responsibilities in preparation for self-government, by integrating traditional authority with administrative tasks, New Zealand did not care to prepare law on indigenous administration (p.183).

The stationing of American servicemen in Samoa during World War II led to school closures as teachers left for employment among the Americans (Meleisea et al 1987d:143). Visiting in 1944, NZ prime minister Fraser agreed to gradual improvements, including better communications with the outside world (Boyd 1969c:186-187). Beeby's inspection in the mid-1940s caused educational reforms such that the curricula and most of the staff were imported from New Zealand (R. Thomas 1984:221). Partly because people had seen no need to study their own language, Samoan-language books were few. McKenzie cyclostyled textbooks in Samoan and English during World War II; lack of paper prevented their printing. Until 1948 the schools had no regular supply of Samoan literature. Only LMS-printed translations of *Pilgrim's Progress* and Stevenson's *The Bottle Imp* were available alongside religious literature (Davis 1969:293).

New Zealand showed its political proposals to Western Samoa after it submitted them to the United Nations,⁵ and the Samoans petitioned the United Nations for self-government (Boyd 1969b:191, 1997:303; Meleisea 1987a:209). A publication by the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs (NZIIA) in 1947, *Western Samoa, Mandate or German Colony*, showed Western Samoa to be of little economic or strategic value at the same time that it was an administrative nightmare and advocated that New Zealand cut its losses (cited in Boyd 1969c:182). Still, the

⁵ Fraser presided over the Trusteeship Committee, which included Anglo-American proposals into UN Charter chapters about non-self-governing territories and a trusteeship system (Boyd 1997:303).

United Nations mandated Western Samoa to New Zealand in 1947. A UN visiting mission recommended that expatriate officers be trained in Samoan language and culture (Boyd 1969b:214). Those who attempted to start a Samoan language course asked for a dictionary and grammar, which the commissioned expert did not complete until 19 years later (p.216). In 1947 New Zealand sent J.W. Davidson to Samoa on an ‘unofficial’ fact-finding tour; his report was sympathetic to Samoans. Shortly afterward, the Fraser government proposed to replace the NZ administration with a Samoan government, which a UN mission echoed that year (J. Davidson 1967:172fn; Boyd 1969b:194-196). Self-government began with the Samoan Amendment Act of 1947. During this time secretary of native/Samoan affairs Frederick James Henry Grattan prepared a series of working papers that informed its readers, but also gelled attitudes that Samoan leaders were agitators who opposed self-government (J. Davidson 1967:171).

From 1947 to 1962 NZDoE’s School Publications Branch published 80 issues of *Samoan School Journals* (Long 1997:254). In 1948 the Legislative Assembly created an Education Committee (Davis 1969:292). Free and secular education was extended to villages with radio broadcasting and a teachers’ monthly guide, *Tomatau* (p.296-297), and the teachers’ training college and post-primary college were founded (Boyd 1969b:221). Disagreements between the superintendent of education and the officer for islands education, among others, postponed the opening of Samoa College until 1953 (Davis 1969:295-296). It was a “makeshift institution” with under-educated staff until the late 1950s (1964:3).

From the late 1940s issues of *Western Samoa Gazette*, some ordinances and legislation, at least one departmental circular, and bilingual constitutional proposals appeared in Samoan and English (Woods 1997:257). Leaflets accompanied elections in 1948 (J. Davidson 1967:188). High commissioner Guy R. Powles helped to set up a representative Samoan government and began education for self-government (Boyd 1969a:67). In 1950 Sir Alan Burns led the UN visiting mission to Samoa and supported greater Samoan involvement in government (Boyd 1969b:203). Various educated elements of Samoan society advocated universal suffrage, eg in *Samoa Bulletin*, a bilingual weekly published by European Eugene F. Paul, but voting was kept along *matai* lines (p.208). During the 1950s the NZ government sponsored

surveys of agriculture, education, forestry, labour, and other aspects of the economy to plan development, eg J.C. Gerlach's 1952 study of agriculture and, under SPC auspices, V.D. Stace's 1953 study of general economy (p.220). Some measures based on Stace's study, eg appointment of a registrar of cooperative societies, took place before the report was released in 1955 and published in 1956, for economic, social, and political needs forced decision making. Development of the Agriculture Department led to "considerable" research and extension work (J. Davidson 1967:258).

A commission to enquire into local government reform, appointed in March 1950, included skilled Samoan members. Etene Sa'aga and Arorae Petaia did most of the translation and interpretation (J. Davidson 1967:267). Tuala Tulo of Leauva'a Village in Gaga'emauga District, Savai'i and Tofa Tomasi (aka Thomas George Nauer), had formed a plan to write a history⁶ (p.265). In canvassing villages, Fa'amatuainu Tulifau acted as orator for the commission, shaming his audience into asking questions of genealogy and history. J. Davidson eventually discovered that Fa'amatuainu's erudition was reinforced by study of the book *O le Tusi Faalupega o Samoa* (see p.103 above) before every speech (p.277&fn); thus, having the status to compile the report rested to some extent on the covert use of a book. The commission made a point of keeping and using written records to raise the standard of district and village government (p.301). The commission's report was published in Wellington in 1951, but its translation was not published until 1952 in Apia (p.308fn14). The delay contributed to a decline in what had been "far-reaching support" for reform (p.309) and hindered the political task of "manipulating public opinion." The resulting District and Village Government Board Ordinance brought into force on 1 April 1954 negated some of the commission's recommendations, and interest in local government declined steadily (p.314).

The Samoa Amendment Act of 1952 created an Executive Council (J. Davidson 1967:319). Supportive statements by NZ prime minister S.G. Holland and high commissioner Powles were presented to the Legislative Assembly, published in the Legislative Assembly Debates, and republished as a booklet, *Western Samoa and*

⁶ They did not due to illness, and both died in 1953 (J. Davidson 1967:265, 317fn).

Self-Government in 1953 (p.320&fn7). Samoan leaders drafted constitutional recommendations, which were accepted by a constitutional convention in 1954. Minister for island territories T.L. Macdonald caused to be published the NZ government's interim reply to the convention's resolutions, and an official summary of policy statements and recommendations during 1955 was published in Apia in 1956: *Western Samoa, Proposals for Constitutional Development* (p.332fn17). As Fiaame Mata'afa Faumuina Mulinu'u's government asserted independence, a ministerial system was introduced in 1957, the Legislative Assembly reconstituted in 1958, and cabinet government organized in 1959. For elections to the Legislative Assembly in 1957, the Progressive Citizens' League and several independent candidates distributed campaign literature (p.336). The NZ government provided equipment and technical assistance to the Samoan government to set up its own press, which began operating in 1958 (Woods 1997:257).

The Working Committee on Self-Government established in 1959 was dependent on constitutions, textbooks, and commentaries from other countries (J. Davidson 1967:358). A UN visiting mission in 1958 recommended more education. "Courses were organized in New Zealand, particularly to study the workings of various government departments and a sum of money was allowed for publications" (Davis 1969:298). The 1960-1964 plan of education included sums for school publications, but annual expenditure could not keep pace with population growth (p.298-299). New Zealand conducted crash training for Samoan public servants in 1959 and 1960 (Boyd 1969a:73-74, 1997:304). Samoa had to fit its constitution making with the UN timetable. Despite little money and no staff for political education, information was published through the press and radio and 8,000 copies of the draft constitution translated into Samoan were distributed before the 1960 constitutional convention (Boyd 1969b:263). During this time Powles, Davidson, and C.G.R. McKay (a plebiscite administrator) had their work about Samoa published elsewhere (J. Davidson 1967:363fn*; Boyd 1969b:256fn205, 268-269fn243). The 1960 Constitutional Convention had some members with broad, literate experience, eg Paitomaleifi Siaki, who translated books from English, including a philosophy textbook, into Samoan, and who reported the convention's proceedings for a local paper (J. Davidson 1967:383). Although a tape recording was made of Samoan speeches, the written record of the convention was in English. Interpretation rested on three people, working to their

limits (p.386:fn*). The Government Printer published *The Draft Constitution of the Independent State of Western Samoa* in 1960 (p.382fn) and *The Constitution of the Independent State of Western Samoa* as a book just after the constitution's adoption in 1960. The Western Samoa government published a summary of it in *The Plebiscite and the Constitution* in 1961 (p.371fn).

Full independence came on 1 January 1962. Literacy in the vernacular was a significant factor in Western Samoa's achievement of early independence, as well as cultural homogeneity and unity and leadership by Samoan and New Zealander statesmen and advisers (Boyd 1969a:76). Higher education and access to the language and life-style of *afakasi* (half-castes) had affected personal and national status, identity, and aspirations (Meleisea 1987a:179). About 92% of children received education to standard four but only 12% went to intermediate schools and 3% to secondary schools. The Education Department was the least Samoanized of the government at independence (Davis 1969:299). Although New Zealand had begun programmes for self-government, Western Samoa did not have enough trained personnel to run the state. As part of New Zealand's commitment to development, its diplomatic service would act for the Western Samoa government if requested and would continue to provide administrative, financial, and technical assistance. A Treaty of Friendship signed seven months after Western Samoa's independence, formalized these measures, including scholarships for higher education and in-service training (Boyd 1969a:75-76, 1997:305).

Samoa's colonial experience was much more violent than that of New Zealand's other territories. Some church-trained and literate Samoans participated in government, but others appropriated the tools of book publishing to advocate a different and independent path. Conscious and unconscious but willing participation in book culture expanded, then decreased, and yet later renewed New Zealand's ideological hold, as we shall see in the section below on New Zealand's aid to the region.

Tokelau

At Britain's request, New Zealand assumed responsibility for Tokelau in 1925. Tokelau became an NZ territory in 1948. The NZ administration supplied materials to

the school on Nukunonu and then took over education on all three atolls in 1950. It hired Tokelauans trained at Samoa Training College, making up insufficient numbers with Samoan teachers. In 1956 the schools began teaching forms 1 and 2. The schools followed Western Samoa's curriculum and the NZ government supplied materials and books (Elders 1991:168). From 1951 to 1964 the School Publications Branch published 16 issues of *Tokelauan School Journals*—in Samoan until 1954, and thereafter in Tokelauan, which was the first printing of Tokelauan for the journal (Long 1997:254). DIT's annual reports to the NZ House of Representatives did not explicitly mention publication (DIT 1966-1974), although as an SPC member, Tokelau "benefit[ed] from the results of research work carried out under the auspices of the Commission" (eg DIT 1966:36). After the NZ government's 1965 decision to resettle Tokelauans in New Zealand, it built new schools on each atoll, supplied New Zealander teachers from 1969 through 1975, redesigned the curriculum to prepare Tokelauans for life in New Zealand, and appointed the first Tokelauan director of education in 1979 (Elders 1991:169).

Tokelauans who remained on the atolls had an administrator in Wellington, who delegated many powers to an official secretary in the Office for Tokelau Affairs (OTA) in Apia. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs published a quarterly newsletter *Te Vakai Tokelau* (in Tokelauan and English) from 1976, which OTA later assumed. The States Services Commission issues regular reports on the Tokelauan public service, including *Ko te Vaka Tokelau* in 1987, a guide to the service. OTA published such school books as *Ko Te Pua Kua Vili* (Gau nd) printed in Samoa. It published *Matagi Tokelau* (Elders 1990, 1991) with IPS. From 1988 Hosea Kirifi, Special Projects Officer for the Tokelau Administration, translated legislation and regulations into Tokelauan through the auspices of VUW's Law Faculty and with funding from UNDP (P. King 1997:258). Angelo and Vulu explained that translation and adoption happened slowly because the use of traditional words for Western concepts and practices created misunderstandings and resistance to those ideas (St Jerome 2004). Huntsman, who helped to facilitate *Matagi Tokelau*, wrote that local history is "intrinsically political." She described her perceptions of the process of publication as affected by personal actions among villages, atolls, the Tokelau Book Committee, the Apia-based administration, and New Zealand-based Tokelauans. Hers is one participant's abbreviated description of a decade of feedback. Readers glimpse a

picture of larger politics as authors perceived their writing in the service of development and modernization but wanted to be paid for it, and as the venue of launching was important in creating publicity and a larger audience (1996, quote p.139).

Tokelauans' long reliance on Samoan as their language of publication, compounded by New Zealand's budgetary practice of paying the public service, was a factor into their slow political growth. Tokelau remains on the UN decolonization list. According to Tokelau's head of government, Patuki Isa'ako, Tokelauans did not initiate change; rather, the UN Committee and New Zealand pushed Tokelau to vote about the territory's political status (RA 21 May 2004). In February 2006 Tokelauans voted on self-determination but were 6% short of the two-thirds majority necessary to pass the referendum. The result disappointed the NZ government (ABC Feb 2006). In June 2006 the head of Tokelau's assembly said the assembly had agreed to hold another referendum before NZ elections in 2008 (RNZI 6 Jun 2006).

New Zealand's Tenure and Aid

New Zealand had limited financial, human, or physical resources to be a colonial power. Mindful of the economics of publishing in languages with non-standardized orthographies and for relatively small populations, and fearing that vernacular languages could not express essential concepts that would allow their speakers to participate in the wider world, colonial officials dragged their feet in vernacular publishing. International events, changing philosophies of education and development, and commissioned reports by experts had much more impact on New Zealand's decision making than did the people of its territories. New Zealand implemented economic measures in Niue and Western Samoa based on research in the Cook Islands. Political education programmes were sometimes foisted on the Cook Islanders, Niueans, and Tokelauans after events in Samoa or as international bodies pushed for decolonization. Nevertheless, individual New Zealanders made positive and significant contributions to politics and to publishing.

Although it had only four colonies, "New Zealand was the main source of educational systems and curricula, of expatriate staff, and of higher education, for

the English-speaking South Pacific for most of [the 20th] century (except for Papua New Guinea and American Samoa).” At the time of independence, six heads of government had been educated in New Zealand and their and others’ experiences facilitated relationships with New Zealand for years to come (R. Crocombe 1992:96). Independent countries have used the NZ School Certificate (NZSC) and NZUE Examination (p.101). The NZ government did not actively support indigenous cultures until the mid-1900s, which showed in the paucity of publications. New Zealand returned publishing to the islands at independence (Griffith et al 1997b:246; Long 1997:254). Only about 50 publications in indigenous languages in fields other than religion and education have been identified within New Zealand’s libraries, of which fewer than half were published in New Zealand. Most vernacular publishing happened in the Cook Islands and Samoa, with virtually nothing from Niue and Tokelau (Woods 1997:256). The ephemeral nature of Pacific material has meant poor documentation and no record of research into these publications (P. King 1997:258). From the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s the Department of Internal Affairs translated material, and more recently New Zealand Translation Centre Ltd in Wellington has translated public information. Declining government funding has led to suggestions of using English as a second language programme rather than translations of Pacific Islands languages for public documents (p.258-259). Complicated projects, such as dictionaries, often take place in New Zealand but involve extensive consultation with people in the islands. In 1986 OTA published Simona’s *Tokelau Dictionary*, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published Angelo and Kirifi’s *Law Lexicon* (Griffith 1997:251; Griffith et al 1997a:309). Lagi Sipeli has been working on a Niuean dictionary since 1989 (Sipeli 1997:250).

New Zealand recently augmented schools publishing for islanders out of concern for people within its borders, for countries with which it has special relationships, and with effects for independent islands countries. The NZ Schools Publications Branch was superseded by Learning Media, which has publishing arrangements with Niue, Samoa, Tokelau, and Tuvalu and which has published books in other Pacific languages or for other Pacific countries. In 1996 Learning Media published an item every 12 days and its publications were provided free of charge to NZ schools (Long 1997:254-255). Learning Media has run writing

workshops and co-published with USP's Institute of Education. On behalf of the NZ Ministry of Education's project to support Promoting Early Childhood Education Participation, Learning Media published books in Cook Islands Maori, English, Fijian, Samoan, Tokelauan, and Tongan (*SO* 11 Dec 2003). Learning Media often uses one set of illustrations and one Pacific story to create a range of translated works. Opinion is divided: some people are in favour of the increased reading material; others resent culture-specific tales being translated into other Pacific languages and use of artwork by artists not of the culture or language in question (field notes 1997, 2000).

In 1967 NZIIA, led by then president Sir Guy Powles, sponsored an international aid conference. He and representatives of about 20 organizations launched the South Pacific Year 1971 for public education and international understanding. It stimulated interest in development and "growing appreciation that aid was good business as well as good deeds" (Boyd 1997:321). The New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) supported and implemented research and publication for the Pacific under a board chaired by Dr Isireli Lasaqa of Fiji. The NZ Department of Scientific and Industrial Research carried out research and training in English-speaking Polynesia and Fiji (R. Crocombe 1992:111-113). New Zealand provided considerable bilateral aid to Polynesia, Fiji, and Kiribati before 1985 and afterward extended aid to Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea (p.101), including curriculum publications in English and in vernaculars from the Schools Publications Division (p.102). With NZ assistance, Vanuatu's Curriculum Development Centre had published a unified secondary curriculum a decade after independence (Miles 1998:131). From 1995 to 2004, the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID) provided NZD 2.9 million to distribute school journals that supported PNG core textbooks as well as training for indigenous writers, illustrators, and production workers. One in three PNG primary school students received a copy of the journals, which provided "positive role models and a strong sense of national and cultural identity" (NZAID 2004:2). Samoa, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu received aid that included book provision, and the Cook Islands and Niue received aid for curriculum development (NZAID 2003, 2004).

Recent educational aid under New Zealand's Rethinking Pacific Education

Initiative financed publications by Vanuatu's Department of Education and USP's institutes of Education and of Pacific Studies (eg Pene et al 2002; Sanga et al 2004, 2005; Sanga & Taufe'ulungaki 2005). In the early 2000s NZAID assisted Samoa's Secondary Education Curriculum and Resources Project (NZAID 2003:32; Tuioti 2005:245-249). NZAID assisted Momoe Von Reiche and her creative group to publish children's books (Em. Williams 2003). To assist Solomon Islands' Education Strategic Plan, NZAID contributed NZD 36 million until 2006 for basic teaching and learning materials, updated curriculum, and other educational provisions (NZAID 2004:6). In 2003 nearly 50% of NZAID's funding went to education and training (Thackray 2003b). In 2004 NZAID sent approximately NZD 30 million to support Pacific Islands governments, institutions, and agencies to develop and print textbooks and readers and to develop and review curriculum—among a host of other tasks related to educational provision (NZAID 2004:5).

New Zealand's aid to the French territories includes English language training, tertiary study, and work attachments in New Zealand. The Head Of Mission Fund run from Noumea received NZD 40,000 (NZAID 2003:45). NZAID supports the South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment (NZAID nd:15), which was established in the early 1980s and affects curriculum development. New Zealand added NZD 5 million to support Pacific Regional Initiatives for the Delivery of Basic Education based at USP (Thackray 2003a&b). New Zealand has given aid through regional organizations (Pacific Islands Forum, SPC, South Pacific Regional Environmental Programme, SOPAC, and Pacific Islands Trade and Investment Commission), international agencies (United Nations, Commonwealth, and international finance and trade), NGOs (eg the Citizens Constitutional Forum, Women's Crisis Centre, Red Cross Society, and Save the Children Fund in Fiji; the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific in Kiribati; and Wan Smolbag Theatre in Vanuatu (NZAID 2003:24, 27, 44, 48-53)—all of which publish books occasionally.

Public criticism of New Zealand eventuated in establishment of a separate agency from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and re-channelling of aid away from tertiary scholarships, which aid relatively few individuals, in favour of basic needs and education for the many (Roughan 2001:A13). According to Boyd, aid has been accompanied by concern about its effects in fostering a Pacific élite unresponsive

to its people's needs (1997:322). As for any other metropolitan power, altruism is not the sum of New Zealand's interest in the region. Cooperating in education and providing financial and technical assistance keep a somewhat peaceful "front yard" for New Zealand.⁷ New Zealand is interested in security and trade at regional and international levels, and the Pacific Islands have individual voting rights in international agencies. In return, New Zealand's continued interaction with, and aid to, the other Pacific Islands creates a special role for New Zealand in representing the Pacific Islands within international fora (Siwatibau 2002:43). As a contributing architect to the Pacific's written culture, New Zealand has helped to create knowledge through communication, education, cultural preservation and perpetuation, and awareness of and participation in modern forms of government—all of which have involved books. New Zealand continues its ideological power through sustaining myriad programmes that include book publishing.

⁷ At the University of Otago's Foreign Policy School in 2004, Foreign Minister Phil Goff said the Pacific was not New Zealand's back yard, but its front yard.

CHAPTER 12

AUSTRALIA

Australian states had different foreign policies based on different constituencies and perceptions, but their collective pressure forced Britain to claim territory. Australia could then satisfy humanitarian concerns, counter German and Japanese annexation or occupation, economically exploit the territory, create new markets, and impose law and order (R. Thompson 1980:1-4). From Britain, Australia assumed responsibility for Papua. In agreement with Britain and New Zealand, it administered Nauru. Australia took over New Guinea in World War I. This chapter discusses the separate and somewhat isolated administrations of Papua and New Guinea and then concentrates on the combined administration of the two in an environment with more international awareness among peoples. Discussion of Nauru's colonial experience follows. Finally, the chapter examines Australia's efforts to retain influence in the region through the use of book publishing.

Papua Before World War II

Letters Patent in 1902 formally transferred British New Guinea to Australia, and it became the Territory of Papua under Australian administration in 1906 (Morrell 1960:423-424; Griffin et al 1979:9; H. Nelson 1989:26). From British New Guinea, Papua inherited bureaucratic infrastructure (however meagre), including printing plant and equipment (G. Smith 1975:22). The administration first opened school at Samarai in 1911, with an Australian syllabus and textbooks approved by Victoria's Education Department (Ralph 1978:83-84). Administrator J.H.P. Murray sought information about education from officials in Australia, German New Guinea, Java, and the Federated Malay States. From 1911 he required field officers to record indigenous customs and vocabulary (p.88), and in 1916 he expressed the need for a government anthropologist (p.108-109). In 1919 the Native Taxes Ordinance created the Native Taxation Fund to be used to benefit Papuans. Over the years to come, the bulk of revenue was used for health, less than a third for education (G. Smith 1975:23). Murray's attitude and long tenure set the parameters: "I do not think that we should attempt to give the Papuan anything in the nature of a higher education, nor do I think that we should ever dream of conferring upon him any political rights. He is inferior to the European and, if we wish to avoid trouble, we should never forget this..." (quoted

in Ellerman 2002:12).

Francis Edgar Williams arrived in 1922 to take up the post of government anthropologist. Government required him to write a monograph on each district, his salary and expenses charged against the Native Taxation Fund (Ralph 1978:107, 109). Until his death, Williams wrote prolifically, and he was very interested in education as an agent of change. Most of his works were published through the Government Printer, but some were published overseas. School children, however, had not enough books and few books applicable to their lives. In 1923 a schools examiner complained that students' oral reading suffered because Australian textbooks were alien and recommended that "books dealing with topics suitable to the native should be compiled" (quoted in Ralph 1978:106). In 1924 the inspecting officer recommended a uniform reading book for all the schools. The administration gave an annual grant to missions for assisted primary schools to purchase books and materials, and sales of school readers were made through the Native Taxation Fund (Ralph 1978:105, 106). In 1927 the Administration-Mission Conference on education addressed compulsory education, subsidizing mission schools, and language(s) of instruction (p.294). In *Native Education*, F.E. Williams argued for the use of indigenous languages as essential to culture and for the use of English to facilitate Papuans' discourse with Europeans at large and to bring access to their literature (1928:2, 9). He urged creating school literature related to community needs such as to encourage self-education and proposed a newspaper¹ (p.17, 22-25).

Rev W.J.V. Saville, an LMS missionary at Mailu, wrote *Papuan School Reader*, the first locally produced reader, published in 1928. With local content and illustrations, it appealed to students and their performance improved. The *Papuan School Reader* proved too difficult for most readers, but its publication and use showed that some students were capable and needed further education (Ralph 1978:111-112, 143; P. Smith 1987:70-71). The *Papuan School Reader* extolled the benefits of law, order, and literacy (in P. Smith 1987:70-71). In 1932 Queensland Inspectors Colonel J.

¹ That newspaper became *The Papuan Villager* and later the *Papua New Guinea Villager*. Murray supported the publication to promote national spirit. The Native Education Fund covered expenses of publishing *The Papuan Villager*, which began in 1929. Printed in English, it carried articles about Papuan life, introduced practices and equipment, history and news, and explanation of various approaches to education (Ralph 1978:114-115). Its chief purpose was assimilation not self-expression (Ellerman 2002:15).

Hooper and C.L. Fox collaborated with Miss Milne and Percy Chatterton to write *Papuan Junior Readers 1, 2, and 3*. *Readers 4 and 5* followed in 1936 and 1938. The Papua administration distributed *Papuan School Reader*, *Papuan Junior Readers*, and *The Papuan Villager* free to mission schools that it subsidized. Students' performance improved, the books proved popular, and they also sold elsewhere in the Pacific (G. Smith 1975:25; E. Thomas 1976:29; Ralph 1978:117, 154). Camilla Wedgwood reported in 1945 that the ability to read these books almost alone constituted education in the minds of students and parents (E. Thomas 1976:29). P. Smith argued that *Papuan Junior Readers* were paternalistic and placed Papuans in a colonial hierarchy (1987:70). Wolfers argued that minimal use of the native taxes to subsidize mission schools, to employ a government anthropologist, and to publish a newspaper in English did not promote Papuans' welfare, but conditioned them to become indentured labourers (1975:37). Ralph, however, wrote that villagers preferred the government syllabus because they associated it with jobs and social prestige (1978:153).

In *Practical Education*, F.E. Williams recommended using education to engage people in raising their own standard of living and to have slow, steady progress and socially suitable solutions by allowing them to incorporate new things and practices into their cultures (1933:4-10). During the 1930s anthropology began noticeably to affect educational practices in colonial territories (Ralph 1978:339). At the 1935 Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science Congress, F.E. Williams and Groves (see p.284 below) presented papers that foreshadowed their books, *The Blending of Cultures* (1935) and *Native Education and Culture Contact* (1936) respectively. The congress urged the administration to create a section of the Department of Native Affairs with personnel trained (including in anthropology) so as to gear native education and development for village life (Ralph 1978:340-343). In *The Blending of Cultures*,² F.E. Williams argued that "education is the very essence of native administration" because it could prepare natives to react favourably to new measures (1935:1) and to adjust to new ways of life (p.6, 8, 43). He saw culture as transformative, especially between peoples (p.89). He advocated literacy and believed English was the most important subject because of inevitable communications with the

² F.E. Williams wrote the book according to the terms of reference about "education and culture contact" as set out by the Royal Anthropological Institute and gained the Wellcome Medal for his theoretical approach to anthropological research (Groves 1951:iii).

wider world, for which Papuans had to be prepared (p.23, 33).

In the lead up to World War II, government was minimal and had no contact with the vast majority of Papuans. Through his publications, Murray's native policy for promoting and protecting Papuans was widely known³ (Griffin et al 1979:21-31). To an extent, he had achieved pacification, law, and order, but global events and a tight budget had kept Murray thinking in simplistic terms about Papuans (Ralph 1978:147-148). He underrated Papuans' abilities and potentials as he underrated educational forces to bring about social change, of which he himself was part (p.122). Protection under the Native Labour Ordinance worked to the advantage of those who were literate and knowledgeable about the law, which meant few Papuans (Wolfers 1975:39). Murray's long tenure as administrator of Papua came to an end when he died in 1940. World War II and consequent international events changed Papua's isolation.

New Guinea Before World War II

Australian forces hoisted the British flag in Rabaul on 13 September 1914, Germany surrendered on 21 September, and Australian occupation of towns and areas followed. Australia inherited bureaucratic infrastructure (including printing plant and equipment) from the Germans. According to Ralph, the printing staff and students left Namanula (1978:262). According to Hiery, the Australians closed the German school soon after occupation (1995:72). During World War I the Australian military government outlawed printing, publication, and issuing of printed matter (Wolfers 1975:76). Australia's armed forces commissioned a Dane, J. Lyng, as an interpreter. During the war he also acted as government printer and censored foreign mail. His own book *Our New Possession (Late German New Guinea)* was published in Melbourne in 1919 (Ralph 1978:236-237). The Australian Parliament passed the New Guinea Act on 30 September 1920, the League of Nations issued to Australia a Class C mandate for New Guinea on 17 December 1920, and Australia's New Guinea Act came into force on 9 May 1921 (p.264-265). Article 2 of the mandate required Australia to promote the material, moral, and social well-being of the New Guineans

³ Murray's report on *Australian Administration in Papua* was published in 1920; on Rinzo Gond's article on Three Power Rule in New Guinea followed in 1921; on Indirect Rule in Papua, Native Administration in Papua, Anthropology and the Government of Subject Races in 1929; and on The Scientific Aspect of Pacification of Papua in 1932. He was influenced by Seligman, Haddon, and Rivers (Ralph 1978:108).

(Griffin et al 1979:50), but the Australian government wanted the mandate to pay for itself, so budgets were small relative to population size and activity promoted Australians' private commerce (p.50-70).

The Education Ordinance of 1922 authorized establishment of the post of director of education, establishment of schools, assistance to schools, prescription of instruction and educational standards, and teacher training (Ralph 1978:274-275). Groves gained the post of director. En route to New Guinea, he met Miss Dorrie Smith on secondment from Victoria to the Papuan Administration but teaching at the LMS school in Metoreia, Hanuabada. Groves would marry Smith in 1925 (p.277-279), and I suggest that her LMS experience influenced Groves's thinking on the use of indigenous languages, understanding of local cultures, and the employment of New Guinean teachers. In 1922 he established the Australian administration's first school in New Guinea at Kokopo and quickly realized that educational and economic growth would depend on native teachers (Ralph 1978:277-279). Groves began to prepare primers and recommended that the missions supply a copy of all their primers to assist the government in preparing its own primers. He recommended producing something like the *Samoan School Journals* for New Guinea, and he collected material from the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Papua, Samoa, the Germans, various missions, and patrol reports. Based on missionaries' notes that books printed in vernaculars made natives fond of reading, Groves believed publishing would increase literacy. He recommended outlines for project work and supplementary readers to incorporate customs, ethnography, government, law, languages, legends, and sociology into the curriculum such that native teachers could stimulate the wider community to participate in education (Groves 1922-1925).

In 1923 three New Guineans were employed in the Government Printing Office (GPO), two doing work that formerly had been done by Europeans (Ralph 1978:280). Trainees did book binding, cutting, numbering, perforating, and other work, which earned them favourable comments from the government printer (p.282). In 1924 three students from the technical school at Malaguna became employed at GPO (p.288). The *New Guinea Gazette* reported the sale of cloth and paper editions of three volumes of the *Laws of the Territory of New Guinea* (NGG 15 Jul 1924). In 1924 the head teacher's annual report recommended compiling a reader as a book of general New

Guinea knowledge, including folklore (Ralph 1978:289). That year Colonel John Ainsworth, who had been chief native commissioner for Kenya Colony (p.100), visited and made a report⁴ that criticized Australian politics and economics for taking precedence over New Guinea's needs. He acknowledged the missionaries' work, local knowledge, and reliable information (p.283-284) and advocated developing indigenous authorities (Downs 1980:xvii). Up to 1925 *New Guinea Gazette* reported the value of imports of stationery and books (not separated) and the lack of exports of the same (NGG 14 May 1923 – 31 Jan 1925:685 & *passim*). In 1925 the services of the GPO staff were terminated. Thereafter, *New Guinea Gazette* was printed by Harry William Hamilton, who had been the Government Printer (NGG 31 Jan 1925:683). Successive issues showed non-government printing of *New Guinea Gazette* (Ralph 1978:289).

In 1929 B.J. McKenna, Queensland's director of education, visited mainly Rabaul and recommended that English not vernaculars be taught and an adapted Torres Strait Islands syllabus be used for the indigenes and the Queensland syllabus for whites, with supply of books from Queensland⁵ (Ralph 1978:308-321; G. Smith 1975:21). In 1925 Groves and his wife returned to Australia, and from 1929 to 1934 New Guinea had no educationist (Ralph 1978:328). In the 1930s education in New Guinea still relied on missions, whose leaders were German and whose teachers did not have English as a mother tongue (p.337-338). Students were not being prepared to work in or for a bureaucracy based on the English language. In 1933 New Guinea's administrator Griffiths and its Legislative Council set up a committee to report on education and to investigate handing over all education to the missions (Ralph 1978:367; G. Smith 1975:20).

From Australia and its territories, F.E. Williams, Groves, Prof A.P. Elkin, and others attended the 1936 conference on Education in the Pacific. That conference and F.E. Williams's books, particularly *The Blending of Cultures*, profoundly affected Groves's own book, *Native Education and Culture Contact in New Guinea: A*

⁴ His report was published in Melbourne by the Home and Territories Department. Murray's reply, which substantially agreed but emphasized English and industrial training (Ralph 1978:287), was published in Papua by the Government Printer.

⁵ B.J. McKenna's *Report on Native Education in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea in Report to the League of Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea 1929-30* was published in Melbourne in 1930.

Scientific Approach.⁶ Groves criticized centralized training institutions, which took the best young men away from their villages, thereby depriving their societies and contributing to maladjustment for young and old alike (1936:74). He advocated combining anthropological theory and local knowledge to design education specific to communities (p.14). He researched to what extent education provided New Guineans “with new and satisfying channels of expression and development” in the culture-contact situation (p.15). Education, for general development and welfare, was a national responsibility and should be under government direction (p.17), but enhance village life materially and spiritually, through participation in literacy and numeracy, use of culturally and environmentally appropriate textbooks, and use of English (p.144). Groves believed in literacy to stabilize language, to develop a common language, and to bind people together for development. Government education in New Guinea had failed because the administration did not have professional educators or people who had studied education or native cultures, and its staff experienced high turnover (p.163). Elkin, who trained New Guinea Cadet Patrol officers in the School of Anthropology at the University of Sydney, hoped Groves’s book would help the administration to change New Guinea’s education system (cited in Ralph 1978:366, 390fn85). Groves himself had left New Guinea to study and to work elsewhere, and the administration did nothing with his ideas until he returned a decade later.

Administrator McNicoll, an educationist and advocate of village-centred education (Ralph 1978:339), appointed a Special Committee on Education in 1936. It recommended that the administration control education and incorporate mission work; however, the committee lapsed without issuing a final report (p.367-368). The 1937 volcanic eruption in Rabaul caused confusion and indecision that lasted until the outbreak of war (p.334). In 1939 under the Defence (National Security-Aliens Control) Regulations, McNicoll prohibited “the publication in an enemy alien language of any newspaper or other publication” (NGG 6 Sep 1939). The minister of state for external affairs subsequently ordered a censorship staff appointed with authority to judge written or printed matter that might harm the territory (NGG 11 Sep 1939). In 1939 Danish educationist Dannevig, on the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, said of New Guinea that she knew of no other mandate where

⁶ Note the title’s similarity with the Royal Anthropological Institute’s terms of reference for a 1933 essay competition (see fn2).

native education had progressed so little (cited in P. Smith 1987:131). Between 1922 and 1941 the New Guinea administration established six or eight schools with a few hundred students, while hundreds of mission schools had 70,000 students (Ralph 1978:371). Even people who favoured indigenous education—to train teachers for religion or clerks for administrative messages—saw finite limits to it, and many were violently opposed to it (p.373-374).

Papua and New Guinea During and After World War II

The Australian forces joined Papua and New Guinea militarily on 8 December 1941 and administratively on 21 March 1942 into the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit, ANG AU (Ralph 1978:392-395). The Allied Geographical Section published handbooks, special reports, terrain studies, and a four-volume *Annotated Bibliography of the South-West Pacific and Adjacent Areas* (Griffin et al 1979:86). Elkin's book on the south-west Pacific was published overseas. In 1942 Japan struck New Guinea and Papua and remained until September 1945, although the scale of its presence varied in different places (p.74-76). War brought some camaraderie between blacks and whites, visions of vast material wealth, and training opportunities, but it did not prepare (educate and train) Papua New Guineans for post-war life, which would be fundamentally different from pre-war life (p.99).

The Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs (DORCA) was formed in 1943 for military government in occupied and re-occupied territories. DORCA was to play an important role in postwar education (Ralph 1978:428). Its formative staff included scholars of anthropology (W.E.H. Stanner, H.I.P. Hogbin, and Camilla Wedgwood), international law and jurisprudence (J. Stone), economics (K.J. Isles), education (Wedgwood), and agriculture (Jack Keith Murray) (p.397). Its School for Civil Affairs opened in 1945 and became the Australian School of Pacific Administration (ASOPA) in 1947. Because records in Papua and New Guinea had been destroyed during the war, the Department of External Territories had to send copies to the territories. The Education Directorate was set up within ANG AU (p.399). From 1944 to 1946 Wedgwood's reports warned of creating only an educated élite, which would beget economic, political, and social problems without benefiting the general population, and of fostering ad hoc solutions. She recommended appointing a director of education (trained at London University's Institute of Education [Colonial Section] and with

experience in education in Africa and the Pacific), training native educators, government funds for training, and a linguistic survey of New Guinea vernaculars (G. Smith 1975:26; P. Smith 1987:153). She wrote that the acute shortage of reading books led to people's lacking incentive and opportunities to practise skills they had learnt in childhood (in G. Smith 1975:25), and that primary curriculum had to be set because teachers could not be trained without knowing what to teach (cited in Ralph 1978:413).

In June 1944 ANGAU opened the Papuan Central Training School for Natives at Sogeri (Ralph 1978:399). Staff included Staff Sergeant Charles Julius, who had studied anthropology; Lt Harry Buckland, who had worked with Presbyterians in the New Hebrides and with Anglicans at Dogura; and teachers Fred Boski-Tom and Francis Tetemara. Julius later became research and curriculum officer for DoE and government anthropologist for the Territory of Papua and New Guinea (Ralph 1978:419-420; P. Smith 1987:177). Julius and Buckland wrote textbooks for general use (Ralph 1978:410). The first act to include government education, the Papua-New Guinea Provisional Administration Act, went into operation on 30 October 1945 (p.392-395, 425). Groves became director of education in June 1946 (p.401), which the missions found reassuring (p.438). He used curriculum that he had designed while in Solomon Islands (p.431). A Special Services Division provided for publications, broadcasting in English and vernaculars, art, handicraft, a library supplying outstations, adult evening classes, music, and community cultural interests. A Curriculum and Research Section included applied psychology and anthropology, equipment, and records. The government assisted the Boy Scouts, Photographic Society, Arts Council, and Scientific Society (G. Smith 1975:29-30; Ralph 1978:431, 436). During the 1940s DoE published missionaries' primers in vernacular languages (P. Smith 1987:177). Groves's plan advocated "[P]ublications, both of a general information nature and of special educational matter, production of text-books in both vernaculars and English, manuals of method and Data Papers on Native Matters and Native Education; Curriculum and Research," (quoted in Ralph 1978:442). His plan included area education officers to develop education within communities (Ralph 1978:442).

The UN General Assembly approved the Trust Territory of New Guinea on 14 December 1946. Papua remained a separate territory. The vast majority of Papuans

and New Guineans probably had no idea of their fate: “There is no record of any official arrangements for them to be informed by the Army or by anyone else” (Downs 1980:13). On 1 July 1949 the Papua and New Guinea Act officially amalgamated the two (Ralph 1978:426-427). Civil administration did not resume with any policy directives: “Heads of department and senior officers dealing with the people of the country were issued with a booklet containing appropriate extracts from the Charter of the United Nations” (Downs 1980:19). Administrators deduced their roles, and gaps in communication between the territories and Canberra occurred. The United Nations sent visiting missions every three years and required annual reports. “All annual reports submitted by Australia after 1947 answered the questionnaire in a necessarily brief manner. So much information was required that a special section of the Department of External Territories had to be formed to provide annual reports to the UN” (p.6).

For education, Buckland and Julius studied at ASOPA (Ralph 1978:446) and returned to the head office. Ramona Walo and Trudi Lahui were on Sogeri’s teacher training staff for nearly 10 years (p.462), but often pioneering responsibilities rested with Australian teachers who were unfamiliar with the environment or with Papua New Guineans who lacked confidence or flexibility (G. Smith 1975:44). Illiteracy was estimated at 95%, which limited training in all sectors, but Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme funds were used for vocational rather than basic education. Officials were slow to get villagers into schools, which meant resources were used by European children (Griffin et al 1979:104-106; Downs 1980:42, 50).

In 1948 the New Guinea Lutheran mission organized a conference,⁷ which provoked DoE officers to recommend mass literacy projects, including to follow Capell’s recommendations, from his 1946-1947 vernacular survey (published by DoE in 1948), about prioritizing of certain languages and standardizing orthography. Another was for literacy work, which L.W. Allen of LMS conducted among adults at Kinipa on the Purari Delta, the results of which SPC published in 1952 (Ralph 1978:481, 484-485). Developments from such work were hindered by continued use

⁷ Between 1946 and 1961, territory administrators called seven joint administration-mission conferences to discuss education, health, and agriculture. The administration also sponsored a Christian Council in about 1959 (Aerts 1991:49).

of Australian syllabi and by different schools for Europeans, Asians, mixed-race children, and Papuans and New Guineans (p.474). Writers of the 1948-1953 education plan were influenced by principles of trusteeship, the British colonial experience in Africa, F.E. Williams's ideas of contact and change, and communities based on agriculture (p.486-487). The plan called for use of vernaculars in early stages with progressive use of English (p.487). By 1949 DoE had studies in indigenous music, weaving, and dyeing, but its activities catered to European rather than local interests and diverted time, funds, and teachers into research. Missions still carried the burden of mass education (Downs 1980:100).

In 1948 the UN Trusteeship Council recommended overseas scholarships or higher educational institutions in the territory to build up an intellectual élite to lead political, economic, social, and educational advancement (Ralph 1978:488). Sir Alan Burns'⁸ 1950 report to the Trusteeship Council emphasized political advancement and secondary education; it became the model for reports that followed. The United Nations maintained pressure for indigenous participation in government and for higher education, which influenced Australian policy and action (Downs 1980:75-77). In 1950 Area Education Centres were to be established so that curriculum could be adapted to local areas (P. Smith 1987:179-180), but most new recruits from Australia asked for the local syllabus and, on finding none, reproduced that of their home state with little or no local adaptation (p.189). Area education officer John Neve, however, produced a small primer in the local vernacular at Maprik, Sepik (Ralph 1978:483-484). In 1950 Roscoe's Syllabus for Native Schools used the Queensland model and injected PNG material (G. Smith 1975:47). Recruitment of Australian teachers and training of indigenous teachers were slow. Most students did not do well in village schools; those that could bypassed them and went to administration schools, which used English (Ralph 1978:488). On 1 October 1950 the Higher Training Institute was opened; incoming students were supposed to be able to read *Papuan Junior Reader 3* (p.476-478). Believing that those who took up native administration and education needed to read F.E. Williams's book, Groves had *The Blending of Cultures* republished in 1951 (Groves 1951). At this time New Guineans Boisen and Waiau Ahnon published *Rabaul News*, and Doonar and Waiau's brother, Kenyau Ahnon, put out *Lae*

⁸ An author of books on colonial problems and the permanent UK representative on the Trusteeship Council from 1947 to 1956, he was part of the first UN visiting mission to New Guinea.

Garamut—both popular newspapers (Ralph 1978:479).

The Hasluck Era

Paul Hasluck's long term as minister for territories from 1951 through 1963 allowed administrative continuity for programme implementation and follow-up. His plan was to expand primary education and to incorporate mission teaching for national modernization (Hasluck 1976:86-88). He decided English was "the only hope for an independent and united nation to gain a means of communication," and he perceived that people preferred it as a common language (p.89). Hasluck stated that he himself "took the rather simple view...that education meant providing teachers and school-rooms"⁹ (p.85-86). He believed, "We needed more native people who could understand what we were saying and who could themselves speak more freely to each other" (p.85). He did not mention that Australians needed to understand what Papuans and New Guineans were saying. Griffin et al wrote that Hasluck wanted results and quickly. He raised more funding than the education and health departments could spend. Australian practices needed adaptation to PNG circumstances; yet, administrators and field-workers found policy decisions difficult and convincing people yet more difficult (1979:128).

The 1952 Education Ordinance combined the administration of Papua and New Guinea and established an Education Advisory Board similar to the British Colonial Administration (G. Smith 1975:39). In 1952 Chatterton's *A Village School Handbook* was published in the territory. An investigating committee in 1953 reported that the Education Department had tackled mass literacy and cultural blending without long-term educational policy or short-term objectives, so it had not developed curricula suited to the needs of indigenous children in their environment. The committee's justification prioritized Australian security:

The ultimate purpose of all Australian effort in Papua and New Guinea must be security of the north-eastern approaches to Australia. This demands the most rapid economic and social progress of the indigenous people which it is possible to achieve. In bringing this

⁹ His administration published Scragg's study on *Depopulation in New Ireland*. Official assistance was given to Colin Simpson, whose books *Adam with Arrows* and *Adam in Plumes* were published by Angus & Robertson of Sydney (Hasluck 1976:219).

about Australia must ensure that these people are increasingly oriented towards Australia and not in any other direction; that they become bound to Australia by ties of speech, culture, form of government, economic interests and sentiment.

The long-range educational policy must be defined to give effect to the object indicated in the paragraph above (cited in P. Smith 1987:188-189).

In 1954 the Public Service Institute (PSI) was established for clerical, administrative, and managerial training, and staff was encouraged to study externally for degrees through the University of Queensland (Downs 1980:118). PSI divided its tasks between preparing Europeans for university degrees or institute examinations and preparing indigenes for the third division of the public service (Hasluck 1976:387). Waiko wrote that, until the 1960s Papuan and New Guinean tradesmen and clerks were few, but they set type for *Papuan Courier* and at the Government Printing Office (1993:73). In 1955 Roscoe's syllabus was revised; vernacular could be used for the first two years in non-government schools (Patton 1995:A6-A7). The same year Hall's *Hands Off Pidgin English*, which sought recognition for a growing means of communication, was published overseas.

According to Hasluck, instead of presenting arguments and budgets for more schools and teachers, Groves discussed UNESCO pamphlets, Oxford readers for African schools, and his own ideas for educational development in colonial territories (1976:86). At a personal level, Groves's indigenization of education by adaptation was too progressive for an expatriate-teacher base that could not teach in vernaculars, too quick for a slow-growing government school system, and too appreciative of PNG cultures for other colonial officials (Patton 1995:A6-A7). Local Councils, which had begun to be established after 1949, numbered 10 by 1956. Papuans' and New Guineans' growing political awareness made them realize education's economic value and they contributed to building and maintaining schools (P. Smith 1987:174). The more educated they became, the less satisfied they were with the village, so Groves's arguments did not persuade the very people he aimed to protect and promote. At a national level, the population was growing too fast for teachers and curriculum developers to work his way. Furthermore, Papuan and New Guinean individuals were interested in economic progress and nationalism. At an administrative level, Groves's

ideas were seen to impede policy and implementation. At an international level, world events pushed Papua and New Guinea toward independence, requiring more than village education.

Beyond primary education, Hasluck emphasized training for employment: clerks, drivers, medical assistants, printers, typists, nurses, storemen, mechanics, etc (1976:221). Secondary education's purpose was to develop indigenous instructors and leaders (p.222). Unable to circumvent Groves, Hasluck forced his retirement and appointed G.T. Roscoe in 1958. Roscoe's comprehensive plan included recruitment of more European teachers, expediting the training of native teachers, enlisting the aid of local government councils to build schools and teachers colleges (p.225). That same year saw the first appointments of local officers to responsible positions within the Public Service (Downs 1980:116). In 1959 DoE published an LM Oral English Course, and later a committee revised Roscoe's 1950 syllabus (G. Smith 1975:47). The rapid development of primary education ensured its own insufficiency for school leavers to find jobs (p.50-51); available secondary schooling could not meet demand for continued education.

Next door, events in Papua Barat spurred recognition of the consequences of hasty colonial exit. Australian policy changed direction and reflected the African/Asian independence experience, when economists and educationalists began to see relationships and to collaborate (P. Smith 1987:241). UN pressure increased as remaining colonies received greater scrutiny (G. Smith 1975:37). UNESCO conferences led to the Karachi Plan of 1960, with a goal of eight years' schooling (p.32). DoE had responsibility to inform people about the United Nations and trusteeship; thus, the syllabus for social studies in all schools included such information, as did DoE broadcasts and newssheets. The United Nations believed the Australian government was not working fast enough for education, particularly political education, and in April 1962 it established its own Information Centre in Port Moresby, but the administration provided offices, transport, postal, telephonic, and other facilities. A new Department of Information arranged for translation of UN material into local languages (Downs 1980:128). The United Nations held the view that universal primary education was not preparing people for political progress, and it recommended more secondary education (p.129).

The growth in secondary education pushed the need for tertiary education. The Willoughby-Foxcroft report of 1961 recommended an administrative college, a university college, a polytechnic institute, and expanding secondary training to prepare students for university entrance (Hasluck 1976:387-388). In 1961 ANU established its New Guinea Research Unit (NGRU), which began publishing in 1963. From 1967 it co-sponsored the Waigani Seminars, the proceedings of which were published by ANU and UPNG. Although whites by and large authored NGRU monographs, the Waigani Seminar books were more inclusive of Papuans' and New Guineans' writings, and their authors helped to form Papua New Guinea as a nation.

The Legislative Council appointed a Select Committee on Political Development in March 1962. Anticipating the next UN visiting mission, the committee had its interim report read in Legislative Council beforehand. The Department for Information and Extension Services (DIES) distributed a simplified English version, which had wide circulation. The 1962 UN report (the Foot report) proposed decisions that had already been envisioned, ie government by representatives elected from a common roll, of which Papuans and New Guineans would be the vast majority (Downs 1980:237-240). It recommended expansion of secondary schooling, plans for university education, and accelerated training and education aimed at self-government (G. Smith 1975:37; Downs 1980:253). ANU published *The Independence of Papua-New Guinea*, four lectures that had been given in 1961, in which E.K. Fisk and J.G. Crawford emphasized economics (Downs 1980:277). In 1962 and 1963 DoE organized a senior officers' course to create opportunities for Papua New Guineans to be appointed to positions with executive authority (p.404). In November 1963 the Administrative College of Papua and New Guinea (formerly PSI) took over training functions, offering courses from basic education to typing to diploma level (p.118). Its publishing began later and included its own handbooks and Uviana's *Small-scale business in Papua New Guinea*. Education and Native Affairs constituted separate departments. DIES had branches for administration, extension training, publications, broadcasts, and films (p.121).

In 1954 Bruce Roberts of SPC visited and subsequently outlined a plan for a Literature Bureau based on those in Africa and that at SPC (1955). The PNG Literature Bureau was not established until 1968 (Ellerman 1995:5). Jack Lahui, its

first indigenous director, said that the Australian administration encouraged people to write as a means of dispelling anger without violence and to foster national unity (p.2). The bureau published only one book on its own, but it organized years of annual national literature competitions (p.3), published the journal (*Papua*) *New Guinea Writing*, and co-published with the Centre for Creative Arts and IPNGS. Underfunding, political meddling, and an English-only policy handicapped its 10 years of life (p.5) before being folded into the National Research Institute (p.6).

Hasluck's term as minister for territories finished at the end of 1963, the same year that all restricted areas finally came under government control (Downs 1980:126). Rapid internal population growth and escalating external political pressure propelled Papua and New Guinea away from Hasluck's vision of uniform, primary education for political change (G. Smith 1975:32-34; Downs 1980:128).

The Post-Hasluck Era, 1964 to 1975

The territories held their first elections in February 1964. Books had an important role in village life:

The task of compiling a common roll would have been insurmountable without the Village Book and census records....They were permanently maintained in a family group system and particularly valuable in determining the eligibility of those wishing to vote as absentees. Non-literate village people had got into a convenient habit of presenting themselves for census checks in the same order as that in which their names appeared in village books. This made for rapid identification [sic], saving hours of work in large villages (Downs 1980:306).

The Currie report of 1964¹⁰ recommended immediate establishment of a university and preliminary studies, recommendations that took two years to come to fruition even with UN pressure (Downs 1980:246). The report recommended educational investment for economic development and cultural satisfaction. The World Bank, in its 1965 report *The Economic Development of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea*,¹¹

¹⁰ In March 1963 Hasluck had appointed a Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea, with Sir George Currie as chair, assisted by O.H.K Spate, John Gunther, Fred Kaad, and Oala Oala-Rarua (Downs 1980:246).

¹¹ Through its 1961-1962 report to the United Nations, Australia arranged for the World Bank's economic survey (Downs 1980:251).

recommended conventional European-driven economic policies and assigned a central role to education in fostering development and encouraged curricula specific to the territory and supportive of cross-cultural understanding. It recommended adult education to assist the rapid transition (cited in P. Smith 1987:243).

As Papuans and New Guineans undertook education at colleges for teacher training, medicine, commerce meteorology, and nautical training; in the Army and the police; and within government departments (Downs 1980:302, 305, 406, 412), discussion leading to nationalism was inevitable. Centralization of government agencies, particularly training colleges, provoked 'national' unity because of their alien administration (p.302, 305-306, 384). By the 1960s frustrations and aspirations of their countrymen were articulated by educated individuals, such as Michael Somare, a broadcasting assistant and publicity officer with DIES; Ebia Olewale, an education officer; Elliot Elijah, a training officer with the Department of Trade and Industry; and others with magistrate's training (Downs 1980:386)—people who crafted words for publication in various forms. Somare accused Australia of not educating people about political parties and of choosing a complicated system of government, which other colonized countries had rejected (Griffin et al 1979:135-136). Downs reckoned, "Those who tried to push party politics and political platforms in 1964 were frustrated by the inability of the people to read pamphlets or understand slogans." Village reading matter of tin labels, calendars, magazine pictures, and mission tracts did not sustain reading skills. School children could read campaign literature (most pamphlets were printed in English and Tok Pisin), but adults contradicted them (1980:308). When the territorial government established the House of Assembly, it initiated a political education campaign. In 1967 the Department of District Administration distributed an instructional pamphlet, *Political Parties*, after which the territory administration smiled on the formation of political parties (p.381). Such publications as *Administration of Economic Development Planning: Principles and Fallacies* (published in New York) and Fisk et al's *New Guinea on the Threshold: Aspects of Social, Political and Economic Development* (published in Canberra) influenced the political climate and decision makers.

The public service commissioner and board helped to develop courses to improve standards of training for teachers. "A large range of education material was

produced locally and specifically designed for the children of nationals. The quality of these was sufficiently high to attract attention and supply to other parts of the world.” Although McKinnon, director of education from 1966 to 1973, wanted to develop pupils’ skills to cope with traditional and imported educational systems, so that they could choose the more appropriate way in each instance (G. Smith 1975:43), primary curricula had been already framed in Western ways by various individuals and committees and development of secondary curricula was restricted by the economics of publishing (p.48, see p.301 below). In 1966 government opened the University of Papua and New Guinea in Port Moresby, the University of Technology in Lae, and the Teacher’s College in Goroka. UNESCO employed staff at Goroka Teachers’ College from the beginning. Australian workers—often more experienced and better qualified—resented their UN counterparts’ higher salaries and supervision¹² but welcomed UN laboratory equipment and materials. Under Hasluck and Barnes, Australia rejected a number of proposals from UNDP and UNESCO for fear of letting others determine education policy (Downs 1980:410).

UPNG published works of chemistry, economics, education, geography, history, politics, and sociology. It co-published Waigani Seminars with ANU and an encyclopedia with Melbourne University Press. The books generally show expatriate authorship. The Centre for Creative Arts, the Department of English, and the Educational Research Unit published books under their own imprint. Although UPNG published a wide variety of material, it is well known for creative work initiated by Ulli Beier, and Papua New Guinean authorship was more prevalent for creative writing.

Ulli said he and his wife Georgina arrived from Nigeria in 1967 to foster literature and art. The Beiers went back to Nigeria in 1971, then returned in 1974 at the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (IPNGS). At UPNG, Ulli started a course in writing from developing countries, and he was allowed to choose students for an advanced creative writing class. Among his students were Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe, who went on to help found the South Pacific Creative Arts Society, and John Saunana, who was the first Solomon Islander to write a novel. Ulli did not

¹² To the present day, Papua New Guineans have said the same of Australians’ higher salaries and supervision.

assemble an editorial board, but he initiated the Papua Pocket Poets series with 20 poems produced on a typewriter. Later he paid whoever was around to help type, proofread, and distribute the books. Georgina designed the covers. He printed 500 of each and sold them at 50 cents a piece. The series¹³ included work from other countries. Ulli edited *Kovave: A Journal of New Guinea Literature*; Georgina gave it its image; and Elton Brash, Apisai Enos, Russell Soaba, and others wrote for it. Ulli paid for the pilot issue, but Jacaranda produced it and sent reviews to Australian newspapers (interview 1995). Ulli edited tape recordings by Albert Maori Kiki (1968) to create the country's second autobiography by a Papua New Guinean.¹⁴ The chapters addressed pre-European life, contrasts between indigenous and Australian cultures, experiences as a health and welfare officer, and political activism from the personal to the national level. A question remains as to how much Kiki experienced and how much was embroidered for the book (Wolfers pers comm 1997, 1998). Ulli also assisted Vincent Eri, who wrote Papua New Guinea's first novel and went on to a political career, including the post of governor general (Beier 2005:53). Beier said of his creative writing students that they were not literati who discussed style and form; rather, they were the most politically conscious students: "They used literature as a tool" (p.56). Many went into politics and took up national posts (p.57). Under the pseudonym M. Lovori, Beier himself wrote two plays, *They Never Return* and *Alive* (p.66).

Later, at IPNGS, Ulli saw the function of the institute to overcome a sense of loss of indigenous cultures and to use those cultures to foster a national identity of hundreds of local identities (IPNGS 1974-1976:9). IPNGS extended its facilities and grants to people knowledgeable in their particular culture, regardless of their academic background, and geared books to a general reading audience (p.13). IPNGS began publishing books and *Gigibori: A Magazine of Papua New Guinea Cultures*. IPNGS sent out its own people to collect folklore, music, and other manifestations of culture and paid individuals to participate. Its publications were commercially produced but simply printed. In the context of their work, some of the things that the Beiers did and

¹³ Ulli edited the first 25 books, Prithvindra Chakravarti the next 16—all before independence (Beier 2005:49-50).

¹⁴ In 1968 Albert Maori Kiki's book was billed as the first autobiography by a Papua New Guinean. Either reviewers and commentators were ignorant or ignored Ligeremaluoga's [1932] book (Wolfers pers comm 2003). Although Cheshire of Melbourne published both books, the gap between them was 36 years, and staff might have changed many times.

produced were controversial, but Ulli said there would have been no point if the publications and art were not controversial (interview 1995). IPNGS published music, radio plays, work in PNG languages, translations of PNG material and German writing, and discussion papers on such topics as conducting research, editing poetry, and making national policy. Beier saw that Papua New Guineans work was put into print and distributed. Marjorie Crocombe wrote, "Without [Ulli Beier's] creative writing courses...a lot of creative talent of the people of Papua New Guinea would not be recognised. Papua New Guinea students would have nothing of their own people's writing to read" (1978:9). Ulli knew that published writing could have political impact (Powell 1979:43-44), and he published quickly to overcome "colonialism [that] had lingered too long" (p.46-47). Other teachers inspired and advised their students, but they lacked the publishing outlets that UPNG had (p.51). In fact, Ulli created those publishing outlets; others failed to do so. Publishing outlets do not create themselves.

Of the creative writing, J. Jones wrote that there was "somewhat of an African format to what...emerged, but the examples of...African states would in any case have figured prominently in the minds of young intellectuals thinking in terms of political and cultural independence" (1979:136). The limited amount of English literature produced by Papua New Guineans concentrated on their transitional experience (p.138). Jacaranda, which had an office in Port Moresby, published Vincent Eri's (1970) *The Crocodile*, the first novel by a Papua New Guinean, and Ian Downs's novel among other books at this time. Stirring political events nourished writers; Papua New Guineans used the new avenues open to them to express cultural, economic, political, and social changes. The new literature was not without its critics. Apisai Enos wrote that Papua New Guinean writers were creating "unpopular" literature for the élite. New literature was "artificial" and sometimes "painfully imitative of European traditions" because UPNG itself imitated Western traditions (quoted in J. Jones 1979:137-138). Nevertheless, the creative arts movement continued, fostered mainly by expatriates at UPNG. Writers were encouraged by print publication of their works and readings of them on the Karai and Kalang radio networks (A. Turner 2001:57).

From the early 1960s technical schools had been established and merged into vocational centres, which aimed to "develop desirable attributes of citizenship and responsibility" and to help lead maintenance and development of local cultures

(*Vocational Centres Handbook* cited in P. Smith 1987:265). In 1968 the administration issued a pamphlet, *Talk about the 1968 Election*, in English, Motu, and Tok Pisin to explain nomination and voting (Downs 1980:389). The printed word became more important in a new and national context, for a government seeking justification for unity. Downs wrote, “National decisions are too important to be reached without convincing evidence of exactly what has been agreed”—for Melanesian consensus could change with time, place, or participants (p.311). Borrowing from the World Bank report, the first 5-year economic plan, published in 1968, concentrated on secondary and vocational education, recruitment and training of local teachers, adoption of self-help schemes in primary education, preventative health, and health education (p.289, 304-305). In response to the UN Visiting Mission’s recommendation for more political education, the administration reconstituted its Standing Political Education Committee (Baker 1970:37). Its priority was the promotion of unity (p.38) and then the functioning of government (p.39). The committee reported the measures of government agencies, eg civics education in schools (1970).

In its 1969 report, the Advisory Committee on Education in Papua and New Guinea recommended decentralization, but the presence in Port Moresby of the education officers of the Anglican, Catholic, Evangelical Alliance, and United churches negated the committee’s recommendation (G. Smith 1975:81, 106fn12). At the time of this report, expatriates held the top seven DoE posts and none of the three Papua New Guinean graduates worked in DoE (p.79-80). Rising standards were due to substantial changes in the curriculum in the 1960s, teacher training improvements, and the rise of the second generation of English learners (p.38). In 1970 a Committee of Enquiry was established to coordinate university activities among the many tertiary institutions (p.37). That year the Education Ordinance established the Territory Education System, Teaching Service, and Education Board, which had a majority of indigenous members. Alkan Tololo, the first teaching service commissioner, became director of education in 1973 (p.41). By 1971 Papua and New Guinea had 77 training institutions (Downs 1980:412). That year K.R. MacKinnon and L. Daloz’s *Localization and Executive Training* was published in Port Moresby.

Papua and New Guinea held their third common-roll elections in 1972. A

booklet with different political parties' policies was widely distributed, and political parties made their first significant impact (Downs 1980:487). Consultants to the Constitutional Planning Committee (CPC) in 1972 brought their publications and experiences to bear: Profs J.W. Davidson and Ali Mazrui, Dr David Stone, Edward Wolfers, John Ley, and Y.P. Ghai. In November 1972 CPC took over the government liaison (formerly political education) branch of the Chief Minister's Office and created district study groups to discuss and report back on alternatives to central, regional, and local government (p.495). Although CPC advocated a Melanesian constitution, Australia was committed to its systems and policies for a united country (p.504), but publications about decentralization were to appear for years to come. In 1972 the National Education Board chose the theme 'education for community living' to emphasize reconstruction of cultural heritage, and a UPNG-based working group forwarded proposals to the minister for a community-based education system that included Tok Pisin or vernacular literacy and basic numeracy (G. Smith 1975:51-52). Aided by European investment and participation, the territorial government had almost accomplished self-rule by the end of the 5-year plan (Downs 1980:304). Criticism of the first 5-year plan centred around insufficient economic opportunities for indigenous people. The second 5-year plan included grant-in-aid from Australia and royalties and taxation income from Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL).¹⁵ When the Office of Programming and Co-ordination's (OPC) *Development Program – Principles, Choices and Priorities* was tabled in the House of Assembly on 20 June 1973, it met resistance as members of government clung to ideologies shared at the Sixth Waigani Seminar, which criticized economic planning and favoured philosophies, such as the Melanesian Way (See Narokobi 1983[1980].). *A Report on Development Strategies for Papua New Guinea*¹⁶ stressed localization, rural rejuvenation, and self-sufficiency, rather than increasing the gross national product, and contributed to the Eight Point Plan, which in turn contributed to a major economic publication the next year, *Strategies for Nationhood* (Downs 1980:536-539). Somare's government combined maintaining a nation rhetorically and economically by emphasizing self-reliance in the Eight Point Plan and signing a contract with BCL (Waiko 1993:156-157).

¹⁵ By 1968 the World Bank had recommended selective massive development (Griffin et al 1979:141).

¹⁶ The World Bank commissioned the report, M.L.O. Faber and a team through East Anglia University wrote it, and OPC published it.

In a very short time UPNG and other tertiary institutions made huge contributions toward providing leaders for the country. The second Gris committee¹⁷ report [1973-1974] advocated anti-élitist and rurally biased education, a national university with regional parts, external studies, outreach, closer links between manpower needs and university output, and a cap on enrolments to prevent oversupply (Downs 1980:414-415). *New Guinea Quarterly* carried a continuing debate over the World Bank report and the administration's 5-year plan (p.440), and authors continued to have their works published, eg in *Education in Melanesia* and *New Guinea Research Bulletin*, which created feedback loops of political cause and effect, but within limited circles. Wolfers wrote that despite the increasing number of publishing activities, laws and information were published in English—a language that a quarter of the population understood and very few used with ease. The country's natural terrain and the administration's limited resources meant intermittent and often arbitrary encounters with the law for most villagers (1975:146, 150). Waiko wrote the growth of English as the language of record, and for the most part of education, consolidated its influence on local cultures (1993:129) and education effected broad social change (p.130). Fifteen years, however, were not long enough for political routines and structures within the administration in Papua and New Guinea and within the Australian government, to adjust to shifting demands. In that time frame, no programme could have spread democracy or education democratically throughout the independent nation-state that Papua New Guinea was to become in 1975.

The largest audience for books was the school population, but it was a difficult market. The economics of publishing placed enormous control within DoE's grasp:

Production of books specifically for Papua New Guinea is almost entirely limited to propaganda produced and subsidized by government and missions and to school texts. With a population of 2.5 million of whom only a minority are literate in any of seven hundred languages the booksellers' market is limited....At the primary level the New Guinea school textbook has been an economic proposition for some time, but it is only since the expansion of enrolment in the late 1960s that the secondary market is viable. Secondary teachers still use

¹⁷ including Prof D.A. Low, Dr R. Crocombe, Dr Vern Harvey, and young graduates who espoused Somare's Eight Point Plan

much material written for other countries....

In view of the state of the Australian book-trade, publishers will not accept a manuscript aimed for Papua New Guinea schools unless the Department of Education places an advance order, although they may offer the author a contract dependent on such an order while awaiting the Department's advice. The Department may submit the manuscript to a panel of readers but even if their recommendation is unanimously favourable the decision to order will depend on the availability of funds....in Papua New Guinea there is less choice and the official's decision cannot be challenged or queried since nobody outside the Department can check the level of funding at any given time. The control of knowledge in print is the Departmental official's as effectively as it was ever the Pope's in Europe (G. Smith 1975:48-49).

Book provision (and in many cases non-provision) played a role in creating the élite that had begun to govern the country. Most people did not have access to many, or sometimes any, books, but their lives were increasingly governed by those who did. The limited number of people with any kind of training in document making, book publishing, and other administrative measures was not great enough to provide mass education. Administrators chose the easier path of training people to lead. It would be a task for future leaders to organize mass training for book-based government.

Academic books from overseas, governmental reports, and other publications by expatriates in Papua New Guinea had far more impact on Papua New Guineans' lives than the few books by Papua New Guineans. Although Papua New Guineans set type, ran presses, started newspapers, developed curricula, and contributed to some of the reports and books, their contributions have largely been overlooked.

Nauru

On 6 November 1914 Colonel Holmes of Australia hoisted the British flag on Nauru. Australia and New Zealand brokered the Nauru Agreement of 2 July 1919 with Britain and a purchase agreement on 25 June 1920 between King George V and the Pacific Phosphate Company to create a governmental monopoly over the phosphate (A. Ellis 1936:177-179; Viviani 1970:43, 45). The League of Nations did not officially

grant the Class C mandate of Nauru to Britain until 17 December 1920 (Viviani 1970:43). British administrator G.B. Smith-Rewse was a British Phosphate Company (BPC) employee. Nauruan Timothy Detudamo advocated establishment of the Nauru Co-operative Society and Store to break the BPC monopoly on trade goods, for which he was jailed for two years. When Australia sent Brigadier General T. Griffiths¹⁸ in 1921 to administer Nauru on Britain's behalf, he allowed the cooperative (A. Ellis 1936:168-183; Viviani 1970:61). For Nauruans, he demanded a rise in royalties, which was paid to landowners and put into trust for the community (Viviani 1970:50).

The administration ran a school for European children, and its teacher supervised mission schools (Viviani 1970:53). In designing education, administrators took into account race¹⁹ and established separate schools over time. From the 1920s Nauruans formed parental committees, built the schools, and paid the expenses from the Nauru Royalty Trust Fund. Nauruan language was used in the junior grades, and studies included Nauruan and Pacific history (p.63-64). By 1925 schools used English, except for Nauruan reading and Nauruan to ascertain comprehension of English; Australian books (Australia to LoN, Nauru 1925:40-50); and a modified version of Victoria DoE's curriculum (Australia to LoN, Nauru 1926). In 1927 the Permanent Mandates Commission noted that expenditure for European education (with far fewer pupils) was half that of education for all Nauruans (Viviani 1970:64). Australia's reports submitted in conformity with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations quickly took on a formula and provided no new important categories. In 1929 the administration reported on schools and training, but not books (Australia to LoN, Nauru 1930). In 1932 Camilla Wedgwood visited to report on the state of Nauru education and recommended a link be forged between European and Nauruan culture²⁰ (Viviani 1970:76). By 1934 only 35 of 500 Nauruan men were employed: 15 as chiefs thus advisers and 20 as police, medical assistants, wireless operators, draftsmen, and teachers (p.62-63). Lack of employment slowed economic progress. Despite the fact that Nauruans had achieved a high rate of literacy and ran their cooperative profitably, the administration generally shut them out of government.

¹⁸ Griffiths had been administrator of New Guinea for a year prior to taking up this assignment (Viviani 1970:50).

¹⁹ Nauru's population comprised Nauruans, Gilbertese, Ellice Islanders, Chinese, Carolinians, New Guineans, Japanese, British, Australians, New Zealanders, Germans, and mixed-race individuals.

²⁰ Her work was published overseas, in *Oceania* in 1936.

For local publications, the exception in the administration's reports occurred in 1936 when an "encyclopaedic work, embodying the grammar of the old Nauruan language, the work of a missionary who has been 30 years on Nauru, was obtained by the Administration." Arrangements were made to produce a simplified grammar to teach Nauruan according to modern developments and to devise an appropriate method of teaching English in native schools. A language committee, comprising the director of education, the dictionary's missionary author, and the head chief and head teacher of the Aiwo School, had worked during the year to standardize English-Nauruan translation. Work continued in 1937 (Australia to LoN, Nauru 1937:16). Although no names accompany the report, these are clearly Groves, Fr Alois Kayser, and Detudamo. According to Ralph, Groves took the position of director of education on Nauru from 1937 to 1938 because it offered the opportunity to combine education and anthropology. He transformed the education system by stressing its social purpose (1978:429-430).

Honor Maude visited in 1937 and further stirred administrative interest in Nauruan culture and string figures (Viviani 1970:76). The administration proposed experimental revisions to the primary curriculum and creation of Nauruan and English readers and supplementary texts to suit local conditions, using "[a]ll available published literature and reports, as well as the advice of the Native Education Committee...in the compilation of this book," including works by Dakin, Ellis, Hambruch, Kayser, and Wedgwood; the administration's reports to the League of Nations; references from Colonial Office lists; educational catalogues; Boy Scout books; travelogues; and the daily radio newssheet issued on Nauru. The first three issues of *Nauru Scouter* were published. The language committee was reconstituted to revise orthography (Australia to LoN, Nauru 1938:35-37).

In 1938 the administration reported that European education was basically following the Victoria curriculum, but that native education was being progressively adapted, following principles of *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa* (Australia to LoN, Nauru 1939:29). *A Dictionary and Grammar of the Nauruan Language* by Kayser was published locally in duplicated form from a manuscript.²¹ Other

²¹ Krauss (1970) listed separate publications in 1937: *An English-Nauru Dictionary* (anonymous) and

publications were *Educational Aims and Objectives in Nauru* and *School Curricula and Methods* in conformity with the principles and aims enunciated in Fiji's 1926 Education Committee report, to adapt the curriculum to the local environment (Australia to LoN, Nauru 1939:30-32). Groves left Nauru in 1938 when his secondment finished (Australia to LoN, Nauru 1940). William John Allen, who took up the post in March 1940, reported bookbinding; continuing compilation of the dictionary by the language committee; research into culture-contact education; and committees of teachers' collecting folk stories, legends, and accounts of Nauru's early history to include in the Nauruan School Readers (Australia to LoN, Nauru 1941:18, 35, 38). Detudamo wrote *Nauru Fables* (1938). Nauruans spent almost all of their Nauru Royalty Trust Fund²² on Nauruan education (Viviani 1970:72).

The Japanese occupied the island in 1941 (A. Ellis 1946:21). In 1943 they shipped about 1,200 Nauruans to Chuuk (p.29). On 14 September 1945 Captain Soeda Hisanyuki surrendered to Brigadier J.H. Stevenson (A. Ellis 1946:50-62; Viviani 1970:83). When Americans occupied Chuuk on 24 November 1945 (A. Ellis 1946:295), more than a third of the Nauruans had died. The remainder was repatriated in January 1946 (Viviani 1970:85). Primary schools were built of salvage material, and secondary and technical schools did not reopen for several years. Unqualified Nauruans staffed the Nauruan schools (p.91). The only Nauruan position holder was Detudamo, who was native affairs officer (p.93). The Council of Chiefs could only advise the administration on Nauruan matters (p.94).

In 1948 Australia reported to the UN General Assembly that its policy was free and secular education for all and encouragement for older people to study, but it admitted only primary school existed (Australia to UN, Nauru 1948:59). Nauruans petitioned the Trusteeship Council in 1948-1949 that they had no say in their own administration or finances. Representatives on the council remarked that until Nauruans participated in government, they could not gain the requisite experience (Viviani 1970:94-95), and they were astonished that such a literate people had so few of their own people representing and administering them (p.97). The United Nations

A Nauruan Grammar (Kayser).

²² Up to World War II, phosphate royalties for Nauruans grew £ 4,000-5,000 per annum. Half was a cash payment, a quarter was spent on education and community workers, and a quarter was held in trust for landowners (Viviani 1970:72).

sent its first Visiting Mission in 1950, which recommended that the chiefs be given more responsibility. This resulted the next year in the Nauru Local Government Council (p.96). Although the Trusteeship Council requested more information from the territory, BPC replied that inquiry might harm economic development (p.100).

In 1954 the administration agreed to pay for Nauruan education (Viviani 1970:108), but it had left problems too long (p.115-116). There had been four directors of education from 1948 to 1954, high staff turnover, and loss of clever students (p.119-120). In the mid-1950s the administration reported that Nauruans could not be stimulated to participate in political affairs—despite two elections with nearly 100% voting (p.114-115). It also reported that administrative posts were open to Nauruans but few were qualified or interested (Australia to UN, Nauru 1964-1968). BPC announced, without Nauruan consultation, installment of a second cantilever and brought in more Gilbertese and Ellice Islanders to accelerate mining before their lease expired. Nauruan resentment grew toward foreign workers and foreign control (Viviani 1970:131).

Australia's reports to the United Nations carried the same information from year to year, although numbers in tables changed slightly (Australia to UN, Nauru 1964-1968). Not until 1964 was a Teachers' Training College opened and in-service training offered (1965:39). Australia reported the use of textbooks prepared by educators experienced in teaching Pacific Islands children and of school journals from Papua and New Guinea, New South Wales, and the NZ Islands Education Division but did not mention preparation of any textbooks on Nauru or about Nauru. The curriculum was based on the Victoria syllabus and adapted only as merited by the local environment. Australia reported the use of Oral English in schools and that SPC publications were received with interest. Every report repeated that UN material was available in the island's libraries and schools and that instruction about the United Nations formed part of the social studies curriculum (1964-1968). Australia noted the presentation of four "playlets" on United Nations Day, one of which was presented in Gilbertese (1966:47), but gave no information as to their authorship or if they were published. There were no establishments for scientific research, sociological or

anthropological services, museums, parks, printeries, or publishing houses²³ (1964-1968). Like most organizations, the Australian administration justified itself to more powerful bodies: handing down UN information was more important than generating Nauruan knowledge. The Department of Territories prepared pamphlets on its territories, including Nauru, which were “available for general distribution by application to the Department of Territories, Canberra, Australia” (1966:56), but it was not stated if the administration distributed these pamphlets on Nauru.

In 1963 the Australian government (Department of Territories) took over from BPC negotiating with the Nauruans. The government vetoed Nauruans’ attempts to obtain private advice (Viviani 1970:134-135). After the Trusteeship Council expressed dismay that Nauruans had been denied advisers, Helen Hughes, senior research fellow in economics at ANU, was allowed to assist (p.136). The Nauruans knew they needed economic independence to have political independence (p.165-166). They hired professional help, ie Philip Shrapnel and Company, to gain ownership of the phosphate deposits (p.138). In 1967 they achieved the Nauru Phosphate Agreement, which gave Nauruans control of the phosphate. They chose as their political adviser J.W. Davidson (p.168-171). On 22 November 1967 the Trusteeship Council terminated the trusteeship agreement for Nauru, and on 31 January 1968 Nauru celebrated independence. Hammer DeRoburt’s effective leadership, Nauru’s appropriation of the phosphate industry and subsequent economic independence, and Nauruans’ decision not to resettle elsewhere were factors in its political independence (Kituai 1982:36). In areas of communication, information, and education, where the colonial government could have fostered activity leading to Nauruan self-expression and self-sufficiency, it chose not to do so. Europeans had their work published in Australia, New Zealand, or Europe, eg A. Ellis’s books (1936, 1946). Beyond school, there was little to read in Nauruan to help perpetuate their culture or in English to adjust to a changing world. Krauss (1970) listed two articles by Raymond Gadabu, published by SPC; otherwise,

²³ All publications of any kind were roneoed. The administration published the irregular weekly *Bulletin* and the weekly *Government Gazette*. The Nauru Affairs Department employed a publications clerk and produced *Nauru Newsletter* to keep offshore students informed. A newspaper for Nauruan children, *Ekamwinen (ea) Eoning*, was published in English. The weekly *Pinnacle Post* was edited and published by Europeans (Australia to UN, Nauru 1964-1968) on BPC staff. Europeans edited *Nauru Times*. The Observers Society published *Observer*, in English, which carried views of young Nauruans (Viviani 1970:107, 200n5). In September 1963 residents of Boe began publishing *District Weekly* in Nauruan, with news of the district, Nauru Local Government Council, administration, and debates and recommendations of the Trusteeship Council (Australia to UN, Nauru 1964:26).

very little written by Nauruans was published widely.

Nauruans succeeded in gaining independence and in receiving some phosphate revenue because they had adapted text-based tools and skills. They organized themselves and hired others to help them with the book-based legal system. Independence and the decline of Nauru is part of this story to the extent that many Nauruans became complacent about their involvement with text and Australia was able to keep an ideological hold on Nauruans through education and aid.

Australia's Tenure and Aid

The Australian government did little to educate Papuans, New Guineans, or Nauruans before World War II. Such individuals as F.E. Williams and W.C. Groves had significant influence intellectually; yet, their ideas, plans, and programmes could not cope with growing populations and world events. Book provision (and in many cases non-provision) played a role in creating the élite that began to govern. British publications on colonial administration and reports by government, the United Nations, and the World Bank had much more impact on islanders' political participation than did books by islanders. Political education was late and rushed in Papua and New Guinea and hardly happened at all on Nauru. 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 often paid for, and organized, their own schools. Papua and New Guinea had almost no literacy among a large population, which had over 700 languages. Nevertheless, Papua New Guineans began receiving teacher training through a governmental institution 20 years earlier than Nauruans. Nauruans had already engaged in text culture as translators, writers, publishers; yet, the Australian administration did *less* than in Papua and New Guinea (in fact, almost nothing), to take advantage of any of these phenomena to promote self-expression, educational progress, and political participation.

Australia gives aid to Papua New Guinea and Nauru, other independent Pacific states, states freely associated with New Zealand or the United States, and the French territories. From the 1960s Australia's aid policy emphasized training for self-government and manpower needs within the Pacific. From the late 1980s it emphasized using aid to benefit Australian economic interests (Coxon & Tolley

2005:38-43). From the mid- to late 1990s it emphasized using aid to reduce poverty and sustain development to advance Australia's national interests (p.55). In 1996 Australia announced that its education and training policy would emphasize basic education first, then vocational and technical education, higher education, institutional strengthening, and distance education (Downer 1996:4). Its strategy included achievement of adult literacy to influence family and community awareness and development (p.8-9). "Education is development's most basic building block....It contributes to the strengthening of institutions of civil society, to national capacity building and good governance..." (p.4). Phelan and Hill showed that, although Australia's rhetoric has been for basic education, the vast bulk of its funding has gone to tertiary education—the majority of which is spent at Australian institutions. In 1994-1995 76% of its educational aid went to the tertiary level; aid to primary and secondary levels fell through the 1990s to 6% (1998). Book publishing is but a small part of Australia's aid to assist educational infrastructure, maintenance, management, recurrent budgets, strategic planning, and training.

Of the approximately AUD 300 million per year it gives to *Papua New Guinea*, Australia spends AUD 55 million on education (Taito 2003:1). Australia spent AUD 4.5 million for the Maritime College Project in 1994-1998 (AusAID 1999a:9), AUD 20.1 million for the Infrastructure/Materials Program in 1997-1999, and AUD 4.1 million for institutional strengthening including a Facilitating and Monitoring Unit to establish a new elementary system with tutoring in the vernacular (Downer 1996:13). Australia provided funds for the Curriculum Reform Implementation Project for elementary and primary schools (Taito 2003:9), developing 45 new orthographies and training 6,000 teachers to develop shell books (AusAID 1999b:4), and assisting the Summer Institute of Linguistics with literacy training (p.14). In 2000 the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) engaged a curriculum specialist to review educational materials produced by PNGDoE, then requested the assistance of AESOP volunteer Ian Riseborough to oversee printing of 1.2 million copies of curriculum materials. The project employed 200 people and delivered materials to every primary school. The majority of the employees were women, many of whom used their earnings to pay school fees for their children (AESOP 2000:5).

For *Fiji*, Australia spent FJD 306,683 for the Basic Education and Life Skills programme in 1998-1999; FJD 252,352 for literacy education in 2000; AUD 20 million for the Fiji Education Sector Program in 2003-2008, including developing primary school materials within the Curriculum Development Unit; and AUD 5 million for Lautoka Teachers' College in 2002-2005, including teaching and learning materials for early childhood and primary education (Coxon & Tolley 2005:69; Puamau 2005a:58-59, 78). A project at the Fiji College of Advanced Education, however, purchased almost all textbooks and many library resources from Australia (Puamau 2005b:123). Australia supported single book projects, such as *Levuka: Living Heritage* (Gibson et al 2001), for which it donated tape recorders to the people of Levuka. Marsali Mackinnon's attempt to capture part-Europeans' oral histories was supported by Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, ANU's Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, and the National Library of Australia (Bhim 2003).

Australia has been assisting publishing in *Kiribati* for decades, from curriculum development (T. Russell 1985) to assisting importation of paper for Catholic Sisters to make books in the 1980s (Talu 1995:162). AusAID funded workshops in 1993 and 1994 for writers of the Curriculum Development Resource Centre (CDRC) (Kaiuea 1999:26). From the late 1990s Kiribati developed new curricula; CDRC officials decided to write their own textbooks rather than to adapt others. AusAID's Kiribati Education Sector Program (KESP) aimed to publish 300,000 copies of 250 titles covering all major subjects for all primary levels. The programme was managed by Uniquist, the commercial arm of the University of Queensland, on behalf of AusAID. The programme rehabilitated the CDRC building and installed printing equipment. I-Kiribati wrote and translated the books, in Kiribati and English²⁴ (KESP personnel 2003; Gibbons 2004). Coxon and Tolley put Australia's aid to Kiribati at AUD 17.8 million for 1998-2005 (2005:69).

²⁴ The writing team included Karabi Baate, Tuaina Kirition, Bibiana Bureimoa, Teburantaake Kaei, and Meronga Raeao, as well as members of the teaching service and workshop participants. Sue Baereleo of Vanuatu and Mary Ann Evans, a Peace Corps volunteer, edited the books. Eretia Koteti, Meere Eurobwa, Mwakei Biiti, and Beia Ranoenti were the desktop publishing personnel. Tokam Tataua was the Liaison Officer. John Jerrow, an AESOP volunteer, trained Bwebweata Taboata and Tanentoa Nakau on the printing equipment, and Australian Peter Gibbons managed the project. Baereleo had 35 years experience in education in Vanuatu and worked with Gibbons on a similar project in Vanuatu. Jerrow had worked in Solomon Islands and Tonga (KESP personnel 2003; Gibbons 2004).

For *Samoa*, Australia spent AUD 4.5 million for the Institutional Strengthening Project in 1999-2004 and AUD 5.53 million for primary and infants curriculum with locally produced materials in 1996-2004 (Coxon & Tolley 2005:70). For *Tonga*, Australia assisted in the 1990s with primary and secondary curriculum development in bilingual education, mathematics, and science, including provision of a production unit that included printing equipment. Tonga's CDU publishes all curriculum materials and annual publications. In 1997 it provided a Primary Resource Centre, including a printing centre for primary school teachers, but the centre did not last three years and became used for living quarters (Maka 2005:205, 234-235, 237). For *Tuvalu*, Australia spent AUD 2.8 million on Education for Life in 1996-2004 (Coxon & Tolley 2005:70).

At the 1974 Pacific Forum, minister for foreign affairs Don Willesee had announced the Australian government would provide AUD 250,000 to initiate a programme to preserve and develop cultures. The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade administered the *South Pacific Cultures Fund* (SPCF)²⁵ and assisted projects in the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Niue, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu, and began to assist the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands. It allotted more than AUD 2 million for a range of activities including publication of music, creative writing, history, culture, and reprinting of out-of-print dictionaries, grammars, histories, and books about Pacific Islands cultures. Its funding was available for islanders only (SPCF 1990). In the early 1990s staff at the Australian High Commission in Fiji said that the fund had been discontinued, but that Pacific Islands individuals, groups, and agencies could apply to the high commissions as the latter had discretionary funds for cultural promotion (field notes). The absence of specific funds and specific personnel to encourage use of such funds, however, might mean fewer small, independent projects.

AESOP volunteers have assisted curriculum development, editing, layout, printing, publishing, inventory control, and accounting in Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, and Solomon Islands (AESOP 2000:8). AESOP volunteer Arnold Wolff installed business computer software and trained staff for Vava'u Press in Tonga and at

¹⁰¹ also called the Australian Fund for the Preservation and Development of Pacific Cultures

IPS in Fiji. He was in Suva to conduct training in May 2000, but the Australian government advised that he leave following the parliamentary takeover by civilians led by George Speight. Australian Volunteers Abroad (AVA) have collaborated in writing and publishing books, eg Stemp (1994). Finally, Australia contributes to UN and Commonwealth agencies, which also support book publishing in the Pacific Islands.

Australian efforts to foster book publishing in the colonial era were, by and large, late and small. Such poor beginnings have had implications for book publishing in the post-colonial era. Dependence on Australia for finance, equipment, and training personnel continues—a situation that Australian policy makers readily understand and use to Australia's advantage.

CHAPTER 13

POLITICS AND BOOK PUBLISHING BY COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS

Colonial planners perceived education and books as means to inculcate their own values of ‘civilization,’ but they were late onto the educational scene. They did not have large budgets for education, so they relied upon missions. This was not different from practice in Europe, where Sunday schools became day schools and churches opened charity schools. Colonial administrations often supported missions, for they recognized the missions’ value in pacification, education, and publishing the existence of government.

Like the missionaries had, colonial administrators brought books and used them for education, health, and other purposes. The number of school books did not increase dramatically though, and the few available school books often represented education itself. Colonial officials sometimes had their own books published in their home countries, but not to generate financial support for empire (as missionaries did to generate financial support for missions). At the same time that local and overseas publications created boundaries around information and territory, the publications came to symbolize said information and territory, thus rendering intangible government into tangible books. The administrations’ publications sometimes were meant to convey information about government, but for a long time only in order for people to obey the law, not to participate in government. Colonial governments did compromise with local leaders, but rarely to the extent that missionaries had, for colonial governments had armed forces and equipment to enforce their authority.

Di Maggio and Powell wrote that new institutions acquire legitimacy by taking on the *form* of existing institutions for coercive, mimetic, or normative reasons (cited in Larmour 2002:58, LC’s emphasis). Local professional organizations play gatekeeping roles in institutional and policy transfer, and they tie power and specialized knowledge together (p.59). Following the introduction of book culture by missionaries, colonial agents published laws and regulations *in book form*, recorded and published information about their colonies *in book form*, and entered the business of providing education to the masses *in book form* (although

neither immediately nor consistently over space and time).

Colonial governments quickly gained legitimacy, and islanders looked to government for employment and status. The missions did not have enough employment to meet the expectation of their students, but government offered new possibilities. Families who succeeded in mission work often had members who succeeded in administrative work. These people who commanded book-based culture had important roles to play in political and social change. Rodman and Counts pointed out that middlemen and brokers influenced the pace and direction of change as they mediated between officials and the general public. As they projected the legitimacy of the government and integrated people into the legal system, they gained personal legitimacy and prestige (1982).

Many islanders participated consciously and unconsciously in transmitting the idea of empire and attachment to colonial power. Book-based routines became rituals that reinforced the *authority* of those associated with them. Laws, regulations, manuals, roll books, and textbooks accustomed people to living as part of the British or French empire or as part of New Zealand's or Australia's territories. From governments' collaboration with missions to governments' assumption of missions' educating roles, the trend was greater and greater government involvement and control of people's daily lives, though much of it was unconscious.

Larmour discussed institutional and policy transfer as the diffusion, reception, and perpetuation of innovations (2001, 2002). By participating in governmental activities at many different levels, islanders acquired knowledge and skills that they had not previously had and they came to value them. As they shared their knowledge and skills, they publicized the government and the government's sense of order. The expansion of book-based government slowly led to re-organized societies.

Change was slow, and gaps existed. Cherns's study of official publishing indicated that absence of central awareness (not central authority) and incomplete intelligence about public needs, insufficient evaluation of the effectiveness of typical publishing methods, fragmentation of publishing and distributive machinery, and

disjointed accessibility to publications are common (1979). Colonial policy generally wavered within and across territories over time, and debates about appropriate education and revisions of curricula absorbed labour and time that could have been used to publish books.

Colonial agents published because that is what they knew to do from their own publishing cultures and because they believed it would influence people. Such colonial officials as Harry Maude and W.C. Groves, who were interested to indigenize education, were exceptional and often overruled by higher-ups or overtaken by local population growth and global events. Generally, colonial officials and their routines passed on skills that could be used in publishing, and they created a small élite that might interpret for them and form the lower ranks of bureaucracy. Training and training institutions for the masses were extremely limited until after World War II. The colonial administrations were more answerable to home governments and regional and international organizations than to the people they administered, and they were more driven by global than local events. Books and reports by expatriates affected politics much more than did books written by local people. Local people consciously and unconsciously participated in the publishing schemes of colonial governments in order to ameliorate their individual position. Change was incremental. As time passed and indigenous people learnt to use the tools of the colonizing powers, however, they were able to adapt those tools for their own expressions and their own ends.

As colonial powers prepared their territories for independence, agents of transfer, eg J.W. Davidson, embodied their ideas not only in constitutions, but also in literature for the public in the form of explanatory booklets and scholarly tomes. Political education campaigns were late, rushed, and often not very participatory for the targeted audience. Nevertheless, books touched the lives of more and more people, who used the content and the medium in sometimes unintended ways to affect their own economic, political, and social situations.

(Post-)colonial powers continue to use book publishing programmes and projects worth millions of dollars scattered throughout governmental and non-governmental agencies as means to retain collective identity amenable to existing

power balances. Political order and change are rarely the result of one catalyst, means, or product, but book publishing played all these roles in ideological power, just as politics has been a catalyst, means, and product of book publishing.

CHAPTER 14

CONCLUSIONS

Two hundred years ago most Pacific Islanders hardly knew of books. Although books are not plentiful in Oceania today, they have become ordinary and common. They are objects so ordinary and common that few question the extent to which books and their publishing govern our lives. From its inception in the Pacific Islands, book publishing has been a significant means of ideological power as advocates of different viewpoints have renewed cycles of persuasion, influence, participation, and expression.

Chapter 2 discussed how the provision of books entails a flow of ideas and activities through informal brokerage, social mechanisms, and institutional channels. Feedback and gatekeeping occur during the process as people negotiate publication. Negotiation and the struggle for power are the essence of politics. As participants mediate their debates in publications—expressing themselves and attempting to influence others—their skills and products condition outcomes and political order. Political circumstances have affected and effected book publishing, and in turn, book publishing has affected and effected political consequences not only in the Pacific but throughout the world. Publishers publish to persuade people to read, pay attention to, and/or buy books. Readership, however, is unpredictable and people often respond differently to books and events. Their expressions might manifest support, resistance, or something between the two, but they use the symbols of the established order to express themselves about that order; thus, people participate in the established order and help to legitimize it.

Chapter 3 discussed why the form of books matters in communication, how book publishing takes place, and economic considerations, with particular emphasis on developing countries. Although there have been many studies of literacy by UNESCO, textbook provision by the World Bank, and book publishing in Africa, research about book publishing in the Pacific Islands is not extensive. Studies about communication, education, language, literacy, and writing (especially creative writing) shed light on the subject, but most of the information about book publishing in Oceania is scattered in snippets across literature in many disciplines.

Second section discusses missions because their book-based activities were significant in shifting political communication and order, with ramifications for governance today in Oceania. Chapter 4 related how the London Missionary Society planned for book publishing before its members set sail for the Pacific and sent printing equipment with missionaries on the first voyage. LMS successes, tied as they were to local politics, persuaded many islanders to convert, to take up literacy, to live by books, and even to participate in publishing books (although not necessarily in that order). LMS extended its influence from the Society Islands to the Cook Islands, Samoa, Niue, New Caledonia, Tuvalu, Tokelau, Papua, and Kiribati. LMS endured in these countries and influenced people of other island groups. Islanders' participation in mission life led to their participation in national and regional life and politics.

Chapter 5 discussed the Methodists' beginnings in Tonga and their spread to Melanesia. In Tonga, they took advantage of Taufa'ahau's rise to power. In Fiji, they were instrumental in Cakobau's grasp and exercise of authority. In both countries, missions were central in the formation of national government. In the Solomons and Papua New Guinea, literacy and book publishing were skills that men and women could appropriate to gain prestige in society. The growth of book culture linked people who had never previously been in contact with each other and began to forge different and greater geographic and cultural identities.

Chapter 6 addressed the Presbyterians who led missions in the New Hebrides. Although their field was a small one, it is an important one for demonstrating the power of book culture to create a country despite divisions caused not only by more than 100 indigenous languages but also by two empires. LMS islander missionaries, followed by enterprising and independent Scottish Presbyterians, soon persuaded New Hebrideans to join the mission and to participate in translating, printing, and binding books, and then to carry them to other islands to evangelize their neighbours. In their new locations, New Hebrideans studied yet other languages and began the publishing process anew. The organization of life around books that the mission fostered had far-reaching impacts as people later struggled to forge and to hold together an independent nation-state.

Chapter 7 related the spread of the Anglican mission to Pitcairn, Norfolk, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, Solomons, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Polynesia. Anglicans respected Melanesian and other cultures, tried to learn from the people, and allowed incorporation of local elements into Anglican worship. Anglicans and their book publishing had profound impacts not only on the organization of society among Melanesians, but also upon anthropology, Western philosophy, and ideas of governing.

Chapter 8 compared book publishing and politics in missions by LMS, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Anglicans. Although other mission groups also had formative roles—eg the Catholics, ABCFM, Lutherans—the four discussed in these pages illustrate how missionaries were able to introduce skills of literacy and book publishing that largely did not previously exist and to influence people to value those skills and products of those skills. The missions were fundamental in changing society not only to believe in the rule of books but also to participate in constructing and publicizing books. Book publishing as introduced by the missionaries is the basis of political order in the Pacific Islands today. Although not all events were intended, the presence of missions facilitated the imposition of colonial rule. Conversely, the mission-taught skills enabled islanders to negotiate with colonial administrations and to participate in the next cycle of ideological power.

Section 3 discussed British, French, New Zealand, and Australian colonial administrations. Their rule overlapped the LMS, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Anglican missions. Chapter 9 addressed how British colonial administrators took their cue from colleagues in Africa and how British publications concerning Africa had profound effects in the Pacific Islands and provoked yet more publications. Although British administrations relied everywhere upon missions for the provision of elementary education and school books, they were very late in taking up public education in the Solomons and the New Hebrides compared with other places in the empire. Britain did not have a long-term coherent policy for its administration in the islands and made limited attempts to create audiences for its policies. Political education (about different types of government, elections, parliamentary procedures, and the like) was very late and rushed in the lead up to independence. Nevertheless,

the administrations became significant sources of publications, and Britain continues to keep a hand in book publishing in the islands.

Chapter 10 discussed France's rule in French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna, and the former New Hebrides. French administration has been least controversial in Wallis and Futuna, which has had a Catholic mission history and which has had far fewer resources to maintain a life-style anywhere near what it is with the French presence. The French government was least successful in retaining control through ideological power in the New Hebrides, which became the independent state of Vanuatu. French administrations encountered resistance in French Polynesia and New Caledonia where the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society took over from LMS, and the churches continue to be a rallying point for indigenous cultures and languages. French Polynesians and New Caledonians have appropriated books and other matter to publicize their causes, particularly for greater autonomy, but the French government has used book publishing to reinforce dependence on the French state and to foster *francophonie*.

Chapter 11 addressed New Zealand's territories of the Cook Islands, Niue, Western Samoa, and Tokelau. New Zealand wanted to play a larger role in international politics and saw territories as a way to do so, but New Zealand had neither the historical experience nor the human and financial resources to develop other islands. Its policies were often ad hoc, showing little coordination among government departments or across territories. Officials changed their minds about using vernaculars and offered little political education and training until after World War II. Its fractious rule in Western Samoa and its precipitous departure from the Cook Islands and Niue gave little consideration to the future; thus, publications have reinforced dependence on New Zealand. New Zealand fostered little indigenous publishing and continues to profit from applying aid to publishing projects.

Chapter 12 compared the growth of Australian government publishing in Papua and New Guinea and on Nauru. Missions long provided most of the education. Despite a few joint projects with missions, the Australian administrations concentrated on Europeans' schooling and on education in European ways. World War II affected its territories greatly and catapulted their peoples into the modern

and international world. External input, eg from UN agencies, affected formal education and informal political education. Book provision played a role in creating an élite in Papua New Guinea. On Nauru, the Australian administration did almost nothing to foster self-expression and self-sufficiency. Australia's role in book publishing has not decreased from the colonial era to the independent era. Australia invests heavily in curriculum projects throughout the South Pacific.

Just as the missions have continued to influence political life in the Pacific Islands, the (post-)colonial powers have also continued to do so, though not all events have been intended. Chapter 13 compared book publishing by the British, French, New Zealand, and Australian colonial governments. All of them published to convey the idea of empire and to reinforce control. Three turned to publishing to convey the idea of developing independent nation-states, but in the independent era, those three foster ideological power by funding myriad publishing projects in the islands. The fourth, France, has used book publishing to foster dependence on the French state and to project *francophonie* to the rest of the region.

Islanders participated in the construction of book-based knowledge from the moment they began interacting with foreign visitors who recorded words with alphabetic script and images in book form. Islanders' consciousness shifted as they used new symbols in new rituals to mediate mental and social activity, which affected their environment. Foreigners' consciousness shifted as they applied their symbols and rituals to new environments and peoples and coped with unexpected events.

Missionaries introduced book publishing to islanders in order to share the word of God. As newcomers in small societies, missionaries had to accommodate their projects to political realities. They worked with chiefs and other leaders and shifted their book publishing operations as the power base shifted among people and places, and came to include book publishing. Book publishing aided the authority of such political leaders as Pomare, Taufa'ahau, and Cakobau, but it also offered opportunities to other islanders to participate in power. Islanders were quick to see the utility of books and to participate in the production and dissemination of them and of the skills and tools to use them. As islanders participated in book publishing,

they associated certain practices and values with them. They used books in rituals—religion, education, coronation, government. Islanders accepted books and publishing equipment as forms and symbols of the new order, and they jettisoned the forms and symbols of the old order, eg discarding physical representations of old gods and using *marae* stones for the printing office. Islanders used books and publishing as media of exchange: they circulated currencies of knowledge (signs as capital) to purchase such other values as prestige, stratification, and social control. This economic exchange hid the social relations of production and distribution, ie the ideological power underpinning the whole.

Transactions became more efficient, as islanders translated new power into their own languages, and societies became more integrated vertically and horizontally. Book publishing upset some old hierarchies but also created new ones. Many islanders could not have achieved such expression in collective life without literacy and book publishing. Islanders and foreigners together constructed histories, identities, and governing arrangements in legitimating symbols, forms, and rituals in which books and their publishing were central.

The organization of society around published books (the Bible, laws, school books) facilitated the imposition of colonial rule. Ironically, command of book culture assisted islanders to negotiate with these new and much stronger political forces. As colonial governments took over from mission-ordered societies, the reciprocity between knowledge and power escalated as people published territorial boundaries, geographic features, population figures, lingua francas, and the like. The colonial era reinforced the role of book culture in the organization of society, such that it endures and continues to develop well into the age of independent nation-states. Indeed, the push toward independence hinged upon the use of books to create and to express national identities and to develop national economies and polities.

This dissertation has shown the dialectical nature of book publishing in the Pacific: its introduction into societies without literacy; individuals' adaptation of these foreign skills and products to improve their personal economic, political, and social positions; and those societies' adoption and legitimization of book publishing.

Schools and institutions have trained children and adults to operate within accepted structures and according to accepted values as well as to think for themselves and to appropriate skills and tools for innovations. Leaders have used technical experts to communicate with the masses. Budding bureaucracies have publicized the order of society. Further codification has happened as book-based professionalism has expanded: priests, lawyers, journalists, social scientists, literary artists, etc have contributed their expressions to the order of society. Even when they have opposed that order, they have used the forms legitimized by society: books. The incremental acceptance of book publishing through daily activities consciously and unconsciously has shifted islanders' organizational structures and value systems to book-based governance.

As people have used the symbols and instruments of power—books—and participated in the rituals and means of power—publishing—they have contributed to the production and consumption of cultural commodities that strengthen, hide, and/or oppose domination. As people have translated, copied, and commented on books, they have contributed to the economic and political value placed upon books, which has contributed to ideological power through 'knowledge.' The power (capacity) to publish, to make public, has institutionalized and legitimized expressions that contribute to collective consensus and political authority, critique, and change.

The actions of missions and colonial governments confirm the exercise of ideological power through book publishing. The production and dissemination of knowledge—including book publishing—has been so pervasive that it is almost indistinguishable from politics as people publish to express themselves and to negotiate with and influence others. My research into other mission groups; other colonial governments; regional and international organizations; independent states; and individuals, firms, and NGOs also confirms the confluence of politics and book publishing. Pacific societies—like all societies now—are book ordered. Although everyone may not have books, they are governed by people who are influenced by book culture. Governing is not so much about inscription (as Geertz and Clifford suggested) as it is about publishing. Political gain (ideological power) is influencing and persuading people such that, of their own accord, they publicize that power—

even if they oppose it. One might view this pervasive, hidden power of knowledge negatively (as Bourdieu and Foucault did). Or one might look positively on the formation of will that relies on communication and incorporates social learning that becomes new cultural traditions, institutional changes, and social movements (as Habermas did). The recent advent of book publishing in the Pacific Islands has allowed us to see what powerful means, catalysts, and products books and their publishing are of political control and action. The exercise of ideological power—people's own governing—has increasingly hinged on books and their publishing since book publishing's introduction among Pacific Islanders. Islanders have willingly participated in book publishing, and by doing so, they have had lesser and greater roles in their own governing.

REFERENCES

- Aerts, Theo.
1995. Sacred Times. In Aerts, Theo, and Peter Ramsden. 1995. *Studies and Statements on Romans and Anglicans in Papua New Guinea*. Port Moresby: Catholic Bishops Conference of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands and Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea. Pt.II, p.23-39.
1991. *Romans and Anglicans in Papua New Guinea*. Richardson, Paul, ed. Also *Melanesian Journal of Theology*. No.7. Goroka: Liturgical Catechetical Institute and Lae: Melanesian Journal of Theology.
- Aerts, Theo, and Peter Ramsden. 1995. *Studies and Statements on Romans and Anglicans in Papua New Guinea*. Port Moresby: Catholic Bishops Conference of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands and Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea.
- Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanak (ADCK). 2000. Catalogue des Productions A.D.C.K. Noumea: Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanak.
- Alasia, Sam. 1989. Politics. In Laracy, Hugh, ed. 1989. *Ples Blong Iumi: Solomon Islands, the past four thousand years*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies (hereafter IPS) and Honiara: Solomon Islands Extension Centre, University of the South Pacific (hereafter USP), and Honiara: Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (hereafter SICHE) and Solomon Islands Ministry of Education. p.137-151.
- Ali, Ahmed. 1980. *Plantation to Politics: Studies on Fiji Indians*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- Allison, W. 1951. Acting Education Officer. Report Submitted to the Legislative Council by the Honorable Education Officer. Legislative Council 1951. 23 October. In Coppell, W.G. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University (hereafter PMB, RSPAS, ANU).
- Altbach, Philip G.
1998. Current Trends in Book Publishing. In Altbach, Philip G., ed. 1998. *Publishing and Development: A Book of Readings*. Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 9. Chestnut Hill, MA: Bellagio Publishing Network, Research and Information Center in association with Boston College, Center for International Higher Education and in cooperation with Obor, The International Book Institute. p.1-15. Originally published 1997, In Courier, Yves, ed. *World Information Yearbook, 1997-1998*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.
1996. ed. *The Challenge of the Market: Privatization and Publishing in Africa*. Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 7. Chestnut Hill, MA: Bellagio Publishing Network, Research and Information Center in association with Boston College, Center for International Higher Education.
- 1995a. ed. *Copyright and Development: Inequality in the Information Age*. Bellagio

- Studies in Publishing No.4. Boston: Bellagio Publishing Network in association with International Resource Center for Jesuit Higher Education, Boston College.
- 1995b. Publishing in the Third World: Issues and Trends for the Twenty-First Century. In Altbach, Philip G., and Edith S. Hoshino, eds. 1995. *International Book Publishing: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland. p.278-294.
1992. ed. *Publishing and Development in the Third World*. London, Melbourne, Munich, and New York: Hans Zell Publishers; New Delhi: Vistaar Publications; and Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya.
- 1976a. Literary colonialism: Books in the Third World. In Altbach, Philip G., and Sheila McVey, eds. 1976. *Perspectives on Publishing*. Lexington, MA; Toronto; and London: D.C. Heath. p.83-101. Revised version of Altbach, Philip G. 1975, Literary colonialism: Books in the Third World, *Harvard Educational Review* 45:226-236, Spring.
- 1976b. Publishing and the Intellectual System. In Altbach, Philip G., and Sheila McVey, eds. 1976. *Perspectives on Publishing*. Lexington, MA; Toronto, London: D.C. Heath. p.3-15.
1975. *Publishing in India: An Analysis*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Altbach, Philip G., Amadio A. Arboleda, and S. Gopinathan, eds. 1985. *Publishing in the Third World: Knowledge and Development*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann and London: Mansell.
- Altbach, Philip G., and Edith S. Hoshino, eds. 1995. *International Book Publishing: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland.
- Altbach, Philip G., and Gail P. Kelly, eds. 1984. *Education and the Colonial Experience*. 2d rev edn. New Brunswick, NJ and London: Transaction Books. Originally published 1978, *Education and Colonialism*, New York: Longman.
- Altbach, Philip G., and Sheila McVey, eds. 1976. *Perspectives on Publishing*. Lexington, MA; Toronto; and London: D.C. Heath.
- Altbach, Philip G., and Eva-Maria Rathgeber. 1983. *Publishing in the Third World: Trend Report and Bibliography*. New York: Praeger.
- Altbach, Philip G., and Damtew Teferra, eds.
1999. *Publishing in African Languages: Challenges and Prospects*. Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 10. Chestnut Hill, MA: Bellagio Publishing Network, Research and Information Center in association with Boston College, Center for International Higher Education.
1998. *Publishing and Development: A Book of Readings*. Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 9. Chestnut Hill, MA: Bellagio Publishing Network, Research and Information Center in association with Boston College, Center for International Higher Education and Obor, The International Book Institute.
- Altick, Richard D. 1998. *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900*. 2d edn. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Originally published 1957, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev edn. London: Verso.

Anderson, Patrick Billy. 1982. *Stori Abaotem Sir Jacob Vouza*. Honiara: Solomon Islands Christian Association.

André, Sylvie, ed. 1993. *Magie et fantastique dans le Pacifique*. Papeete: Université Française du Pacifique and Haere Po No Tahiti.

Anonymous. 1974. Papua New Guinea's Literature Bureau. *The Mana Annual of Creative Writing 1974*. p.32-33.

Anonymous. 1933-1970. London Missionary Society vessels. Shipping Notes No.73. Extracts from Prout, Ebenezer. Missionary ships connected with the London Missionary Society. vii, 104p. W. Stevens, London, 1865. Cook Islands Library and Museum Society. Miscellaneous Manuscripts. 1933-1970. PMB 1065. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.

Anova-Ataba, Apollinaire. 1969. Deux exemples de réflexions mélanésiennes. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 25:201-237. Décembre.

[1959]. Approved Syllabus for the Teaching of Co-operation to T.C.I. and T.C.III Students at Nikao Teacher's Training College in 1959. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.

Aratangi, Papa. 1996. Discipling on Mangaia, 1824-1839. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: Pacific Theological College (hereafter PTC) and IPS, USP. p.80-90.

Arendt, Hannah. 1970. *On Violence*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Aron, Raymond. 1977. On the Proper Use of Ideologies. In Ben-David, Joseph, and Terry Nichols Clark, eds. 1977. *Culture and Its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. p.1-14.

Arvidson, Ken. 1976. The Emergence of a Polynesian Literature. *Mana Review* 1(1):28-48. January.

Asad, Talal. 1986. The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology. In Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p.141-164.

Asia-Pacific Book Development (ABD). Tokyo: Asia-Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO.

Askerud, Pernille.

[2002]. *Restructuring the Book Sector: The Example of Mongolia*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (hereafter UNESCO) and Danish International Development Agency.

2000. Textbooks for developing economies: Why projects fail? Budapest: Center for Publishing Development. <http://www.osi.hu/cpd/policyresources/AskerudENG.html>, accessed 5 September 2006. Adapted from 1998, *Logos* 9(2).

1997. *From plan to print: A guide to sustainable book provision*. Paris: UNESCO.

[1992.] Educational Publishing in the Pacific for Education for All. Unpublished report. Paris: UNESCO. Copy in LC's possession.

Australia to League of Nations (LoN), Nauru

Administrator. 1922-1925. Report on the Administration of Nauru, 1920-1924. Melbourne: Government Printer.

Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia. 1926-41. Report on the Administration of Nauru During the Years 1925-1940. Melbourne: Government Printer.

Australia to United Nations (UN), Nauru

Commonwealth of Australia.

1948. Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of Nauru. From 1st July, 1947, to 30th June, 1948. Canberra: Government Printer.

1964-1968. Administration of the Territory of Nauru. 1963-1968. Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Canberra: Government Printing Office.

Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID). Canberra: AusAID

1999a. AusAID's Education Sector Interventions. July. http://www.ausaid.gov.au/publications/pdf/AusAID_Education_Sector_Interventions.pdf, accessed 6 September 2004.

1999b. Gift of Knowledge: Australians bring basic education to the poorest people. http://www.ausaid.gov.au/keyaid/publications/pdf/gift_of_knowledge_1999.pdf, accessed 6 September 2004.

Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). 2006. Tokelau Voters Reject Self Determination. In *Pacific Islands Report*. 2 February. <http://archives.pireport.org/archive/2006/february/02%2D17%2D01.htm>, accessed 30 January 2007.

Australian Executive Service Overseas Project (AESOP).

2002. Printing press project pluses. *AESOP Business Volunteers*. April. p.9.

2000. New Books for PNG Students. *AESOP News*. April. p.5.

2000. Projects Completed 1 January to 31 March 2000. *AESOP News*. April. p.8.

Australian Government Publishing Service (AGPS). 1981. *Book development in the Western Pacific*. First Regional Seminar on Book Development in the Western Pacific, 24-28 March 1980, Sydney. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

- Bachrach, Peter, and Morton S. Baratz. 1970. *Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, J.C. 1970. The political education programme of the Papua-New Guinea administration. In Ward, Marion W., Susan C. Tarua, and May Dudley, eds. *The Politics of Melanesia*. Fourth Waigani Seminar. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU and Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea (hereafter UPNG). p.36-44.
- Baleiwaqa, Tevita. 1996. Josua Mateinaniu. In Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.20-30.
- Bali, Satya. 1996. Ba-Indian. In Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.279.
- Ball, D.G. 1937. Report written by the Inspector of Native Schools. 22 October. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Baré, Jean-François. 1997. Étranges messagers de la grâce : La première congrégation de la L.M.S. dans la société [sic] tahitienne du XVIII^e siècle, Te tahi mau veà tono a te hau: Te âmutahiraa matamua a te totaiete no te mau mitionare no ronetona i roto i te totaiete maòhi i te ahuru-ma-vaa-raa te tenetere. In Ihorai, Jacques, et al. 1997. *Une vie polynésienne 5 mars, 5 no mati. Te ora raa porinetia 1797-1997*. Geneviève Mai Arii Cadousteau et al, trans. Papeete: Église Évangélique de la Polynésie Française and Haere No Po Tahiti. p.52-69.
- Barker, R.E. 1956. *Books for All: a study of international book trade*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Barker, Robert, and Robert Escarpit, eds. 1973. *The Book Hunger*. Paris: UNESCO and London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd.
- Barton, Frank, and Gunter Lehrke. 1983. *The Layman Printer*. Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Baumann, Gerd, ed. 1986. *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*. Wolfson College Lectures 1985. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Beier, Ulli.
2005. *Decolonising the mind: The impact of the University on the culture and identity in Papua New Guinea, 1971-1974*. Canberra: Pandanus Books, RSPAS, ANU.
1995. Interview with LC, Suva. 12 December.
- Beimers, Gerry. 1995. *Wei Fo Raetem Olketa Wod Long Pijin*. Honiara: Pijin Literacy Project, Solomon Islands Christian Association.

Bell, Daniel.

1974. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*. London: Heinemann. Originally published 1973, New York: Basic Books.

1962. *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*. Rev edn. New York: The Free Press.

Bellagio Publishing Network Newsletter. Oxford: Bellagio Publishing Network.

Bellagio Studies in Publishing. Boston: Bellagio Publishing Network.

Ben-David, Joseph, and Terry Nichols Clark. 1977. *Culture and Its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Beniger, James. 1986. *The Control Revolution: Technological and Economic Origins of the Information Society*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

Benjamin, Curtis G. 1977. *A Candid Critique of Book Publishing*. New York and London: R.R. Bowker Company.

Bennett, Judith A. 1987. *Wealth of the Solomons: A history of a Pacific archipelago, 1800-1978*. Pacific Islands Monograph Series No.3. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Bennett, William, et al. 2003. *La Grande Mort : La 2ème Guerre mondiale aux îles Salomon, Témoignages de Salomonais*. Suva: IPS, USP and Honiara: SICHE.

Bensa, Alban, and Éric Wittersheim. 1998. Nationalism and Interdependence: The Political Thought of Jean-Marie Tjibaou. *The Contemporary Pacific* 10(2):369-390.

Berelson, Bernard.

1960. Communications and Public Opinion. In Schramm, Wilbur, ed. 1960. *Mass Communications*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press. p.527-543. Originally published 1948, *Communications in Modern Society*, University of Illinois Press.

1953. Communications and Public Opinion. In Berelson, Bernard, and Morris Janowitz, eds. 1953. *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication*. Enlarged edn. Glencoe, IL: Free Press. p.448-462. Originally published 1950.

Berelson, Bernard, and Morris Janowitz, eds. 1953. *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication*. Enlarged edn. Glencoe, IL: Free Press. Originally published 1950.

Berg, A. Scott. 1979. *Max Perkins: Editor of Genius*. New York: Washington Square Press, Pocket Books.

Berger, Peter L. 1974. *Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethics and Social Change*.

New York: Basic Books.

Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co.

Bertalanffy, Ludwig von.

1981. *A Systems View of Man*. Paul A. LaViolette, ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

1968. *Organismic Psychology and Systems Theory*. Worcester, MA: Clark University Press with Barre, MA: Barre Publishers.

Besnier, Niko. 1995. *Literacy, Emotion, and Authority: Reading and Writing on a Polynesian Atoll*. Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bétourné, Olivier. 1999. Edition : non au modèle américain. *Le Monde*. International edn. 4 September. p.6.

Beu, Brown, et al. 1982. *Samfala Kastom Stori an Kastom wei from Solomon Aelan an Narafala Kandre*. Honiara: Solomon Islands Christian Association.

Bgoya, Walter. 1999. Publishing in Africa: Culture and Development. In Gibbs, James, and Jack Mapanje, eds. 1999. *The African Writers' Handbook*. Oxford African Books Collective Ltd and Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. p.59-84. Originally published in Altbach, Philip G., and Salah M. Hassan, eds. 1966. *The Muse of Modernity: Essays on Culture as Development in Africa*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Bhim, Mosmi. 2003. History not just dry facts and figures. *USP Beat* 3(2):4. 10 March.

Binsted, H. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.

1927. 11th Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools. Cook Islands Administration. 31 March.

1926a. Cook Islands. Conference on the Education of Natives in the South-Sea Islands. 11-12 January.

1926b. Report of the Superintendant of Schools. Cook Islands Administration.

Bird, W.A. 1933. Report by Late Chief Inspector of Primary Schools. 11 September. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.

Bloch, Marc. 1953. *The Historian's Craft*. Peter Putnam, trans. New York: Vintage Books, Random House.

Bloch, Maurice. 1968. Astrology and Writing in Madagascar. In Goody, Jack, ed. 1968. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.277-297.

Blond, Anthony. 1971. *The Publishing Game*. London: Jonathan Cape.

BookLinks. London: Book Aid International.

Boseto, Leslie.

1995. The United Church: The Will and the Gift of God. *Pacific Journal of Theology* 2(14):91-104.

1992. Church and Community after Independence: a Review of the Development of the United Church, Solomon Islands. In Crocombe, Ron, and Esau Tuza, eds. 1992. *Independence, Dependence, Interdependence: the First 10 Years of Solomon Islands Independence*. Honiara: USP Honiara Centre and SICHE. p.105-115.

Bott, Elizabeth, and Tavi. 1982. *Tongan Society at the time of Captain Cook's visits: Discussions with Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou*. Memoir No.44. Wellington: Polynesian Society.

Bourdieu, Pierre.

1996. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Susan Emanuel, trans. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Originally published 1992, *Les Règles de l'art*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Randal Johnson, ed. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Essays originally published 1968-1989.

1992. *Language and Symbolic Power*. John B. Thompson, ed. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson, trans. Cambridge: Polity Press. Originally published in English 1991. Essays originally published in French 1975-1988.

1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Richard Nice, trans. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Originally published 1980, *Le sens pratique*, Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.

1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Richard Nice, trans. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Originally published 1972, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle*, Switzerland: Librairie Droz.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron. 1977. *Reproduction In Education, Society and Culture*. Richard Nice, trans. London and Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications. Originally published 1970, *La Reproduction, Éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement*, Minuit.

Bowman, Alan K., and Greg Woolf.

1994a. Literacy and power in the ancient world. In Bowman, Alan K., and Greg Woolf, eds. 1994. *Literacy and power in the ancient world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.1-16.

1994b. eds. *Literacy and power in the ancient world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyd, Mary.

1997. New Zealand and the other Pacific Islands. In Sinclair, Keith, ed. 1997. *The*

- Oxford illustrated history of New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p.295-322.
- 1969a. The Decolonisation of Western Samoa. In Munz, Peter, ed. 1969. *The Feel of Truth: Essays in New Zealand and Pacific History*. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed for the Victoria University of Wellington. p.61-76.
- 1969b. The Record in Western Samoa since 1945. In Ross, Angus, ed. 1969. *New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. London: Longman Paul for the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, London: C. Hurst & Co, and New York: Humanities Press. p.189-270.
- 1969c. The Record in Western Samoa to 1945. In Ross, Angus, ed. 1969. *New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. London: Longman Paul for the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, London: C. Hurst & Co, and New York: Humanities Press. p.115-188.
- Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- Brewster, A.B.
1937. *King of the Cannibal Isles: A tale of early life and adventure in the Fiji Islands*. London: Robert Hale & Company.
1922. *The Hill Tribes of Fiji: A Record of Forty Years' Intimate Connection with the Tribes of the Mountainous Interior of Fiji with a Description of Their Habits in War & Peace, Methods of Living, Characteristics Mental & Physical, from the Days of Cannibalism to the Present Time*. London: Seeley, Service & Co.
1950. Brief Report on Education Read at the 4th Session of the Legislative Council. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Braudel, Fernand. 1981. *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*. Vol.1 of *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*. Sian Reynolds, trans. New York: Harper & Row. Originally published 1979, *Les Structures du Quotidien: Le Possible et L'Impossible*, Paris: Librairie Armand Colin.
- Briggs, Asa. 1974. *Essays in the history of publishing in celebration of the 250th anniversary of the House of Longman 1724-1974*. London: Longman.
- Briggs, Asa, and Peter Burke. 2002. *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet*. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Brown, Peter, ed. 2000. Living Heritage Kanak Culture Today. Special English issue of *Mwà Vée, revue culturelle kanak*. October.
- Brown, Richard D. 1989. *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brunner, Jerome S. 1962. Introduction. In Vygotsky, L.S. 1962. *Thought and*

- Language*. Eugenia Haufmann and Gertrude Vakar, trans. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press and New York and London: John Wiley & Sons. p.v-x.
- Buck, Peter H. (Te Rangi Hiroa). 1993. *Mangaia and the Mission*. Rod Dixon and Teaea Parima, eds. Suva: IPS, USP and Honolulu: Bishop Museum. Originally published in condensed form in Buck, Peter Henry, 1939, *Anthropology and Religion*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Bugotu, Francis. 1983. The Kakamora Reporter. In Peter Larmour and Sue Tarua, eds. *Solomon Islands Politics*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.208-214.
- Bulu, Joel. 1973. *Joel Bulu: The Autobiography of a Native Minister in the South Seas*. A missionary [Lorimer Fison], trans. Nuku'alofa: Tupou High School. Originally published 1871, London: Wesleyan Mission House.
- Burke, Kenneth.
 1967. *The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action*. 2d edn. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. Originally published 1941.
 1966. *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- Burke, Peter. 2000. *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Burnet, Mary. 1965. *abc of literacy*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Buzacott, Aaron. 1985. *Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific. Being a Narrative of the Life and Labours of the Rev. A. Buzacott, Missionary of Rarotonga, for some time Co-worker with the Rev. John Williams, Martyr of Erromanga*. J.P. Sunderland and A. Buzacott, eds. Suva: IPS, USP and Rarotonga: Cook Islands Library & Museum Society. Originally published 1866, London: John Snow and Co.
- Cahill, Thomas. 1995. *How the Irish Saved Civilization: The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role from the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe*. London: Sceptre, Hodder and Stoughton, Hodder Headline.
- Calhoun, Craig, and Loïc Wacquant. 2002. 'Social Science with Conscience': Remembering Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002). *Thesis Eleven* 70:1-14. August.
- Calvert, James. 1985. *Mission History*. Vol.2 of *Fiji and the Fijians*. George Stringer Rowe, ed. Suva: Fiji Museum. Originally published 1858, London: Alexander Heylin.
- Campbell, I.C.
 1995. Book review of *In Some Sense the Work of an Individual: Alfred Willis and the Tongan Anglican Mission 1902-1920*. *Journal of Pacific History* 30(1):125.
 1992. *Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient & Modern*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.

- Carneiro, Robert L. 1974. Introduction. In Spencer, Herbert. 1974. *The Evolution of Society: Selections from Herbert Spencer's Principles of Sociology*. Robert L. Carneiro, ed. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. p.x-lv.
- Carpenter, Edmund.
 1972. *Oh, What a Blow that Phantom Gave Me!* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
 1960. The New Languages. In Carpenter, Edmund, and Marshall McLuhan, eds. 1960. *Explorations in Communication: An Anthology*. Boston: Beacon Press. p.162-179.
- Carpenter, Edmund, and Marshall McLuhan, eds. 1960. *Explorations in Communication: An Anthology*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Carpenter, Rhys. 1956. *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics*. 2d prtg. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Originally printed 1946.
- Carr, Edward Hallett. 1961. *What Is History?* George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures, University of Cambridge January-March 1961. New York: Vintage Books, Random House.
- Carter, George C. 1990. *Yours in His Service: A Reflection on the Life and Times of Reverend Belshazzar Gina of Solomon Islands*. Honiara: USP Centre.
- Cass, Philip. 1997. The Pacific Mission Press. *Pacific Journalism Review* 4(1):105-114. November.
- Cassirer, Ernst.
 1955a. *Language*. Vol.1 of *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. Ralph Mannheim, trans. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. Originally published 1923, *Die Sprache*, Bd.1, *Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen*, Berlin: Bruno Cassirer.
 1955b. *Mythical Thought*. Vol.2 of *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. Ralph Mannheim, trans. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. Originally published 1925, *Das mythische Denken*, Bd.2, *Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen*, Berlin: Bruno Cassirer.
 1957. *The Phenomenology of Knowledge*. Vol.3 of *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. Ralph Mannheim, trans. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. Originally published 1929, *Phänomenologie der Erkenntnis*, Bd.3, *Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen*, Berlin: Bruno Cassirer.
 1996. *The Metaphysics of Symbolic Forms*. Vol.4 of *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. Including the text of Cassirer's manuscript on Basis Phenomena. John Michael Krois, trans. John Michael Krois and Donald Phillip Verene, eds. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. Originally published 1995, *Zur Metaphysik der symbolischen Formen*, John Michael Krois, ed., Vol.1 of *Nachgelassene Manuscripte und Texte*, John Michael Krois and Oswald Schwemmer, eds., Hamburg: Felix Meiner. Originally written 1940s.

- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). 2007. Norfolk Island statistics. <https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/print/nf.html>, accessed 12 March 2007.
- Centre de Documentation Pédagogique (CDP). 2000. Catalogue 2000, Publications du Centre de Documentation Pédagogique de Nouvelle-Calédonie.
- Certeau, Michel de.
1988. *The Writing of History*. Tom Conley, trans. New York: Columbia University Press. Originally published 1975, *L'Écriture de l'histoire*, Paris: Éditions Gallimard.
1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Steven F. Rendall, trans. Berkeley: University of California Press. Originally published 1980, *L'invention du quotidien, I, arts de faire*, Paris: Éditions Gallimard.
- Certeau, Michel de, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol. 1998. *Living and Cooking*. Vol.2 of *The Practice of Everyday Life*. 2d edn. Luce Giard, ed. Timothy J. Tomasik, trans. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press. Originally published Giard, Luce, and Pierre Mayol, 1994, *L'invention du quotidien, II, habiter, cuisiner*, Paris: Éditions Gallimard. Introduction to Vol.1: History of a Research Project by Luce Giard originally published 1990, Introduction, *L'invention du quotidien, I, arts de faire*, Éditions Gallimard.
- Chakava, Henry M. 1995. International Copyright and Africa: The Unequal Exchange. In Altbach, Philip G., ed. 1995. *Copyright and Development: Inequality in the Information Age*. Bellagio Studies in Publishing No.4. Boston: Bellagio Publishing Network in association with International Resource Center for Jesuit Higher Education, Boston College. p.13-34.
- Chakravarti, Papiya, and Prith Chakravarti. 1986. *Papua New Guinea Literature in English: A Bibliography 1974-1985*. National Capital District: Owl Books.
- Chalmers, James, and W. Wyatt Gill. 1885. *Work and Adventure in New Guinea 1877-1885*. London: Religious Tract Society.
- Chambers, Charles. 2000. \$2.3m budget blessed. *Fiji Times*. 6 October. p.3.
- Champion, John S. 2002. British Resident Commissioner, 1975-1978. In Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.142-154.
- Chanter, Alaine. 1996. Contested Identity: The media and independence in New Caledonia during the 1980s. PhD thesis. Canberra: ANU.
- Chapman, Linley.
2000. Publishing. In Lal, Brij V., and Kate Fortune, eds. *The Pacific Islands: an encyclopedia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p.474-475.
1994. Draft of Publishing (South Pacific). For Benson, Eugene, and L.W.

- Connelly, eds. 1994. *Encyclopedia of Commonwealth Literatures in English*. 2:1332-1333. London: Routledge. In LC's possession.
1993. Publishing and Development in Melanesia, with Solomon Islands Examples. MA paper, University of Hawai'i. November. Copy in LC's possession.
1992. Publishing Options of Pacific Islands Writers. *Mana, a South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature* 9(2):35-56. Originally published 1989, 'O'o: *A Journal of Solomon Islands Studies* 2(1):4-18.
1986. The Role of Publishing in the Development of Melanesia. MA term paper, Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i. Copy in LC's possession.
1984. *Publishing in the South Pacific*. MA term paper, Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i. Copy in LC's possession.
- Chapman, Terry.
1982. Modern Times. In Crocombe, Ron, ed. 1982. *Niue: A History of the Island*. Suva: IPS, USP and Alofi: Government of Niue. p.133-139.
1976. *The Decolonisation of Niue*. Wellington: Victoria University Press and New Zealand Institute of International Affairs.
- Charpentier, Jean-Michel. 2002. Linguist and Anthropologist. In Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.155-180.
- Chartier, Roger.
1997. *On the Edge of the Cliff: History, Language, and Practices*. Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
1994. *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers. Originally published 1992, *L'ordre des livres*, Editions Alinea.
1988. *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*. Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
1987. *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*. Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Originally published 1987, Librairie Arthème Fayard.
- Châtry-Komarek, Marie. 1996. *Tailor-Made Textbooks: A Practical Guide for the Authors of Textbooks for Primary Schools in Developing Countries*. Oxford: CODE Europe.
- Chaytor, H.J. 1945. *From Script to Print: An Introduction to Medieval Vernacular Literature*. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons.
- Cherns, J.J. 1979. *Official Publishing: An Overview: An International Survey and Review of the Role, Organisation and Principles of Official Publishing*. Oxford, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Paris, and Frankfurt: Pergamon Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1979. *Language and Responsibility: Based on conversations with Mitsou Ronat*. John Viertel, trans. New York: Pantheon Books, Random

- House. Originally published 1977, *Dialogues avec Mitsou Ronat*, Paris: Flammarion.
- Christian, Tom. 1994. A Sad Day for Pitcairn. *Tok Blong Pasifik* 46:13-14. Originally published in *The Pitcairn Miscellany*.
- Cipolla, Carlo M. 1969. *Literacy and Development in the West*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Clammer, J.R. 1976. *Literacy and Social Change: A Case Study of Fiji*. Monographs and Theoretical Studies in Sociology and Anthropology in Honour of Nels Anderson. Publication 11. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Clanchy, Michael. 1993. *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. 2d edn. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell. Originally published 1979, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Clarke, Peter. 1986. *Hell and Paradise: The Norfolk, Bounty, Pitcairn Saga*. Ringwood, VIC: Viking, Penguin Books Australia.
- Clifford, James.
- 1986a. Introduction: Partial Truths. In Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p.1-26.
- 1986b. On Ethnographic Allegory. In Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p.98-121.
- Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- [CED]. 1994. *Collins English Dictionary*. 3d edn updated. Glasgow: HarperCollins Publishers.
1926. Conference on the Education of Natives in the South-Sea Islands. 11-12 January. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC). 2003. A List of Recent Reprints in C.Is. Maori and English relating to the Cook Islands. May. Brochure in LC's possession.
- Cools, Amerigo. 1969. Additions à la "Bibliographie de Tahiti" publiée en 1968. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 25:316-320.
- Coser, Lewis A.
1976. Publishers as Gatekeepers of Ideas. In Altbach, Philip G., and Sheila McVey, eds. 1976. *Perspectives on Publishing*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company. p.17-25.
1970. *Men of Ideas: A Sociologist's View*. Paperback edn. New York: Free Press and London: Collier Macmillan. Originally published 1965.

- Coser, Lewis A., Charles Kadushin, and Walter W. Powell. 1985. *Books: The Culture and Commerce of Publishing*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. Originally published 1982, Basic Books.
- Council for World Mission (CWM). 2003. Handlist to the London Missionary Society Council for World Mission Archive Collection (CWM/LMS), 1764-1940. London: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies. http://www.cwmission.org.uk/upload/cwm_guide.pdf, accessed 8 July 2007.
- Coxon, Evelyn. 2000. Primary Education. In Fiji Islands Education Commission (FIEC). 2000. *Learning Together: Directions for Education in the Fiji Islands*. Suva: Government Printer. p.69-92.
- Coxon, Eve, and Hilary Tolley. 2005. Aid to Pacific Education: An Overview. In Sanga, Kabini, Cherie Chu, Cedric Hall, and Linda Crowl, eds. 2005. *Re-Thinking Aid Relationships in Pacific Education*. Wellington: He Parekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Maori and Pacific Education, Victoria University and Suva: IoE, USP. p.28-82.
- Crocombe, Marjorie Tua'inekore.
- 2003a. Presentation during the Book Policy Focus Day during the Biennial Meeting of the UNESCO Office for the Pacific States with Directors of Education, Rarotonga, Cook Islands. 25 November.
- 2003b. Tata: Expression Through the Written Word. In Crocombe, Ron, & Marjorie Tua'inekore Crocombe, eds. *Akono'anga Maori, Cook Islands Culture*. Suva: IPS, USP and Rarotonga: Cook Islands Extension Centre, USP; Cook Islands Cultural and Historic Places Trust; and Ministry of Cultural Development. p.81-91.
1983. Maretu's Life, Work and Context. In Maretu. 1983. *Cannibals and Converts: Radical change in the Cook Islands*. Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe, trans, annot, & ed. Suva: IPS, USP and Rarotonga: Ministry of Education. p.1-30. And M. Crocombe's annotations throughout the book.
1982. Ruatoka: a Cook islander in Papuan History. In Crocombe, Ron and Marjorie. 1982. *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: From Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.55-78.
1981. The South Pacific Creative Arts Society: A Report. Suva: South Pacific Creative Arts Society.
1980. Report of The South Pacific Creative Arts Society. *Mana, a South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature* 5(2):68-94.
1978. Opinion in Mana Forum. *Mana* 3(1):8-11.
1977. Mana and Creative Regional Cooperation. *third mana annual of creative writing*. Suva: South Pacific Creative Arts Society.
1962. *Two Hundred Changing Years: A story of New Zealand's little sisters in the Pacific. The Cook Islands, the Tokelau Islands, and Niue Island*. Wellington: Islands Education Division of the New Zealand Department of Education for the Department of Island Territories.
- Crocombe, Ron.
1995. Overview. In Crocombe, Ron, ed. *Customary Land Tenure and Sustainable Development*. Noumea: South Pacific Commission and Suva: IPS, USP. p.5-22.

1992. *Pacific Neighbours: New Zealand's Relations with Other Pacific Islands, Aotearoa me Nga Moutere o te Moana Nui a Kiwa*. Christchurch: Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury and Suva: IPS, USP.
1975. Gilbertese Culture: A note on the recording, conservation, transmission and continuing development of aspects of Gilbertese culture. A report to the Secretary, Ministry of Education, Training and Culture, Tarawa. 1975. Copy in LC's possession.
1958. *The Cook Islands*. About the Pacific Series. P. & S. Serial No.11. Wellington: School Publications Branch of the Department of Education.

Crocombe, Ron, and Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe.

1996. Draft of LMS Missionaries and Pacific Cultures: Impacts on and from Rarotonga. For *The South Pacific Journal of Mission Studies*. Copy in LC's possession.
1984. *The Works of Ta'unga: Records of a Polynesian Traveller in the South Seas, 1833-1896*. Suva: IPS, USP. Originally published 1968, Canberra: ANU. Originally written 1833-1896.
1982. *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: From Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia*. Suva: IPS, USP.

Cross, Gwen. [1982]. *Aloha Solomons*. Suva: IPS and Honiara: Solomon Islands Extension Centre, USP.

Crowl, Linda.

2007. Publishing's Consequences and Possibilities for Literacy in the Pacific Islands. *International Journal of the Book* 4(4):7-18.
2005. Carrying the Bag: Women Writers and Publishers in the Pacific Islands. *Kunapipi: Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 27(2). European Association for Commonwealth Languages and Literatures. p.92-106.
- 2003a. The Introduction of Text Culture in the Pacific Islands. *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand* 27(3&4):22-38.
- 2003b. Publisher to twelve countries. *Logos* 14(4):200-205.
- 2003c. Writing and Publishing in Kiribati. *Mana, a South Pacific Journal of Art and Culture, Language and Literature* Kiribati Special Issue 13(2):101-117.
- 2002a. Art Books and Books as Art: Promoting Research in Art. Links to Education and Art, UNESCO. http://portal.unesco.org/culture/admin/ev.php?URL_ID=6925&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201&reload=1053959585, accessed 5 September 2007.
- 2002b. Literacy, Book Publishing, and Civil Society. Working paper. Canberra: State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, ANU. http://rspas.anu.edu.au/papers/melanesia/working_papers/Crowl02.pdf, accessed 5 September 2007.
2001. The Marketing and Promotion of Scholarly Books. In Zell, Hans M., ed. *Book Marketing and Promotion: A Handbook of Good Practice*. Oxford: International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications. p.275-279.
- 1999a. ed. *Book Provision in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: IPS, USP and Apia: UNESCO.
- 1999b. Literature in the Pacific Islands: 'Tending our tiny garden.' *The ACP-EU Courier* 174:75-77. March-April.
- 1999c. La littérature dans les Iles du Pacifique ; "Cultiver notre petit coin de terre." *Le*

- Courrier* 174:75-77. mars-avril.
1996. Book Publishing in the Pacific Islands. *Fiji Library Association Journal*. 35:35-55. June.
- Crowl, Linda, and Mark Garrett. 2001. *IPS Publishing Guide*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- Crowl, Linda, and Don Long. 2001. Book Marketing and Promotion in the Pacific. In Zell, Hans M., ed. 2001. *Book Marketing and Promotion: A Handbook of Good Practice*. Oxford: International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications. p.275-290.
- Cuming, Jocelyn. 2004. National Preservation Office – Salvaging archives in Niue and New Zealand. *Off the Record: Magazine of the Friends of the Turnbull Library* 11:4.
- Cummins, H.G. 1980. Missionary Chieftain: James Egan Moulton and Tongan Society 1865-1909. PhD dissertation. Canberra: ANU.
1984. *The Cyclopedia of Samoa*. Apia: Commercial Printers. Originally published 1907. *The Cyclopedia of Samoa: A Complete Review of the History and Traditions and the Commercial Development of the Islands, with Statistics and Data never before compiled in a single publication*. Sydney: McCarron, Stewart & Co.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1961. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press.
- Dahl, Svend. 1968. *History of the Book*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.
- Danielsson, Bengt. 1983. French Polynesia: Nuclear Colony. In Crocombe, Ron, and Ahmed Ali, eds. *Politics in Polynesia*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.191-226.
- Darwin, Charles.
1902. *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. 6th edn. London: John Murray. Originally published 1859.
1901. *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. 2d edn. London: John Murray. Originally published 1871.
1889. *A Naturalist's Voyage. Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited During the Voyage of H.M.S. 'Beagle' Round the World under the Command of Capt. FitzRoy, R.N.* 2d edn. London: John Murray. Originally published 1839.
- Dauphiné, Joël. 1999. Christianisation et politique en Nouvelle-Calédonie au XIX^e siècle. Point d'histoire N° 14. Noumea: Centre de Documentation Pédagogique. February.
- Davidson, Allan K. 1996. Introduction. In Nau, Semisi. 1996. *The Story of My Life: A Tongan Missionary at Ontong Java*. Allan K. Davidson, ed. Suva: IPS, USP. p.1-82.

- Davidson, J.W. 1967. *Samoa mo Samoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Davies, J. 1991. *A Tahitian and English Dictionary with Introductory Remarks on the Polynesian Language and a Short Grammar of the Tahitian Dialect: with an appendix*. Frédéric, Charles, and Henri Vernier, eds. Papeete: Haere No Po Tahiti and Église Évangélique de la Polynésie Française. Originally published 1851, Tahiti: London Missionary Society Press.
- Davies, Martin. 1995. *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice*. Malibu, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum. Originally published London: British Museum.
- Davis, F.R.J.
1969. The New Zealand Contribution to Education in the Pacific. In Ross, Angus, ed. 1969. *New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. London: Longman Paul for the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, London: C. Hurst & Co, and New York: Humanities Press. p.271-299.
1964. Officer for Island Education. Report on Teacher Training Needs in South Pacific Countries. Commentary on Mr. J. Box's Proposal for a Post Elementary Teachers' College. 7 September. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Dayan, Daniel, and Elihu Katz. 1992. *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Debray, Régis. 1996. The Book as Symbolic Object. In Nunberg, Geoffrey, ed. 1996. *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. p.139-151.
- Dechert, Charles R. 1966. The Development of Cybernetics. In Dechert, Charles R., ed. 1966. *The Social Impact of Cybernetics*. Notre Dame, IN and London: University of Notre Dame Press. p.11-37.
- Deckker, Paul de. 1994. France. In Howe, K.R., Robert C. Kiste, and Brij V. Lal, eds. 1994. *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin. p.259-279.
- Decloitre, Patrick Antoine.
- 2004a. Lafleur says he will resign from fresh provincial mandate: radio. *Flash d'Océanie/Oceania Flash*. 10 May. E-list news service.
- 2004b. French government calls on parties to meet, envisage fresh elections. *Flash d'Océanie/Oceania Flash*. 16 November. E-list news service.
- Dekutsey, Woeli. 1995. *The Story of APNET: A Study of the Origins, Structure, Activities and Policy of the African Publishers' Network*. Harare: APNET Secretariat.
- Delisle, Jean, and Judith Woodsworth, eds. 1995. *Translators through History*.

Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company and Paris: UNESCO.

Department for International Development (DFID). 1999. Pacific Region Strategy Paper. Suva: Department for International Development. May.

Department of Island Territories (DIT). 1966-1974. Reports on Niue and the Tokelau Islands. Presented to the House of Representatives by Leave. Wellington: Government Printer.

Depierre, Franck. 1997. Succès pour la Semaine du livre français à Sydney. *Les Nouvelles calédoniennes*. 19 December. p.91.

Derrick, R.A.

1958. Fiji in 1872: Extracts from the Diary of Robert Philp, Barrister. Presidential Address-1958. Read 14th April, 1958. *Transactions and Proceedings of the Fiji Society*. p.9-24.

1954. The Federal Movement in Fiji. Read on 9th August, 1954. *Transactions and Proceedings of the Fiji Society*. p.122-136.

1950. *A History of Fiji*. 2d edn. Suva: Government Press.

Derrida, Jacques.

1978. *Writing and Difference*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Originally published 1967.

1976. *Of Grammatology*. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, trans. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press. Originally published 1967, *De la Grammatologie*, Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.

Dessauer, John P. 1981. *Book Publishing: What It Is, What It Does*. 2d edn. New York and London: R.R. Bowker Company.

Detudamo, Timothy. 1938. *Nauru Fables*. Roneo. Nauru: Department of Education.

Deutsch, Karl W.

1966. *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*. 2d edn. Cambridge, MA and London: The M.I.T. Press. Originally published 1953, Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, New York: John Wiley & Sons, and London: Chapman & Hall.

1963. *The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control*. Glencoe: Free Press and London: Collier-Macmillan.

Devantine, Flora.

2003. Presentation at the Premier salon du livre, du 17 au 19 octobre 2003, Poindimié, New Caledonia. 17 October.

1998. *Tergiversations et Rêveries de l'Écriture Orale: Te Pahu a Hono'ura*. Papeete: Au Vent des Îles.

Deverell, Bruce J. 1995. The Calling, Preparation and Appointment of an LMS Missionary. *Pacific Journal of Theology* 2(14):129-138.

Deverell, Bruce, and Gweneth, eds. 1986. *Pacific Rituals*. Suva: IPS, USP and PTC.

- Devesi, Baddley. 1992. Independence or Dependence? In Crocombe, Ron, and Esau Tuza, eds. 1992. *Independence, Dependence, Interdependence: The First 10 Years of Solomon Islands Independence*. Suva: IPS and Honiara: USP Centre, USP, and Honiara: SICHE. p.1-6.
- Dillon, Andrew. 1992. Reading from paper versus screens: a critical review of the empirical literature. *Ergonomics* 35(10):1297-1326. <https://pacer.ischool.utexas.edu/handle/2081/1156>, accessed 5 September 2007.
- Dillon, Andrew, Cliff McKnight, and John Richardson. 1988. Reading from paper versus from screens. <http://dlist.sir.arizona.edu/1250/01/AdCmJr88.pdf>, accessed 10 January 2007.
1955. Dir. Ed to Dir. Co-ops. 25 August. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Director of Social Development. 1955. The Youth of Atiu – A Social Problem. 21 September. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Diringer, David. 1962. *Writing*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.
- Diringer, David, and Reinhold Regensburger. 1968. *The Alphabet: a Key to the History of Mankind*. 3d edn. 2 vols. London: Hutchinson. Originally published 1948 with Diringer as sole author.
- Dixon, Rod, and Teaea Parima. 1993. Introduction. In Buck, Peter H. (Te Rangi Hiroa). 1993. *Mangaia and the Mission*. Rod Dixon and Teaea Parima, eds. Suva: IPS, USP and Honolulu: Bishop Museum. p.1-12.
- Dordillon, I.R. 1999. *Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue des îles marquises 1904*. Papeete: Société des Études Océaniques.
- Dornoy, Myriam. 1984. *Politics in New Caledonia*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Dorras, Jo.
2002. Interview between Wan Smolbag Theatre's playwright and LC, Port Vila. 28 June.
nd. *On the Reef*. Port Vila: British Aid.
- Douglas, Hima. 1987. Niue: The Silent Village Green. In Hooper, Antony, Steve Britton, Ron Crocombe, Judith Huntsman, and Cluny Macpherson. 1987. *Class and Culture in the South Pacific*. Auckland: Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Auckland and Suva: IPS, USP. p.186-192.
- Downer, Alexander. 1996. Education and Training in Australia's Aid Program. Policy Statement. Canberra: Australian Agency for International Development.

http://www.ausaid.gov.au/publications/pdf/education_policy1996.pdf, accessed 6 September 2004.

Downs, Ian. 1980. *The Australian Trusteeship Papua New Guinea 1945-75*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Dubrulle, Gérard. 2000. Conversation with the Director of the Centre Territorial de Recherches et de Documentation Pédagogiques, Tahiti. 6 October.

Duguid, Paul. 1996. Material Matters: The Past and Futurology of the Book. In Nunberg, Geoffrey, ed. 1996. *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. p.63-102.

Dunis, Serge. 2000. *Mythes et Réalités en Polynésie*. Papeete: French University of the Pacific and Haere Po No Tahiti.

Duponchel, Jean-Pierre. 1998. Interview between textbook coordinator at the Centre Territorial de Recherches et de Documentation Pédagogiques and LC, Tahiti. 20 February.

Durkheim, Émile.

1915. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Joseph Ward Swain, trans. New York: Free Press. Originally published 1912, *Les Formes élémentaires de la Vie religieuse: Le système totémique en Australie*, Paris: F. Alcan.

1997. *The Division of Labor in Society*. W.D. Halls, trans. Paperback edn. New York: Free Press, Simon & Schuster. Originally published 1893, *De la Division du travail social*, Paris: F. Alcan.

Durkheim, Émile, and Marcel Mauss. 1963. *Primitive Classification*. Rodney Needham, trans. London: Cohen & West. Published 1903, *De quelques formes primitives de classification: contribution à l'étude des représentations collectives*. Originally published 1901-1902, *Année Sociologique* 6:1-72.

Dutton, Geoffrey. 1996. *A Rare Bird: Penguin Books in Australia 1946-96*. Ringwood, VIC: Penguin Books Australia.

Eastman, George Herbert. 1994. List of papers and books of Rev. George Herbert Eastman 1897-1969. Held at PTC, Suva.

Eco, Umberto. 1996. Afterword. In Nunberg, Geoffrey, ed. 1996. *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. p.295-306.

Edridge, Sally, comp. 1985. *Solomon Islands Bibliography to 1980*. Suva: IPS, USP; Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library; and Honiara: Solomon Islands National Library.

1936. Education Review. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L.

1981. Some conjectures about the impact of printing on western society and thought: a preliminary report. In Graff, Harvey J., ed. 1981. *Literacy and social development in the West: a reader*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.53-68. Originally published 1968, *Journal of Modern History* 40:7-29.
- 1980a. The Emergence of Print Culture in the West. *Literacy and the Future of Print. Journal of Communication* 30(1):99-106. Winter.
- 1980b. *The printing press as an agent of change*. 1 vol paperback edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Originally published 1979, 2 vols.

Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa (EFKS).

nd-a. *O Pese Ma Viiga I Le Atua*. Apia: Malua Printing Press.

nd-b. *Pi Muamua*. Apia: Malua Printing Press.

Elders of Tokelau.

1991. *Matagi Tokelau*. Anthony Hooper and Judith Huntsman, trans. Apia: Office for Tokelau Affairs and Suva: IPS, USP. (English version).
1990. *Matagi Tokelau*. Apia: Office for Tokelau Affairs and Suva: IPS, USP. (Tokelauan version).

Ellerman, Evelyn.

2002. The case of Papua New Guinea. In Ellerman, Evelyn, and Sonia Mycak. 2002. *Explorations of Literary Communities and Systems*. Melbourne: Centre for the Book, Monash University. p.11-28.
1995. The Literature Bureau: African Influence in Papua New Guinea. *Research in African Literatures* 26(4):206-215. Winter.
<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdlink?index=20&did=00000009097690&SrchMode=3&si...>, accessed 5 October 2004.

Elley, Warwick B., and Francis Mangubhai. 1981. *The Impact of a Book Flood in Fiji Primary Schools*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research and Suva: IoE, USP.

Ellis, Albert F.

1946. *Mid-Pacific Outposts*. Auckland: Brown and Stewart.
1936. *Ocean Island and Nauru: Their Story*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

Ellis, William. 1967. *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years in the South Sea Islands, Including Descriptions of the Natural History and Scenery of the Islands—with Remarks on the History, Mythology, Traditions, Government, Arts, Manners, and Customs of the Inhabitants*. 2 vols. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall. Originally published 1829, London.

Engels, Frederick. 1892. *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*. Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky, trans. London: George Allen & Unwin. First published in English 1886, New York. Originally published in German 1845.

Eri, Vincent. 1970. *The Crocodile*. Port Moresby: Jacaranda.

- Ernst, Manfred. 1994. *Winds of Change: Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: Pacific Conference of Churches.
- Escarpit, Robert. 1966. *The Book Revolution*. London, Toronto, Wellington, Sydney: George G. Harrap & Co. and Paris: UNESCO. Originally published 1965, *La Révolution du Livre*, Paris: UNESCO.
- Etekiera, Kunei. 1979. Te Aro, The New Religion. In Trease, Howard Van, and Barrie Macdonald, eds. 1979. *Kiribati: Aspects of History*. Suva: IPS, USP and Tarawa: Extension Services, USP, and Ministry of Education, Training and Culture. p.38-43.
- Evans, Nicholas, and Monica Seeber, eds. 2000. *The Politics of Publishing in South Africa*. London: Holger Ehling and Scottsville: University of Natal Press.
- Evison, J.C. 1930. Letter to A. McKenzie in the Schools Department of the Cook Islands Administration. 17 June. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Ewins, Rory. 1998. *Changing Their Minds: Tradition and Politics in Contemporary Fiji and Tonga*. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury.
- Ezenwa-Ohaeto, ed. 1994. *Making Books Available And Affordable, Proceedings of the First Annual National Conference on Book Development, National Theatre, Iganmu, Lagos, 25-28 April 1994*. Awka, Nigeria: Nigerian Book Foundation.
- Faessel, Pierre. 2003. Telephone interview between proprietor of Librairie Montaigne and LC, Noumea. 27 January.
- Fairbairn, Emele-Moa Teo. 1996. Emele-Moa Teo Fairbairn. In Fairbairn-Dunlop, Peggy, ed. 1996. *Tamaitai Samoa: Their Stories*. Suva: IPS, USP and Carson, CA: KIN Publications. p.20-44.
- Fanon, Frantz.
1970. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Charles Lam Markham, trans. St Albans, Hertfordshire: Paladin, Granada Publishing. First published 1967, Grove Press. Originally published 1952, *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*. Éditions de Seuil.
1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Constance Farrington, trans. New York: Grove Press. Originally published 1961, *Les damnés de la terre*, Paris: François Maspero.
- Farrell, Joseph P., and Stephen P. Heyneman, eds. 1989. *Textbooks in the Developing World: Economic and Educational Choices*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Faure, Edgar, Felipe Herrera, Abdul-Razzak Kaddoura, Henri Lopes, Arthur V.

- Petrovsky, Majid Rahnema, and Frederick Champion Ward. 1972. *Learning to be: The world of education today and tomorrow*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Feather, John. 1991. *A History of British Publishing*. Rev edn. London and New York: Routledge. Originally published 1988.
- Febvre, Lucien, and Henri-Jean Martin. 1997. *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*. David Gerard, trans. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton, eds. 2d edn. London and New York: Verso. First published in English 1967, London: Verso. Originally published 1958, *L'Apparition du livre*, Paris: Éditions Michel Albion.
- Ferguson, John A.
 1943. *A Bibliography of the New Hebrides and A History of the Mission Press*. Pt.III: Nguna-Tonga (including North Efate), Makura, Emae, Epi, Paama and Ambrym. Sydney: privately printed.
 1918. *A Bibliography of the New Hebrides and A History of the Mission Press*. Pt.II: Tanna, Aniwa, Efate. Sydney: privately printed.
 1917. *A Bibliography of the New Hebrides and A History of the Mission Press*. Pt.I: Aneityum, Futuna and Erromanga. Sydney: privately printed.
- Ferranti, David de. 1998. Foreword. In Sosale, Shobhana, ed. 1998. *Educational Publishing in Global Perspective: Capacity Building and Trends*. Washington, DC: World Bank. p.vii-viii. http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDS_IBank_Servlet?pcont=details&eid=000094946_99030406250354, accessed 27 December 2004.
- Fiji National Training Council (FNTC). 1975. *Publications Proof Correction Marks for Authors and Printers*. Suva: Publications Unit, Fiji National Training Council. October.
- Fijilive. 2006. World Body: Fiji Methodist Church Too Political. 8 September. <http://pidp.eastwestcenter.org/pireport/2006/September/09-08-10.htm>, accessed 9 September 2006.
- Finau, Makisi. 1992. The Emergence of the Maamafo'ou movement from the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. In Forman, Charles W., ed. 1992. *Island Churches: Challenge and Change*. Suva: IPS, USP and [Pacific Theological College]. p.141-205.
- Finkelstein, David, and Alistair McCleery. 2002. *The Book History Reader*. London and New York: Routledge. Some essays originally published 1957-1998 as articles in journals or as book chapters.
- Finnegan, Ruth H. 1988. *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication*. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Fischer, Steven Roger. 2001. *A History of Writing*. London: Reaction Books.
- Fisher, Maisha T. 2004. "The Song Is Unfinished:" The New Literate and Literary

and Their Institutions. *Written Communication* 21(3):290-312.

Fitzgerald, Michael. 1998. Tjibaou's House of Spirits. *Time*. 14 September. p.54-56.

Fong, Elizabeth C. Reade, Jayshree Mamtara, and Joan Martin Teaiwa, eds. 1991. *Literacy and Pacific Women*. Suva: Fiji Association of Women Graduates.

Forman, Charles.

1996a. Foreword. In Teauariki, Turakiare. 1996b. My Mission to Papua—Turakiare Teauariki. Charles Forman, ed. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP. p.255-259.

1996b. Methodism in the Pacific and Fiji Context. In Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.1-19.

1985. Playing Catch-Up Ball: The History Of Financial Dependencies In Pacific Islands Churches. In Miller, Char, ed. 1985. *Missions and Missionaries in the Pacific*. Symposium Series Vol.14. Lewiston, NY and Toronto: Edwin Mellen Press.

1982. *The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Foucault, Michel.

1991. *Remarks on Marx: Conversations with Duccio Trombadori*. R. James Goldstein and James Cascaito, trans. New York: Semiotext(e), Columbia University. Originally published 1981, Italy: 10/17 cooperativa editrice.

1989. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. A.M. Sheridan Smith, trans. New York: Pantheon Books. First published in English 1972, Tavistock Publications. Originally published 1969, *L'Archéologie du savoir*, Éditions Gallimard.

1984. What Is an Author? In Foucault, Michel. 1984. *The Foucault Reader*. Paul Rabinow, ed. London: Penguin. p.101-120. Originally published 1969, Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur? *Bulletin de la Société Française de la Philosophie* 63.

1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. Colin Gordon, ed. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper, trans. New York: Pantheon Books.

1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. A.M. Sheridan Smith, trans. New York: Pantheon Books. First published in English 1977, Allen Lane. Originally published 1975, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*, Éditions Gallimard.

1970. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Tavistock Publications. Originally published 1966, *Les Mots et les choses*, Paris: Éditions Gallimard.

Fradet, Françoise. 2002. Province Sud, une politique de culture. *Challenge magazine* 59:6. July-August.

Frasca-Spada, Marina, and Nick Jardine, eds. 2000. *Books and the Sciences in History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Fraser, Helen. 1990. *Your Flag's Blocking Our Sun*. Crows Nest, NSW: ABC Enterprises for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.
- Frater, Maurice. [1922]. *Midst Volcanic Fires: An Account of the Missionary Tours Among the Volcanic Islands of the New Hebrides*. London: James Clarke & Co.
- Freire, Paulo.
 1998. *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage*. Patrick Clarke, trans. Lanham, MD and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
 1983. *Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau*. Carman St John Hunter, trans. New York: Continuum.
 1971. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Myra Bergman Ramos, trans. New York: Herder and Herder.
 1970. *Cultural Action for Freedom*. *Harvard Educational Review* XL. May, August.
- Friendly Islands Bookshop (FIB). nd. Catalogue. In LC's possession.
- Frost, Gary. 1998. Adoption of the Codex Book: *The Book and Paper Group Annual* 17. Stanford: The American Institute for Conservation. <http://aic.stanford.edu/sg/bpg/annual/v17/bp17-10.html>, accessed 3 September 2006.
- Fugui, Leslie, and Simeon Butu. 1989. Religion. In Laracy, Hugh, ed. 1989. *Ples Blong Iumi: Solomon Islands, the past four thousand years*. Suva: IPS and Honiara: Solomon Islands Extension Centre, USP, and Honiara: SICHE and Solomon Islands Ministry of Education. p.73-93.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1992. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Avon Books.
- Fuller, Steve. 2004. *Kuhn vs. Popper: the Struggle for the Soul of Science*. Revolutions in Science Series. New York: Columbia University Press. Originally published 2003, Chichester, West Sussex: Icon Books.
- Fulmer, Mara J. 1992. Publication Planning & Design or How to Get the Most from your Printed Piece. Suva: University Media Centre Graphics Unit, USP. Photocopy. In LC's possession.
- Fusitu'a, 'Eseta. 1996. Introduction. In Rutherford, Noel. 1996. Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga. Auckland: Pasifika Press. p.vii-ix.
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1983. *The Anatomy of Power*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Gardère, Françoise, and David Routledge, eds. 1991. *History of, Histoire de Macuata*. Suva: Cultural Services of the French Embassy in Fiji.
- Garlick, Jennifer. 1998. *Maori Language Publishing: Some Issues*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

- Garrett, John.
 1997. *Where Nets Were Cast: Christianity in Oceania Since World War II*. Suva: IPS, USP and Geneva: World Council of Churches.
 1996. Methodism in Fiji since 1964. In Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.193-201.
 1992. *Footsteps in the Sea: Christianity in Oceania to World War II*. Suva: IPS, USP and Geneva: World Council of Churches.
 1982. *To Live Among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania*. Geneva: World Council of Churches and Suva: IPS, USP.
- Garrett, John, and Wendy Flannery. 1989. Major External Sources of Finance and Advice for the Churches. In James, Kerry, and Akuila Yabaki, eds. *Religious Cooperation in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.163-169.
- Garzón, Álvaro. 1997. *National book policy: A guide for users in the field*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Gata, Petelo. 2001. Religion in Futuna. In Huffer, Elise, and Petelo Leleivai. 2001. *Futuna: Mo Ona Puleaga Sau (Aux deux royaumes, the two kingdoms)*. Cyrille Sanchez, trans. Suva: IPS, USP and Sigave: Service des Affaires Culturelles de Futuna. p.130-132.
- Gau, Fono. nd. *Ko Te Pua Kua Vili*. Apia: Office for Tokelau Affairs.
- Geertz, Clifford.
 2000a. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. 2d edn. New York: Basic Books, Perseus Books Group. First published 1973, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. Some essays originally published 1957-1972, in journals or as book chapters or a report.
 2000b. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. 3rd edn. Basic Books. Some essays originally published 1974-1977, 1980, 1982.
 1995. *After the Fact: Two Cities, Four Decades, One Anthropologist*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
 1977. Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power. In Ben-David, Joseph, and Terry Nichols Clark, eds. 1977. *Culture and Its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. p.150-171.
- Gelb, I.J. 1963. *A Study of Writing*. Rev edn. Chicago: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press. Originally published 1952, *A Study of Writing: The Foundations of Grammatology*.
- Gellner, Ernest.
 1997. *Nationalism*. New York: NYU Press.
 1994. *Encounters with Nationalisms*. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
 1988. *Plough, Sword and Book: The Structure of Human History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Geraghty, Paul.

[2004]. Struggles with an exonorm: the emergence of Fijian-language literature. Paper in LC's possession.

2001. Dubious claims. *Fiji Times*. 22 April. p.10.

Ghai, O.P., and Narendra Kumar 1984. *International publishing today: Problems and prospects*. Delhi: Bookman's Club.

Gibbons, Peter. 2004. Books for the Primary Schools of Kiribati. *Mana, a South Pacific Journal of Art and Culture, Language and Literature*. 13(2):98-114.

Gibbs, James, and Jack Mapanje, eds. 1999. *The African Writers' Handbook*. Oxford African Books Collective and Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.

Gibson, George, William Clarke, Ron Crocombe, Linda Crowl, Asesela Ravuvu, David Routledge, and Helen Tavola, eds. 2001. *Levuka: Living Heritage*. Suva: IPS, USP and Levuka: Levuka Historical and Cultural Society.

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Gill, William Wyatt. 1984. *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia with Illustrative Clan Songs*. Suva: IPS, USP. Originally published 1894, London: William Clowes and Sons. First published 1880, *Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia*.

Gilson, Richard. 1980. *The Cook Islands, 1820-1950*. Ron Crocombe, ed. Wellington: Victoria University Press and Suva: IPS, USP.

Gladney, R. 1946. Resident Agent Penrhyn. Penrhyn Island—Education Report. 6 February. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.

Glaister, Dan. 1999. Shame of Hitler's corporate helpers. *The Guardian Weekly*. 24 January. p.24.

Goa, Paul Faom, Moria Goa, Elia Bealo, Sera Goa, Sera Bajiek Goa, and EnoKa Dounote. 2003a. *Contes de la région de Hienghène. Kaan Falik: Boutures de paroles*. Les Documents du Bureau du Patrimoine Culturel en Province Nord. N°1. Mai.

Goa, Paul Faom, EnoKa Doui Jere Vaiadimoin, Jeanne Bwawi Tjibaou, Levi Hmodawe Moueaou, Edmond Pijo Pilepasse, Gomen Isaia Moueaou, Jahai Dounote, and Joseph Taiho Teinpouene. 2003b. *Mémoires de la région de Hienghène. Kaan Falik: Boutures de paroles*. Les Documents du Bureau du Patrimoine Culturel en Province Nord. N° 2. Septembre.

- Goldhamer, Herbert, and Edward Shils. 1975. Power and Status. In Shils, Edward. 1975. *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. p.239-248.
- Goldsmith, Michael. 1996. Alovaka Maui: Defender of the Faith. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP. p.235-254.
- Goodwin, Maureen. 2003. Reo: Aue Tau E, To Tatou Reo! Alas For Our Language. In Crocombe, Ron, & Majorie Tua'inekore Crocombe, eds. *Akono'anga Maori, Cook Islands Culture*. Suva: IPS, USP and Rarotonga: Cook Islands Extension Centre, USP; Cook Islands Cultural and Historic Places Trust; and Ministry of Cultural Development. p.93-102.
- Goody, Jack.
2003. Euroasia and East-West Boundaries. *Diogenes* 50(4):115-118.
1996. *The East in the West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1987. *The interface between the written and the oral*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1986. *The logic of writing and the organization of society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1977a. *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1977b. Literacy, Criticism, and the Growth of Knowledge. In Ben-David, Joseph, and Terry Nichols Clark, eds. 1977. *Culture and Its Creators: Essays in honor of Edward Shils*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. p.226-243.
- 1968a. Introduction. In Goody, Jack, ed. 1968b. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.1-26.
- 1968b. ed. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1968c. Restricted Literacy in Northern Ghana. In Goody, Jack, ed. 1968. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.198-264.
- Goody, Jack, and Ian Watt. 1968. The Consequences of Literacy. In Goody, Jack, ed. 1968b. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.27-68. Originally published 1963, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* V(3):304-345, April.
- Gope, Pierre. 2002. *The Last Nightfall*. Noumea: Grain de Sable and Suva: IPS, USP.
- Gordon, Colin. 1980. Afterword. In Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. Colin Gordon, ed. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper, trans. New York: Pantheon Books. p.229-259.
- Gorode, Déwé. 1985. *Sous les Cendres des conquies*. Noumea: EDIPOP.
- Gough, Kathleen.
- 1968a. Implications of Literacy in Traditional China and India. In Goody, Jack, ed.

1968. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.69-84.
- 1968b. Literacy in Kerala. In Goody, Jack, ed. 1968. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.132-160.
- Government of Norfolk Island 2007. Facts About Norfolk Island. http://www.norfolk.gov.nf/the_facts.htm, accessed 12 March 2007.
- Government of Pitcairn.
- 2004a. Guide to Pitcairn. <http://www.government.pn/homepage.htm>, accessed 15 May.
- 2004b. Pitcairn's History. <http://www.government.pn/Pitcairnshistory.htm>, accessed 16 May.
- Graff, Harvey J.
- 1981a. ed. *Literacy and social development in the West: a reader*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1981b. *Literacy in History: An Interdisciplinary Research Bibliography*. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities Vol.254. New York and London: Garland Publishing.
1979. *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth-Century City*. New York, San Francisco, and London: Academic Press, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Graham, Gordon.
1992. Multinationals and Third World Publishing. In Altbach, Philip G., ed. 1992. *Publishing and Development in the Third World*. London, Melbourne, Munich, and New York: Hans Zell Publishers; New Delhi: Vistaar Publications; and Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya. p.29-41.
1988. Academic and Professional Publishing: The Future. In Owen, Peter, ed. 1988b. *Publishing: the Future*. London: Peter Owen. p.74-85.
- Graham, J.W.W. 1951. Comments on U.N.E.S.C.O. Report on Education 25 EX/26. Annex. 11 January. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Graham, W., and T.R.A. Davis. nd. Village Schools and Vocation Training in the Cook Islands. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Graille, Caroline. 2001. From 'Primitive' to Contemporary: A Story of Kanak Art in New Caledonia. Discussion Paper 01/2. Canberra: State, Society, and Governance in Melanesia Project, RSPAS, ANU.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds and trans. New York: International Publishers. Originally written 1930s.

- Grant, E.D. 1959. Acting Director of Education. Progress in Education in the Cook Islands 1946 to 1959. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Gray, J.D. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- 1924a. Letter to A. Wilson, Headmaster, St. Stephen's School for Maori Boys, Auckland. C.I. 5/2. 22 May.
- 1924b. Memorandum for the Resident Commissioner, Rarotonga. Scholarship Pupils. C.I. 5/2. 23 May.
- Gregson, Nicky, Kirsten Simonsen, and Dina Vaiou. 2003. Writing (Across) Europe: On Writing Spaces and Writing Practices. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 10(1):5-22.
- Griffen, Arlene. 1993. Three Interviews. *Mana, a South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature* 10(1):74-94. (1. An Interview with Grace Molisa, p.74-81).
- Griffin, James, Hank Nelson, and Stewart Firth. 1979. *Papua New Guinea: A Political History*. Richmond, VIC: Heinemann Educational Australia Pty Ltd.
- Griffith, Penny. 1997. Tokelauan. In Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey, and Keith Maslen, eds, with the assistance of Ross Somerville. 1997. *Book & Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Victoria University Press. p.250-252.
- Griffith, Penny, Ross Harvey, and Keith Maslen, eds, with the assistance of Ross Somerville. 1997a. *Book & Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Griffith, Penny, Robert Holding, Alfred Hunkin, Patrick King, Don Long, Jean Mitaera, Lagi Sipeli, and Diane Woods. 1997b. Pacific Island languages. In Griffith, Penny, Ross Harvey, and Keith Maslen, eds, with the assistance of Ross Somerville. *Book & Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Victoria University Press. p.245-262.
- Grimble, Arthur. 1952. *We Chose the Islands: A Six-Year Adventure in the Gilberts*. New York: William Morrow & Company. Published as *A Pattern of Islands* in Great Britain.
- Groves, W.C.
1922-1962. Papers relating to education in Papua New Guinea and Nauru. PMB 1164. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
1951. Foreword. In Williams, F.E. 1951. *The Blending of Cultures: An Essay on the Aims of Native Education*. Papua and New Guinea Official Research Publication No.1. Port Moresby: Acting Government Printer. p.iii.
1936. *Native Education and Culture-Contact in New Guinea: A Scientific Approach*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press and Oxford University Press.

Gunaratne, Shelton A. 2001. Paper, Printing and the Printing Press: A Horizontally Integrative Macrohistory Analysis. *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies* 63(6):459-479. London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Gunson, Niel.

2006. Waterhouse, Jabez Bunting (1821 - 1891). *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Online edn. <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060385b.htm>, accessed 8 October 2006.

1994. British Missionaries and Their Contribution to Science in the Pacific Islands. In MacLeod, Roy, and Philip F. Rehbock, eds. 1994. *Darwin's Laboratory: Evolutionary Theory and Natural History in the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p.283-316.

1978. *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Habermas, Jürgen.

2001. *The Liberating Power of Symbols: Philosophical Essays*. Peter Dews, trans. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Originally published 1997, *Vom sinnlichen Eindruck zum symbolischen Ausdruck*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.

1996. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. William Rehg, trans. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Originally published 1992, *Faktizität und Geltung. Beiträge zur Diskurstheorie des Rechts und des demokratischen Rechtsstaats*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.

1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence, trans. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Originally published 1962, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, Darmstadt and Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag.

1987. *Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Vol.2 of *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Thomas McCarthy, trans. Cambridge: Polity Press and Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Originally published 1981, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns, Band 2: Zur Kritik der funktionalistischen Vernunft*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.

1984. *Reason and the Rationalization of Society*. Vol.1 of *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Thomas McCarthy, trans. Boston: Beacon Press. Originally published 1981, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns, Band 1: Handlungsrationalität und gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.

1979. *Communication and the Evolution of Society*. Thomas McCarthy, trans. Boston: Beacon Press. Originally published 1976, *Sprachpragmatik und Philosophie und Zur Rekonstruktion des Historischen Materialismus*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Habu, Mostyn. 1992. Education, Which Way? Learning To Be Independent. In Crocombe, Ron, and Esau Tuza, eds. 1992. *Independence, Dependence, Interdependence: The First 10 Years of Solomon Islands Independence*.

- Suva: IPS and Honiara: USP Centre, USP, and Honiara: SICHE. p.98-104.
- Hackford, Edward. 2002. Administrative Officer, 1969-1971. In Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.276-284.
- Halapua, Winston.
 2003. *Tradition, Lotu & Militarism in Fiji*. Lautoka: Fiji Institute of Applied Studies.
 2001. *Living on the Fringe: Melanesians of Fiji*. Suva: IPS, USP.
 1996. John Auvuru Shaw and the Solomon Community in Fiji. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP. p.290-301.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. 1992. *On Collective Memory*. Lewis A. Coser, ed and trans. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. Originally published 1952, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France and 1941, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte: Étude de mémoire collective*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Hall, David D. 1996. *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Harding, George L., and Bjarne Kroepelien. 1950. *The Tahitian Imprints of the London Missionary Society, 1810-1834*. Oslo: La Coquille qui Chante.
- Harrison, Eugene Myers. 2006. John G. Paton 1824-1907. <http://www.wholesomewords.org/missions/biopaton.html>, accessed 6 January 2006. Originally published in Harrison, E. Myers, 1945, *Heroes of Faith on Pioneer Trails*, Chicago: Moody Press, ©1945. First published 1912, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement 1901-1911, London: Smith, Elder, & Co.
- Hasluck, Paul. 1976. *A Time for Building: Australian Administration in Papua New Guinea 1951-1963*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Haut-Commissariat de la République en Nouvelle-Calédonie (N-C). 1992. New Caledonia: The Matignon Accords 1991 Progress Report, A review of achievements so far. Noumea: Haut-Commissariat de la République en Nouvelle-Calédonie. July.
- Haut-Commissariat de la République en Polynésie Française (PF). 1995. Statut du territoire de la Polynésie Française as amended by subsequent laws. Papeete: Haut-Commissariat de la République en Polynésie Française, Direction de la réglementation et du contrôle de la légalité, Bureau des affaires juridiques.
- Havelock, Eric A.
 1982. *The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Essays originally published 1966-1982.
 1980. The Coming of Literate Communication to Western Culture. *Literacy and*

- the Future of Print. Journal of Communication* 30(1):90-98. Winter.
1976. *Origins of Western Literacy*. Four lectures delivered at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, March 25, 26, 27, 28, 1974. Monograph Series No.14. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
1963. *Preface to Plato*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press.
- Heath, Shirley Brice. 1980. The Functions and Uses of Literacy. *Literacy and the Future of Print. Journal of Communication* 30(1):123-133. Winter.
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich.
1990. *Medieval and Modern Philosophy*. Vol.3 of *Lectures on the History of Philosophy: The Lectures of 1825-1826*. Robert F. Brown, ed. R.F. Brown and J.M. Stewart, trans, with assistance of H.S. Harris. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press. Originally published 1825-1826, *Vorlesung über die Geschichte der Philosophie*.
1964. *Hegel's Political Writings*. T.M. Knox, trans. Z.A. Pelczynski, intro. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Originally published 1823, *Schriften zur Politik und Rechtsphilosophie*, 2d edn, Leipzig.
- Heidegger, Martin. 1977. *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*. William Lovitt, trans. New York: Harper Colophon Books, Harper & Row. Originally published 1962, *Die Technik und die Kehre*, Pfullingen: Günther Neske; 1952, *Holzwege*, Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann; and 1954, *Vortrage und Aufsätze*, Pfullingen: Günther Neske.
- Heilbron, Johan. 1999. Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translations as a Cultural World-System. *European Journal of Social Theory* 2(4):429-444.
- Heiss, Anita. 2003. *Dhuuluu-Yala: To Talk Straight, Publishing Indigenous Literature*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Hempenstall, Peter. 2000. Colonial rule: administrative styles and practices. In Lal, Brij V., and Kate Fortune, eds. *The Pacific Islands: an encyclopedia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p.229-231.
- Henderson, Hamish. 1988. Introduction. In Gramsci, Antonio. 1988. *Letters from Prison, Lettere dal Carcere*. Hamish Henderson, trans. London: Zwan Publications in association with *Edinburgh Review*. p.1-24.
- Henningham, Stephen.
1994. France in Melanesia and Polynesia. In Howe, K.R., Robert C. Kiste, and Brij V. Lal, eds. 1994. *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin. p.119-146.
1992. *France and the South Pacific: A Contemporary History*. North Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Henry, Fred. 1980. *Samoa: An Early History*. Tofa Pula, Nikolao I. Tuiteleapaga, rev. Pago Pago: Department of Education. Originally published 1935 in typewritten form, Pago Pago.

- Hereniko, Vilsoni, and Rob Wilson, eds. 1999. *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics and Identity in the New Pacific*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Heyneman, Stephen P., Joseph P. Farrell, Manuel A. Sepulveda-Stuardo. 1978. Textbooks and Achievement: What We Know. World Bank Staff Working Paper 298. Washington, DC: World Bank. October. http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSIBankServlet?pcont=details&eid=000178830_98101903401347, accessed 27 December 2004.
- Héyum, Renée. 1982. Publishing in the South Pacific Islands 1978. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 38(74-75):253-256.
- Hezel, Francis X., SJ.
 1989. *From Conquest to Colonization: Spain in the Mariana Islands 1690 to 1740*. Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation.
 1983. *The First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521-1885*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Hiery, Hermann Joseph. 1995. *The Neglected War: The German South Pacific and the Influence of World War I*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hilliard, David.
 1978. *God's Gentlemen: a history of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
 1974. Colonialism and Christianity: the Melanesian Mission in the Solomon Islands. *Journal of Pacific History* 9:93-116.
- Hillary, D.R.A. 1964. Director of Education. T.4, Review of Present Courses Provided and Planned at Niue High School. SPC Second Regional Education Seminar. 17 June. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Hills, J.W. nd. *O Le Tusi A Tama Iti ua saunia mo a'oga a le Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, Samoan Primer*. Apia: Malua Printing Press.
- Ho, Sheryl. 2003. Chemical society's new book on environment. *USP Beat* 3(8):2. 3 June.
- Hoare, Merval. 1983. *The Winds of Change: Norfolk Island, 1950-1982*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- Hoare, Quintin, and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. 1971. General Introduction. In Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds and trans. New York: International Publishers. p.xviii-xcvi.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1992. Introduction: Inventing Traditions. In Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. 1992. *The Invention of Tradition*. Canto edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.1-14. Originally published 1983.

- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. 1992. *The Invention of Tradition*. Canto edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Originally published 1983.
- Hodgkin, Adam. 1986. New Technologies in Printing and Publishing: the Present of the Written Word. In Baumann, Gerd, ed. 1986. *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*. Wolfson College Lectures 1985. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p.151-169.
- Hoggart, Richard. 1957. *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of working-class life, with special references to publications and entertainments*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Holding, Robert G. 1991. 'O Tusi i le Gagana Samoa: The Needs, Problems and Opportunities Confronting the Development of Quality Samoan Language Books. A Winston Churchill Fellowship Report. Copy in LC's possession.
- Holdsworth, Harold. 1982. Literary Publishing and Its Bibliographical Control in the South Pacific. Paper presented at the Conference on the Acquisition and Bibliography of Commonwealth and Third World Literatures in English, London, 21-22 October 1982.
- Hoodless, D.W. 1926. In Conference on the Education of Natives in the South-Sea Islands. 11-12 January. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno. 1973. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. John Cumming, trans. London: Allen Lane, Penguin. First published in English 1972, New York: Herder & Herder. Originally published in German 1944, *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, New York: Social Studies Association.
- Hornby, A.S. 1989. *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary of Current English*. 4th edn. A.P. Cowrie, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Horsley, Mike, ed. 2001. *The Future of Textbooks? International Colloquium on School Publishing: Research about Emerging Trends*. Sydney: Teaching Resources and Textbook Research Unit, University of Sydney.
- Hough, A. nd. *O Le Faamatalaga O Le Gagana Samoa*. 6th edn. Apia: Malua Printing Press.
- Howard, Alan. 1998. Foreword. In Inia, Elizabeth K., et al. 1998. *A New Rotuman Dictionary*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- Howell, Paul R. 2004. The History of Papyrus. CRRA Report #3. Pennsylvania State University. http://www.matse.psu.edu/matse81/Spring_2004/Homeworks/CRRA3Sample.pdf#search=%22history%20papyrus%22, accessed 3 September 2006.

Hoy, David Couzens. 1986. Power, Repression, Progress: Foucault, Lukes, and the

- Frankfurt School. In Hoy, Couzens David, ed. 1986. *Foucault: A Critical Reader*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p.123-147.
- Hoyles, Martin, ed. 1977. *The Politics of Literacy*. London and New York: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative Society Ltd.
- Huffer, Elise, and Petelo Leleivai, eds. 2001. *Futuna: Mo Ona Puleaga Sau (Aux Deux Royaumes, the Two Kingdoms)*. Cyrille Sanchez, trans. Suva: IPS, USP and Sigave: Service des Affaires Culturelles de Futuna.
- Huffer, Elise, and Mikaele Tui, eds. 2004. *Uvéa*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- Huffman, Kirk. 2002. Foreword. In MacClancy, Jeremy. 2002b. *To Kill a Bird with Two Stones: A Short History of Vanuatu to Independence*. 3d edn. Port Vila: Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta.
- Huin, Jean-Claude. 2002. Centre culturel Tjibaou. *Challenge magazine* 59:12-13. July-August.
- Huntsman, Judith. 1996. Just Marginally Possible: the making of *Matagi Tokelau*. *Journal of Pacific Studies* 20:138-154.
- Hutchin, J.K. 1897. Letter to F.J. Moss, British Resident, Rarotonga, 26 August. In Miscellaneous Manuscripts from the Collection of the Cook Islands Library and Museum Society. Micro-MS-Coll-08-PMB 1066. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Iamae, Edward. 1989. Writing II. In Laracy, Hugh, ed. 1989. *Ples Blong Iumi: Solomon Islands, the past four thousand years*. Suva: IPS and Honiara: Solomon Islands Extension Centre, USP, and Honiara: SICHE and Solomon Islands Ministry of Education. p.41-46.
- Ieuti, Teeruro. 1992. The Kiribati Protestant Church and the New Religious Movements, 1860-1985. In Forman, Charles, ed. 1992. *Island Churches: Challenge and Change*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.67-139.
- Ike, Chukwuemeka.
 1997. ed. *Meeting The Book Needs of The Rural Family*. Proceedings of the Maiden NBF Forum on Books, 21st April 1997 and the Fourth Annual National Conference on Book Development, 22nd April 1997, University of Lagos, Nigeria. Awka, Nigeria: Nigeran Book Foundation.
 1996. *Creating a Conducive Environment for Book Publishing*. Proceedings of the Second Annual National Conference on Book Development (27 April 1995) and the Third Annual National Conference on Book Development (14 May 1996). University of Lagos, Nigeria. Awka, Nigeria: Nigerian Book Foundation.
- INASP Newsletter*. Oxford: International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications.

- Innis, Harold A.
 1991. *The Bias of Communication*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Originally published 1951.
 1950. *Empire and Communications*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
 1949. *The Press: A Neglected Factor in the Economic History of the Twentieth Century*. University of London Stamp Memorial Lecture. London: Oxford University Press.
- Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD). 1999. IRD 1998 Rapport d'Activité, Centre de Nouméa. Noumea: Institut de recherche pour le développement.
- Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (IPNGS). 1974-1976. Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. Report. Port Moresby: IPNGS.
- Isala, Tito.
 1983a. Tuvalu: Atoll Nation. In Crocombe, Ron, and Ahmed Ali, eds. *Politics in Polynesia*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.20-54.
 1983b. Secession and Independence. In Laracy, Hugh, ed. 1983b. *Tuvalu: A History*. Suva: IPS, USP and Funafuti: Ministry of Social Services. p.153-177.
- Islands Business (IB)*. 1996. At Bastille Day parties at French embassies in the Pacific this month expect amiable appearances by government leaders who boycotted them last year. *Islands Business*. July. p.9.
- Ivins, William M., Jr. 1953. *Prints and Visual Communication*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jaffre, Brigitte. 2003. Quelle politique culturelle? *Correspondances Océaniques* 2:35-36. Octobre.
- Jaggard, Thomas. 1988. *Unto the Perfect Day: The Journal of Thomas James Jaggard, Feejee, 1838-1845*. Esther Keesing-Styles and William Keesing-Styles, eds. Auckland: Solent Publishing.
- Jakes, Robert L. 1996. Surrounded as We Are...Heb. 12:1-2: Reflections on the contribution of Fijian missionaries in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. In Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.115-127.
- James, H. Bond. 1924. Extracts from the Report of Rev H. Bond James to Directors of LMS dated Cook Islands, 1924. In Miscellaneous Manuscripts from the Collection of the Cook Islands Library and Museum Society. Micro-MS-Coll-08-PMB 1066. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Jean, Georges. 1992. *Writing: the Story of Alphabets and Scripts*. Jenny Oates, trans. London: Thames and Hudson. Originally published in French 1987, Gallimard.

- Jeffries, Charles. 1967. *Illiteracy: A World Problem*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers.
- Johns, Adrian. 1998. *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Johnson, Daniel. 1998. Springtime for Bertelsmann. *The New Yorker*. 27 April and 4 May. p.104-108.
- Jones, Joseph. 1979. Provincial to International: Southwest Pacific Literature in English since the 1920s. In Livingston, William S., and Wm. Roger Louis, eds. 1979. *Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands since the First World War*. Austin and London: University of Texas Press. p.125-147.
- Jones, Phillip W.
 1992. *World Bank financing of education: Lending, learning and development*. London and New York: Routledge.
 1988. *International Policies for Third World Education: Unesco, Literacy and Development*. London: Routledge.
- Jouve, Dominique, Lia Bryant, Judith Gill, and Deidre Tedmanson. 2005. If I Don't Speak to My Child in My Own Language, Then Who Will? Kanak Women Writing Culture for Children. *Kunapipi, Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 27(2):9-22.
- Kauea, Sr Tiura. 1999. Kiribati. In Crowl, Linda, ed. 1999a. *Book Provision in the Pacific Islands*. Apia: UNESCO and Suva: IPS, USP. p.23-27.
- Kalsakau, G.K. 1980. *History of the Three Flags: New Hebrides Is Changeover [sic] to the Republic of Vanuatu*. Port Vila: G.K. Kalsakau. [IPV Printers].
- Kamu, Lalomilo. 1996. *The Samoan culture and the Christian gospel*. Apia: Donna Kamu.
- Kanwal, J.S. 1980. *A Hundred Years of Hindi in Fiji 1879-1979*. Suva: Fiji Teachers' Union.
- Kalpokas, Donald.
 2002. Former Prime Minister of Vanuatu. In Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.341-348.
 1980. Edukeson, Education, Education. In Weightman, Barry, and Hilda Lini, eds. 1980. *Vanuatu: Twenti wan tingting long team blong independens*. Suva: IPS, USP and South Pacific Social Sciences Association. p.229-243.
- Katz, Elihu, and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. 1955. *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Katz, Elihu, and George Wedell with Michael Pilsworth and Dov Shinar. 1977. *Broadcasting in the Third World: Promise and Performance*. Cambridge,

MA: Harvard University Press.

- Keesing, Felix M. 1937. *Education in Pacific Countries: Interpreting a Seminar-Conference of Educators and Social Scientists conducted by the University of Hawaii and Yale University, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1936*. Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore: Kelly and Walsh.
- Kele-Kele, Kalkot Matas. 1977. The Year of the Elections. In Plant, Chris, ed. 1977. *New Hebrides: The Road to Independence*. Suva: IPS, USP and South Pacific Social Sciences Association. p.67-87.
- Kennedy, Tom. 1984. The Cook Islands. In Thomas, R. Murray, and T. Neville Postlethwaite, eds. *Schooling in the Pacific Islands: Colonies in Transition*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. p.263-294.
- Khambu, John. 1992. An evaluation of the Oro Book Flood and Library Project. Education Research Report No.70. Boroko: Division of Educational Research, National Research Institute.
- Kiki, Albert Maori. 1968. *Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime*. Longman.
- Kilgour, Frederick G. 1998. *The Evolution of the Book*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- King, Patrick. 1997. In Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey, and Keith Maslen, eds, with the assistance of Ross Somerville. 1997. *Book & Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Victoria University Press. p.257-259.
- Kiribati Education Sector Program (KESP) personnel. 2003. Discussion with all of the KESP team except Peter Gibbons. Tarawa, Kiribati. 17 March.
- Kissling, Christopher C., ed. 1984. *Transport and Communication for Pacific Microstates: Issues in Organisation and Management*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- Kituai, August Ibrum Kumaniari. 1982. An Example of Pacific Micro-Nationalism: The Banaban Case. *Bikmaus: A Journal of Papua New Guinea Affairs, Ideas and the Arts* 3(4):3-48. December.
- Klancher, Jon P. 1987. *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832*. Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Kofe, Laumua. 1983. Palagi and Pastors. In Laracy, Hugh, ed. 1983. *Tuvalu: A History*. Suva: IPS, USP and Funafuti: Ministry of Social Services. p.102-120.
- Koskinen, Aarne A. 1953. *Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia, Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ, Sarja-Ser. B, Nide-Tom 78,1.
- Krauss, N.L.H. 1970. *Bibliography of Nauru, Western Pacific*. Honolulu: N.L.H. Krauss.

- Kua, Bill S. 1982/83. *The Need for Mass Communication Research in Developing Countries – A Case of Papua New Guinea*. MA dissertation. Leicester: Centre for Mass Communication Research, University of Leicester.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. 1996. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 3d edn. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. Originally published 1962.
- Kujoth, Jean Spealman, comp. 1971. *Book Publishing: Inside Views*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.
- Kurtovich, Ismet. 2002. *A Caledonian Pastoral*. Noumea: Grain de Sable and Suva: IPS, USP.
- Lacey, R.J. 1972. Chalmers, James (1841-1901) - LMS. In Ryan, Peter, ed. 1972. *Encyclopedia of Papua and New Guinea*. Vol.1. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press and Port Moresby: University of Papua and New Guinea. p.151-152.
- Lal, Brij V. 2003. Primary Texts. *Conversations* 4(1):41-50.
- Lali Magazine (LM). 1994. New Testament. *Lali Magazine*. March. p.11.
- Lamont, E.H. 1994. *Wild Life Among the Pacific Islanders*. Suva: IPS, USP; Penrhyn: Tongareva Community & Development Trust and Penrhyn Island Council; and Rarotonga: USP Centre. Originally published 1867, London: Hurst & Blackett.
- Langdon, Robert.
1988. *The Lost Caravel Re-Explored*. Canberra: Brolga Press.
1979. *Tahiti: Island of Love*. 5th edn. Sydney: Pacific Publications.
- Langdon, Robert, and Kate Fortune. 2000. French Polynesia. In Lal, Brij V., and Kate Fortune, eds. *The Pacific Islands: an encyclopedia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p.572-575.
- Lange, Raeburn.
2005. *Islander Missionaries: Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth Century Pacific Islands Christianity*. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury and Canberra: Pandanus Books, RSPAS, ANU.
1997. *The Origins of the Christian Ministry in the Cook Islands and Samoa*. Macmillan Brown Working Paper Series No.6. Christchurch: University of Canterbury.
1995. *The Making of a Maohi Ministry: The London Missionary Society in Early Christian Tahiti and the Leeward Islands*. *Pacific Journal of Theology* 2(14):37-51.
- Langi, Jione.
1996. *The Effect of Rotuma's Methodist History on the Present Church*. In Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism*

- in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995.* Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.87-94.
1992. The History of the Methodist Church in Its Rotuman Setting. In Forman, Charles, ed. *Island Churches: Challenge and Change*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.1-65.
- Langmore, Diane. 1989. *Missionary Lives: Papua 1874-1914*. Pacific Islands Manuscript Series No.6. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Laracy, Hugh.
- 1983a. ed. *Pacific Protest: The Maasina Rule Movement, Solomon Islands, 1944-1952*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- 1983b. ed. *Tuvalu: A History*. Suva: IPS, USP and Funafuti: Ministry of Social Services.
- Larmour, Peter.
2002. Policy transfer in Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific: when, how, who, what and from where? *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 17(2):55-67.
2001. Westminster in the Pacific: A 'Policy Transfer' Approach. Discussion Paper 01/1. Canberra: State, Society and Governance in Melanesia, RSPAS, ANU.
- Larson, Charles R. 2001. *The Ordeal of the African Writer*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Lasswell, Harold D.
1960. The Structure and Function of Communication in Society. In Schramm, Wilbur, ed. 1960. *Mass Communications*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press. p.117-130. Originally published 1948, in Bryson, Lyman, ed., *The Communication of Ideas*, New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies.
1950. *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*. New York: Peter Smith. Originally published 1936, McGraw-Hill Book Co.
1927. *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- Lasswell, Harold D., and Abraham Kaplan. 1952. *Power and Society: A Framework of Political Inquiry*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Lataste, Thierry. 2002. Grand angle. *Challenge magazine* 59:5. July-August.
- Latukefu, Sione.
1996. Pacific Islander Missionaries. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP. p.17-40.
1988. Noble Traditions and Christian Principles as National Ideology in Papua New Guinea: Do Their Philosophies Complement or Contradict Each Other? *Pacific Studies* 11(2):83-96.
1975. *The Tongan Constitution: A brief history to celebrate its Centenary*. Nuku'alofa: Tonga Traditions Committee.
1974. *Church and State in Tonga*. Canberra: ANU Press.
1969. The case of the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga. *Journal de la Société des*

- Latukefu, Sione, and Ruta Sinclair. 1982. Pacific islanders as international missionaries: Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands. In Crocombe, Ron and Marjorie, eds. 1982. *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: From Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.1-5.
- Laubreaux-Tauru, Liliane.
2003. Conversation with LC, Noumea. October.
2002. Pacific Literature. In Mel, Michael, Nathalie Cartacheff, Delphine Ollier, Liliane Laubreaux-Tauru, Valerie Vattier, Andre Capiez, and Jean-Pierre Deteix. *Pacific cultures on the move: A report on the symposium, workshops and meetings that took place during the 8th Festival of Pacific Arts, New Caledonia, 2000*. Roy Benyon, Gilles Kaboha, Elaine Sutton, and Marina Laplagne, trans. Noumea: Organising Committee for the 8th Festival of Pacific Arts. p.91-118.
- Layton, Suzanna.
1993. Media Freedom in the Pacific Islands: A Comparative Study of Eight Nations and Territories. PhD thesis. University of Queensland.
1992. *The Contemporary Pacific Islands Press*. St Lucia: Department of Journalism, University of Queensland.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. 1968. *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. 3d edn. New York and London: Columbia University Press. Originally published 1944, New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., and Robert K. Merton. 1960. Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action. In Schramm, Wilbur, ed. 1960. *Mass Communications*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press. p.492-512. Originally published 1948, in Bryson, Lyman, ed., *The Communication of Ideas*, New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies.
- Lee, Ernest W.
1996. Solomon Islands Pijin in Education. In Mugler, France, and John Lynch, eds. 1996. *Pacific Languages in Education*. Suva: IPS and Department of Literature and Language, and Port Vila: Pacific Languages Unit, USP. p.190-208.
1981a. ed. *Buk fo Ridim an Raetem Pijin. Buk 1*. Honiara: Pijin Literacy Project, Solomon Islands Christian Association.
1981b. ed. *Eksasaes Buk fo iusim wetem Buk fo Ridim an Raetem Pijin. Buk 1*. Honiara: Pijin Literacy Project, Solomon Islands Christian Association.
- Leeson, I. 1954. *A bibliography of bibliographies on the South Pacific*. Published under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission [Noumea] by Oxford University Press.
- Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut. 1957. *The Life of the Book*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

- Lenski, Gerhard E. 1966. *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Lerner, Daniel.
1963. Toward a Communication Theory of Modernization: A Set of Considerations. In Pye, Lucien W., ed. 1963. *Communications and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. p.327-350.
1960. Communication Systems and Social Systems. In Schramm, Wilbur, ed. 1960. *Mass Communications*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press. p.131-140. Originally published in 1957, *Behavior Science*, October.
- Lerner, Daniel, and Lyle M. Nelson, eds. 1977. *Communication Research—a Half-Century Appraisal*. Honolulu: Published for the East-West Communication Institute, East-West Center by the University Press of Hawaii.
- Lerner, Daniel, with Lucille W. Pevsner. 1964. *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. New York: Free Press and London: Collier-Macmillan. Originally published 1958.
- Lerner, Daniel, and Jim Richstad, eds. 1976. *Communication in the Pacific*. A Report on the Communication in the Pacific. Conference held in Honolulu in May 1975. Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, East-West Center. June.
- Lerner, Daniel, and Wilbur Schramm, eds. 1967. *Communication and Change in the Developing Countries*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press.
- Levarie, Norma. 1995. *The Art & History of Books*. Rev edn. NewCastle, DE: Oak Knoll Press. Originally published 1968.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude.
1992. *Tristes Tropiques*. John and Doreen Weightman, trans. New York and Harmondsworth: Penguin. Originally published 1955, Paris: Librairie Plon.
1966. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Originally published 1962, *La Pensée sauvage*, Paris: Librairie Plon.
- Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien.
1978. *Primitive Mentality*. Lilian A. Clare, trans. New York: Macmillan Company and London: George Allen & Unwin. First published in English 1923, New York: Macmillan. Originally published as *La mentalité primitive*.
1966. *How Natives Think*. Lilian A. Clare, trans. New York: Washington Square Press. First published in English 1929, Alfred A. Knopf. Originally published 1910, *Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, Paris.
- Lewis, I.M. 1968. Literacy in a Nomadic Society: the Somali Case. In Goody, Jack, ed. 1968. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.265-276.
- Leymang, Gérard. 1969. Message chrétien et mentalité néo-hébridaise. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 25:239-255. Décembre.

- Lifuka, Neli. 1978. *Logs in the Current of the Sea: Neli Lifuka's Story of Kioa and the Vaitupu Colonists*. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Lingenfelter, Richard E. 1967. *Presses of the Pacific Islands, 1817-1867: A history of the first half century of printing in the Pacific islands*. Los Angeles: Plantin Press.
- Lini, Walter.
- 1980a. In Lini, Walter, et al. 1980. *Beyond Pandemonium: From the New Hebrides to Vanuatu*. Wellington: Asia Pacific Books and Suva: IPS, USP.
- 1980b. Foreword. In Weightman, Barry, and Hilda Lini. 1980. *Vanuatu: Twenti wan tingting long team blong independens*. Suva: IPS, USP and South Pacific Social Sciences Association.
- Lini, Walter, Barak Sope, Kalkot Matas-Kele-Kele, Grace Molisa, Nike Nike Vurobaravu, Howard Van Trease, Ati George Sokomanu, Anthony Haas, James Veitch, and Joan Elmes. 1980. *Beyond Pandemonium: From the New Hebrides to Vanuatu*. Wellington: Asia Pacific Books and Suva: IPS, USP.
- Lippmann, Walter.
1956. *Essays in the Public Philosophy*. New York: New American Library of World Literature by arrangement with Boston: Little, Brown & Company in association with New York: Atlantic Monthly Press. Originally published 1955, *The Public Philosophy*, London: H. Hamilton.
1929. *Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan. Originally published 1922.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1977. The End of Ideology and the Ideology of the Intellectuals. In Ben-David, Joseph, and Terry Nichols Clark, eds. *Culture and Its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. p.15-42.
- Little, Jeannette. 1995. Mission Education For Women In The Solomon Islands Before World War II. *Pacific Journal of Theology* 2(14):81-89.
- Liua'ana, Featuna'i.
1996. Errand of Mercy: Samoan Missionaries to Southern Vanuatu, 1839-1860. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP. p.41-79.
1995. For Jesus and His Church: Malua Theological College—A Historical Survey of 150 Years of Theological Education, 1844-1994. *Pacific Journal of Theology* 2(14):52-65.
- Loeak, Anono Lieom, Veronica C. Kiluwe, and Linda Crowl, eds.
- 2004a. *Life in the Republic of the Marshall Islands*. Veronica Kiluwe, trans. Majuro: USP Centre and Suva: IPS, USP.
- 2004b. *Mour ilo Republic eo an Majol*. Veronica Kiluwe, trans. Majuro: USP Centre and Suva: IPS, USP.
- Loeb, Edwin M. 1926. *History and traditions of Niue*. Bishop Museum Bulletin No.32. Honolulu: Bishop Museum.

- Long, Don. 1997. In Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey, and Keith Maslen, eds, with the assistance of Ross Somerville. 1997. *Book & Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Victoria University Press. p.253-256.
- Lord, Albert B. 1960. *The Singer of Tales*. Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature No.24. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Oxford University Press.
- Lowry, Martin. 1979. *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Lukes, Steven.
2005. *Power: A Radical View*. 2d edn. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, St Martin's Press in association with the British Sociological Association. Chapter 1 originally published 1974.
1986. Introduction. In Lukes, Steven, ed. 1986. *Power*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p.1-18.
1977. *Essays in Social Theory* NY: Columbia University Press.
- Luria, A.R. 1976. *Cognitive Development: Its Cultural and Social Foundations*. Martin Lopez-Morillas and Lynn Solotaroff, trans. Michael Cole, ed. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press. Originally published 1974, *Ob istoricheskom razvitii poznavatel 'nykh protsessov*, Moscow: Nauka.
- Lynch, John. 1998. *Pacific Languages: An Introduction*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- MacBride, Sean, et al. 1980. *Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society Today and Tomorrow*. London: Kogan Page, New York: Unipub, and Paris: UNESCO.
- MacCarthy, Fiona. 1995. *William Morris: A Life for Our Time*. Paperback edn. London: Faber and Faber. Originally published 1994.
- MacClancy, Jeremy.
2002a. *Faire de deux pierres un coup*. Stéphane Camille, trans. Port-Vila: Centre Culturel de Vanuatu.
2002b. *To Kill a Bird with Two Stones: A Brief History of Vanuatu*. 3d edn. Port Vila: Vanuatu Cultural Centre.
- Macdonald, Barrie.
2001. *Cinderellas of the Empire: Towards a history of Kiribati and Tuvalu*. Suva: IPS, USP. Originally published 1982, Canberra: ANU Press.
1994. Britain. In Howe, K.R., Robert C. Kiste, and Brij V. Lal, eds. 1994. *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin. p.170-194.

- Macdonald-Milne, Brian.
 1989. The Melanesian Brotherhood. In James, Kerry, and Akuila Yabaki, eds. *Religious Cooperation in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.37-47.
 1981. Introduction. In Macdonald-Milne, Brian, and Pamela Thomas, eds. 1981. *Yumi Stanap: Leaders and Leadership in a New Nation*. Port Vila: Pacific Churches' Research Centre and Suva: IPS, USP. p.xi-xix.
- Macdonald-Milne, Brian, and Pamela Thomas, eds. 1981. *Yumi Stanap: Leaders and Leadership in a New Nation*. Port Vila: Pacific Churches' Research Centre and Suva: IPS, USP.
- Mackensen, Gotz. 1983. Europe: Raw materials, markets and security interests. *Foreign Forces in Pacific Politics*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.165-175.
- Madison, Charles A. 1976. *Jewish Publishing in America: The Impact of Jewish Writing on American Culture*. New York: Sanhedrin Press.
- Maka, Lia. 2005. Educational Aid to Tonga: For Better or for Worse? In Sanga, Kabini, and 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki, eds. 2005. *International Aid Impacts on Pacific Education*. Wellington: He Parekerekere, Institute for Research and Development in Maori and Pacific Education, Victoria University and Suva: IoE, USP. p.199-267.
- Maka'a, Julian, and Stephen Oxenham. 1985. The Voice in the Shadow: A Survey of Writing in Solomon Islands. In Maka'a, Julian, ed. *Solomons: a Portrait of Traditional and Contemporary Culture in Solomon Islands*. A special issue of *Moana Quarterly*. Hamilton, NZ: Outrigger Publications. Also published 1985, in *Pacific Writing and Publishing*, special issue of *Pacific Islands Communication Journal* 14(1):12-23.
- Makotsi, Ruth, with Flora Musonda, Keineetse Keineetse, Matseliso Moshoeshoe-Chadzingwa, Phaswane MPE, Egidio H Mpanga, Eben Maasdorp, Ray Munamwimbu, Wairimu Gichohi, Samuel Munani Mtetwa, Ayoyinka Babatunde, and Malta Mabuza. 2000. *Expanding the Book Trade Across Africa: A Study of Current Barriers and Future Potential*. Expanded edn. Perspectives on African Book Development 7. London: Working Group on Books and Learning Materials, Association for the Development of Education in Africa and Harare: African Publishers' Network.
- Mamae. 2003. *War and Succession in Mangaia from Mamae's Texts*. Michael P.J. Reilly, trans and annot. Memoir No.52. Auckland: The Polynesian Society. Originally written 1852-1872.
- Man, John. 2000. *Alpha Beta: How our alphabet shaped the western world*. London: Headline Book Publishing, Hodder Headline.
- Mana*, also *Mana Annual of Creative Writing*; *Mana Review*; *Mana: a South Pacific journal of language and literature*; and *Mana: a South Pacific journal of art and culture, language and literature*. Suva: South Pacific Creative Arts Society.

- Manguel, Alberto. 1997. *A History of Reading*. New York: Penguin Books. Originally published 1996, Great Britain: HarperCollins Publishers and USA: Viking Penguin.
- Mann, Michael.
1993. *The rise of classes and nation-states, 1760-1914*. Vol.2 of *The sources of social power*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
1986. *A history of power from the beginning to A.D. 1760*. Vol.1 of *The sources of social power*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mannheim, Karl.
1952. *Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Paul Kecskemeti and Jean Floud, trans. New York: Oxford University Press. Originally published 1923-1929 in German scientific periodicals.
1936. *Ideology and Utopia: an Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils, trans. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Parts II-IV originally published 1929, *Ideologie und Utopie*, Bonn: F. Cohen. Part V originally published 1931, *Wissenssoziologie*, In Vierkandt, Alfred, ed., *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie*, Stuttgart: F. Enke.
- Manoa. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Marau, Clement. 1894. *Story of a Melanesian Deacon*. R.H. Codrington, trans. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- Marcus, George E. 1986. Afterword: Ethnographic Writing and Anthropological Careers. In Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p.262-266.
- Maretu. 1983. *Cannibals and Converts: Radical change in the Cook Islands*. Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe, trans, annot, & ed. Suva: IPS, USP and Rarotonga: Ministry of Education. Originally written 1871.
- Margueron, Daniel. 1997. Mythes fondateurs et légitimité historique : des dates en conflit, Te hoe mau aratairaa manao e te ite paari no te aai i Porinetia nei. In Ihorai, Jacques, et al. 1997. *Une vie polynésienne 5 mars, 5 no mati. Te ora raa porinetia 1797-1997*. Geneviève Mai Arii Cadousteau et al, trans. Papeete: Église Évangélique de la Polynésie Française and Haere No Po Tahiti. p.72-90.
- Marsh, Selina Tusitala. 1999. Here Our Words. In Rapaport, Moshe, ed, 1999. *The Pacific Islands: Environment and Society*. Honolulu: Bess Press. p.166-179.
- Martin, Henri-Jean. 1994. *The History and Power of Writing*. Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. Originally published 1988, *Histoire et pouvoirs de l'écrit*, Librairie Académique Perrin.
- Martin, John. 1991. *Tonga Islands: William Mariner's Account, An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean...Compiled and Arranged from the Extensive Communications of Mr William Mariner, Several*

- Years Resident in Those Islands*. 5th edn. Nuku'alofa: Vava'u Press. Originally published 1817, ...*With an original grammar and vocabulary of their language...*, 2 vols, London: printed for the author.
- Martin, K.L.P. 1924. *Missionaries and Annexation in the Pacific*. London: Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford.
- Marx, Karl. In Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. 1972. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. Robert C. Tucker, ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- 1972a. *Capital*. p.191-317. Third edition published 1887, *Das Kapital*, Friedrich Engels, ed, Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, trans. Originally published 1867, *Das Kapital*.
- 1972b. *The German Ideology*. Part I. p.110-164. Published 1964, in Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology*, S. Ryazanskaya, ed, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House. Originally published 1932, Moscow: Marx-Engels Institute. Written 1845-1846.
- 1972c. *Theses on Feuerbach*. p.107-109. Originally published 1888, in Engels, Friedrich, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*. Written 1845.
- Mastapha, Daniel. 1996. The Indian Christian Church in Fiji. In Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.129-153.
- Mataika, Rusiate. 1996. Tell church story boldly. *Fiji Times*. 24 August. p.4.
- Maude, H.E. 1968. *Of Islands & Men: Studies in Pacific History*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- May, David.
1999. E-message from former manager, Friendly Islands Bookshop. 21 January.
1998. Conversation with manager, Friendly Islands Bookshop, Suva. 2 October.
1996. Conversations with manager, Friendly Islands Bookshop, Nuku'alofa. 2, 8, and 13 August.
1992. Conversations with manager, Friendly Islands Bookshop, Nuku'alofa. 21 and 26 May.
- Mayo, Peter. 1999. *Gramsci, Freire and Adult Education: Possibilities for Transformative Action*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- McCartney, Murray, ed. 1996. *National Book Policies for Africa: The Key to Long-term Development*. Harare: Zimbabwe International Book Fair Trust.
- McDowell, Robyn, comp. 1993. *Fiji Fisheries Bibliography*. Suva: Pacific Islands Marine Resources Information System, USP.
- McEwan, R.D. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
1962. Director of Education. Education Department letter to the Resident

- Commissioner, Education Review and Recommendations. 29 October.
1958. Letter from acting director of education, to headteachers on Rarotonga, Atiu, Mangaia. 24 February.
- McEwan, J.L. 1957. Co-operation. From Cook Islands Administration Education Department to Head Teachers Cook Islands Schools, Nikao Training College, Tereora College. Circular No 1/57, File 1/0, 31 January. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- McEwen, J.M.
1970. *Niue Dictionary*. Wellington: Department of Maori and Island Affairs and School Publications Branch, Department of Education.
1963. Secretary of Island Territories. Letter to Minister of Island Territories. Secondary Schooling in the Cook Islands. 2 April. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- McGrath, Alister. 2001. *In The Beginning: the story of the King James Bible and how it changed a Nation, a Language and a Culture*. London, Sydney, and Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton.
- McKay, C. 1946. Secretary to the Minister. Department of Island Territories, Wellington. 16 April. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- McKenzie, D.F. 1999. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Originally published 1986, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, The Panizzi Lectures 1985, London: British Library and 1984, *The Sociology of a Text: Oral Culture, Literacy & Print in early New Zealand*, *The Library*, sixth series, 6, December.
- McKenzie, W.A. 1948. Education Officer, Report on Education in the Cook Islands since 1939, reviewing the effect of World War II upon educational work. Cook Islands Administration, Schools Department. 9 March. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- McKitterick, Rosamond, ed. 1990. *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McLuhan, Marshall.
1964. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
1962. *the Gutenberg galaxy: the making of typographic man*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
1960. Media Log. In Carpenter, Edmund, and Marshall McLuhan, eds. 1960. *Explorations in Communication: An Anthology*. Boston: Beacon Press. p.180-183.

- McLuhan, Marshall, and Quentin Fiore. 1967. *The Medium is the Massage*. New York and Toronto: Bantam Books.
- McMurtrie, Douglas C. 1943. *The Book: The Story of Printing & Bookmaking*. 3d edn. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McQuail, Denis. 1987. *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. 2d edn. London, Newbury Park, Beverly Hills, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Mead, George Herbert. 1934. *Mind, Self & Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Written 1895-1931.
- Meggitt, M. 1968. Uses of Literacy in New Guinea and Melanesia. In Goody, Jack, ed. 1968. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.298-310.
- Mehta, Ved. 1998. *Remembering Mr. Shawn's New Yorker: The Invisible Art of Editing*. Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, Peter Mayer Publishers.
- Meleisea, Malama.
- 1987a. *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the History of Western Samoa*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- 1987b. Preface. In Meleisea, Malama, and Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea, eds. 1987. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. Suva: IPS, USP and Apia: Western Samoa Extension Centre, USP. p.vii-ix.
- Meleisea, Malama, Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea, Konesane Leatio'o, Tavita Fitisemanu, Gatoloai Peseta S. Sio, Tanuvasa Tavale, and Paul Fido. 1987a. Christianity. In Meleisea, Malama, and Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea, eds. 1987. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. Suva: IPS and Apia: Western Samoa Extension Centre, USP. p.52-70.
- Meleisea, Malama, Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea, Gatoloai Peseta S. Sio, and I'iga Suafole. 1987b. German Samoa 1900-1914. In Meleisea, Malama, and Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea, eds. 1987. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. Suva: IPS and Apia: Western Samoa Extension Centre, USP. p.108-122.
- Meleisea, Malama, Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea, Isalei Va'ai, Gatoloai Peseta S. Sio, Sofara Aveau, Salale Salale, I'iga Suafole, Tanuvasa Tavale. 1987c. The Papalagi. In Meleisea, Malama, and Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea, eds. 1987. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. Suva: IPS and Apia: Western Samoa Extension Centre, USP. p.41-49.
- Meleisea, Malama, Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea, Isalei Va'ai, I'iga Suafole. 1987d. New Zealand Samoa 1914-1944. In Meleisea, Malama, and Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea, eds. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. Suva: IPS and the Western Samoa Extension Centre, USP. p.125-144.
- Meo, Jovili Iliesa. 1996. Methodist Church Education. In Thornley, Andrew, and

Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.160-176.

Meredith, S.H. 1928. *Western Samoa (formerly German Samoa): How New Zealand Administers its Mandate from the League of Nations*. Exhibit No. 12 in Western Samoa, Report of Royal Commission Concerning the Administration of. *Appendixes to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*. Vol.1. 22nd Parliament, 3rd Session. Wellington: Government Printer. A-4B, p.422-425. Originally published 1927, Auckland: by the author.

Merton, Robert K.

1970. *Science, Technology & Society in Seventeenth Century England*. New York: Howard Fertig. Originally published 1938, in *Osiris: Studies on the History and Philosophy of Science, and on the History of Learning and Culture* 4(2), Bruges: The St. Catherine Press.

1968. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. 3d edn. New York: The Free Press, Macmillan Publishing and London: Collier Macmillan. Originally published 1949, revised 1957.

Merton, Robert K., and Paul Lazarsfeld. 1968. Studies in Radio and Film Propaganda. In Merton, Robert K. 1968. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. 3d edn. New York: The Free Press, Macmillan Publishing and London: Collier Macmillan. p.563-582. Originally published 1949, revised 1957.

M'Farlane, S. 1873. *The Story of the Lifu Mission*. London: James Nisbet & Co.

Miles, William F.S. 1998. *Bridging Mental Boundaries in a Postcolonial Microcosm: Identity and Development in Vanuatu*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Miller, J. Graham.

1990. *Live: A History of Church Planting in the New Hebrides: Santo and Malo 1886-1948*. Vol.7. Port Vila: Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu.

1989. *Live: A History of Church Planting in the Republic of Vanuatu: The Northern Islands 1881-1948*. Vol.6. Port Vila: Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu.

1987. *Live: A History of Church Planting in the Republic of Vanuatu: The Central Islands, Efate to Epi, from 1881-1920*. Vol.5. Port Vila: Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu.

1986. *Live: A History of Church Planting in the Republic of Vanuatu 1881-1920*. Vol.4. Port Vila: Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu.

1985. *Live: A History of Church Planting in Vanuatu*. Vol.3. Sydney: Committees on Christian Education and Overseas Missions, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia.

1981. *Live: A History of Church Planting in the New Hebrides, Now the Republic of Vanuatu, to 1880*. Vol.2. Sydney: Committees on Christian Education and Overseas Missions, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia.

1978. *Live: A History of Church Planting in the New Hebrides to 1880*. Vol.1. Sydney: Committees on Christian Education and Overseas Missions, General

Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia.

Mills, C. Wright.

1963. *Power, Politics and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills*. Irving Louis Horowitz, ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

1956. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Milo, Faafetai. 2003. Interview between accountant for Malua Press/Bookshop, Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, and LC Apia. 16 December.

Minemura. 2002. Conversation with salesman, Provincial Bookshop, Honiara. 11 July.

MINOWA Shigeo.

1992. The Mythology of Publishing Development. In Altbach, Philip G., ed. 1992. *Publishing and Development in the Third World*. London, Melbourne, Munich, and New York: Hans Zell Publishers; New Delhi: Vistaar Publications; and Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya. p.55-61.

1990. *Book Publishing in a Societal Context*. Tokyo: Japan Scientific Societies Press and Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Press. Abridgement of three volumes published in Japanese.

1985. The Modernization of Publishing: The Japanese Experience. In Altbach, Philip G., Amadio A. Arboleda, and S. Gopinathan, eds. 1985. *Publishing in the Third World: Knowledge and Development*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann and London: Mansell. p.188-200.

Mokaddem, Hamid. 2000. *Expressions kanak contemporaines : un art de vivre océanien, Kanak contemporary expression : a Pacific way of life*. Elaine Sutton and Roy Benyon, trans. Province du Nord and Expressions.

Montagnes, Ian. 1991. *Editing and Publication: A training manual*. Manila: International Rice Research Institute and Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

Moore, Barbara. 1987. *Tukuni Mada Mai! Towards Children's Literature for the South Pacific*. Suva: IoE, USP.

Moors, H.J. 1911. *With Stevenson in Samoa*. London & Leipsic[sic]: T. Fisher Unwin.

Morgan, Prys. 1992. From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period. In Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. 1992. *The Invention of Tradition*. Canto edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.43-100. Originally published 1983.

Morrell, W.P. 1960. *Britain in the Pacific Islands*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mugler, France, and John Lynch, eds. 1996. *Pacific Languages in Education*. Suva: IPS and Department of Literature and Language and Port Vila: Pacific Languages Unit, USP.

- Mullins, Steve, and David Wetherell. 1996. LMS Teachers and Colonialism in Torres Strait and New Guinea, 1871-1915. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP. p.186-209.
- Mumby, Frank Arthur. 1956. *Publishing and Bookselling: A History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. 4th edn. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Mumford, Lewis.
2000. *Art and Technics*. New York: Columbia University Press. Originally published 1952.
1961. *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
1934. *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Munck, Thomas. 2004. Literacy, Educational Reform and the Use of Print in Eighteenth-century Denmark. *European History Quarterly* 34(3):275-303.
- Munro, Doug.
1996. Samoan Pastors In Tuvalu, 1865-1899. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP. p.124-157.
1995. Sione Latukefu (1927-1995)—An Appreciation. *Pacific Journal of Theology* 2(14):139-143.
- Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP.
- MURO, Kenji, Jim Vaccaro, and NAKAMATA Akio, eds.
2000a. *Online Bookselling: Who Wins, Who Loses? A 100-Day Dialogue from The Book & The Computer*. Alan Gleason, Connie Prener, Eileen Brockbank, and Diane Howard, trans. Tokyo: Dai Nippon Printing.
2000b. *What Has Happened to Reading? A 100-Day Dialogue from The Book & The Computer*. Alan Gleason, Connie Prener, Eileen Brockbank, and Diane Howard, trans. Tokyo: Dai Nippon Printing.
- MURO, Kenji, NAKAMATA Akio, and Jim Vaccaro, eds. 1999. *Metamorphosis of the Book: Selections from The Book & The Computer*. Tokyo: Dai Nippon Printing.
- Murphy, Greg. 1976. On How Not to Edit Poetry. Discussion Paper No.18. Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies.
- Murray, A.W. 1863. *Missions in Western Polynesia: Being Historical Sketches of these Missions, from Their Commencement in 1839 to the Present Time*. London: John Snow and Sydney: G.R. Addison.
- Mwateapoo, Téâ Auru Gabriel. 1985. Préface. In Gorode, Déwé. 1985. *Sous les Cendres des conquies*. Noumea: EDIPOP. p.5-8.

- Narokobi, Bernard M. 1983. *The Melanesian Way*. Rev edn. Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies and Suva: IPS, USP. Originally published 1980.
- The National* [Papua New Guinea]. 2003. France to Increase Pacific Aid by 50 Percent. In *Pacific Islands Report*. <http://pidp.eastwestcenter.org/pireport/2003/August/08-04-03.html>, accessed 4 August 2003.
- Nau, Semisi. 1996. *The Story of My Life: A Tongan Missionary at Ontong Java*. Allan K. Davidson, ed. Suva: IPS, USP. Originally written early 1900s.
- Neavill, Gordon B. 1976. Role of the Publisher in the Dissemination of Knowledge. In Altbach, Philip G., and Sheila McVey, eds. 1976. *Perspectives on Publishing*. Lexington, MA; Toronto; and London: D.C. Heath. p.47-57.
- Needham, Rodney. 1963. Introduction. In Durkheim, Émile, and Marcel Mauss. 1963. *Primitive Classification*. Rodney Needham, trans. London: Cohen & West.
- Nekitel, Otto Ignatius M.S., Steven Edmund Winduo, and Sakarepe K. Kamene. 1995. *Critical and Developmental Literacy*. Port Moresby: UPNG Press and the Language and Literature Department, UPNG.
- Nelson, Hank. 1989. Changing the Label. In Latukefu, Sione, ed. 1989. *Papua New Guinea: A Century of Colonial Impact 1884-1984*. Port Moresby: National Research Institute and UPNG in association with the PNG Centennial Committee. p.19-36.
- Nelson, O.F.
1928a. *Samoa at Geneva: Misleading The League of Nations*. Auckland: Printed by National Printing Co for the author.
[1928b]. *The Truth about Samoa: A Review of Events Leading up to the Present Crisis*. Auckland: O.F. Nelson.
- Netine, Enikelen. 2000. A Literacy Program for Women in Vanuatu. In Douglas, Bronwen, ed. 2000. *Women and Governance from the Grassroots in Melanesia*. Canberra: State, Society, and Governance in Melanesia, RSPAS, ANU. p.17-20.
- Neumann, Erich. 1954. *The Origins and History of Consciousness*. R.F.C. Hull, trans. Bollingen Series XLII. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Originally published 1949, *Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewusstseins*, Zurich: Rascher Verlag.
- Neumann, Peter H. 1980. Publishing for Schools: Textbooks and the Less Developed Countries. World Bank Staff Working Paper No.398. Washington, DC: World Bank. June. http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDS_IBank_Servlet?pcont=details&eid=000178830_98101903404750, accessed 27 December 2004.
- New Caledonia (NC) writers. 2000. Meeting at the Festival of Pacific Arts, Noumea.

31 October.

New Guinea Gazette (NGG). 1923-1941. Nos.48-658 (15 Jan 1923-31 Dec 1941). PMB Doc 326. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.

1939. No.559. 11 September. p.4207.

1939. No.557. 6 September. p.4202.

1925. No.103. 31 January. p.683, 685.

1924. No.89. 15 July. p.576.

1923. No.59. 14 May. p.311.

New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID). Wellington: NZAID.

[2004]. Education is a human right. Brochure.

2003. Annual Review 2002/03.

nd. achieving education for all. Brochure.

Ngata, Apirana. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.

1934. Regulations relating to Schools in the Cook Islands. 22 October.

1932. Cook Islands Report.

Nicholson, Joyce, ed. 1976. First Pacific Book Trade Seminar papers. Melbourne: D.W. Thorpe

Nicole, Robert. 2001. *The Word, the Pen, and the Pistol: Literature and Power in Tahiti*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1968. *The Will to Power*. Walter Kaufmann and R.J. Hollingdale, trans. Walter Kaufmann, ed. New York: Vintage Books, Random House. Originally published 1901, *Der Wille zur Macht*.

Niukula, Paula. 1996. Na i Tovo ni Veiliutaki Eso e na Lotu Wesele mai Liu. In Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.177-192.

Noakes, J.L. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.

1958a. Registrar of Co-operative Societies. Cook Islands Report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for the Year ending 31st March, 1958 with Statistics to 31st December, 1957. 9 June.

1958b. The Cook Islands School Teaching Program in Co-operation. Paper for the SPC Meeting on Co-operatives To Be Held July, 1958. Appendix to Registrar of Co-operative Societies, School Co-operatives. 8 March.

1958c. Registrar of Co-operative Societies. School Co-operatives. 8 March.

1956. Registrar of Co-operative Societies. Cook Islands Annual Report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for the Year Ending 31st March, 1956. March.

1955. New Course for Teachers and Pupils of Schools in Cook Islands. [A talk broadcast by radio on 7th December, 1955. Given by the Registrar of Co-

operative Societies to Schoolteachers]. Broadsheet printed in the Cook Islands Administration Printing Office.

Norfolk Island Central School (NICS). 2007. <http://www.school.edu.nf/index.htm>, accessed 12 March 2007.

Norris, Gordon. 2002. Administrative Officer, 1969-1980; Judiciary 1980-1988. In Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.371-397.

Nunberg, Geoffrey, ed. 1996. *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Nyerere, Julius K., et al. 1990. *The Challenge to the South: The Report of the South Commission*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

O'Brien, Claire, TORM. 1995. *A Greater Than Solomon Here: A Story of the Catholic Church in Solomon Islands, 1567-1967*. Honiara: Diocese of Honiara and Gizo: Diocese of Gizo.

O'Callaghan, Rory, et al. 1990. *The KPI Style Guide for authors, translators, editors*. 2d edn. Madang: Kristen Pres Inc.

Oceania Flash. E-list information service of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community.

2000. FPolynesia-language, Local association fights for its indigenous language. 13 April.

2000. NCaledonia-language, Kanak languages as a culture-teaching tool : conference held in Nouméa. 21 March.

O'Donnell, James J. 1996. The Pragmatics of the New Trithemius, McLuhan, Cassiodorus. In Nunberg, Geoffrey, ed. 1996. *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. p.37-62.

Ogden, Michael, and Suzanna Layton. 1999. Communication. In Rapaport, Moshe, ed. 1999. *The Pacific Islands: Environment & Society*. Honolulu: Bess Press. p.405-418.

Olson, David R. 1980. On the Language and Authority of Textbooks. *Literacy and the Future of Print. Journal of Communication* 30(1):186-204. Winter.

Olson, David R., and Nancy Torrance.

2001a. Conceptualizing Literacy as a Personal Skill and as a Social Practice. In Olson, David R., and Nancy Torrance, eds. 2001. *The Making of Literate Societies*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. p.3-18.

2001b. eds. *The Making of Literate Societies*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

1991a. Introduction. In Olson, David R., and Nancy Torrance, eds. 1991. *Literacy and Orality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.1-7.

- 1991b. eds. *Literacy and Orality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Olson, David R., Nancy Torrance, and Angela Hildyard, eds. 1985. *Literacy, Language, and Learning: The Nature and Consequences of Reading and Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ong, Walter J., SJ
1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London and New York: Routledge.
1980. Literacy and Orality in Our Times. *Literacy and the Future of Print. Journal of Communication* 30(1):197-204. Winter.
1977. *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press.
1967. *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History*. The Dwight Harrington Terry Foundation Lectures. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press.
- Oram, N.D. 1971. The London Missionary Society Pastorate and the Emergence of an Educated Élite in Papua. *Journal of Pacific History* 6:115-132.
- Orange, James. [1975]. Introductory Essay. In Vason, George. [1975]. *Life of the late George Vason of Nottingham: One of the Troop of Missionaries sent to the South Sea Islands by the London Missionary Society in the Ship Duff, Captain Wilson, 1796. With a Preliminary Essay on the South Sea Islands, by the Revd. James Orange, Author, of the History of the Town & People of Nottingham*. Nuku'alofa: np. Originally published 1840, London: John Snow, p.9-60.
- O'Reilly, Patrick.
1969. Une nouvelle version de la Bible à Samoa. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 25:306-307.
- 1963a. Bibliographie des îles Wallis et Futuna : méthodique, analytique et critique. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 19:229-293.
- 1963b. Premiers travaux des presses de la mission catholique à Wallis (1845-1849). *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 19:119-128.
1958. *Imprints of the Fiji Catholic Mission Including the Loreto Press, 1864-1954*. London: Francis Edwards Ltd and Suva: Catholic Mission.
1957. *Hébridais : Répertoire bio-bibliographique des Nouvelles-Hébrides*. Publications de la Société des Océanistes N° 6. Paris: Musée de l'Homme.
1951. Travaux inédits de linguistique des missionnaires maristes aux Nouvelles-Hébrides. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 7:249-253.
- O'Reilly, P., Jean Guiart, and Pierre-Paul-Émile Martin. 1969. Le Père Apollinaire : prêtre calédonien. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 25:189-199.
- O'Reilly, P., and H.M. Laracy. 1972. *Bibliographie des ouvrages publiés par les Missions Maristes des Îles Salomon et en particulier par les presses missionnaires de Visale, Honiara, Banony Bay et Tsiroge*. Publications de la Société des Océanistes N° 29. Paris: Musée de l'Homme. Originally published 1969, Bibliographie des presses de la mission mariste des Iles Salomon, *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 25:257-292.

- O'Reilly, P., and Édouard Reitman. 1967. *Bibliographie de Tahiti et de la Polynésie française*. Publications de la Société des Océanistes N° 14. Paris: Musée de l'Homme and Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Osifelo, Frederick. 1985. *Kanaka Boy: An Autobiography*, Sir Frederick Osifelo. Suva: IPS and Honiara: USP Solomon Islands Centre, USP.
- Owen, Lynette. 1995. Copyright—Benefit or Obstacle? In Altbach, Philip G., ed. 1995. *Copyright and Development: Inequality in the Information Age*. Bellagio Studies in Publishing No.4. Boston: Bellagio Publishing Network in association with International Resource Center for Jesuit Higher Education, Boston College. p.93-108.
- Owen, Peter, ed. 1988. *Publishing: the Future*. London: Peter Owen. p.118-125.
- Oxenham, S. [1979]. A Handbook for Publishers in Solomon Islands. Photocopy. Honiara: USP Centre.
- nd. *Pacific Church History*. [PCH]. [Solomon Islands]: [Church of Melanesia]. Copy of schoolbook in LC's possession.
- Pacific Information Centre (PIC). 1984. *Lisitala: a bibliography of Pacific writers*. Suva: Pacific Information Centre, USP Library, in association with the Fourth Festival of Pacific Arts Committee.
- Pacific Islands Communication Journal*.
 1985. 14(1). *Pacific Writing and Publishing*. Suva: IPS, USP.
 1985. 14(2). *The Written Word: Writing, Publishing and Information in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: IPS, USP.
 1984. 13(1). Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, East-West Center. Also published as Richstad, Jim, and Miles M. Jackson, eds, 1984, *Publishing in the Pacific Islands: A Symposium*, Honolulu: Graduate School of Library Studies, University of Hawaii.
- Pacific Islands News Association (PINA).
 2001. Possible Change in Niue's Political Status, Maybe Integration with New Zealand. In *Pacific Islands Report*. <http://pidp.ewc.hawaii.edu/pireport/2001/May/05-28-06.htm>, accessed 29 May 2001.
 2001. Reduce Number of Politicians, Likely Niue Constitutional Review Committee Recommendation. In *Pacific Islands Report*. <http://pidp.ewc.hawaii.edu/pireport/2001/June/06-05-11.htm>, accessed 5 June 2001.
- Pacific Islands Report (PIR)*. 1997. Marquesas Want New Political Status with France. 21 December. <http://166.1222.164.43/archive/1997/December/12-22-02.html>, accessed 18 July 2001.
- Pacific Journalism Review*. Port Moresby: UPNG; Suva: USP; and Auckland: Auckland University of Technology.
1981. *Pacific Perspective* 10(1). Suva: IPS, USP.

Parks, Sue. 1999. Conversation between director, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Worldwide, and LC, Suva. 20 September.

Parry, Milman.

1971a. The Historical Method in Literary Criticism. In Parry, Milman. 1971. *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*. Adam Parry, ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p.408-413. Originally published 1936, *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* 38:778-782.

1971b. *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*. Adam Parry, ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Originally published 1928, *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère; Essai sur un problème de style homérique* and *Les Formules et la métrique d'Homère*, Paris and articles originally published 1928-1937.

Parsons, Talcott. *Sociological Theory and Modern Society*. New York: Free Press and London: Collier-Macmillan.

1967a. On the Concept of Influence. p.355-382. Originally published 1963, *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Spring.

1967b. On the Concept of Political Power. p.297-354. Originally published 1963, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107(3), June.

1967c. Some Reflections on the Place of Force in Social Process. p.264-296. Originally published 1964, In Eckstein, Harry, ed., *Internal War: Basic Problems and Approaches*, New York: Free Press.

Parsonson, G.S.

1967. The Literate Revolution in Polynesia. *Journal of Pacific History* 2:39-57.

1956. La mission presbytérienne des Nouvelles-Hébrides: son histoire et son rôle politique et social. Anne G. Tarrant, trans. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 12:107-137.

Pattison, Robert. 1982. *On Literacy: The Politics of the Word from Homer to the Age of Rock*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Patton, Jack. 1995. Vernacular Languages in Primary Education in Papua New Guinea: A Brief Historical Overview. In Waters, Glenys, et al. 1995. *A Survey of Vernacular Education Programming at the Provincial Level Within Papua New Guinea*. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics. p.A5-A9. Originally published 1994. *READ* 29(2). October.

Paxman, B., C. Denning, and A. Read. 1989. Analysis of Research on Textbook Availability and Quality in Developing Countries. Population, Human Resources, Education, Employment Background Paper No. PHREE/89/20. Washington, DC: World Bank. July. http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDS_IBank_Servlet?pcont=details&eid=000009265_3960929044313, accessed 27 December 2004.

Peleseuma, Tonu. 1998. Malua Printing Press. Brochure prepared for the Frankfurt Book Fair/Seminar, 30th September – 14th October 1998. In LC's possession.

Pellowski, Anne. 1980. *Made to Measure: Children's Books in Developing*

Countries. Paris: UNESCO.

Peltzer, Louise. 2000. Identité et langue. *La nouvelle revue du Pacifique* 1(1):83-91. Décembre. Also Identity and Language, *The New Pacific Review* 1(1):77-85, December.

Peltzer, Louise, Christian Robert, Heremoana Maamaatuaiahutapu, Célestine Hitiura Vaite, and Chantal T. Spitz. 2003. Lire en Polynésie. Programme, 24-26 April 2003. Brochure. Papeete: Ministère de la Culture, Te Fare Tauhiti Nui, and Association des éditeurs de Tahiti et des îles.

Pene, Frances, 'Ana Maui Taufē'ulungaki, and Cliff Benson, eds. 2002. *Tree of opportunity: re-thinking Pacific education*. Suva: IoE, USP.

Petroski, Henry. 1999. *The Book on the Book Shelf*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Phelan, Liam, and Douglas Hill. 1998. Australian Education Aid Fails PNG. *Aidwatch Newsletter* 14. March. <http://www.toysatellite.com.au/aidwatch/news/14/03.htm>, accessed 9 June 1998.

Phillips, H.M. 1970. *Literacy and development*. Paris: UNESCO.

Pike, Errol. 1999. Translation Process Gains Pace. World Report No.338. February. http://www.biblesociety.org/wr_338/wr_338.htm#Translation%20Process, accessed 22 July 2007.

Pillai, Raymond C. 1979. Prose Fiction in Fiji—A Question of Direction. *Mana, a South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature* 4(2):1-10.

Pinson, John. 1989. The Anglican Communion. In James, Kerry, and Akuila Yabaki, eds. *Religious Cooperation in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.29-32.

Pitcairn Islands Study Center (PISC). 2006. Bibliography of Pitcairn. Angwin, CA: PacificUnionCollege. http://library.puc.edu/pitcairn/studycenter/pit_puc.shtml, accessed 23 September 2006.

Pitkeathly, George. 2002. Director of Education, 1967-1974. In Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.398-400.

Plant, Chris, ed. 1977. *New Hebrides: The Road to Independence*. Suva: IPS, USP and South Pacific Social Sciences Association.

Plato. 1945. *The Republic of Plato*. Francis MacDonald Cornford, trans. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pomare III. 1845. Letter to Ms N.E. Jackson. 24 November. Alex Simpson, trans, 20 December 1845. Box 5/1. London: South Seas Papers, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

- Pool, Ithiel de Sola. 1983. *Technologies of Freedom*. Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press.
- Popper, Karl R.
 1979. *Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach*. 4th rev edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
 1962. *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. Vol.1: *The Spell of Plato* and Vol.2: *The High Tide of Prophecy: Hegel, Marx, and the Aftermath*. 4th edn. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Postman, Neil.
 1993. *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology*. New York: Vintage Books, Random House and Toronto: Random House. Originally published 1992, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
 1985. *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*. New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books, Viking and Markham, Ontario: Penguin.
- Powell, Kirsty. 1979. *The First Papua New Guinean Playwrights and Their Plays*. Published PhD thesis. Port Moresby: UPNG.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1986. Fieldwork in Common Places. In Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p.27-50.
- Priestley, Carol, comp. 1995. *Development Directory of Indigenous Publishing*. Harare: African Publishers' Network.
- nd. Proposed Re-organisation. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Prout, Ebenezer. 1843. *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. John Williams, Missionary to Polynesia*. London: John Snow.
- Puamau, Priscilla.
 2005a. Education Aid in Fiji: An Assessment on Impacts. Sanga, Kabini, and 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki, eds. 2005. *International Aid Impacts on Pacific Education*. Wellington: He Parekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Maori and Pacific Education, Victoria University and Suva: IoE, USP. p.49-87.
 2005b. The Fiji-Australia Teacher Education Project at the Fiji College of Advanced Education: Who Really Benefited? In Sanga, Kabini, Cherie Chu, Cedric Hall, and Linda Crowl, eds. 2005. *Re-Thinking Aid Relationships in Pacific Education*. Wellington: He Parekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Maori and Pacific Education, Victoria University and Suva: IoE, USP. p.116-127.
- Pye, Lucien W.
 1967. Communication, Institution Building, and the Reach of Authority. In Lerner, Daniel, and Wilbur Schramm, eds. 1967. *Communication and Change in the*

- Developing Countries*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press. p.35-55.
1963. ed. *Communications and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Pye, Lucien W., and Sidney Verba, eds. 1965. *Political Culture and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Quanchi, Max. 1996. The Imaging of Pastors in Papua. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP. p.158-172 and 15 unnumbered pages of photos.
- Rabinow, Paul. 1986. Representations Are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology. In Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p.234-261.
- Rademaker, Cor S.M., SSCC. 1994. *The Catholic Mission in the Cook Islands 1894-1994*. Arnold Sloots, trans. Bavel, Netherlands: Fathers of the Sacred Heart.
- Radio Australia (RA).
2004. Tiny Tokelau Says It Doesn't Want Independence. In *Pacific Islands Report*. 21 May. <http://archives.pireport.org/archive/2004/may/05%2D21%2D03.htm>, accessed 30 January 2007.
- Radio New Zealand International (RNZI).
2006. Tokelau To Try Another Referendum. In *Pacific Islands Report*. 6 June. <http://archives.pireport.org/archive/2006/june/06%2D06%2D01.htm>, accessed 30 January 2007.
2004. French Polynesia Wins Measure of Autonomy. In *Pacific Islands Report*. 29 January 2004. <http://pidp.eastwestcenter.org/pireport/2004/January/01-30-05.htm>, accessed 30 January 2004.
- Ralph, Richard C. 1978. *Education in Papua and New Guinea to 1950. An Introduction to the History of Education in Papua and New Guinea: The Development of Government Interest in and Influence on Education to 1950*. Bowral, NSW: Ralph family.
- Ramsay, Raylene. 2005. Déwé Gorode: The Paradoxes of Being a Kanak Woman Writer. *Kunapipi: Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 27(2):23-42.
- Raraka, Henry. 1973. The Melanesian press. In May, Ronald J. 1973. *Priorities in Melanesian Development*. Sixth Waigani Seminar. Port Moresby: UPNG and Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU.
- Rathgeber, Eva M. 1992. African Book Publishing: Lessons from the 1980s. In Altbach, Philip G., ed. 1992. *Publishing and Development in the Third World*. London, Melbourne, Munich, and New York: Hans Zell Publishers; New Delhi: Vistaar Publications; and Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya. p.77-99.
- Ravault, François. 1988. Land Problems in French Polynesia. In Pollock, Nancy J.,

- and Ron Crocombe, eds. 1988. *French Polynesia: A Book of Selected Readings*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.112-151.
- Regenvanu, Sethy John. 2004. *Laef Blong Mi: From village to nation*. Suva: IPS and Port Vila: Emalus Campus, USP.
- Registrar of Co-operative Societies. 1956. *Co-operation for the Maoris of the Cook Islands*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- Reid, Christopher. 2000. Whose parliament? Political oratory and print culture in the later 18th century. *Language and Literature* 9(2):122-134.
- Rensch, Karl H. 1983. Wallis and Futuna: Total Dependency. In Crocombe, Ron, and Ahmed Ali, eds. *Politics in Polynesia*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.2-17.
- Rere, Taira. 1961. *Conversational Maori*. Rarotonga: Nikao Teachers' Training College.
- Rex, Leslie, and Young Vivian. 1982. New Zealand Period. In Crocombe, Ron, ed. 1982. *Niue: A History of the Island*. Suva: IPS, USP and Alofi: Government of Niue. p.127-131.
- Richstad, Jim, and Miles M. Jackson, eds. 1984. *Publishing in the Pacific Islands: A Symposium*. Honolulu: Graduate School of Library Studies, University of Hawai'i. Also published as 1984, *Pacific Islands Communication Journal* 13(1), Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, East-West Center.
- Richstad, Jim, Michael McMillan, and Ralph D. Barney. 1973. *The Pacific Islands Press: A Directory*. Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, East-West Center, University Press of Hawaii.
- Richstad, Jim, Michael McMillan, comps, and Jackie Bowen. 1978. *Mass Communication and Journalism in the Pacific Islands: A Bibliography*. Honolulu: Published for the East-West Communication Institute, East-West Centre by University Press of Hawaii.
- Riesman, David. 1960. The Oral and Written Traditions. In Carpenter, Edmund, and Marshall McLuhan, eds. 1960. *Explorations in Communication: An Anthology*. Boston: Beacon Press. p.109-116.
- Rietz, Rolf Du, comp. 1969. *Bibliotheca Polynesiana: a catalogue of some of the books in the Polynesiana collection formed by the late Bjarne Kroepelien and now in the Oslo University Library*. Oslo: Heirs of Bjarne Kroepelien.
- Robert, Christian. 1998. Interview between owner of Au Vent des Îles and LC, Papeete. 20 February.
- Robert, J.-J. 2002. Inspecteur-Général, French Resident Commissioner, 1979-1980. In Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*.

Suva: IPS, USP. p.420-440.

Roberts, Bruce. 1955. Notes and Suggestions for the Establishment of a Literature Bureau in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Noumea: South Pacific Commission.

Robie, David.

2001. ed. *The Pacific Journalist: A Practical Guide*. Suva: Journalism Programme, USP.

1995. ed. *Nius Bilong Pasifik: Mass Media in the Pacific*. Port Moresby: UPNG Press in association with the South Pacific Centre for Communication and Information in Development.

1989. *Blood on their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific*. London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed and Leichhardt, NSW: Pluto Press.

Rodman, William L., and Dorothy Ayers Counts, eds. 1982. *Middlemen and Brokers in Oceania*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Rogers, Everett M.

2003. *Diffusion of Innovations*. 5th edn. New York: Free Press. Originally published 1962.

1976. *Communication and Development: Critical Perspectives*. Sage Contemporary Social Sciences Issues 32. Beverly Hills and London: SAGE Publications.

Rogers, Everett M., and Rekha Agarwala-Rogers. 1976. *Communication in Organizations*. New York: The Free Press and London: Collier Macmillan.

Rogers, Everett M. with L. Svenning. 1969. *Modernization among Peasants: The Impact of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Röling, Niels G., Joseph Ascroft, and Fred wa Chege. 1976. The Diffusion of Innovations and the Issue of Equity in Rural Development. In Rogers, Everett M., ed. 1976. *Communication and Development: Critical Perspectives*. Sage Contemporary Social Sciences Issues 32. Beverly Hills and London: SAGE Publications. p.63-78.

Rosaldo, Renato. 1986. From the Door of His Tent: The Fieldworker and the Inquisitor. In Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p.77-97.

Ross, Angus. 1969. Introduction. In Ross, Angus, ed. 1969. *New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. Auckland: Longman Paul Ltd for the New Zealand Institute for International Affairs. p.1-11.

Rostow, W.W. 1960. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge, MA: University Press.

Roughan, John. 2001. Botching the war against poverty. *New Zealand Herald*. 12

September. p.A13.

- Routledge, David. 1985. *Matanitu: The Struggle for Power in Early Fiji*. Suva: IPS and Fiji Centre Extension Services, USP.
- Rukia, Alex. 1992. The Growth of Culture Preservation. In Crocombe, Ron, and Esau Tuza, eds. 1992. *Independence, Dependence, Interdependence: The First 10 Years of Solomon Islands Independence*. Suva: IPS and Honiara: USP Centre, USP, and Honiara: SICHE. p.128-136.
- Russell, Bertrand. 1938. *Power: A New Social Analysis*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Russell, Tekarei.
2003. Interview between education consultant, Kiribati Ministry of Education and LC. 17 March.
1985. Conserving Kiribati Culture. In Mason, Len, ed. *Kiribati: A Changing Atoll Culture*. Suva: IPS and Tarawa: Atoll Research and Development Unit and Kiribati Extension Centre, USP, and Tarawa: Kiribati Ministry of Home Affairs and Kiribati Ministry of Education. p.111-122.
- Rutherford, Noel. 1996. Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga. Auckland: Pasifika Press. Originally published 1971, Melbourne and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sabrié, Marie-Lise, et al. 1994. *Sciences au Sud: Dictionnaire de 50 années de recherche pour le développement*. Paris: Office de Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 1983. Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia. In Hau'ofa, Epeli, prep. 1983. *SEF22 Introduction to Pacific Societies*. Course Book. Vol.2. Suva: Extension Services, USP. Originally published 1963, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5:285-303.
- Said, Edward W.
1995. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. 2d edn. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin. Originally published 1978, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
1994. *The Pen and the Sword: Conversations with David Barsamian*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.
1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage, Random House.
1990. Yeats and Decolonization. In Eagleton, Terry, Fredric Jameson, and Edward W. Said. 1990. *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. p.67-95.
1983. *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Salmond, J.A. 1969. New Zealand and the New Hebrides. In Munz, Peter, ed. *The Feel of Truth: Essays in New Zealand and Pacific History*. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed for the Victoria University of Wellington. p.111-135.

- Samoa Observer (SO)*. 2003. Samoan story books launched for children. 11 December. p.10.
- Samuela, Livigisitone Nuusila. 2003. Interview between director of education, Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa and LC, Apia. 16 December.
- Sanegar, William. 1989. The South Pacific Anglican Council. In James, Kerry, and Akuila Yabaki, eds. *Religious Cooperation in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.33-35.
- Sanga, Kabini, Cherie Chu, Cedric Hall, and Linda Crowl, eds. 2005. *Re-Thinking Aid Relationships in Pacific Education*. Wellington: He Parekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Maori and Pacific Education, Victoria University and Suva: IoE, USP.
- Sanga, Kabini, John Niroa, Kalmele Matai, and Linda Crowl, eds. 2004. *Re-Thinking Vanuatu Education Together*. Port Vila: Department of Education and Suva: IPS, USP.
- Sanga, Kabini, and 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki, eds. 2005. *International Aid Impacts on Pacific Education*. Wellington: He Parekereke Institute for Research and Development in Maori and Pacific Education, Victoria University and Suva: IoE, USP.
- Sankaranarayanan, N., ed. nd. *Book Distribution and Promotion Problems in South Asia*. UNESCO and Madras: Higginbothams.
- Sapoaga, Enele. 1983. Post-war Development. In Laracy, Hugh, ed. 1983b. *Tuvalu: A History*. Suva: IPS, USP and Funafuti: Ministry of Social Services. p.146-152.
- Sarawia, George. nd. *They Came to My Island: The Beginnings of the Mission in the Banks Islands*. D.A. Rawcliffe, trans. Honiara: Provincial Press. Originally published 1968, Taroaniara: St Peter's College.
- Sardar, Ziauddin. 1993. Paper, printing and compact disks: the making and unmaking of Islamic culture. *Media, Culture and Society* 15:43-59.
- Saroa, Mataio. 1982. Our daily work: from a Tuvaluan diary in Papua. In Crocombe, Ron and Marjorie, eds. 1982. *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: From Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.105-110.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. 1988. *"What Is Literature?" and Other Essays*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. First published in English 1950, Bernard Frechtman, trans., London: Methuen. Originally published 1948, 1949, *Situations II, Situations III*, Éditions Gallimard.
- Saura, Bruno. 1993. *Politique et religion à Tahiti*. Papeete: Éditions Polymages-Scoop.

- Saussure, Ferdinand de. 1966. *Course in General Linguistics*. Wade Baskin, trans. Charles Bally, Albert Sechehaye, and Albert Riedlinger, eds. 3d edn. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. First published in English 1959, New York: The Philosophical Library. Originally published 1915, composed from notebooks of students Louis Callé, Léopold Gautier, Paul Regard, Albert Riedlinger, Mme Albert Sechehaye, George Dégallier, and Francis Joseph from Saussure's lectures in 1906-1907, 1908-1909, 1910-1911.
- Savage, Stephen. 1980. *A Dictionary of the Maori Language of Rarotonga*. Suva: IPS, USP and Rarotonga: Ministry of Education. Originally published 1962, Wellington: Department of Island Territories but printed on Rarotonga.
- Savannah Flames, A Papua New Guinean Journal of Literature, Language and Culture*. Port Moresby: Department of Language and Literature, UPNG.
- Scarr, Deryck A.
2000. Western Pacific High Commission. In Lal, Brij V., and Kate Fortune, eds. *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia*. p.240-241.
1967. *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914*. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. *The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Schofield, R.S. 1968. The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England. In Goody, Jack, ed. 1968. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.311-325.
- Schramm, Wilbur.
1964. *Mass Media and National Development: The Role of Information in the Developing Countries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press and Paris: UNESCO.
1960a. ed. *Mass Communications*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
1960b. Who is Responsible for the Quality of Mass Communications? In Schramm, Wilbur, ed. 1960a. *Mass Communications*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press. p.648-660. Originally published 1957, in *Responsibility in Mass Communication*, Harper and Brothers.
- Schumacher, E.F. 1989. *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*. New York: Harper & Row. Published 1975, New York: Harper & Row. Originally published 1973, London: Blond & Briggs.
- Scott, James. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press.
- Scribner, Sylvia, and Michael Cole. 1981. *The Psychology of Literacy*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC). Noumea: SPC.
2003. *English Style Guide*. Rev edn. March.

2001. *English Style Guide*. October.
2000. *English Style Guide*. October. Photocopied.
- Seo, Kimi. 2004. La langue d'Uvea. The Language of Uvea. In Huffer, Elise, and Mikaele Tui, eds. 2004. *Uvea*. Suva: IPS, USP and Mata'utu, Wallis: Service des Affaires Culturelles de Wallis. p.15-19, 122-126.
- Seward, Robert. 1999. *Radio Happy Isles: Media and Politics at Play in the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Shah, Hemant. 2003. Communication and Nation Building: Comparing US Models of Ethnic Assimilation and 'Third World' Modernization. *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies* 65(2):165-181.
- Sharrad, Paul, ed. 1993. *Readings in Pacific Literature*. Wollongong: New Literatures Research Centre, University of Wollongong.
- Shils, Edward.
1975. *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
1972. *The Intellectuals and the Powers and Other Essays*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Shineberg, Barry. 1988. The Image of France. In Pollock, Nancy J., and Ron Crocombe, eds. 1988. *French Polynesia: A Book of Selected Readings*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.78-98.
- Shing, Kami. 1981. Dr. Titus Path. In Macdonald-Milne, Brian, and Pamela Thomas, eds. 1981. *Yumi Stanap: Leaders and Leadership in a New Nation*. Port Vila: Pacific Churches' Research Centre and Suva: IPS, USP. p.110-113.
- Siers, James. 1999. *Naililili Cathedral, Fiji Islands*. Suva: French Embassy.
- Simmel, Georg. 1950. *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Kurt H. Wolff, trans and ed. New York: Free Press and London: Collier-Macmillan. Published 1925, in Spykman, Nicholas J., *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. First published in English 1896, Superiority and Subordination as Subject-Matter of Sociology, Albion W. Small, trans., *The American Journal of Sociology* II(2):167-189, September and II(3):392-415, November.
- Simms, Norman. 1991. *Writers from the South Pacific: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Encyclopedia*. Washington, DC: Three Continents Press.
- Singh, Tejeshwar. 1992. Publishing in the Third World: Learning Do's and Don'ts from India. Altbach, Philip G., ed. 1992. *Publishing and Development in the Third World*. London, Melbourne, Munich, and New York: Hans Zell Publishers; New Delhi: Vistaar Publications; and Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya. p.243-264.

- Sipeli, Lagi. 1997. Niuean. In Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey, and Keith Maslen, eds, with the assistance of Ross Somerville. 1997. *Book & Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Victoria University Press. p.249-250.
- Siwatibau, S. 2002. New Zealand and the Pacific: Diplomacy, Development, Defense: Some Development Challenges in the Pacific Island Countries and New Zealand's Involvement in the Region. Paper presented at the Seminar of the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, Wellington, New Zealand. 19 July.
- Skeldon, Grania. 1979. IASER Style Manual. Port Moresby: National Research Institute. Photocopy. In LC's possession.
- Smith, Anthony. 1980. *The Geopolitics of Information: How Western Culture Dominates the World*. London and Boston: Faber & Faber.
- Smith, Datus C., Jr.
1989. *A Guide to Book Publishing*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. Originally published 1966, New York: Bowker.
1976. The Bright Promise of Publishing in Developing Countries. In Altbach, Philip G., and Sheila McVey, eds. 1976. *Perspectives on Publishing*. Lexington, MA; Toronto; and London: D.C. Heath. p.117-128.
- Smith, Geoffrey. 1975. *Education in Papua New Guinea*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Smith, Peter. 1987. *Education and Control in Papua New Guinea: a Documentary History*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.
- Smith, R.E.N. 2002. Administrative Officer, 1961-1967. In Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.449-472.
- Smith, S.J. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
1936a. Education in the Cook Islands. March.
1936b. Letter to J.A. Lee, Parliamentary Under-Secretary. 7 March.
- Smith, S. Percy. 1983. *Niue: the Island and Its People with Traditions by Pulekula*. Suva: IPS and Alofi: Niue Extension Centre, USP. Originally published 1902 and 1903, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Vols.11 and 12.
- Smith, Vanessa. 1998. *Literary Culture and the Pacific: Nineteenth-century Textual Encounters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Snow, Philip A. 1969. *A Bibliography of Fiji, Tonga and Rotuma: Preliminary Working Edition*. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press.
- Sohmer, Sara. 1994. The Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology: A Study in

- Symbiosis. In MacLeod, Roy, and Philip F. Rehbock, eds. 1994. *Darwin's Laboratory: Evolutionary Theory and Natural History in the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p.317-338.
- Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA). 1982. *Buk Blong Wei Fo Raetem Olketa Wod Long Pijin (How to spell words in pijin)*. Honiara: Pijin Literacy Project, Solomon Islands Christian Association.
- Sope, Barak.
1980. The Colonial History of the New Hebrides. In Lini, Walter, et al. 1980. *Beyond Pandemonium: From the New Hebrides to Vanuatu*. Wellington: Asia Pacific Books and Suva: IPS, USP. p.17-18.
[1974]. *Land and Politics in the New Hebrides*. Suva: South Pacific Social Sciences Association.
- South Pacific Cultures Fund (SPCF). c.1990. Description of the Fund and application form to the Fund. Mimeo in LC's possession.
- Sovaki, Marama. 1996. Women in Fijian Methodism. In Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.99-114.
- SPAN, Journal of the South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies*. Hamilton, NZ: Department of English, University of Waikato; Suva: Pacific Writing Forum, USP.
- Spencer, Herbert.
1974. *The Evolution of Society: Selections from Herbert Spencer's Principles of Sociology*. Robert L. Carneiro, ed. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. Originally published 1862, *First Principles*; 1864, *Principles of Biology*; and 1876 (vol.1), 1882 (vol.2) and 1896 (vol.3), *The Principles of Sociology*.
1971. *Herbert Spencer: Structure, Function and Evolution*. Stanislav Andreski, ed and intro. London: Michael Joseph. Originally published 1896.
- Spitz, Chantal.
2003. Presentations at the Lire en Fête, Poindimié, New Caledonia. 17-19 October.
2002. *Hombo, transcription d'une biographie*. Papeete: Éditions Te Iti.
1991. *L'île des rêves écrasés*. Papeete: Les Editions de la Plage.
- St Jerome Publishing. 2004. For Better or for Worse. Edited by Sabine Fenton. Publisher's advertisement. <http://www.stjerome.co.uk/1-000650-67-3.html>, accessed 25 October 2004.
- Staham, Nigel.
2002a. Good news at last for the people of Kiribati. September. WR 370/6 – 9.02. http://www.biblesociety.org/wr_370/370_06.htm, accessed 8 November 2006.
2002b. Translator braves the waves to save bookshop. September. WR 370/7 – 9.02.

http://www.biblesociety.org/wr_370/370_07.htm, accessed 8 November 2006.

- Stefanson, Blandine. 1998. Entretien avec Déwé Gorodé. *Littérature de Nouvelle-Calédonie*. Special issue of *Notre Librairie: Revue des littératures du Sud* 134:75-86. May-August.
- Steinberg, S.H. 1996. *Five Hundred Years of Printing*. John Trevitt, rev ed. London: British Library and New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press. Originally published 1955, Pelican, Penguin Books.
- Stemp, Sairey. 1994. *Historical Guide to Levuka*. Levuka: Levuka Library Museum.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis. 1996. *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa*. Auckland: Pasifika Press. Originally published 1892, London: Cassell & Co.
- Stock, Brian. 1983. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Street, Brian V. 1984. *Literacy in Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Subramani.
1992. *South Pacific Literature: From Myth to Fabulation*. Rev edn. Suva: IPS, USP.
2000. Learning Languages Together. In Fiji Islands Education Commission (FIEC). 2000. *Learning Together: Directions for Education in the Fiji Islands*. Suva: Government Printer. p.290-301.
- Sutherland, John. 2002. *Reading the Decades: Fifty Years of the Nation's Bestselling Books*. London: BBC Worldwide.
- Ta'ase, Elia, Bruce Deverell, and Raeburn Lange. 1989. From London Missionary Society to the Council for World Mission. In James, Kerry, and Akuila Yabaki, eds. 1989. *Religious Cooperation in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.20-28.
- Tafatu, Ofa, and Ianeta Joylyn Tukuitoga. 1982. Developments to Annexation. In Crocombe, Ron, ed. 1982. *Niue: A History of the Island*. Suva: IPS, USP and Alofi: Government of Niue. p.121-126.
- Taito, Luke. 2003. Aid to Papua New Guinea. Report for Re-Thinking Pacific Educational Aid Conference, Nadi, Fiji. October 2003.
- Talagi, Fifita. 1982. Early European Contacts. In Crocombe, Ron, ed. 1982. *Niue: A History of the Island*. Suva: IPS, USP and Alofi: Government of Niue. p.111-120.

- Talu, Maria Alaima, FDNSC. 1995. *Go Forth: OLSH Missionary Experience, Kiribati, 1895-1995*. Tarawa: Maria Printing Office.
- Talu, Alaima, FNDSC, and Francis Tekonnang. 1979. Fertilisation: Development and Social Change. In Trease, Howard Van, and Barrie Macdonald, eds. 1979. *Kiribati: Aspects of History*. Suva: IPS and Extension Services, USP and Tarawa: Ministry of Education, Training, and Culture. p.98-111.
- Tambiah, S.J. 1968. Literacy in a Buddhist Village in North-East Thailand. In Goody, Jack, ed. 1968. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.85-131.
- Tanu, John. 1991. Mission Influence on Secular Life. In Plant, Chris, ed. *Rotuma: Hanua Pumue*. Suva: IPS and Extension Services Fiji Centre, USP, and South Pacific Social Sciences Association. p.16-23.
- Taoaba, Taakei. 1985. Speaking and Writing. In Mason, Len, ed. *Kiribati: A Changing Atoll Culture*. Suva: IPS and Tarawa: Atoll Research and Development Unit and Kiribati Extension Centre, USP, and Tarawa: Kiribati Ministry of Home Affairs and Kiribati Ministry of Education. p.99-110.
- Taufe'ulungaki, 'Ana. 2003. Personal communication to LC. 28 November.
- Tauira, Marama Gaston.
1997. Bref aperçu du Protestantisme en Polynésie, Te huru tupuraa no te faaroo porotetani i Porinetia nei. In Ihorai, Jacques, et al. 1997. *Une vie polynésienne 5 mars, 5 no mati. Te ora raa porinetia 1797-1997*. Geneviève Mai Aarii Cadousteau et al, trans. Papeete: Église Évangélique de la Polynésie Française and Haere No Po Tahiti. p.12-27.
1995. The LMS Missionaries Labour in Tahiti, 1797-1860. *Pacific Journal of Theology*. 2(14):17-19.
- Ta'unga o te Tini. 1982. Tuauru: a Cook islands mission to New Caledonia. In Crocombe, Ron and Marjorie, eds. 1982. *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: From Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.79-104. Originally written 1846.
- Tavola, Helen. 1992. *Secondary Education in Fiji: A Key to the Future*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- Taylor, C.R.H. 1965. *A Pacific bibliography, printed matter relating to the native peoples of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Taylor-Newton, Ruby. 1998. Steering a troubled ship. *Fiji Times*. 17 August. p.7.
- Teauariki, Turakiare.
1996a. *Mission to Papua: A Cook Islands Missionary in Papua New Guinea 1963-1975*. Rarotonga: Cook Islands Extension Centre, USP.
1996b. My Mission to Papua—Turakiare Teauariki. Charles Forman, ed. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander*

- Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP. p.255-275.
1982. Polynesia to Papua: a modern mission. In Crocombe, Ron and Marjorie, eds. 1982. *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: From Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.111-129.
- Tehrani, Majid.
1999. *Global Communication and World Politics: Domination, Development, and Discourse*. Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers and Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
1990. *Technologies of Power: Information Machines and Democratic Prospects*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Company.
- Teiwaki, Roniti. 1988. Kiribati: Nation of Water. In Crocombe, Ron, and Ahmed Ali, eds. 1988. *Micronesian Politics*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.1-37.
- Teo, Mataina, Tauiliili Uili Meredith, Makerita Va'ai, Siavata Tagaloa Gale, Jacinta Godinet, Lufi Taulealo, Ioane Tupo, Mikki Valasi, and Pesamino Victor. 1996. *Samoa: A National Bibliography*. Apia: Book Exhibition Committee, 7th Pacific Festival of Arts.
- Teo, Noatia P. 1983. Colonial Rule. In Laracy, Hugh, ed. 1983b. *Tuvalu: A History*. Suva: IPS, USP and Funafuti: Ministry of Social Services. p.127-139.
- Thackray, Susannah.
- 2003a. EU and NZ fund basic education initiative. USP News Release. 21 August.
- 2003b. NZ Government commits NZ\$5 million to ensure basic education for all children in the Pacific. USP News Release. 7 July.
- Thapar, Romesh. 1975. *Book Development in National Communications and Planning*. Karachi: UNESCO Regional Centre for Book Development in Asia.
- Thierry, Agostini, et al. 1994. *Wallis et Futuna : hommes et espaces*. Frédéric Angleviel et al, eds. Noumea: Centre Territorial de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogiques et le Territoire de Wallis et Futuna.
- Thiongo, Ngugi wa.
1998. *Penpoints, Gunpoints, and Dreams: Towards a Critical Theory of the Arts and the State in Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1997. *Writers in Politics: A Re-engagement with Issues of Literature & Society*. Rev edn. Oxford: James Currey, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, and Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann. Originally published 1981.
1986. *Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature*. London: James Currey.
- Thomas, E. Barrington. 1976. Problems of Educational Provision in Papua New Guinea: an Area of Scattered Population. In Thomas, E. Barrington, ed. 1976. *Papua New Guinea Education*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. p.3-20.
- Thomas, Nicholas.
1994. *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*. Cambridge:

- Polity Press and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
1991. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Thomas, R. Murray. 1984. American Samoa and Western Samoa. In Thomas, R. Murray, and T. Neville Postlethwaite, eds. 1984. *Schooling in the Pacific Islands: Colonies in Transition*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. p.202-235.
- Thompson, H.P. 1951. *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- Thompson, Roger C.
1994. Britain, Germany, Australia, and New Zealand in Polynesia. In Howe, K.R., Robert C. Kiste, and Brij V. Lal, eds. 1994. *Tides of History: the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin. p.71-92.
1980. *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era 1820-1920*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Thornley, Andrew.
2005. *A Shaking of the Land: William Cross and the Origins of Christianity in Fiji, Na Vavalati Ni Vanua: Ko Wiliame Korosi kei na i Tekitekivu ni Lotu Vakarisito e Viti*. Tauga Vulaono, trans. Suva: IPS, USP.
2002. *Exodus of the I Taukei: The Wesleyan Church in Fiji 1848-74, Na Lako Yani ni Kawa I Taukei: Na Lotu Wesele e Viti 1848-74*. Tauga Vulaono, trans. Suva: IPS, USP.
2000. *The Inheritance of Hope, John Hunt: Apostle of Fiji; Nai Votavota Ni I Nuiui, Ko Joni Oniti: na Apositolo ki na Kawa i Taukei*. Tauga Vulaono, trans. Suva: IPS, USP.
- 1996a. Cross Over the Islands: Historical Articles on Methodism and other Christian Denominations in Fiji. A compilation of articles written for the *Fiji Times*, 1994-1996. Copy in LC's possession.
- 1996b. Fijians in the Methodist Ministry: The First Hundred Years, 1848-1945. In Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. p.33-49.
- 1996c. The Legacy of Siloam: Tahitian Missionaries in Fiji. In Munro, Doug, and Andrew Thornley, eds. 1996. *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva: PTC and IPS, USP. p.91-114.
- 1995a. Cargill: The scholar of early Fijian Methodism. *Fiji Times*. 16 September. p.5.
- 1995b. Jaggard: The forgotten missionary of early Fiji. *Fiji Times*. 30 September. p.5.
- 1995c. The Legacy of Christian Missions in the Pacific. *Pacific Journal of Theology*. 2(14):1-3.
- 1995d. A Letter from Oneata: The First Missionary Report from Fiji. *Pacific Journal of Theology*. 2(14):31-34.
- Thornley, Andrew, and Tauga Vulaono, eds. 1996. *Mai Kea Ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma, Na i Talanoa ni Lotu Wesele e Viti kei Rotuma, 1835-1995*. Suva: Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma.

- Thorogood, Bernard. 1995. After 200 Years—the LMS Legacy. *Pacific Journal of Theology* 2(14):5-15.
- Threlfall, Neville. 1975. *One Hundred Years in the Islands: The Methodist/United Church in the New Guinea Islands Region, 1875-1975*. Rabaul: Toksave na Buk Dipatmen, New Guinea Islands Region, The United Church.
- Timms, Hilda. 2002. Volunteer Presbyterian Mission Teacher. In Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.515-522.
- Tippett, Alan R. 1980. *Oral Tradition and Ethnohistory: The Transmission of Information and Social Values in Early Christian Fiji 1835-1905*. Canberra: St Mark's Library.
- Titifanua, Mesulama, and C. Maxwell Churchward. 1995. *Tales of a Lonely Island: Rotuman Legends*. Suva: IPS, USP. Originally published 1939, Sydney: Australian National Research Council.
- Tjibaou, Jean-Marie. 1996. *La Présence Kanak*. Alban Bensa and Éric Wittersheim, eds. Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob.
- Tjibaou, Jean-Marie, and Philippe Missotte. 1978. *Kanaké: the melanesian way*. Christopher Plant, trans. Papeete: Les Éditions du Pacifique, Noumea: Committee for the Development of New Caledonia, and Suva: IPS, USP. Originally published 1976, *Kanaké, Mélanésien de Nouvelle-Calédonie*, Papeete: Éditions du Pacifique.
- Togna, Octave, et al. 1992. *Who We Are: Delegation of New Caledonia, VIth Festival of Pacific Arts – Rarotonga – Cook Islands – 1992*. Noumea: Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanak.
- Toschi, Luca. 1996. Hypertext and Authorship. In Nunberg, Geoffrey, ed. 1996. *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. p.169-207.
- Toullelan, Pierre-Yves, and Bernard Gille. 1994. *Le Mariage Franco-Tahitien : histoire de Tahiti du XVIII^e siècle à nos jours*. Papeete: Éditions Polymages-Scoop.
- Treadaway, Julian. 2001. Hidden Voices: The Development of Creative Writing in Solomon Islands. *Mana, a South Pacific Journal of Art and Culture, Language and Literature*. Special Solomon Islands Issue 13(1):123-148.
- Trease, Howard Van.
1995. The Colonial Origins of Vanuatu Politics. In Van Trease, Howard. 1995. *Melanesian Politics: Stael Blong Vanuatu*. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury and Suva: IPS, USP. p.1-58.

1987. *The Politics of Land in Vanuatu: from colony to independence*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- Trease, Howard Van, and Barrie Macdonald, eds. 2002. *Kiribati : histoires d'une histoire*. Suva: IPS, USP. Originally published 1979, *Kiribati: Aspects of History*. Suva: IPS and Extension Services, USP and Tarawa: Ministry of Education, Training, and Culture.
- Tucker, Robert C. 1972. Introduction. Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. 1972. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. Robert C. Tucker, ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Company. p.xv-xxxiv.
- Tui, Mikaele. 2004. Présentation générale. Uvea: An Introduction. In Huffer, Elise, and Mikaele Tui, eds. 2004. *Uvea*. Suva: IPS, USP and Mata'utu: Service des Affaires Culturelles de Wallis. p.6-7, 113-114.
- Tuioti, Lili. 2005. Project Management: Why Culture Matters. In Sanga, Kabini, Cherie Chu, Cedric Hall, and Linda Crowl, eds. 2005. *Re-Thinking Aid Relationships in Pacific Education*. Wellington: He Parekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Maori and Pacific Education, Victoria University and Suva: IoE, USP. p.239-250.
- Turner, Ann. 2001. *Historical Dictionary of Papua New Guinea*. 2d edn. Asian/Oceanian Historical Dictionaries, No.37. Lanham, MD and London: The Scarecrow Press.
- Turner, George. 1986. *Nineteen Years in Polynesia: Missionary Life, Travels, and Researches in the Islands of the Pacific*. Apia: Western Samoa Historical and Cultural Trust. Originally published 1861, London: John Snow.
- Tuwere, I.S. 2002. *Vanua: Towards a Fijian Theology of Place*. Suva: IPS, USP and Auckland: College of St John the Evangelist.
- Tuza, Esau. 1977. Silas Eto of New Georgia. In Trompf, Gary, ed. 1977. *Prophets of Melanesia: Six Essays*. Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies and Suva: IPS, USP. p.65-87.
- United Bible Societies (UBS).
2003. "A special day": Tokelauans receive the Gospels in their own language. Latest News No.237. 19 March. <http://www.biblesociety.org/latestnews/latest237.html>, accessed 22 July 2007.
2002. 'I loved it so much': reviser of Kiribati Bible reflects on his work. November. WR 372/30 – 11.02. http://www.biblesociety.org/wr_372/372_30.htm, accessed 8 November 2006.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Paris: UNESCO.
1996. *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook*. Paris: UNESCO and Lanham, MD: Bernan Press.
- 1985a. *Catalogue of Publications Donated by Frankfurt Book Fair*. Karachi:

- Unesco Regional Office For Book Development in Asia and the Pacific.
- 1985b. *A Select Bibliography: Book Publishing and Related Subjects*. Rev edn. Karachi: Unesco Regional Office for Book Development in Asia and the Pacific.
1982. *World Congress on Books, London 7-11 June 1982, Final Report*. Paris: UNESCO.
1981. *The ABC of Copyright*. Paris: UNESCO.
1970. *Functional literacy: why and how*. Paris: UNESCO.
1953. *Progress of Literacy in Various Countries: A preliminary statistical study of available census data since 1900*. Monographs on Fundamental Education No.6. Paris: UNESCO.
- University Extension (UE). 1997. University Extension house style. Draft photocopy. Suva: University Extension, USP. Copy in LC's possession.
- Uregei, Yann Célené. 1982. New Caledonia: Confrontation to colonial rule. In Crocombe, Ron, and Ahmed Ali, eds. *Politics in Melanesia*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.116-135.
- Usher, Len. 1979. *Levuka School Century: Levuka Public School 1879-1979*. Suva: Information Services South Pacific.
- Vai'imene, Gill. 2003. Api'i: Culture in Education. In Crocombe, Ron, & Majorie Tua'inekore Crocombe, eds. *Akono'anga Maori, Cook Islands Culture*. Suva: IPS and Rarotonga: Cook Islands Extension Centre, USP; Cook Islands Cultural and Historic Places Trust; and Ministry of Cultural Development. p.169-178.
- Vaitiare [Devantine, Flora]. 1980. *Humeurs*. Papeete: Polytram.
- Valia, Mackin, and Jo Henningsen. 2004. Who Will Help Our Children Read? In Sanga, Kabini, John Niroa, Kalmele Matai, and Linda Crawl, eds. *Re-Thinking Vanuatu Education Together*. Port Vila: Ministry of Education and Suva: IPS, USP. p.63-71.
- Vason, George. [1975]. *Life of the late George Vason of Nottingham: One of the Troop of Missionaries sent to the South Sea Islands by the London Missionary Society in the Ship Duff, Captain Wilson, 1796. With a Preliminary Essay on the South Sea Islands, by the Revd. James Orange, Author, of the History of the Town & People of Nottingham*. Nuku'alofa: [Tupou High School]. Originally published 1840, London: John Snow.
- Verba, Sidney. 1965. Conclusion: Comparative Political Culture. In Pye, Lucien W., and Sidney Verba, eds. 1965. *Political Culture and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. p.512-560.
- Viswanathan, Gauri. 1998. *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. Originally published 1989, New York: Columbia University Press.

- Visser, Margaret. 1986. *Much Depends on Dinner: The Extraordinary History and Mythology, Allure and Obsessions, Perils and Taboos, of an Ordinary Meal*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Viviani, Nancy. 1970. *Nauru: Phosphate and Political Progress*. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Vogler, Thomas A. 2000. When a Book Is Not a Book. In Rothenberg, Jerome, and Steven Clay, eds. 2000. *A Book of the Book: Some Works & Projections About the Book & Writing*. New York: Granary Books. p.448-466.
- Vygotsky, L.S. 1962. *Thought and Language*. Eugenia Haufmann and Gertrude Vakar, trans. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press and New York and London: John Wiley & Sons. Originally published 1934, *Myshlenie i. Rech*, Moscow.
- Waddell, Eric. 1993. Jean-Marie Tjibaou: Kanak Witness to the World. In Waddell, Eric, and Patrick D. Nunn. 1993. *The Margin Fades: Geographical Itineraries in a World of Islands*. Suva: IPS, USP.
- Waiko, John Dademo. 1993. *A Short History of Papua New Guinea*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Waleanisia, Joseph. 1989. Writing I. In Laracy, Hugh, ed. 1989. *Ples Blong Iumi: Solomon Islands, the past four thousand years*. Suva: IPS and Honiara: Solomon Islands Extension Centre, USP, and Honiara: SICHE and Solomon Islands Ministry of Education. p.31-40.
- Walker, Anne Shirley. 1976. A Study of Relationships Between Mass Media, Community Involvement and Political Participation in Fiji. PhD thesis. Indiana University.
- Walker, K. 1945. Education Officer, Schools Department, Cook Islands Administration. Memorandum for the Resident Commissioner. Language in Cook Island Schools. 22 February. In Coppel, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Ward, Charles James. 1933. Hoisting of the British Flag at Rarotonga and Other Islands. G.H. Davis, transcriber. In Miscellaneous Manuscripts from the Cook Islands Library and Museum Society. PMB 1065. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Ward, Gareth. 1998. *Publishing in the Digital Age*. London: Bowerdean.
- Wasuka, Moffat, with Toswell Kaua and Simeon Butu. 1989. Education. In Laracy, Hugh, ed. 1989. *Ples Blong Iumi: Solomon Islands, the past four thousand years*. Suva: IPS and Honiara: Solomon Islands Extension Centre, USP, and Honiara: SICHE and Solomon Islands Ministry of Education. p.94-111.
- Watt, Ian. 1960. *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*.

London: Chatto & Windus. Originally published 1957.

Weber, Max.

1992. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Talcott Parsons, trans. London and New York: Routledge. Originally published 1920-1921, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssolziologie* (Collected Essays on the Sociology of Religion).
1968. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Ephraim Fischhoff, Hans Gerth, A.M. Henderson, Ferdinand Kolar, C. Wright Mills, Talcott Parsons, Max Rheinstein, Guenther Roth, Edward Shils, and Claus Wittich, trans. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds. 3 vols. New York: Bedminster Press. Published 1951, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*; 1956, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, 4th edn; and 1958, *Gesammelte politische Schriften*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr. Originally published 1920s.

Weightman, Barry, and Hilda Lini, eds. 1980. *Vanuatu: Twenti wan tingting long team blong independens*. Suva: IPS, USP and South Pacific Social Sciences Association.

Wendt, Albert.

1978. The Artist and the Reefs Breaking Open. *Mana, a South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature* 3(1):107-121.
1976. Towards a New Oceania. *Mana Review* 1(1):49-60. January.

Whiting, Gordon C. 1976. How Does Communication Interface with Change? In Rogers, Everett M., ed. 1976. *Communication and Development: Critical Perspectives*. Sage Contemporary Social Sciences Issues 32. Beverly Hills and London: SAGE Publications. p.99-120.

Wiener, Norbert.

1973. *Cybernetics, or control and communication in the animal and the machine*. 2d edn. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press. Originally published 1948.
1950. *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Cambridge: Riverside Press.

Williams, Emily. 2003. The Development of Pacific Educational Materials. Paper presented at the Pacific Regional Education Conference on Rethinking Educational Aid, Nadi, Fiji. 20-22 October.

Williams, Esther. 1986. Survey of Publishing in the South Pacific Region. *Fiji Library Association Journal* 15:1-13.

Williams, F.E.

1935. *The Blending of Cultures: An Essay on the Aims of Native Education*. Anthropology Report 16. Port Moresby: Acting Government Printer.
1933. *Practical Education: The Reform of Native Horticulture*. Anthropology Report 14. Port Moresby: Acting Government Printer.
1928. *Native Education: The Language of Instruction and Intellectual Education*. Anthropology Report No.9. Port Moresby: Government Printer.

- Williams, John. 1840. *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands, with Remarks upon the Natural History of the Islands, Origins, Languages, Traditions and Usages of the Inhabitants*. London: John Snow. Originally published 1837.
- Williams, Raymond.
 1991. *Writing in Society*. London and New York: Verso. Originally published 1983.
 1961. *The Long Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press and London: Chatto & Windus.
- Williams, Thomas.
 1982. *The Islands and Their Inhabitants*. Vol.1 of *Fiji and the Fijians*. George Stringer Rowe, ed. Suva: Fiji Museum. Originally published 1858, London: Alexander Heylin.
 1842-1846. Journals. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- Wilson, Albert. 1924. St Stephen's School for Maori Boys, Auckland. Letter to Secretary, Cook Islands Department, Wellington. 17 May. In Coppell, William George. 1922-1966. Papers concerning education in the Cook Islands. PMB 1033. Canberra: PMB, RSPAS, ANU.
- Wilson, James. 1997. 1797, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean in the Ship Duff & Otaheitean Journals. Te Tere Mitonare Na Te Moana Patitifa Na Nia Ia Tarapu & Aamu No Tahiti Nei. Un Voyage missionnaire dans l'Océan du Pacifique sud à bord du Duff & chroniques tahitiennes, journal de mer, journaux de terre*. Papeete: Église Évangélique de la Polynésie Française, Société des Études des Océaniennes, and Haere No Po Tahiti. Originally written 1797.
- Wilson, S.D.
 1969a. Cook Islands Development 1946-1950. In Ross, Angus, ed. 1969. *New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. London: Longman Paul for the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, London: C. Hurst & Co, and New York: Humanities Press. p.60-114.
 1969b. The Record in the Cook Islands and Niue 1901-45. In Ross, Angus, ed. 1969. *New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. London: Longman Paul for the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, London: C. Hurst & Co, and New York: Humanities Press. p.24-59.
- Winchester, Simon. 1999. *The Professor and the Madman: A Tale of Murder, Insanity, and the Making of the Oxford English Dictionary*. New York: HarperPerennial. Originally published 1998. Published elsewhere as *The Surgeon of Crowthorne*.
- Winduo, Steven Edmund. 1993. *Book Trade in Papua New Guinea: A Directory*. Port Moresby: Library and Information Studies Department, UPNG.
- Wirth, Louis.
 1960. Consensus and Mass Communication. In Schramm, Wilbur, ed. 1960. *Mass Communications*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press. p.561-582.

- Originally published in 1948, *American Sociological Review*, February.
1936. Preface. In Mannheim, Karl. 1936. *Ideology and Utopia: an Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils, trans. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. p.xiii-xxxi.
- Wise, Margaret. 1998. Pastors want to be MPs. *Fiji Times*. 10 March. p.1.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1958. *Philosophical Investigations*. G.E.M. Anscombe, trans. 2d edn. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Originally published 1953.
- Wolfers, Edward P.
2003. E-message to LC. 23 April.
1998. Personal communication. Port Moresby. 29 August.
1997. Personal communication. Port Moresby. 4 September.
1975. *Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea*. Brookvale NSW: Australia & New Zealand Book Co.
- [1967].comp. *A bibliography of bibliographies relevant to a study of Papua and New Guinea*. Port Moresby: np.
- Wood-Ellem, Elizabeth. 1999. *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Woodburn, Susan.
- 2003a. Making Books for God: Mission Printing in the Pacific Islands and Australia. *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 27(1&2):92-106.
- 2003b. Three Pacific Mission Presses. *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 27(3&4):10-21.
- 2003c. *Where Our Hearts Still Lie: A Life of Harry and Honor Maude in the Pacific Islands*. Adelaide: Crawford House Publishing.
- Woodhall, Maureen, ed. 1997. *Cost-effectiveness of Publishing Educational Materials in African Languages*. Perspectives on African Book Development 1. London: Working Group on Books and Learning Materials, Association for the Development of Education in Africa.
- Woods, Diane.
2004. Personal communication from Pacific librarian, National Library of New Zealand. 20 September.
1997. Pacific Islands. In Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey, and Keith Maslen, eds, with the assistance of Ross Somerville. 1997. *Book & Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Victoria University Press. p.256-257.
- Woodward, Keith. 2002. Historical Note. In Bresnihan, Brian J., and Keith Woodward, eds. 2002. *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: IPS, USP. p.16-72.
- World Association for Christian Communication – Pacific (WACC-PAC). 1992. Printing Consultancy for Western Samoa. *Pacific Forum* 2(3):4.

Zell, Hans M.

- 1992a. African Publishing: Constraints and Challenges and the Experience of African Books Collective. In Altbach, Philip G., ed. 1992. *Publishing and Development in the Third World*. London, Melbourne, Munich, and New York: Hans Zell Publishers; New Delhi: Vistaar Publications; and Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya. p.101-118.
- 1992b. The Neglected Continent. In Altbach, Philip G., ed. 1992. *Publishing and Development in the Third World*. London, Melbourne, Munich, and New York: Hans Zell Publishers; New Delhi: Vistaar Publications; and Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya. p.65-76. Originally published 1990, *Logos* 1.