

42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, A.C.T.2611,  
Australia,  
30 June, 1988.

Dr Dale B. Robertson,  
Editor of Publications,  
The Institute for Polynesian Studies,  
Brigham Young University - Hawaii Campus,  
LAIE, Hawaii 96762.

Dear Dr Robertson,

Herewith my assessment of 'Psychology in Pitcairn: a psychohistorical hypothesis', as promised in my letter of 2 June.

While no psychohistorian myself and unconvinced by the author's conclusions I have recommended that the paper should be published as a fresh attempt to throw light on some much-debated episodes in Pitcairn history. There will be little progress in our discipline if we publish only material with which we agree and the psychohistorians have not had much of an innings in our regional journals to date.

But frankly I am one of the despised class of narrative historians myself and before you make up your mind on this article I would recommend that you ask the far more authoritative opinion of Professor Greg Denning, who will be working at the Center for Pacific Studies in the University of Hawaii from July 8 to August 21, his home address being 357 Opihikao Place, Honolulu 90822. Tel. 395 2002.

Greg has only last week published an excellent monograph on the same period (more or less) of Pitcairn history, entitled The Bounty: an ethnographic history, whereas I have not studied the subject for approximately a quarter of a century. He is also our leading theoretician and thoroughly conversant with what is to me a rather bizarre approach.

Yours sincerely,

*Harry Maude*

H.E. Maude.



## Psychology in Pitcairn: a psychohistorical hypothesis

This is an unusual paper, which essays to show that three episodes in the attempts made by the mutineers of the Bounty under Fletcher Christian, and later John Adams, to form a stable community are best explicable in terms of psychological principles enunciated by Freud and Norman Brown and adapted to a colonial situation by Manoni in his stimulating book Prospero and Caliban.

The most detailed analysis is given to the initial attempt at a settlement on Tubuai, where we are told that the mutineers tried to act out a 'desert island fantasy', based on a permeation throughout Britain of the ideas engendered by Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, with their race relations established on the lines of an 'ideal master-servant society'.

After the failure of the Tubuai experiment the scene changes to the disastrous initial colonization of Pitcairn itself in which the island was divided into separate districts for each of the mutineers, who united only to exploit the labour of the six Polynesian males. The end result was an anarchic situation in which eventually only John Adams remained alive, with a large entourage of Polynesian women and Euronesian children.

This episode led to the last of the triad, in which John Adams was converted to religion and brought up the new generation on lines of strict morality and piety, this time acting out Freud's final stage in social development by becoming the 'substitute father who is associated with a totem ancestor and becomes invested with divine authority'.

I have written on these episodes myself and reached somewhat different conclusions. On the Tubuai venture I felt that Christian had no choice but to act as he did since the number and undisciplined nature of his European followers precluded the other two options mentioned by the author: assimilation into the community as beachcombers or the creation of a dynastic aristocracy on the lines of Rajah Brooke.

What the author terms a 'colonial solution' to the problem of race relations on Pitcairn, which led to the failure of the experiment, was in my view more likely to be due to advice tendered to Christian by his devoted friend and assistant Midshipman Young, who came from the West Indies (he was rumoured to be a creole) where he had been familiar with societies based on white supremacy, than to subconscious attempts to work out individual Crusoe fantasies.

Finally I believe that Adams underwent a genuine conversion, due to the harrowing scenes he had witnessed inciting his innate religious nature, and that he was not acting out subconsciously 'the last stage of a Freudian model'.



This is why I consider that 'Psychology in Pitcairn' should be published. It is, as I have said, original and represents a developing school of thought in Pacific historiography which is not often given an opportunity of expression in print; unlike the Marxian school which was all the rage when I was a student and has been reiterated in innumerable case studies by adolescent historians cutting their idealistic teeth ever since, notwithstanding the fact that the march of history itself has disproved so many of its predictions which we once considered inviolable.

'Psychology in Pitcairn' is well written, cohesive and in all other respects worthy of publication. Admittedly the narrative sources on which it is based are not exhaustive, but then they need not be to support the author's thesis, which has been adequately stated and would not be improved by more factual detail.

There are, however, a few errors which should be corrected before publication. Rarotonga is wrongly spelt on p.14, 'class factory' on p.17 is presumably a mistake for classificatory and, more importantly, there never was an Alexander Smith on Pitcairn (p.16) this being the pseudonym given by John Adams when signing the Bounty's muster-roll. Adams, therefore, never changed his name as part of his metamorphosis, as stated on p.20. My wife found his baptismal entry in the Hackney Parish Register, with those of his siblings; and see also Brian W. Scott, 'The True Identity of John Adams' in The Mariner's Mirror, vol.68, no.1 (Feb. 1982), pp. 31-39.

And again not all the women were dead before Adams himself died, let alone before he became the teacher of the new generation (p.20): Teio died in 1829, Toofaiti in 1831, Mauatea in 1841 and Teraura (admittedly only a child on arrival in Pitcairn) in 1850.



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, A.C.T.2611,  
Australia,  
2 June, 1988.

Dr Dale B. Robertson,,  
Editor of Publications,  
The Institute for Polynesian Studies,  
Brigham Young University - Hawaii Campus,  
LAIE, Hawaii 96762.

Dear Dr Robertson,

I returned from several weeks in North Queensland to find your letter of April 21 awaiting me.

In this you ask me to provide an assessment of a paper enclosed with your letter entitled 'Psychology in Pitcairn: a psychohistorical hypothesis' within six weeks, i.e. by today.

This is clearly impossible but I could, if desired, provide an assessment by July 14, and with luck before that date.


I have a book in process of publication and must give work on it priority, mainly in checking the glossary and illustrations and preparing the index; and as I have no publications on Pitcairn in my flat I shall have to look up sources in the A.N.U. or National Libraries. Were it otherwise I could give you a report within a week.

I know of no scholar working on Pitcairn history other than Rolf E. du Reitz, Frodingsgatan 19, S-75421, Uppsala, Sweden, who has published mainly on the Bounty. But Professor Gavan Daws at the A.N.U. and Professor Greg Dening in Melbourne are interested in psycho-history though they have no particular expertise on Pitcairn history.

I wish I could think of more possible readers but I fancy that most scholars avoid Pitcairn because of the annual flood of popular literature, much of it superficial and inaccurate, which is produced for sale to those smitten by the romance of the lonely island and its unusual history.

So unless I hear from you to the contrary I shall press ahead with producing a report whenever I get a break.

Sincerely,

  
H.E. Maude.



# The Institute for Polynesian Studies

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April 21, 1988

Dr. H.E. Maude  
Unit 42 "Miringani"  
11 Namatjira Drive  
Weston  
ACT 2611  
Australia

Dear Dr. Maude:

We have received the enclosed article for possible publication in Pacific Studies. We would be grateful if you would evaluate it as to its appropriateness for a scholarly, interdisciplinary journal. If you can accept this assignment, I will need your response within six weeks. You may use the enclosed form or you may organize your evaluation in any way you regard appropriate. You need not return the manuscript unless you make comments on it.

Because of the time factor, I have taken the liberty of enclosing a copy of the paper. If you are unable, at this time, to provide an assessment, perhaps you could suggest other scholars as qualified as yourself.

Sincerely,

Dale B. Robertson, Ph.D  
Editor of Publications  
The Institute for Polynesian Studies

DBR:awp

Encl.



PSYCHOLOGY IN PITCAIRN  
: a psychohistorical hypothesis

Pacific Island Historians are fortunate in the opportunity which island societies afford for a detailed examination of forces which change society.

As Maude puts it:-

Their inhabitants have evolved....a diverse assemblage of social, economic, religious and political systems, of ideas and values which makes the region in a sense the counterpart of the scientists' laboratory.<sup>1</sup>

Pitcairn Island, home of the descendents of the *Bounty* mutineers is a particularly good example of this general proposition.

Because of its unusually well documented history, and perhaps too because of a certain amount of romanticism, Pitcairn has often invited speculation, in the related fields of morals and politics, which has been applied to the world at large.

For the God-fearing naval captains of the early nineteenth century who happened upon this pious mid-ocean community, composed of the off-spring of mutinous, lecherous, murderous British seamen, and the Tahitian women they had kidnapped, Pitcairn provided living proof of the perfectability of man. For one, it was "the realisation of Arcadia, or the Golden Age - a Commonwealth of brothers and sisters".<sup>2</sup>

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1 H.E. Maude. *Of Islands and Men* : Studies in Pacific History, O.U.P., Melbourne, 1968, Introduction xvi.

2 Cit W.K. Hancock. *Politics in Pitcairn and Other Essays*. MacMillan & Co., London, 1947, p.6.



For another it was an example to the world of an achievement, "among the children of outlaws, on a wild rock, of those principles which Plato and More could but conceive".<sup>3</sup>

For Sir Keith Hancock, historian, Pitcairn in its time of anarchy, divided amongst the last and most ruthless survivors of the *Bounty* mutiny, each with his own woman and his own territory, was a paradigm of the world between the wars in which he was writing. Its subsequent history provided mankind with a model of its road to salvation, the one political experiment which had worked, and he wrote his essay, 'Politics in Pitcairn' with a serious purpose.

The philosophers have been many, and since the principles are simple and few, humanity may be sure of the road which leads to Arcadia. Unfortunately the world must multiply its complexities before it can achieve Arcadian simplicity, it must complete the conquest of vast distances before it can reduce itself to the practical dimensions of Pitcairn. It must, like the Pitcairners, struggle through the "nastiness" of the State of nature. Yet is it altogether beyond the bounds of hope that among the sovereign states which now face each other, like the Pitcairn fathers, in posture of war, one may be found to play the part of Adams? Quintals and McCoys there are in plenty.<sup>4</sup>

The utility of Pitcairn island for the study of morals and politics thus has eloquent testimony, but this interpretation of Pitcairn's history, and the way in which its lessons can be applied to the world, is based on the conventional assumption, shared by historical theorists from Plato to Marx, that man, distinguished from other creatures by his rationality, is conscious of his needs, and that history is the story of his attempts to meet them.

But what if we acknowledge also the force of the unconscious? Not merely as an explanation of neurosis but as the basis of 'the psychopathology of everyday life',<sup>5</sup> then, perhaps, the nightmare of endless 'progress' towards the achievement of rational

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3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 S. Freud *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1901). English translation by Alan Tyson in James Strachey (ed.). Complete Works Standard edition. Hogarth Press, London, 1960. Other references to the works of Freud will be made to this edition.



goals, usually in the form of material benefits, and man's endless Faustian discontent becomes easier to understand.<sup>6</sup>

Pitcairn island can show us no short-cuts to Utopia, but it may be studied as an experiment thrown up by history, in human group behaviour. The time has now come, as in Hancocks requirement, when man's conquest of nature has reduced the world, politically, to the practical dimensions of Pitcairn, so the chance it provides to examine the workings of the unconscious in the life of an isolated community may have wider implications.

The factual background to the establishment of the 'laboratory' can be recalled briefly: H.M.S. *Bounty* sailed on 23 September, 1787 under Captain Bligh, His task was to sail to Tahiti, collect a supply of breadfruit plants and take them to Jamaica where they were to provide a supply of food for negro slaves. A late departure from England meant that after trying to take the shortest route to Tahiti - by way of Cape Horn, Bligh was forced to abandon the attempt and he entered the Pacific by way of the Cape of Good Hope and Van Diemen's land.

This meant a late arrival in Tahiti. He had to wait a whole growing season, five months long, before the new breadfruit seedlings were ready to transplant. The men spent long periods ashore, and when the time came to leave most of them had formed permanent attachments with Tahitian women and acquired a taste for island life.

On 4 April 1789 the *Bounty* sailed, and on 28 April, after sailing past the Cook Islands and the Tonga group, a mutiny occurred, of a majority of the crew, led by 23 year old Fletcher Christian. Bligh, with eighteen men was set adrift in a 23 foot open

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<sup>6</sup> As Norman Brown puts it: "Mankind today is still making history without having any conscious idea what it really wants or under what conditions it would stop being unhappy, in fact what it is doing seems to be making itself more unhappy, and calling that unhappiness 'progress'". *Life Against Death : The Psycho-analytical Meaning of History*. Routledge & K. Paul, London, 1959, p.16.



boat in which they sailed 4000 miles to Batavia. The twenty-four mutineers cried "Huzzah for Otahiete" - and began their unique human experiment.

Maude, in a well-known essay,<sup>7</sup> supplies the details which are missing from earlier accounts<sup>8</sup> by making use of the more recently discovered journals of three of the mutineers, James Morrison, Peter Heywood, and George Stewart, and also two narratives of *Tehuteatuanonoa*, otherwise known as Jenny, a Tahitian woman who was to become the wife of mutineer Isaac Martin. The first of Jenny's accounts is very brief, and appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* 17 July, 1819. The second is much more detailed. It was dictated in Tahiti to the Rev Henry Nott in the presence of Peter Dillon<sup>9</sup> who published it in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, 2 October 1826. Together, they provide a useful counter balance to the cultural bias of the mutineers.

The *Bounty* sailed from the scene of the mutiny, off the island of Tofua, in Tonga, to the island of Tubuai, about 300 miles south west of Tahiti. Their initial reception by the inhabitants was hostile, but they decided to attempt settlement, and to go on to Tahiti for some women to join them as fellow-colonists.<sup>10</sup>

They returned with the Tahitian women, to Tubuai, and remained there until 10 September 1789. At this point the mutineers split into two groups. The majority decided to leave Tubuai and return to live in Tahiti, but Fletcher Christian decided that he could not risk doing so. Tahiti was by now a port which was frequented by European shipping, and eventual capture seemed certain.<sup>11</sup> It was agreed that the

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7 H.E. Maude 'In Search of a Home : From the Mutiny to Pitcairn Island'. *op cit* p.1-34.

8 H.E. Maude 'The History of Pitcairn Island' in A.S.C. Ross and A.W. Moverly, *The Pitcairnesse Language*. Andre Deutsch, London, 1964.

9 J.W. Davidson *Peter Dillon of Vanikoro : Chevalier of the South Seas*. O.U.P. Melbourne, 1975, p. 85-86. I have used a reprint which appeared in the *United Service Journal*, 1829.

10 H.E. Maude 'In Search of a Home'. p. 6.

11 The mutineers who remained in Tahiti were captured in 1791 and taken to England for trial. Basil Thomson (ed.) *Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora*, London, 1915, p. 28-33.



sixteen majority should be taken back to Tahiti, while Christian and his eight followers were then to take the ship and continue to search for a suitable island to settle on, for they had now concluded, as a result of their experience on Tubuai, that only an uninhabited island would meet their needs.

On 17 Sept 1789, the *Bounty* sailed once more for Tahiti to carry out the plan which had been agreed. She anchored in Matavai Bay on 23rd. A group of Tahitians of both sexes were kidnapped, and the *Bounty* continued her restless voyage, first to the Lau group in Fiji where they sighted an island which was probably Vatoa, named 'Turtle Island' by Cook in 1774.<sup>12</sup> It was inhabited, so they did not land, but sailed again to the east - a slow passage [tacking] against the trade wind for two months more at least until the variable winds of the southern summer brought them to Pitcairn island on 12 January 1790.

This island had been discovered by Cartaret in 1767 but the position had been wrongly marked on his chart.<sup>13</sup> This made it most unlikely that anyone would ever find it again except as the *Bounty* had found it, by chance, and it was uninhabited. The mutineers landed on 15 January, and while a debate took place on whether to burn the *Bounty* or run her ashore, Mathew Quintal set her on fire.<sup>14</sup> This settled the argument, and ensured that the mutineers and their Tahitian wives would stay where they were.

This they did until, two generations later, the island had become overcrowded. On 28 February 1830 they left for Tahiti where land had been offered to them. They

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12 H.E. Maude ('In Search of a Home', p.30-31) suggests that Ono-i- Lau is more likely to have been the island in question. Tehuteatuaonoa, however, describes 'Vivini' the name she gives to the discovery as a low island (United Service Journal, 1829), para 2, p. 590). Ono-i Lau consists, however, of six islands within a lagoon. Three of them are peaked in appearance. The elevation of the two highest islands is 370 ft and 279 ft. (Personal visit 1974; see also the chart by Capt H.M. Denham, H.M.S. Herald. MSS D. 2481, Office of the Hydrographer for the Navy, Taunton, Somerset, U.K.). Vatoa is only 220 ft at the highest point. Lands Dept Suva, Fiji; Topographical survey of Vatoa Island Scale 400 ft to the inch, n.d.

13 H.E. Maude 'In Search of a Home', p.32.

14 R.B. Nicholson *The Pitcairners* Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1965, p. 37.



were received hospitably by the Tahitians, but in the time since the *Bounty* sailed in 1789, a remarkable change had taken place. The off-spring of the mutineers and their women had become a God-fearing little theocracy with the most puritanical standards of behaviour. so appalled were they at the moral laxity of nominally Christian Tahiti, that they found integration impossible. An epidemic reduced their numbers, and in January 1837 they returned once more to Pitcairn.

These events provide an opportunity to examine, in relatively microscopic detail, a number of themes which recur in Pacific Island history, indeed in in the whole history of contact between European and non-European peoples. The most obvious are as follows:

1. An unsuccessful attempt at colonisation, the attempt to settle on Tubuai in 1789, and its failure.
2. Race-relations and gender - the human laboratory situation on Pitcairn itself. The subjects of the experiment are two groups of males of different races and one group of females belonging to one race. All are living in complete isolation from influences other than those they brought with them. This situation lasts for 24 years.
3. Religion and authority; the circumstances in which divine inspiration enabled one man to dominate an anarchic community and establish theocracy.

The ideas of Freud and Norman Brown are unfashionable just now amongst historians, but the renewed interest in gender relations in Pacific history provides an opportunity for a reconsideration of the role of the unconscious in matters of sex and race.



No-one in the eighteenth century had a rational theory of the unconscious, even though the idea of it found occasional poetic expression.<sup>15</sup> The idiom of contemporary records therefore provides no clue to the working of the unconscious in the Pitcairn community. What follows is an attempt to reconstruct the way it worked from the records of action, in the light of the available hypotheses.

One of the ideas which the eighteenth century found most fascinating was the ancient fantasy of the noble savage; records of the discovery of Tahiti and the reports of the explorers show that Tahiti was made to confirm widely held expectations.<sup>16</sup> An earlier symptom of the need to discover the noble savage was the popularity of Robinson Crusoe. It was an expensive book on publication in 1719, at 5s per copy, but it went through four editions in the first year and its popularity continued unabated for the next two centuries, a period in which the manipulation of public taste was relatively difficult.<sup>17</sup>

Robinson Crusoe became the worlds' first 'best seller' because it abandons contemporary literary convention, the epic, the rogues' confession, and the picaresque tale and speaks directly to the unconscious. It is the first book in English which forces the reader to identify directly with the central character, and he is thus forced to share Crusoe's internal conflict, presented as the neurotic ecstasy of thinking right and doing wrong.<sup>18</sup>

Robinson Crusoe is thus some evidence of the *fantasy* world in which European men lived in the century before the *Bounty* mutiny. It was a world which in reality, knew little about non-European peoples and so in contact situations, fantasy

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15 Owen Banfield *What Coleridge Thought* O.U.P. London, 1972, p. 15.

16 B. Smith *European Vision and the South Pacific* O.U.P. 1960, p. 1-7.

17 Angus Ross (ed.) *D. Defoe The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* Penguin Books, 1965, p. 10-11.

18 Defoe once admitted privately that he had no model for Crusoe but himself, see O. Mannoni *Prospero and Caliban* (trans. Pamela Townsend), Methuen & Co., London, 1956, p. 98.



was of over-riding importance. Crusoe's most remarkable characteristic is that he is relatively fearless when he knows he is alone, his cultural integrity unthreatened, but he becomes panic-stricken when he sees the symbol of both cultural and personal intrusion, the print of a naked foot in the sand:

after innumerable fluttering thoughts like a man perfectly confused and out of myself, I came home to my fortification, not feeling, as we say, the ground I went on, but terrified to the last degree...<sup>19</sup>

Loneliness is fearful, then, because it implies defencelessness against intrusion. Crusoe's story is the cure of misanthropic neurosis; the acceptance of the existence of other creatures, his parrot, whom he teaches to talk, and eventually, Man Friday who becomes the means of his ultimate reconciliation to both God and Man.

The crucial factor in the process is the nature of his relationship with Friday, the Noble Savage, significantly a sexless man who becomes the perfect servant to Crusoe's perfect master. Loyalty is mutual; dog-like devotion is repaid by total protection.<sup>20</sup>

Whether the Bounty mutineers had read Robinson Crusoe or not is not important. The popular reception of the book shows that the desert island fantasy was in any case the product of a widespread psychological condition. The point does not need to be laboured as the condition is equally widespread today. It is the mainspring of the multi million dollar island tourist industry. Children have less expensive ways of being alone with the creatures of their own imagination. They get lost, pretend to be invisible, or hide.

The aftermath of the Mutiny was thus in part, regression, the search for an uninhabited island on which the mutineers, like modern tourists could establish the ideal master-servant society. Manoni argued that this fantasy was basic to the

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<sup>19</sup> Robinson Crusoe (Penguin Books, 1965), p. 162.

<sup>20</sup> e.g. When Robinson plans to build a boat and travel to the mainland. Friday misunderstands him and thinks he intends to desert him: 'I so plainly discovered the utmost affection in him to me, and a firm resolution in him, that I told him then, and ever after, that I would never send him away from me if he was willing to stay with me', *op. cit.* p. 227.



psychology of Colonialism, the product of a society which produced men with a powerful sense of individualism, delighting in the fantasy of isolation, and able to gain the maximum satisfaction and security from the 'Colonial Situation' in which they belonged to a ruling group, paternally disposed towards an indigenous population. The natives were regarded as inferior, and the rulers preferred to think of the males, though not the females, as lacking sexuality - a society of Robinson Crusoes living as the benevolent masters of a society of Man Fridays.<sup>21</sup>

That the mutineers shared the unconscious life of their contemporaries no less than other men can be safely assumed. What was unique about them was the degree to which conflict arose between their fantasies and the 'reality principle' and the extent to which this conflict resulted in destructively neurotic activity.

To take the first theme - the unsuccessful colony. The first island Fletcher Christian headed for after the mutiny was Tubuai. It was an out of the way island which had been discovered by Captain Cook in 1777, but though it was seen to be populated, no landing had been made. There was therefore no factual knowledge of the islanders to conflict with anticipation.

The *Bounty* arrived on 24 May 1789, the first European ship ever to cast anchor in the lagoon. It was the universal experience on such occasions in Polynesia, that the inhabitants set out to capture the vessel forthwith and thus obtain the obvious material wealth she contained.<sup>22</sup> In the *Bounty's* case, eighteen girls were sent aboard to divert the attention of the ship's company while five men carried out a quick reconnaissance, and stole what they could. Their report was favourable and so the chiefs organised an attack by fifty canoe loads of warriors, a situation which forced Christian to fire upon

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21 Mannoni, *op cit.* p. 97 ff.

22 e.g. Wallis on arrival in Tahiti, 1767, Tasman in New Zealand, 1643, Cook at Poverty Bay, 1769.



them in order to prevent the obviously intended general attack. Eleven men and one woman were killed.<sup>23</sup>

The islanders then proved willing to trade for the goods they could not take by force, but the female favours which the crew had come to expect from their Tahitian experience was largely disappointed and most of the crew was anxious to press on. The *Bounty* left Tubuai on 30 May 1789 and reached Tahiti on 7 June. They had left the previous April, only eight weeks beforehand, with Bligh in command so there was some explaining to do to the Tahitians. The fact of Cook's death had been kept a secret by Bligh because he wanted to benefit from Cook's reputation, so Christian reported that they had met Cook, Bligh had continued with him, and he had been placed in command of the *Bounty*.<sup>24</sup>

On 16 June 1789 they again left Tahiti with plenty of provisions and twenty-eight Tahitians. There are two accounts of the composition of this group, Morrison, a mutineer, says there were nine men, ten women, eight boys and a girl, - eighteen males and eleven females. Heywood, another mutineer, says there were eight men, nine women and seven boys.<sup>25</sup> Both accounts show evident male preponderance, and it is significant that at this stage the mutineers did not think of Tahitian males as potential sexual rivals, merely as servants.

There were no more than ten sexually mature women on the *Bounty* and there were twenty-four mutineers. Tahitian girls were clearly willing enough to enter into short term relationships with European visitors on their home ground, especially since they thus prolonged contact from which their own communities were able to derive a

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23 H.E. Maude, 'In Search of a Home', p. 5.

24 *Ibid.*, p.6.

25 *Ibid.*



number of advantages. It was a different matter altogether to forsake the security of friends and kin to depart with a European on a permanent basis.

The mutineers reached Tubuai again on 26 June 1789, intending this time to settle.

Tubuai is a small island about three miles broad by five miles long, and in 1789 it was divided into three political divisions. The largest, which occupied the western half of the island, was ruled by two chiefs, Hiterere and Tamatoa, the next largest division was in the south east, ruled by a chief called Tinarou, while the north east-corner, the smallest division, was ruled by two chiefs, Tahuhutama and Tarotohoa.<sup>26</sup> The chiefs of the largest district, Hiterere and Tamatoa made the *Bounty* welcome, and for a time relations were amicable, because of the presence of Tahitian interpreters. The blame for the attack on the ship on her first visit was placed on Tinarou, and the outbreak of an epidemic shortly afterwards was interpreted as a sign of divine anger towards the island for the initially hostile reception of the *Bounty*.

Fletcher Christian, however, was unable to act realistically. He, and his crew, were prisoners of their own fantasies and it is clear that the idea of simple integration into the island community never really entered their heads. Their psychological inheritance had conditioned them to attempt a colonial solution to their problems, involving the maintenance of solidarity and cultural homogeneity. As collective Crusoes they therefore sought to acquire land of their own of sufficient area to support themselves and their dependents.

The only piece of land which was both suitable and large enough was found in the territory of Tahuhutama and Torotahoa, the smallest district. As the least powerful chiefs they were happy to welcome the visitors. Their residence, and military support represented the possibility of equality, or even supremacy in island politics.

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26 *Ibid.*, n. 17.



Arrangements were made for a site for the new colony to be made available, and in due course the *Bounty* was warped round through the shallow waters of the lagoon.<sup>27</sup>

Predictably, the decision was not received well by the other chiefs, and Tamatoa promptly made an alliance with Tinarou to boycott the new settlement. This left the mutineers dependent on the smallest district alone for supplies of food, and, since they had brought only ten women at most from Tahiti, for women too. As there were not only twenty-four mutineers, but a minimum of Fifteen Tahitian males, the sex-ratio of the smallest political unit in the island was somewhat altered.

The concept of colonialism demanded the erection of a fort. The first thing Crusoe did when he got ashore onto his uninhabited island, was after all, to make a fort, with a double row of sharpened stakes pointing outwards:

The entrance to the place, I made to be not by a door, but by a short ladder to go over the top, which ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me, and, so I was completely fenced in, and fortified, as I thought, from all the world, and consequently slept secure in the night, which otherwise I could not have done, tho' as it appeared afterwards, there was no need of all this caution, from the enemies that I apprehended danger from.<sup>28</sup>

Defoe might have almost been satirizing the fantasies which engrossed the mutineers on Tubuai. They too built a fort, and, good colonists that they perceived themselves to be, they named it royally, Fort George. Like Crusoe's fort, it was a monumental revelation of their state of mind. The 'reality principle' demanded, above all, vigilance against the visit of a British ship, yet a description of the ruins, which still stood 100 years later, shows that they built a fort open to the sea coast, with walls on three sides to protect them against the natives, though if they had simply attached themselves as individuals to island families, as many beachcombers did on other islands, the security problem would have been solved.<sup>29</sup>

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27 - *Ibid.*, p. 11.

28 D. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 77.

29 I.C. Campbell, 'European Transculturists in Polynesia, 1789-1840' Ph.D. Thesis, Adelaide, 1976.



Race relations deteriorated from this point on, basically because the colonists were economically dependent on the native community but were psychologically unable to adjust to the fact. Nor did they succeed in transferring their own ideas about property to the unfamiliar environment:- absence of the marks of cultivation was assumed, as later it was assumed throughout the Pacific, and especially in Australia, to imply absence of ownership. Islanders who resisted the mutineers foraging expeditions were shot. Women, it was soon discovered, would not accept the mutineers as sexual partners unless they were prepared to sleep in the villages; to become permanent and subservient members of the colonial enclave, or to go aboard the *Bounty* was unacceptable, and aroused communal hostility.

Eventually, on 10 September 1789, a conference of all the mutineers was held in the 'great cabin' of the *Bounty*. It was decided by 16 votes to 9 to return to Tahiti and to settle there instead. Christian and seven others made it clear, however, that they would not remain in Tahiti because eventual capture was inevitable. It was agreed that the mutineers would return to Tahiti and then split up. Christian and his followers were to have the ship. The *Bounty* reached Tahiti again on 20 Sept 1789.<sup>30</sup>

Failure to establish a colonial society made it clear to Christian that it would be impossible for him with the men he had, to colonise an inhabited island, and the driving force behind his actions was clearly the desire to become a colonist, Governor of his own little kingdom, like Robinson Crusoe. It meant that if he wanted any Man Fridays they would have to be part of the expedition.

Mannoni pointed out that in successfully established colonial societies there was often a correspondence between the psychological needs of the colonising European and those of the indigenous people, suffering the effects of early disorientation as the result of the first missionary and commercial contacts.<sup>31</sup> Where morality related to

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30 H.E. Maude, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

31 Mannoni, *op.cit.*, p. 67-85.



communal welfare, reinforced by strong reciprocal obligations between rulers and subjects; it became possible for a colonising European to assume a position in society analagous to that of a chiefly class in the minds of an indigenous people.<sup>32</sup> The position of the mutineers on Tahiti and Tubuai had been somewhat different. They were taking Tahitians away from Tahiti to another island, thus destroying the only framework in which they could ever have enjoyed a place as the objects of voluntary polynesian deference. On Tubuai they failed to relate in any way to the social structure of the island, but sought to establish a separate society of their own. The history of colonisation is full of similar failures on a larger scale.

To turn now to the second theme : Race relations and Gender.

The *Bounty* with Christian and his eight followers made haste to leave Tahiti on 23 September 1789. There were nine Europeans, six polynesian men, and now, very anxious to make sure that there were enough women, they were not prepared to rely on persuasion, so this time they slipped the cable while nineteen women and one little girl were being entertained below.

Six of the women, described by Tehuteatuaonoa to the Rev Henry Nott as 'considered rather ancient',<sup>33</sup> were put ashore on the adjacent island of Moorea, leaving a woman each for the mutineers but only three women between the six Tahitian men.

The immediate question was where to settle. The *Bounty* sailed west again 'discovering' Rarātonga, passing through Tonga and sighting an island in southern Lau, probably Vatoa.<sup>34</sup> Vatoa was inhabited however, and the experience of Tubuai

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32 An extreme example is the elevation of Cook to chiefly status by the Tahitians; a more illuminating example for the present purpose is the success of Sir Arthur Gordon in establishing his position as Governor of Fiji at the head of the chiefly hierarchy, even if his use of elaborate ritual did occasion some amusement on the part of his fellow-colonists.

33 Tehuteatuaonoa. *United Service Journal*, 11 Nov 1829, part 2, p. 590.

34 See above, n.12.



had put them off inhabited islands. When they eventually found Pitcairn they settled on it because it was uninhabited, and it was unlikely that European ships would ever visit it.

After the *Bounty* was burnt on 23 January 1790, her people were forced then, to work out their destiny in unique isolation. To begin with each mutineer acted out his own Crusoe fantasy independently of the others. The island was divided into nine districts, one for each mutineer. Each lived with his wife, and only united with the others in order to exploit the labour of the six Man Fridays, which had been the main purpose of including them in the expedition. Pitcairn thus became a paradigm of the later situation in countries like Fiji, where Europeans set up plantations and relied on imported labourers and in effect competed with them for the available women in the labour force.<sup>35</sup>

Life ran smoothly for two years and then, the wife of one of the mutineers, Jock Williams, died of Scrofula. The community met, and decided that Williams would have to wait for another woman until the little baby girl, born to one of the women while they had been on Tubuai, grew up. She was one year old in 1791 so it looked like being a long fretful wait: Pitcairn contained the elements of an interesting situation.

In a society as small as this, the laboratory analogy once beloved of Pacific historians applies with considerable force.

There are twenty six rats in the cage; nine white males, six brown males, and eleven brown females, and no one is going to open the cage for sixteen years.

To begin with the inhabitants behave in a fashion which accords perfectly with the ratomorphic view of human nature, indeed with the pre-Freudian pattern of

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35 J.M.R. Young, *Adventurous Spirits*, Queensland University Press, 1984.



historical explanation. The white males turn on the brown males; the brown males fight back, but they lose. The white males then fight among themselves until there is only one left. One white male, a lot of brown females, and their by now numerous offspring of both sexes. Then, someone opens the cage.

But, there is a surprise waiting: when Captain Folger of the sealer *Topaz* reached Pitcairn on 6 Feb 1808 he found not a state of anarchy, or primitive patriarchy, but an integrated community, composed chiefly of young men and women, living highly regulated lives, going to church five times every Sunday, fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, groping towards general literacy, living in family groups for the satisfaction of basic needs, but co-operating in community enterprises such as road-building, fishing and house-building in the same way as most other Pacific islanders.<sup>36</sup>

A strict moral code was in force, and it was a society which was soon to be regarded as a model of pious and orderly behaviour. The only living survivor from the *Bounty* was Alexander Smith, originally one of the most desperate of the mutineers. He had once threatened to shoot Fletcher Christian, and had tattooed his initials AS/1789 on a woman's arm, as a mark of possession, only to lose her in the end, to Isaac Martin. This man, Smith, was now a venerable patriarch on whom the community looked as father, lawgiver and priest.<sup>37</sup>

The answer to the question of how this change had taken place will illuminate in addition, the difference between human beings and rats, and it involves the third theme of religion and authority.

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36 W.K. Hancock, *Politics in Pitcairn*, p. 2.

37 *Sydney Gazette*, 17 July 1819. The Woman was Tehuteatuaonoa.



A convenient model for the purpose is outlined by Freud, especially in two works, *Totem and Taboo* and *Moses and Monotheism*, representing his major speculations on social organisation and religious development.<sup>38</sup>

Freud suggests that the common feature of social organisation at the time of man's evolution as a distinct species was a 'horde', dominated by a single aggressive male, accustomed to appropriate all the women exclusively, and the first stage in social development is the gratification of the instinctual urge on the part of the young males to kill the father and appropriate the women, their classi factory mothers. Cannibalism, eventually to be sublimated by ritual forms, ensures identification with the slain father by actual incorporation.<sup>39</sup>

classific-  
atory

In Freud's model, the human species is distinguished from others by the power to suppress the instinctual urge: postponement of gratification through the ego and super ego which has given man a unique advantage. After a period of dispute between the sons over the fathers heritage, the futility of perpetual fratricide becomes apparent. The third stage of development is agreement to a mutual renunciation of instinct, a tabu on incest, and an injunction to exogamy. The fourth stage is a transfer of some of the absolute power formerly held by the single dominant male, to the women, inaugurating a period of matriarchy. The fifth and final stage is the virtual election of a substitute father who is associated with a totemic ancestor and becomes invested with divine authority.<sup>40</sup>

Some parallels between this summary of the Freudian model and the situation on Pitcairn from 1790 to 1808 are immediately obvious, but they should be considered on both a general and a particular level. The universal religious neurosis of mankind

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38 S. Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*: Three essays (1934, 1938, 1939). Trans. J. Strachey, London, 1964. *Totem and Taboo: Some points of agreement between the mental lives of Savages and Neurotics*, 1913. (Hogarth Press, London, 1964).

39 Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, p. 141-1456.

40 Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, p. 130-136.



provides a general framework in which Pitcairn society moves from anarchy to theocracy. The details become more significant if they are related to the characteristic neurosis of the period, the "acting out" of the fantasy epitomised in the story of Man Friday and Robinson Crusoe.

From the time of their arrival on Pitcairn, the mutineers attempted to establish the colonial relationship with the Polynesian men. Because they were vigilant, and well armed, they succeeded, temporarily, in reducing the Polynesians to servitude. They therefore assumed the corollary of the fantasy, - a sexuality. Williams, the sole widower, soon felt able to insist on a wife, and took one belonging to *Tarero* a native of Raiatea who had been living on Tahiti.<sup>41</sup>

Tarero fled, and plotted revenge with the rest of the Polynesians, but they were betrayed by the women, who told the mutineers about the plot. The mutineers then ordered the biggest and strongest of the Tahitian men to kill Tarero, and one of the others, on pain of being shot himself, and he obeyed.

After this, says Teahuteatuaonoa, 'the mutineers lived in a peaceable manner for some years'.<sup>42</sup> They were also lulled into a sense of false security by their numerical superiority and by their expectations of polynesian servitude. As Crusoe taught Friday, so the Polynesians were taught the use of firearms, and bided their time, until one of them pretended to go hunting pigs, and set out round the island, killing off the mutineers one by one. Williams, the impatient widower, was the first to go, while putting up a fence, Crusoe-like, round his garden,<sup>43</sup> then Christian, who was shot from behind between the shoulders, 'They then disfigured him with an axe about the head, and left him dead on the ground.' Then the Polynesians shot Mills, then Isaac Martin,

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41 Teahuteatuaonoa, *United Services Journal*, 11 Nov 1829, part 2, p. 591.

42 *Ibid.*

43 Teahuteatuaonoa, *op.cit.* p. 595.



and 'beat him on the head with a hammer until he was quite dead', stunned Isaac Brown with stones and then shot him. Smith was wounded and asked to see his wife before he met his death. He then lay on the ground beneath a pile of women who flung themselves on top of him and pleaded successfully for his life.<sup>44</sup>

The psychopathology of this period of turbulence is clearly too complex for detailed analysis. Its significance lies in the fact that the father-figure; Christian, had been slain. The remaining males were free to compete for the available women in a context of total anarchy, and that in this context, competition became racial conflict.

Only four white men were left; Alexander Smith, now the moral victor of a racial confrontation. Mathew Quintal, and McCoy were in hiding from the Tahitians, and Young was at the lookout. Four white males, four brown males and eleven brown females might seem to be the ingredients of tranquility, but the white males were unable to escape their psychological inheritance. They succeeded in appropriating not just some, but all of the women, who assisted in the eventual destruction of all the brown males and, in the case of the last two, killed them in person. One had his skull split by a female wielding a hatchet and the other by a female firing a musket.<sup>45</sup>

Racial conflict was now replaced by sexual conflict. Not content with their victory over the Tahitian men, the women soon rose in revolt against the four remaining males. The revolt was sparked off by the wife of Mathew Quintal, who was sent to catch fish and, returning without any, had her ear bitten off.<sup>46</sup> A period of matriarchy might well have been the result had not the men, still gripped by their colonial fantasies, succeeded in acting in concert, and in putting down the revolt. It was then that the weight of guilt became such that the great copper kettle which had been brought ashore from the *Bounty* was put to use to distil liquor from the juice of the ti-root; a ritual

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44 *Ibid*, "The women threw themselves on his body, and at their entreaties his life was spared".

45 *Ibid*.

46 Nicholson, *op.cit.* p. 49.



which soon furthered the process of elimination. McKoy, says Tehuteatuaonoa, 'came on his death through drinking spirits, which brought on derangement, and caused him to leap into the sea, after having tied his own hands and feet'.<sup>47</sup>

Quintal and Young both coveted the widow of Fletcher Christian, the slain father figure, so Young and Smith invited Quintal in for a drink one day and cut his throat.<sup>48</sup> Young, once a midshipman, then began to teach the common seaman, Alexander Smith, to read, and died in his bed on Christmas day 1800.<sup>49</sup>

This left Alexander Smith, alone of the mutineers, and surrounded by a rapidly increasing population of women and adolescents of both sexes. No election had been held, but the secret of his survival was that he was the only man on Pitcairn to obtain the consistent co-operation of anyone. The last stage of the Freudian model had now been reached, and with an island full of growing male adolescents, Smith had no time to lose in obtaining religious sanction for his authority. This, he achieved by getting very drunk and being mortally frightened by a dream in which an angel pierced him with a dart.<sup>50</sup> Confronted with his unconscious fear of intrusion rising to meet him he came to terms with it in the only way that he could

Smith was by this time saturated in the language, dogma, and imagery of the books he had learnt to read, the old testament and the book of common prayer. He changed his name to John Adams, fashioned his own liturgy, and when the original wives were all dead he was able to keep all knowledge of the outside world from the younger generation.

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47 Tehuteatuaonoa, *op. cit.* p. 593.

48 Nicholson, *op. cit.* p. 50.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

50 *Ibid.*



The achievement of Adams was that he was able to create a society out of anarchy. It was a community which excited the sympathy and admiration of the world, and it grew prodigiously, until Adams began to see the need for re-settlement. He alone of the population knew of the outside world, and now absolved from his crime of mutiny by his feat of religious and political leadership, he wanted to return to it. Land was offered on Tahiti<sup>51</sup> but the plan was doomed from the outset because by this time, in 1824, second and third generation Pitcairn islanders regarded the island of their birth as their home.

Additional reasons were the relative moral laxity of the Tahitians, which the Pitcairners found profoundly disturbing,<sup>52</sup> and the racial prejudice against other polynesians, inherited from their own unique historical experience.

The murder of the Polynesian men on Pitcairn, in which the women had participated, had to be justified to succeeding generations by polynesian mothers who echoed the accusations of treachery and untrustworthiness of their self-righteous husbands. The accusations were the product of the contrast, in the experience of the mutineers, between the sexless noble savages of their universal fantasy, and the potent men of reality. In 1814 a ship of war visited Pitcairn, and her captain records the remark of Thursday October Christian, son of the mutineer.

A west-indian black who was one of the servants entered the room to attend table as usual. Christian look at him steadily, rose, asked for his hat and said, 'I dont like that black fellow, I must go'.<sup>53</sup>

And in 1837, the experiment of re-settlement on Tahiti came to an end. The inhabitants of Pitcairn returned, for the time being, to their island home having proved to the world that though they could enact the moral and political principles which the

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51 *Ibid.*

52 W.K. Hancock, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

53 Shillibeer, Luis J. *A Narrative of the Bounty's Voyage to Pitcairn's Island*. Law & Whitaker; London, 1817, p. 89. Cit. Maude. 'Tahitian Interlude' in *Of Islands and Men*, p. 303, n. 71.



philosophers could but conceive, there was no more escape for them than for anyone else, from the return of the repressed.



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
11 June, 1988.

Mr Anthony English,  
50 Mann Street,  
ARMIDALE, NSW 2350.

Dear Mr English,

Thanks for your letter, which I should have replied to before but I have only just got back from a rather protracted visit to Cairns and Cooktown.

You got a bargain with your purchase of an inscribed copy of A Pattern of Islands. If my signature on a seminar paper can be worth \$50 (as I see from a recent catalogue) Grimble's on his bestseller must be worth \$400 or more.

But I cannot say who he stayed with in Moss Vale. Despite the difference in dates I fancy that he would be referring to a visit in or about September 1932, as he left Banaba in August on transfer to St Vincent and no doubt had to wait in Australia for a passage.

So far as I know he never visited Australia again and he died only four years after writing the inscription in your book.

By a curious coincidence I signed a formal agreement today with the University of Hawaii Press for publishing a 513 page manuscript containing all Grimble's unpublished ethnographic fieldnotes and a number of his completed but unpublished papers on the Gilbertese maneaba and ethnohistory. The book should appear in the U.S. early next year, possibly under the title Tungaru Traditions.

You must have enjoyed your time as D.O., Central Gilberts at Abemama, and you certainly had distinguished predecessors: Murdoch from October 1908 until his retirement and Grimble in 1915 and 1916. I have the latter's notebook as D.O. there and also some of his correspondence, including an amusing series between himself as D.O. and himself as Sub-Accountant.

I enclose a photocopy of my sketch of Grimble as an ethnographer, taken from the forthcoming book, which also contains an excellent attack by him on the L.M.S. for their attitude towards dancing and a History of Abemama by Airam Teeko, who piloted us into the lagoon on the Mauno in 1931. I found it among the Papers.

Yours sincerely,



30 April 1988

50 Mann Street  
Armidale  
NSW 2350

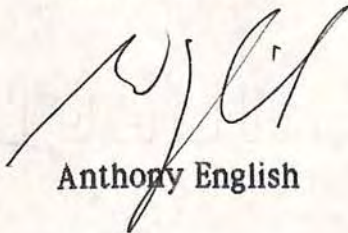
Professor H.E. Maude  
11 Namatjira Drive  
Weston ACT 2611

Dear Professor Maude:

A few weeks ago I found a hardbound, autographed copy of **A Pattern of Islands** at the Tamworth Book Exchange. Attached is a photocopy of the book's title page. I would appreciate your sending me a brief note to let me know whether or not the inscription means anything to you.

I have something in common with Grimble, in that I spent two years (1975-77) living on Abemama as District Officer for the Central Gilberts.

Yours sincerely,



Anthony English



*With memories of Moss Vale still fresh  
of Arthur Grimble.*  
ARTHUR GRIMBLE  
12 November, 1952

---

# A PATTERN OF ISLANDS



LONDON  
JOHN MURRAY  
ALBEMARLE STREET, W.



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, A.C.T.2611,  
Australia,  
11 June, 1988.

Dr Royce L. Oliver,  
Business Manager,  
Atoll Research Bulletin,  
National Museum of Natural History,  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20560.

Dear Dr Oliver,

I am extremely grateful to the Smithsonian Institution, and particularly to Dr Fosberg and the late Dr Marie-Helene Sachet, for kindly continuing to forward the Atoll Research Bulletin.

I have used the information contained in various Bulletins when writing most of my books, articles and papers on the Pacific Islands, and in my latest work Tungaru Traditions, now being published by the Center for Pacific Islands Studies, in association with the University of Hawaii Press, I was able to incorporate material from Bulletins 294 and 295 on the flora of the Gilbert Islands.

As you will see, however, from the enclosed address sheet the Bulletins are being sent to my former address at 77 Arthur Circle, Forrest, A.C.T.2603, probably due to an oversight on my part in notifying you.

As I have now moved permanently would you please change my address on your books and mailing sheets to:

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

With many thanks,  
Sincerely,



H.E. Maude.



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**PRINTED MATTER**



6 Denmark Street,  
California Gully.  
EAGLEHAWK. 3556.

30 June, 1988.

Dr. H.E. Maude,  
42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
WESTON. A.C.T. 2611.

Dear Dr. Maude,

re: D. G. KENNEDY

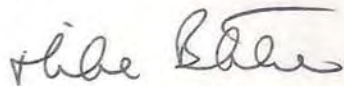
Thank you for agreeing to meet with Don Kennedy and myself on Saturday, 30 July, 1988, at your home.

I was most interested to hear that Prof. J.A. Boutilier has an interest in D.G. Kennedy. I would like to write to him to register an interest.

Don Kennedy's interest in his father extends beyond filial piety, as his father was as great an enigma to him as <sup>to</sup> posterity. I believe he is attempting to come to terms with his memory after an estrangement of thirty years.

I look forward to meeting you next month.

Yours sincerely,



MIKE BUTCHER.



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
23 June, 1988.

Mr M. Butcher,  
6 Denmark Street,  
EAGLEHAWK,  
Victoria 3556.

Dear Mr Butcher,

With reference to your letter of 9 June, which arrived just after my return from North Queensland, I shall be in Canberra for the foreseeable future and should be willing to answer any questions on the late D.G. Kennedy which may be exercising you, other than those of a confidential or controversial nature.

As I stated to Professor J.A. Boutilier, who is making a comprehensive biography of Kennedy, I am not convinced that the time is opportune as yet to publish a detailed analysis of Kennedy's career based, as it would have to be, on evaluations of his personal psychology and motivations.

But a family history, prepared as an act of filial piety probably for private circulation among Kennedy's relatives, would seem unobjectionable, provided it is confined mainly to matters within the public domain.

You will no doubt let me know in due course if and when you would propose to visit Canberra so that I am be in a position to reserve say an afternoon free. My wife and I keep to a fairly heavy schedule of writing and preparing for publication but, given notice, can arrange our programme to suit your convenience.

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.



6 Denmark Street,  
CALIFORNIA GULLY  
EAGLEHAWK  
VICTORIA 3556

(054) 432411 (W)  
(054) 467924 (H)

9 June, 1988

Dr. H. E. Maude,  
Unit 42,  
'Miringani',  
11 Namatjira Drive,  
WESTON A.C.T. 2611

Dear Dr. Maude,

re: Donald Gilbert Kennedy 1898-1976

Your address was given to me by Professor Ward of the Australian National University.

Donald Lipine Kennedy has asked me to assist him in compiling a biography of his late father, Donald Gilbert Kennedy. Don was born on Tuvalu but has resided in Australia for many years. He believes he may have met you as a child.

Would it be possible for Don and myself to visit you to discuss his father whom I understand you knew personally?

I will be doing some of the more formal research in the Public Record Office, London, later in the year. Your guidance in approaching the voluminous Colonial Office records would be appreciated.

I trust this letter finds you in good health and look forward to an early reply.

Yours sincerely,



MIKE BUTCHER



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston. ACT 2611,  
7 June, 1988.

Fabian Hutchinson,  
PO Box 218,  
CARLTON SOUTH,  
Victoria 3053.

Dear Fabian Hutchinson,

As I have been away for some time in Cairns and Cooktown your papers on the Pacific Archives Survey have been awaiting my return to Canberra.

I note that the date for returning the information which you require has long passed and in any case I have been retired for many years and my records on the various archival collections on the Pacific in Australia which I have had occasion to investigate during the past 30 years are now for the most part contained in correspondence which is itself deposited in the Maude Archival Collection in Adelaide, in charge of Susan Woodburn, Special Collections Librarian and University Archivist at the Barr Smith Library.

Collections which occur to me on the spur of the moment are as follows:

- (1) The R.W. Robson Collection (founder of the Pacific Islands Monthly)
- (2) The material with Olaf Ruhen (including the MS and other items on Bully Hayes;
- (3) The early Fijian photographic and MS material until recently in Bundanoon;
- (4) The material on C.M. Woodford, former R.C., B.S.I.P.;
- (5) The J.L. Young Collection;
- (6) The archival material known to Alan Ives, Riverina College Archives and Records Service;
- (7) The collections reported by me over the years to the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau; and
- (8) The microfilms of whaling logs and other MSS catalogued by Robert Langdon.

There must be many others that would come to mind, had I the time, but in my eighties I have lost the power of instant recall of information which I have had no occasion to use for at least 20 years. Some would probably be recorded in such publications as:

- (1) 'Searching for Sources', JPH III:210-22 (1968).
- (2) The Documentary Basis for Pacific Studies; a Report on Progress and Desiderata. 48 pp. (1967).



- (3) 'The Documentary Basis for Pacific Studies', Library Association of Australia, Proceedings, pp.274-85 (1971).
- (4) 'Documentary Resources for the Study of Pacific Islands Cultures', Australian National Advisory Committee for Unesco, pp.199-209 (1971).
- (5) 'Bibliographic Control of Pacific Manuscripts', Australian Unesco Seminar (1973).
- (6) Source Materials related to Research in the Pacific Area, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service (1973), pp.70-83.
- (7) Pacific Documentation: an Introductory Survey. Australian National Advisory Committee for Unesco.

I have extracted the above from the Bibliography of my publications in Gunson, Niel (ed.), The Changing Pacific: Essays in honour of H.E. Maude (Melbourne, OUP, 1978), where the correct citations will be found.

I enclose a listing of Sections A-J of my own archival material (and that of my wife) in the archives at Adelaide.

The main material still to be deposited there (I quote from a letter to Susan Woodburn):

'The references to, manuscript copies of, or notes on, the less accessible source material relating to Pacific studies. This is quite a gold mine for students and you may decide that it should be housed in my library rather than the archives, though 99% of it is undeniably composed of manuscripts, typescripts, or occasionally photocopies. There are four series:-

- (1) About 50 quarto hard-cover springback binders, numbered and with a card index to the subjects covered. Within each subject filing the items are arranged chronologically.
- (2) About 12 foolscap ditto.
- (3) About 50 manilla folders housing the items that because of their size or some other reason would not fit into the springback binders.
- (4) 12 red boxes housing unsorted material. But I hope to get all the items into their appropriate places in Series 1-3.

Finally there are the Grimble, Simmons and Maude Collections of manuscript material on the culture and oral traditions of the Gilbertese (or I-Kiribati) people, consisting of field-notes or transcriptions in about 150 files or notebooks, all collected in the islands before 1940 and written in English or Gilbertese, or a mixture of both. An absolutely unique quarry for a bi-lingual anthropological or ethnohistorical research worker.'



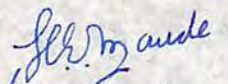
Publications on these deposits are:

- (1) Young, John, 'H.E. Maude: the man and his books'. University of Adelaide Library News, vol.8, no.1 (June 1986), pp.16-21.
- (2) Woodburn, Susan, 'H.E. Maude, Colonial Administrator and Historian'. (To appear in the next issue of the Pacific Archives Journal).

In view of the date on which your request was received this is about all I can say which may be of use to you, and even this may well be too late for your purpose.

You have my sympathy for to do a proper job you need a year, not three months, and funds to enable you to travel to where your informants live and the records are located.

Yours sincerely,

  
H.E. Maude.

P.S. I notice some errors on your page entitled 'Areas covered by The Pacific Archives Survey':

- (1) Tonga is not the Society Is, but the Friendly Is.
- (2) The Gambier Is are usually called Mangareva.
- (3) Palmyra I. is part of the Line Is.
- (4) Chatham Is should be included under New Zealand, with the same restrictions.
- (5) Irian Jaja should be Irian Jaya.
- (6) French Polynesia, including Tahiti, has been omitted.
- (7) Kiribati is not the Gilbert Is but the Republic of Kiribati, which includes the Gilbert, Phoenix and Line Is (excluding Palmyra and Jarvis Is) and Banaba (Ocean I.).
- (8) Banaba (Ocean I.) is not a State but part of the Republic of Kiribati.
- (9) The Phoenix Is have been omitted.
- (10) Micronesia (Fed. States) should be Federated States of Micronesia.
- (11) Trust Territory of the Pacific Is can now be omitted.
- (12) The Caroline Is are part of the Federated States of Micronesia.
- (13) Palau should be spelt Belau.



Harry Maude.

I send you this "for Information"  
-as I know it is a project that  
you stated the need for, even in the  
"era" of Ida Leeson + Phyllis Mander-Jones.  
With best wishes,  
Fabian Hutch. (Fabian HUTCHINSON)

Pacific Island Archives in Australia

A SURVEY & DIRECTORY OF PACIFIC COLLECTIONS

Background to the "Pacific" archives Survey:

The need for a survey of Pacific archives in Australia was suggested even prior to the emergence of the Pacific Island states, by H.E. Maude in Unesco papers in the 1960's.

Other types of Pacific materials have been surveyed: in 1980, UNESCO funded a pilot survey of the Pacific Islands museum materials in Australia, which resulted in a detailed Inventory of Pacific artefacts in Australia, (3v. 1983-84).

A pilot Survey of archival collections is now being funded by UNESCO. The consultant is Fabian Hutchinson, who made a survey of Pacific Island archives in the UK, (1985). The present project is a 3-months, limited-term feasibility study of the scope and scale of collections for inclusion in a Guide or Data base.

Prior to the Survey, existing lists that include entries for "Pacific" records (such as the National Library's Guide to Manuscripts, and the listings in the Journal of Pacific History) have been scanned. Practitioners in the field (Pacific historians, librarians & archivists) are being interviewed to identify collections not included in existing directories, and to obtain more detailed information.

The scope of this Survey

The Survey is seeking, in summary form where possible, the information essential to:

- a Directory listing for each Institution (or person) holding collections (or significant single items) relating to the Pacific Islands & New Guinea, in Australia including historical records of any date (even 1980s) paper records (documents, manuscripts & non-book ephemera) photographs, film & sound archives, 'oral history' data; & summary of geographical scope, key subjects, & quantity.

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PLEASE RETURN THE COMPLETED FORM TO THE SURVEY OFFICE  
IN THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED by Monday, ~~23 May 1988.~~ 31 May  
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For further information about completing the form, please contact Fabian Hutchinson (Project Archivist),

ph. (03) 348-1009 (Weekdays, 9-5).



# Pacific Archives Survey

THE SURVEY RETURN DEADLINE DATE IS SHOWN AS 31 MAY 1988.

DUE TO UNFORESEEN DELAYS IN DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURVEY FORMS  
THIS DEADLINE MAY BE DIFFICULT FOR SOME INSTITUTIONS TO MEET.

HOWEVER IT WOULD BE GREATLY APPRECIATED IF YOU COULD SEND  
YOUR REPLY BY THIS DATE, AS THIS IS A LIMITED-TERM PROJECT.



# Pacific Archives Survey

## PACIFIC ARCHIVES SURVEY (1988)

This is a Survey of Pacific collections in institutions & private hands in Australia.

This Survey is being conducted on behalf of UNESCO, to report on the scope and scale of "Pacific" collections and the possibility of their description in a Guide or Data base.

The consultant is Fabian Hutchinson, who made a survey of Pacific Island archives in the UK, (1985). The present project is a fixed-term (3-months) feasibility study.

Information is sought for two purposes:

1. to report on the extent of Pacific collections in Australia, in terms of a Feasibility Study of a Guide to Pacific Archives in Australia.
2. to produce a simple Directory-style listing based on the summary details of Pacific archival collections from the information obtained in this Survey.

In the first part of the project, general Guides and Directories were analysed and Survey lists were made.

Your co-operation at this stage will greatly assist in making the feasibility study effective. It is hoped also that enough information will be obtained, in standard format, to create at least a Directory of Pacific collections from the Survey.

**PLEASE act now, as the Survey returns are due by 31 May 1988.**

Fabian Hutchinson (Project Office) ph. (03) 348.1009

Postal address: P.O. BOX 218  
Carlton South  
VIC. 3053.

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NOTE: Do not hesitate to contact me at the Office if there are difficulties in completing certain parts of the Survey for which you or your institution hold materials.

Such information (about any difficulties of approach) may be pertinent to the terms of the Feasibility Study.

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## PACIFIC ARCHIVES SURVEY

The Survey seeks to cover all collections of records relating to the Pacific Islands (& New Guinea) held in Australia, including those in private collection.

You are asked to fill in one or more parts of the Survey as appropriate, covering:

### I. GENERAL INFORMATION

- A. Individual information [directed to persons with a knowledge of collections in Australia, other than major institutional collections: eg. researchers in the field, private owners of materials...]
- or
- B. Institutional details [standard general questions relating to an Organisation]

### II. SURVEY QUESTIONS ON THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF RECORDS:

1. PAPER ARCHIVES & DOCUMENTS \*
2. PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTIONS (incl. SLIDES) \*\*
3. FILMS & AUDIO-VISUAL RECORDS \*\*
4. SOUND ARCHIVES & ORAL HISTORY PROGRAMS \*\*
5. MACHINE-READABLE (COMPUTER) RECORDS \*\*

\* Please note that the present survey does NOT cover books; - Printed Ephemera/ Rare Serials Collections may be included.

\*\* Survey forms 2-5 are separate from the rest of the Survey.

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For information about the completion of the survey,  
PLEASE RING ME DIRECTLY ON (03) 348.1009.

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Please Mail completed survey forms to:

PACIFIC ARCHIVES SURVEY, P.O.BOX 218, CARLTON SOUTH, VIC 3053  
by 31 May 1988.

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(Fabian Hutchinson).

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PACIFIC ARCHIVES SURVEY (I. General Information)

The first part of the Survey seeks to establish basic information about those contributing to the Survey. (Please complete EITHER the Individual OR the Institutional survey).

A. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INDIVIDUALS

1. Name (& Title): \_\_\_\_\_

2. Mailing address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. Business/Home ph.: ( ) \_\_\_\_\_ ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

4. Is your knowledge of PACIFIC (and/or NEW GUINEA) materials based on one or more of the following:

- \_\_\_ RESEARCH .....
- \_\_\_ TEACHING
- \_\_\_ PRIVATE COLLECTION (your own/others)
- \_\_\_ MEMBERSHIP OF ASSOCIATION(S)
- \_\_\_ LIBRARIANSHIP/ARCHIVING PROFESSION
- \_\_\_ FILM INDUSTRY
- \_\_\_ "PACIFIC BASED" PROJECT-WORK
- \_\_\_ MILITARY SERVICE / DIPLOMATIC SERVICE
- \_\_\_ RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS
- \_\_\_ Other (please specify) .....

5. Associated professional or "Pacific"-related institutions (i.e. any institution(s) within which you have had some involvement in documentation of "Pacific" materials):  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. Area of the Pacific / New Guinea, and/or main Subject, of your interest in collecting or documenting:  
\_\_\_\_\_

7. Do you have a collection? Please give brief details of its scope of coverage, scale (volume) and format:  
\_\_\_\_\_ \*

8. Is any part of the collection listed/indexed ?  
If so, could you please enclose a copy with your reply ?  
\_\_\_\_\_

9. Could you suggest other Collections for this Survey ? \*

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\* ( please write details on a separate sheet ).



PACIFIC ARCHIVES SURVEY (I. General Information)

The first part of the Survey seeks to establish basic information about those contributing to the Survey. (Please complete EITHER the Individual OR the Institutional survey).

**B. SURVEY OF INSTITUTIONS HOLDING "PACIFIC" MATERIALS**

1. Name of Organisation \_\_\_\_\_
  2. Name of Repository or Branch (if different)  
\_\_\_\_\_
  3. Mailing Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  4. Location (if different) \_\_\_\_\_
  5. Contact person (for "Pacific" Reference inquiries):  
TITLE \_\_\_\_\_ (Name:) \_\_\_\_\_
  6. Phone ( ) \_\_\_\_\_ /Ext: \_\_\_\_\_.
  7. Hours / (Week)days Open: \_\_\_\_\_
  8. Is reference open to: the public? bona-fide researchers?  
(please state here any general requirements such as  
Membership/Reader's Ticket/Appointment in advance ...)  
OPEN Yes/No / GENERAL CONDITIONS OF ACCESS APPLY:  
\_\_\_\_\_
  9. Is material within the collection(s) generally available?  
Or are there certain restricted classes of materials?  
\_\_\_\_\_
  10. Is there a brochure outlining Conditions of Access? \*
  11. Is there any Guide to the reference materials? \*
  12. Does the Guide/Catalogue/Index include "PACIFIC" entries  
by AREA, SUBJECT, NAME entries or other listings? \*
  13. Is any "Pacific" reference material on sale? \*
- \* If so, could you please enclose details with this reply.



# Pacific Archives Survey

## PACIFIC ARCHIVES SURVEY (II. Types of Records)

The second part of the Survey asks for information in summary form about certain types of materials.

Please complete any of the Forms 1-5 appropriate to the type of materials that are held in the collection(s).

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### SURVEY FORMS ON THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF RECORDS:

- Form 1. Paper Archives & Documents
  - Form 2. Films & Audio-Visual Records \*\*
  - Form 3. Photograph Collections (incl. Slides) \*\*
  - Form 4. Sound Archives & Oral History Programs \*\*
  - Form 5. Machine-Readable (Computer) Records \*\*
- 

### PLEASE NOTE:

the surveys DO NOT seek detailed responses in the form of itemised listings, transcripts, or scattered single item-entries from catalogues.

Only **summary details of identifiable collections, significant series or major items** are requested.

i.e. Sufficient information for Directory-style of the Pacific archival collections held here, and especially, information that will assist in the Feasibility Study of a Guide to the resources.

If in doubt, or if additional forms are required -

please contact me on (03) 348.1009 [Fabian Hutchinson, Survey Office].

\*\* Survey forms 2-5 are separate from the earlier parts of the Survey. If you have not received these, and you/your institution do hold any collections of Pacific-area Photographs (& Slides), Film/Video, Sound Archives, or Computer/Data-Bases, please request the appropriate Form from the Office.

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AS THIS IS A FIXED-TERM PROJECT... A REPLY IS KEENLY AWAITED

Please complete and return survey forms by 31 May 1988.



**SURVEY FORM 1. Paper Archives & Documents**

1.1 Please indicate if "Pacific" materials of the following types are held in the Collection: (specify or add any more specific types on a separate sheet if necessary):

- **PRINTED MATERIALS** (Official Documents /Serials /Reports)
- **GOVERNMENT RECORDS** (Official Series of Archives)  
(scope? functions?).....
- **ARCHIVES**  
(Non-Government): (Institutional?)  
Area Associations  
(eg. Travel Agents regional association)  
Business Archives: (Bank Archives; Company records);  
Records of Professional Bodies; International bodies;  
Conference & Project records; Records of Religious  
Institutions, Missionary Archives; School archives.
- **OTHER TYPES OF ARCHIVAL RECORDS:**  
(Thematic/Institutional)  
Business (Industries): Plantation, Mining, Whaling;  
Community (cultural/political) records,  
& Community leaders' records; Educational; Health  
(Hospital, Medical); Archives of Labour, The "Labour  
Trade" records; Press, Publications & Communications;  
Scientific; Social/Cultural activities; Sporting records;  
Shipping records; Tourist Trade records;
- **MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS**  
(& PERSONAL ARCHIVAL MATERIALS)  
Logs; Private Journals; Travel Diaries; Literary Works;  
Autographs; Letters; Personal Papers; Transcripts and  
Drafts (eg. of Radio Talks)
- **VOCABULARIES**  
(and associated "Language" materials)
- **PRINTS & DRAWINGS**  
(incl. GRAPHIC WORKS ON PAPER)
- **PRINT OUT**  
(Hard Copy) Data from Data-Bases:  
Censuses; Polls; Research Data;
- **INDEXES** (incl. CARD INDEXES)  
(eg. Indexes to Shipping Records, Biographical Sources)
- **Other Paper-based Materials** (please specify):

1.2 Please give a summary of the "Pacific" Collections, using (1) only a brief single Name or phrase entry for each Collection, (2) broad date-range, (3) volume; and indicate if materials are (4) listed, (5) indexed.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

-----  
(PLEASE CONTINUE IN THIS FORM ON A SEPARATE SHEET)



SURVEY FORM 1. Paper Archives & Documents (ctd.)

1.3 Are any parts of the Collection(s) closed to users ?

Please give details affecting specific Collections:

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1.4 Are there Registers or Indexes covering particular Collections & Series, or any other general Finding Aids & Reference Materials (Guides, Lists, Indexes) for use in approaching the "Pacific" archival materials ?

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1.5 What % of records is not covered by Finding Aids? \_\_\_\_

1.6 Are these Pacific archival collections covered in any other general reference sources? (indicate how fully):

\_\_\_\_ National Library of Australia Guide to manuscripts...  
\_\_\_\_ Journal of Pacific History and/or Bibliography (annual)  
\_\_\_\_ Thematic directories eg. Register of church archives...

\_\_\_\_ (Other?) \_\_\_\_\_

1.7 Do you know of any professional papers, describing any of the "Pacific" Collections held here, that could help in this Study of the extent/condition of materials?

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1.8 Are any of the materials available in Microfilm? (i.e. Copies of microfilms from Australian Joint Copying Project; Pacific Manuscripts Bureau; or some other body? Or microfilms original to the Institution? ):

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1.9 Are any of the following facilities available for use?

MICROFICHE/MICROFILM READERS/READER-PRINTERS;  
PHOTOCOPY; PROVISION of/for PHOTOGRAPHIC COPYING;  
Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

=====



AREAS covered by the PACIFIC ARCHIVES SURVEY:

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The area includes the whole of the Pacific Ocean region, incl. New Guinea, (& New Zealand if relating to Pacific Is.); The following list is indicative only; for detailed guidance please refer to the Pacific Islands Yearbook listings.

OCEANIA

[PACIFIC ISLANDS], [SOUTH PACIFIC], [SOUTH-WESTERN PACIFIC]

POLYNESIA [general]

[States]: COOK IS., FIJI, NIUE, TOKELAU, TONGA [SOCIETY IS.], TUVALU [ELLICE IS.], WESTERN SAMOA

[Other areas:] AMERICAN SAMOA, AUSTRAL IS., CHATHAM IS., EASTER I., GAMBIER IS., HAWAII [SANDWICH IS.], KERMADEC IS., LINE IS., [incl. CHRISTMAS I.], MARQUESAS, NORFOLK I., PALMYRA I., PITCAIRN IS TUAMOTU ARCHIPELAGO, WALLIS & FUTUNA.

NEW ZEALAND [only historical materials which refer to any direct Pacific Is. contact or territories].

MELANESIA [general]; "ISLAND MELANESIA" and NEW GUINEA

[States] PAPUA NEW GUINEA, SOLOMON IS, VANUATU [NEW HEBRIDES]

[Other areas]: ADMIRALTY IS., BANKS IS., BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO BOUGANVILLE/BUKA, NEW BRITAIN, NEW IRELAND; NEW CALEDONIA [general], LOYALTY IS.

["GERMAN NEW GUINEA"], ["DUTCH/NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA"]. IRIAN JAJA. PORT MORESBY.

PNG PROVINCES: CENTRAL; EASTERN HIGHLANDS [incl. CHIMBU]; GULF; MADANG; MILNE BAY; MOROBE; NORTHERN PROVINCE; SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS; WESTERN HIGHLANDS.

MICRONESIA

[States]: BANABA [OCEAN I.], KIRIBATI [GILBERT IS.], NAURU MICRONESIA [FED. STATES], PALAU,

[Other areas]: TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC IS. [UN/USA], CAROLINE IS., MARIANAS [NORTHERN MARIANA IS., SOUTHERN MARIANA IS.], MARSHALL IS.

Note: THE PHILIPPINES, TAIWAN; AUSTRALIAN ISLANDS IN THE TIMOR SEA AND INDIAN OCEAN "CHRISTMAS ISLAND" ARE EXCLUDED.

=====



TELEPHONE  
341 5961

TELEGRAMS  
UNIMELB PARKVILLE



# The University of Melbourne

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

From the Chairman

Parkville, Victoria 3052

Dear Harry, you'll see yourself in the essay 'Ethnography on my mind'. I hope you get a lot of it.

I had hoped to have had the pleasure of sending you this book, The Bounty: An Ethnographic History, as well as History's Anthropology: The Death of William Gooch. Both, as it happened, have been published in the same week in Melbourne and Washington. But I only have a few copies of History's Anthropology in hand before we go on leave on July 1. I will send History's Anthropology to you, sometime in September when I get to Princeton and will have more copies at my disposal. I enclose our addresses for the next year. We hope we will not lose touch.

Greg Dening

We did this ourselves on our  
Macintosh compute.

We learned a lot from our mistakes!



We are about to go overseas for a year, July 8, 1988 to July 8, 1989. Donna has been made a Fellow in the Shelby Davis Center at Princeton University, and Greg has been appointed member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton and has been awarded a Senior Fulbright Fellowship. We hoped that we would not lose track of our friends and family by telling everybody what our new addresses are.

Our private addresses:

July 8 - August 21: 357 Opihikao Pl.  
Honolulu, Hawaii 90822  
Tel. (808) 395 2002

Aug. 31 - June 30: 101 Einstein Drive  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Our Work Addresses:

Donna: July 8 - August 21: Department of History  
University of Hawaii  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

Aug. 31 - June 30: ~~Aug~~ Shelby Davis Center  
Department of History  
129 Dickinson Hall  
Princeton, New Jersey 08544  
Tel. (609) 452 4997

Greg: July 8 - August 21: Center for Pacific Island Studies  
University of Hawaii at Manoa  
1980 East-West Road  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822  
(808) 948 7700

Aug. 31 - June 30: ~~Aug 31~~ School of Social Science  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540  
Tel. (609) 734 8000

Donna Merwick Dening  
Greg Dening.



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
7 June, 1988.

Dear Greg,

Your welcome letter was waiting for me here when we returned from a few weeks in Cairns, Cooktown and the Atherton Highlands, visiting the 19 relatives from South Africa sponsored a few years ago by Honor.

They were all marked opponents of the government policy on apartheid and had to get out before it was too late, and we were delighted to find them doing well under the completely different conditions obtaining in Australia, and not one of them regretting the move.

I had to go to Fiji in December to get an Hon. Doctorate from the USP, which pleased me because it was the first to be given to an expatriate European and from the citation it was clear that it was for my efforts to encourage the study of island (or local) history, and particularly history based on oral tradition as well as documentation and any other records of the past available. You are the only other person I know who has an interest in the internal history of the island peoples.

I was not well in Fiji and on my return had to spend 3½ months almost entirely in bed, ending with hospitalization (I was officially reprimanded by Sir Harry Luke for using that 'barbarous' word in a despatch) and an operation, after which I recovered with rapidity.

Since then I have been helping Linley Chapman of the Center for Pacific Studies to do the final editing of Grimble's Tungaru Traditions, which I sent to Robert Kiste as a 513 page MS and is now being published by the Center in association with the University Press of Hawaii.

It was a debt which I owed to Grimble, as well as to the Kiribati people, for I was indebted to him for so much help in my salad days and for his seminal ideas on ethnohistory. But the effort of producing a book from the chaotic miscellanea of notes on odd scraps of paper damn nearly killed me. D.V. it will be a treasury of source material for the Gilbertese on their pre-contact way of life now largely forgotten.

I look forward keenly to your History's Anthropology, as you can well imagine, especially as I am working now on producing a complete set of Gilbertese oral traditions from the Grimble, Simmonds, Pateman, Maude and Latouche collections for use as a source book for the islanders and a help to myself in completing my History of the I-Kiribati before the coming of the European, which I conjecture may need to be substantially amended as a result of your study.



And the Bounty Book will not only be fascinating reading but I hope of assistance in working out how to <sup>set</sup> these traditions published in a small edition of say 250-500 copies; for it will have to be paid for by me, I'm afraid, being of no interest to anyone else but islanders, who have little or no money for anything, let alone books.

In return I shall at least be able to send you the book on Tungaru Traditions, which contains four chapters - The Historical Content of Gilbertese Mythology; a Genealogical Approach to Gilbertese History; a Discourse on the Dance; and a Cultural History of Abemama, by a Gilbertese, Airam Teeko - which you may find of interest.

Of course you may publish anything you need from whatever I have written or produced, including maps, and you are at liberty to castigate anything as requisite. Apart from the fact that I regard anything I publish as being immediately part of the public domain and not subject to copyright restrictions, to be quoted by you would be an honour.

I was sorry to find Fiji in such a pitiful state, but like other unfortunate events that are taking place in the aftermath of decolonization it is not so much the indigenous people who are to blame but rather the Europeans who created an impossible situation in introducing an alien race to serve their own interests, and who then allowed them to stay on after the termination of their period of indenture.

Thank goodness the ultra-democratic Gilbertese have succeeded in surmounting their teething troubles by consensus so far; in fact the restraint and tolerance they show in their parliamentary debates would put our own leaders to shame.

We send our love and hope that your year in Princeton may prove happy and inspirational; in marked contrast, I should imagine, to your period as a departmental chairman.

Yours ever,

*Leah*



TELEPHONE  
341 5961  
TELEGRAMS  
UNIMELB PARKVILLE



# The University of Melbourne

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

*From the Chairman*

*Parkville, Victoria 3052*

May 25 1988

Dear Harry,

It is a long time since I have written, or since I have seen you. I hope all is well with you and Honor. I hoped, as well to be sending you a copy of a recent book - no books - History's Anthropology: The Death of William Gooch, and The Bounty: An Ethnographic History. They are due out soon. History's Anthropology is bona fide, but The Bounty is a 'desk-top' publication for one of our classes. You will see that there is nothing new, and you will see in the reflections what role you play in it and in my thinking on Pacific History. More than that, I need your permission to copy your map of Tubuai from Of Islands and Men. I am writing with this to OUP as well. The booklet will have 250 copies, be sold non profit basically to our students. If it goes to further publication, we would seek your permission again, of course.

Donna and I are about to go overseas - to Princeton - for a year. I have been chairman and I need to get away from the place.

I imagine you are watching events in the Pacific with pain and apprehension. I wish I could be optimistic that there will be no more bloodshed.

With all our love,

Greg Dening



Ken,

I had been meaning to photocopy some pages on Raine Island which I knew to be in a book by our old friend Albert Ellis but when I came to look them up yesterday I found that references to the atoll were scattered through most of the work and some of them seemed to me of considerable interest and value.

So I am sending you the whole tome by certified mail as I value it somewhat for sentimental reasons, i.e. Sir Albert gave it to us after duly inscribing it with his moniker. When you have had time to copy what you want from it I should be most grateful if you could let us have it back by the same means, since I have a probably illogical distrust of the Australian postal system.

The Raine Island guano venture lasted from 1890-1892 and Albert Ellis was there for the whole period with his father and mother and his two brothers George and James. As you will see the grave you showed me a photo of was not that of his brother's wife, as I had thought, but of his mother; and there should be another grave with a cross near the centre of the island, but being made of wood I suppose it has disintegrated.

Honor has been in to say: 'I have just been washing a tablecloth given to me by the daughter-in-law of the lady whose grave is on Raine Island': it makes one realize that the world is a small place.

Another coincidence: you will find in the book many references to the great John T. Arundel, who was in ultimate charge of the Raine Island operations, and all others of the Pacific Islands Company (later the British Phosphate Commission), and who visited the islet from Cooktown. His daughter, Mrs Sydney (born on Sydney Island in the Phoenix Group) Aris, was a dear friend of ours for many years before her death and was anxious that I should write his biography (which was the reason why I was given the Arundel diaries and papers, now deposited in the National Library). On my table for answering is a letter from her son John Aris sending a photo of Arundel as a young man in the 1860s. I enclose a photocopy of both though my machine does not do justice to the photo (I'll get a better one done by a professional if you should ever want it for the 'Raine Island Archives', as I know of no other taken later).

I once wrote in a paper, rather conceitedly: 'For much of my middle years I felt an empathy towards John Arundel which I have never felt for anyone else: in my own milieu I was known in the 30s and 40s as the "island monomaniac", and as I wandered often alone over the uninhabited low atolls of the Central Pacific - Hull, Gardner, Sydney, Canton, Enderbury, Caroline, Flint, Nassau, and many others - I used to sense his presence and felt that only he and I really understood the compelling attraction of these remote, lonely and minute islets in the immensity of the ocean'.



Honor says that you would like what is called by some my 'Boti botch', so I am sending one with delight for I believe that you are the only person I know who understands why anyone should prefer to write for the islanders rather than for Europeans. None of my historian colleagues do, for they regard the islanders as people to be written about; but not for.

The only comment I remember receiving on the Boti monograph was from Jim Davidson, the late Professor of Pacific History, who said: 'Congratulations, Harry, you have at last succeeded in making yourself totally incomprehensible'; and in 10 years the Polynesian Society succeeded in selling 70 copies, whereas when reprinted for the island peoples (at the request of the Kiribati Government) in the edition I am sending it has sold, I'm told, 3,000 copies and is now in its third reprinting.

There is more earlier material on Raine Island, and particularly on the Beacon, but it will need to be copied in the library or archives, so I shall wait until I hear what your people have got already, lest I merely duplicate your existing records.

Harry  
6.6.88.



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
4th June, 1988.

Professor S.V. Szokolay,  
Department of Architecture,  
University of Queensland,  
St Lucia, Queensland 4067.

Dear Professor Szokolay,

Your letter of the 18th May was awaiting me on my return from North Queensland yesterday: hence the delay in replying.

I should like to help John Hockings in any way possible for I admired his courage and pertinacity in tackling an interdisciplinary theme for his thesis, and especially one involving fieldwork on a remote equatorial atoll where the islanders had evolved a specialized culture adapted to unique environmental factors.

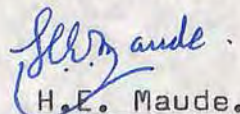
I am, however, not an architect but an ethnohistorian and know nothing of John's work apart from his thesis and my recollections of this excellent exercise are fast fading, since unfortunately he did not send me a copy. Were I to act as a referee I should require, therefore, to read it again.

My experience at the ANU has been that in considering a lecturer's claims for promotion the main considerations are his teaching abilities, his compatibility as a staff member and any post-doctoral research which he may have produced. His doctoral thesis, while no doubt an important factor in his initial application for employment, is seldom re-examined in detail when later stages in his career are under consideration.

While, therefore, I should be willing to act as a referee, if considered desirable, my contribution would necessarily have to be confined to an evaluation of John's thesis as an addition to our knowledge of the people of Kiribati, and I could only undertake it after re-reading his thesis.

Under the circumstances you may well prefer to approach someone else with an expertise in architecture (other than Gilbertese) and of John's abilities as a teacher and researcher within his chosen profession.

Yours sincerely,

  
H.E. Maude.



**Department of Architecture**

Head of Department:  
Dr. Steven V. Szokolay



**University of Queensland**

St. Lucia  
Queensland  
Australia 4067  
Telephone: (07) 377 2257 or 377 2412  
Cables: Brisbane University  
Telex: UNIVQLD AA40315  
Fax: (07) 371 6866

18th May, 1988

Professor Harry Maude,  
Unit 42, "Miringani",  
11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611.

Dear Professor Maude,

Re: Dr. John Hockings

You may recall the PhD thesis of the above, on the architecture of the Gilbert Islands some 3 or 4 years ago. John has been a lecturer with us for the last three years and I am now recommending him for promotion to senior lectureship.

I was wondering if I may suggest you as a referee to our promotions committee?

With many thanks in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S.V. Szokolay', with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

S.V. Szokolay



*Dear Harry,*  
COLLEGIO DEL VERBO DIVINO, Via Verbiti 1, 00154 Rome, Italy

Dear Relatives and Friends,

1 December 1988

On November 15 one of our Black priests, Father Alvin Dixon, pastor of St. Edward's Parish in New Iberia, Louisiana, flew from New York City to Rome for the Beatification of Mother Katherine Mary Drexel on November 20. Flying over the Atlantic he noticed that a man in the row ahead of him while reading a book kept turning around to look at his sweater on which was sewn "Divine Word". Finally the man said: "I must ask you something: Are you a Divine Word Missionary like the author of this book?" He was reading The Rhine flows into the Tiber, my history of Vatican II, which identifies me on the title page as a Divine Word Missionary. So you can find my book even in the skies!

Our Father Anthony Collet on November 11 introduced me to an Italian lawyer, Msgr. Dr. Luigi Porsi, member of the Vatican's Sacred Roman Rota and its Congregation for the Causes of Saints, who is working for the Beatification of Father Adolph Kolping of Cologne, West Germany. Msgr. Porsi said that he had often seen references to my history of Vatican II and now wanted to know where he could buy a copy. (From the author, of course!) He bought the French edition. On the very next day a letter arrived from the Chancery Office of the Armenian Catholic Exarchate in Athens, Greece, ordering another French copy.

On November 2nd I received my first copy in German, Der Rhein fließt in den Tiber. A publisher in Feldkirch, Austria, called Lins-Verlag, has made a first printing of 5000 copies. This was the 13th printing of the book so far, bringing the total number of copies in four languages to 50,500. The German edition is the nicest looking one yet.

In the beginning of November the German edition of the Vatican's international mission news service, Internationaler Fidesdienst, ran a dozen lines on this new German edition, giving the address of the publisher. It said that the book gave details on the battle between two groups of Council Fathers. One group wanted a mission statement containing only 'a few sentences or propositions'. The other group wanted a complete 'Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity'.

A priest-musician from Wisconsin, Prof. Dr. Robert A. Skeris, now assigned to the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome, sent German copies as Christmas presents to six friends in Germany and Hungary. Our Stadt Gottes (City of God) family magazine in West Germany has a circulation of 460,000. The editor said that he is thinking of running a chapter of my book in his February issue.

When you write a book, you want people to find out about it, else how can they ever read it or buy it? Getting book reviews in the press is the best way to get a new book known. So when Lins-Verlag agreed, I sent a notice describing my book to the editors of some 200 German publications in Austria, East & West Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland and South Tyrol in northern Italy. It invited them to write to the publisher for a review copy, if they felt that they might like to review the book. Forty-five review copies were requested by November 19.

My Austrian publisher told me that sales were brisk, even before he was able to send out his advertisements. Word spread from mouth to mouth and also by telephone. Friend told friend, he said, that Lins-Verlag had a German edition of The Rhine flows into the Tiber.

So you see, even though I wrote this book 23 years ago, immediately after Vatican II, I am still getting reactions to it. Many here are surprised that it is still being read and is still being printed. It was first published by Hawthorn Books of New York City in 1967. TAN Books and Publishers of Rockford, Illinois, produced the 5th, 6th and 7th printings in English: 5000 copies in 1985, 5340 copies in 1986, and 3242 copies in 1988. There were four printings in French and one in Dutch. Please pray that the book continues to do a lot of good!

Greetings and Blessings for Christmas and the New Year!

*Ralph M. Wilgen*



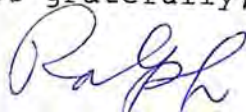
COLLEGIO VERBO DIVINO, Via Verbiti 1, 00154 Rome, Italy 20 May 88

Dear Harry,

I got the good news from Dr. Kiste today...he is interested in seeing my Melanesia-Micronesia for his Monograph Series! I thought you would like to see his letter. Thanks again for the wonderful suggestion that I write to him.

You may also be interested in knowing what the Riccio Map is doing...

Most gratefully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Ralph". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "R".



Dear *Harry,*

On May 17th I received a letter from Australia bearing this return address: "On Her Majesty's Service, The Central Mapping Authority, Bathurst, New South Wales 2795." This was the latest response to my circular letter of 27 January on Father Riccio's Map of TERRA AUSTRALIS drawn in color in Manila in 1676. I had sent copies of that circular letter to 17 addresses in Australia and also - as replies to my Christmas mail - to 66 USA addresses.

The copy that went to Mr Frank Broderick in Australia resulted in the ADVOCATE newspaper story, which I may have sent you. And the copy that I sent to the Central Mapping Authority resulted in the above mentioned letter (copy enclosed), which also may be of interest to you. On seeing in Hemisphere: An Asian Australian Magazine, a story that I published in 1981 on the purpose of that map, the Central Mapping Authority in the Department of Lands of the New South Wales Government, asked me to obtain permission for them to print this previously unknown map in color and in full size (12 x 17 inches) as a wall map with text. Vatican authorities immediately gave the required permission and the Central Mapping Authority published the wall map (22 x 36 inches) in 1982.

Glenys McIver, Map Curator for Australian Collections and Services at the National Library of Australia in Canberra, wrote on 18 March: "Thank you for your letter of 4 March....I was most interested to hear that the map will be on display in the Vatican Pavilion at World Expo. This will be an excellent opportunity for many Australians to see this most significant item, and I will certainly draw it to the attention of map enthusiasts who are planning to visit Expo."

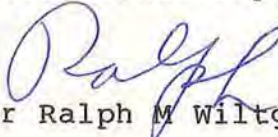
Author and research worker, Emeritus Professor John Mulvaney of the Department of History of the Australian National University in Canberra, who had reacted at once to my article in Hemisphere, wrote on 14 April: "I will be visiting the Brisbane Expo in August, so my first call will be to see the Riccio map."

Miss Marion Craig of Kew in Victoria wrote on 30 March that she had sent a photocopy of the ADVOCATE story to Mr Kenneth Gordon McIntyre, author of The Secret Discovery of Australia: Portuguese Ventures 200 Years before Captain Cook.

And Father Tom P. Boland, author and research worker in the Archdiocese of Brisbane, wrote on 7 April: "The publicity for the Vatican Pavilion has been extensive. A large team of people to act as guides has been organized, and four of us are acting as advisors. There will be a number of lectures on the exhibits....Incidentally, I shall give due prominence to the map, which will be one of the most interesting items, and to your part in its discovery."

Tall oaks from little acorns grow! Although I had hoped for some reactions to my one-page circular letter of 27 January, I never imagined that the reactions would be so numerous and so significant.

Yours sincerely,



Rev Dr Ralph M Wiltgen SVD





# University of Hawaii at Manoa

Center for Pacific Islands Studies  
1890 East-West Road • Moore Hall 215  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822  
Telephone: (808) 948-7700  
Telex: (650) 3223611 MCIUW

April 29, 1988

MAY 20 1988

Rev. Dr. Ralph M. Wiltgen SVD  
COLLEGIO DEL VERBO DIVINO  
Via Verbiti, 1  
00154 Rome  
ITALY

Dear Rev. Wiltgen:

I received your letter of 17 April 1988, and we would be interested in considering your manuscript Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Melanesia and Micronesia 1850 to 1875 when it is completed in March of next year. I must say, you do plan ahead.

Harry Maude's letter pertaining to our monograph series was most kind. We subsidize editorial, cartographics, and publishing costs. Each volume has a thorough index and certainly photos are included.

I look forward to receiving a copy of your first book, Oceania 1825-1850, so that I can see what kind of volume you have in mind.

I am enclosing a copy of our program's recent brochure and set of four maps. The brochure describes our activities. I am especially pleased with our publishing program; see brochure pages 7 and 8. Maude's manuscript needs to be added to the Pacific Islands Monograph Series. In addition, we just received funding to launch a new journal The Contemporary Pacific: A Journal of Island Affairs. It will first appear next year.

Sincerely,

Robert C. Kiste  
Director

RCK:nh

cc: Linley Chapman  
Pamela Kelley  
Iris Wiley



COLLEGIO DEL VERBO DIVINO  
Via Verbiti, 1  
00154 Rome, Italy  
tel. (6) 575-4021  
17 April 1988

Re: Pacific Islands Monograph Series and  
Melanesia-Micronesia 1850 to 1875

Dr. Robert C. Kiste, Director  
Center for Pacific Islands Studies  
1890 East-West Road  
Moore Hall 215  
Honolulu, HI 96822  
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Kiste,

At the suggestion of Harry Maude and Francis X. Hezel, I am writing to you with regard to having my Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Melanesia and Micronesia 1850 to 1875, included in your Center's Pacific Islands Monograph Series. My manuscript will be ready in March 1989.

This new book is a sequel to my Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania 1825 to 1850, published by the Australian National University Press. Extracts from reviews of that work, which went into two printings, are enclosed.

ANU Press, as you may know, has run into financial difficulties and has been absorbed by Pergamon Press Australia. Consequently I was told last year that 'the profile of Australian National University Press has changed substantially' and so 'we do not have an opening for such a work [as Melanesia-Micronesia] in our present publishing programme'.

Looking for a new publisher, I wrote recently to both Harry Maude and Father Hezel, asking if they could suggest a publishing house for my Melanesia-Micronesia 1850 to 1875. I also asked that they indicate, if possible, the name of someone to whom I might write. As you will see from the copies of their enclosed letters, which I received within a week of one another, both had the highest praise for your Pacific Islands Monograph Series and warmly suggested that I write to you.

Harry Maude, who said you know him well, called your Pacific Islands Monograph Series 'by far the most prestigious publishing outlet for scholarly books on the islands'. And he said I was free to mention his recommendation of my work.

In fact, I am enclosing with this letter a copy of the Foreword to my Oceania 1825 to 1850, which Harry kindly wrote for me. From a United States address I shall send you a copy of the book itself, which has received many listings in RLIN and in OCLC.

Since I am an American from Chicago, I would be more than pleased to be included among the authors published by your prestigious monograph series and by the University of Hawaii Press.

(This letter had a second page. But this one page suffices to show why it became necessary to look for another press.)



COLLEGIO VERBO DIVINO, Via Verbiti 1, 00154 Rome, Italy 18 April 88

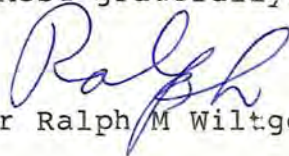
Dear Harry,

As you will see from the enclosure, I have followed your suggestion immediately. How can I thank you enough for your great interest and for your kind words about my book, which I am sure will have a great influence on Professor Kiste.

I hope and pray that he will accept my work into his Monograph Series. With recommendations from you and Father Hezel, acceptance seems assured.

Thank you again for your tremendous help.

Most gratefully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Ralph". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent "R" and a long, sweeping tail.

Rev Dr Ralph M Wiltgen SVD



COLLEGIO DEL VERBO DIVINO  
Via Verbiti, 1  
00154 Rome, Italy  
tel. (6) 575-4021  
17 April 1988

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In fact, I am enclosing with this letter a copy of the Foreword to my Oceania 1825 to 1850, which Harry kindly wrote for me. From a United States address I shall send you a copy of the book itself, which has received many listings in RLIN and in OCLC.

Since I am an American from Chicago, I would be more than pleased to be included among the authors published by your prestigious monograph series and by the University of Hawaii Press.



Practically 95 per cent of my material for Melanesia-Micronesia comes from unpublished archive sources. These archives are chiefly: (1) those of the Vatican Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (de Propaganda Fide), (2) those of the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions founded in Milan (PIME), (3) those of the Society of Mary founded in Lyon (SM), and (4) those of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (Picpus Fathers) founded in Paris (SSCC). These source materials are in Latin, Italian, French and Spanish.

Melanesia-Micronesia 1850 to 1875, a sequel to Oceania 1825 to 1850, is being written in the same style. I would like to include in it as many maps, photographs and documents as in the earlier volume. I composed the analytical index of the Oceania book and would appreciate having as thorough an index in the Melanesia-Micronesia volume. Enclosed you will find the Table of Contents of this latter work.

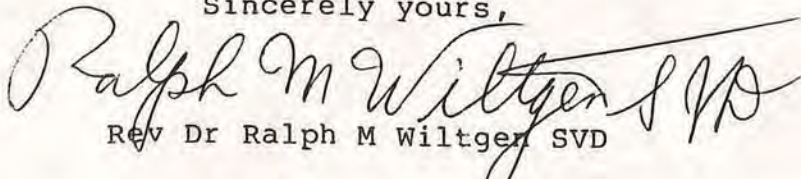
Ann Lahey, Australian editor of my Oceania book, wrote me after it was printed: "My thanks and respects for being the best author I have known. Here's to further collaboration."

The enclosed newspaper story from the Advocate of Melbourne may interest you because of the TERRA AUSTRALIS map, drawn in Manila in 1676 by Father Vittorio Riccio, O.P., an Italian Dominican. I discovered this map in color in the archives of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (de Propaganda Fide) while doing research for my Oceania history. It was published for the first time in my book and will be on display at the Vatican Pavilion at World Expo 88 in Brisbane from April 30 to October 30.

The Vatican Secret Archives will have one hundred documents on display at World Expo 88, but all are facsimiles. The TERRA AUSTRALIS map of 1676 is the only document being displayed by the Archives of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (de Propaganda Fide) and it will be the original by order of that Congregation's Cardinal Prefect, Josef Tomko. This map together with an accompanying letter from Father Riccio led to the creation on 15 July 1681 in Rome, 307 years ago, of the Prefecture Apostolic of Terra Australis, the first ecclesiastical territory created for Australia which at that time was conceived as including Papua New Guinea and Antarctica.

Please be so kind as to inform me at your convenience whether my Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Melanesia and Micronesia 1850 to 1875 might be considered for inclusion in your monograph series. If you wish to have any further information, I shall be happy to supply it. I am enclosing a list of Who's Who publications in which I have been listed down through the years.

Sincerely yours,

  
Rev. Dr. Ralph M. Wiltgen SVD

Enclosures:

Maude Letter of 27 March 1988  
Maude Foreword  
Hezel Letter of 18 March 1988  
Review Extracts  
Table of Contents  
Melbourne Advocate (17 March 1988)  
on the TERRA AUSTRALIS map  
WHO'S WHO publications





# MICRONESIAN SEMINAR

POST OFFICE BOX 250 • TRUK, FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA • 96942

March 18, 1988

Ralph M. Wiltgen, SVD  
Collegio del Verbo Divino  
Via Verbiti, 1  
Rome, Italy 00154

APR -9 1988

Dear Ralph:

It's nice to hear from you again. I am enclosing a leaflet on the book I did on pre-colonial history of the Caroline and Marshall Islands. It's available from University of Hawaii Press. Incidentally, I've just begun writing the sequel to this volume, a history of the islands through the colonial years down to the present.

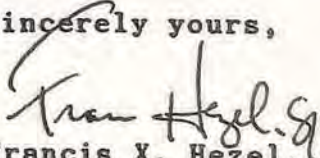
I wondered what happened to the two other volumes that you planned to do on the church in the Pacific. Many of us are looking forward to seeing these works, especially since your first volume was such a contribution to our understanding of evangelization in the Pacific.

I had heard that ANU Press was having financial difficulties -- like many other university presses -- but there are other possibilities if you're looking for a publisher. Someone somewhere along the line told me that the University of Queensland Press is still going strong, but I don't have their address. Perhaps even a better possibility is the University of Hawaii Press. Professor Robert Kiste, head of the Pacific Islands Studies Program at the University of Hawaii, started a series that is known as the "Pacific Islands Monograph Series" with the help of a generous benefaction from some rich Texan. My own work was the first volume in this series, but they are now up to the 6th or 7th volume, I believe.

Why not write Bob Kiste at this address:  
Pacific Islands Studies Program  
Moore Hall 215  
University of Hawaii  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

Good luck with this. I hope that you get the opportunity to visit here sometime to see the islands about which you have written at a distance.

Sincerely yours,

  
Francis X. Hezel, S.J.



The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania, 1825 to 1850  
by Ralph M. Wiltgen

Published by: The Australian National University Press in December 1979  
P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600; Australia

First Printing: 2500 copies (sold out in five months)  
Second Printing: 1000 copies (33% already sold)

Technical Data for Librarians

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Cataloging by the Library of Congress in MARC, OCLC, RLIN, National Union Catalog, etc.  
xxii, 610 p., illustrations, bibliography, index, 26 cm., published 18 December 1979.  
ISBN 0 7081 0835 0 LC No. 78-74665 LC classification No. BV3640.W5.  
NLA's Dewey No. 282.9 LC's Dewey No. 266.2099219  
Subject headings: Missions--Oceania (LC)  
Oceania--Church history (NLA and LC) Price:  
Catholic Church in Oceania--History (NLA and LC) AUS\$24.50  
Catholic Church--Missions (LC) US\$27.00

Extracts from Reviews

Only rarely does a book by virtue of its monumental scope, excellence of design, or attention to detail merit acclaim as a publishing event. Wiltgen's massive study is such a book. This impressive and profusely illustrated work should find a place in every general and most specialized church-historical libraries.

--James A. Scherer in Religious Studies Review (Waterloo, Ontario) #131

A standard work, comprehensive in scope, indispensable to anyone interested in the mission of the Church in Oceania. Extremely well documented.

--The Catholic Periodical and Literature Index (Haverford, Penn- #123  
sylvania)

A most valuable aid...the first major penetration of the vast Terra Incognita of the Archives of the Roman congregation of propaganda... Father Wiltgen has offered the foundations of a new area of study.

--T.P. Boland in National Catholic Research Council Newsletter #121  
(Sydney)

A major historical work in the field of Christian missions.

--Russell Kirk in National Catholic Register (Los Angeles) #120

A unified story flows smoothly through the thirty-five chapters of this authoritative book...Highly recommended for libraries, history scholars, missionaries and Catholics in Oceania looking for their roots, and to all interested in the period.

--Philip Callaghan in East Asian Pastoral Review (Manila) #106

An enjoyable reading experience...widely and deeply researched...The material is presented skilfully and a plot is unfolded. The outstanding impression created by the author is that the spreading of the presence of the church in any direction has always required an initiator.

--Les Cashen in Canberra Historical Journal #103

The author is not satisfied with giving a string of facts one after the other, but instead he searches out the reasons for the development. He shows the motives and the negotiations that took place, often with the words of the original texts. The whole is truly a fascinating mission history.

--Ivo auf der Maur in Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire #101  
(Immensee, Switzerland)



This book confirms Wiltgen's reputation of being a master of a narrative style of historical writing. It is based on meticulous examination of the archives...When it comes to information about missionary activities we undoubtedly have here the definitive book on the subject.

--Charles W. Forman in Missiology: An International Review #140  
(Pasadena, California)

A magnificent edition enriched with many illustrations. The author begins his accounts not with 'the mission countries', but with causes which generally are found in Europe and in Rome and which exert a primary or decisive influence on the founding of the Catholic Church all across the Pacific.

--Archbishop Michel Coppenrath in Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques (Papeete) #139

A marvellous book...its comprehensiveness is staggering...the research behind it is immense. The author is to be commended for the lucidity of his writing, the clarity of the history.

--Peter Rudge in The Canberra Times #77

A standard work...It is creative history, making the story into a living whole.

--Euntes-Digest (Louvain) #81

It is comprehensive, critical, exhaustive in the use of sources, faultlessly documented, and written in a fascinating style. Nothing important has escaped the author.

--Josef Metzler in Bibliografia Missionaria (Vatican City)#76

A stupendous effort...meticulous indexing...an impressive tome...by a man with a perfect mission for research...and an ability to write clearly and stimulatingly.

--Alan McElwain in The Sydney Morning Herald #72

The wealth of accurate detail...and its methodical presentation...make this volume an essential one for any religious or general study of these island regions during the period it covers. An outstanding production...a must for any library...and there is an excellent index.

--John Hosie in Pacific Islands Monthly (Sydney) #82

Excellent monograph...masterful study...a notable literary feat...solid scholarship...readable style...handsome printing.

--William J. Malley in A Journal of the Southern Philippines #132  
(Cagayan De Oro)

Written in such vigorous language that this 'history' becomes something living and will prove fascinating far beyond the Pacific area. A good manual for visually presenting the history of the Church in the Pacific, on TV for example.

--Franz-Josef Eilers in Communicatio Socialis (Aachen) #161

Massive scholarship, thorough research, careful analysis and scrupulous concern for original documentation. Written so agreeably that even the casual reader is drawn into the sweep of the author's vision.

--Stanley W. Hosie in Worldmission (New York City) #128

Not the least merit of this long study...is to make clear the precise structure and lines of authority between the missionary orders and the officials (in Rome) and to bring to light the important roles of the cardinals.

--Colin Newbury in The American Historical Review (Bloomington, #148  
Indiana)



Final Chapter Titles of The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in  
Melanesia and Micronesia 1850 to 1875 by Rev Dr Ralph M Wiltgen SVD.

(The manuscript will be completed by March 1989)

- - - - -

Chapter 1  
Supriès, a French Carthusian, interests Lombardy clerics in Micronesia  
1845 - 1847

Chapter 2  
Pope Pius IX approves Lombardy's Seminary for Foreign Missions  
21 February 1850

Chapter 3  
The Melanesia and Micronesia Vicariates are reduced to the status of  
Missions  
11 August 1850

Chapter 4  
Cardinal Prefect Fransoni offers the Melanesia and Micronesia Missions  
to Lombardy's Foreign Mission Seminary  
16 January 1851

Chapter 5  
Pius IX suggests a closer mission for training the first missionary  
group  
21 August 1851

Chapter 6  
Fransoni urges the Lombardy missionaries to choose an easier Oceania  
mission like Fiji  
10 February 1852

Chapter 7  
Prefect Apostolic Frémont and his pioneer French Marists decide to  
remain in Melanesia  
29 June 1852

Chapter 8  
Rome grants numerous faculties to missionaries in Melanesia and  
Micronesia  
1850 - 1853

Chapter 9  
Reina's group declines Fiji and chooses Melanesia  
27 August 1852

Chapter 10  
Fransoni's dilemma: Who is Prefect Apostolic of Melanesia, Reina or  
Frémont?  
24 February 1853



Chapter 11  
Learning the sicknesses, languages and customs of Rooke and Woodlark  
1852 -- 1855

Chapter 12  
Father Mazzucconi urges Reina and Marinoni to abandon Rooke and  
Woodlark  
6 January and 20 April 1855

Chapter 13  
Reina leaves Rooke and Woodlark and awaits new orders in Sydney  
10 May and 10 July 1855

Chapter 14  
Mazzucconi and the Gazelle crew are massacred at Woodlark  
September 1855

Chapter 15  
Cuarterón, a Spanish sea captain, volunteers to reestablish Reina  
in Melanesia  
9 August 1855

Chapter 16  
Reina leaves Sydney to join Prefect Apostolic Cuarterón in Manila  
16 August 1856

Chapter 17  
Cuarterón sets out with Reina's group from Borneo for Dorei Bay in  
New Guinea  
25 February 1858

Chapter 18  
Reina learns in Singapore of his transfer to Hong Kong  
7 March 1858

Chapter 19  
Bishop Bataillon asks Rome to send his Coadjutor Elloy to Micronesia  
1 May 1870

Chapter 20  
Barnabò offers the Missions of Melanesia and Micronesia to Picpus, but  
they decline  
4 September 1873

Chapter 21  
Elloy volunteers to care for Micronesia from his Samoa Vicariate  
14 January 1875

END OF THE BOOK

\*\*\*\*\*

This is a sequel to Father Wiltgen's work, The Founding of the Roman  
Catholic Church in Oceania 1825 to 1850, published by the Australian  
National University Press (Canberra).

\*\*\*\*\*



# From the ADVOCATE (17 March 1988) Catholic weekly of the Melbourne Archdiocese

I wrote a one-page letter to family and friends on 27 January 1988 and sent a copy to Mr Frank Broderick of Australia, the father of an SVD priest. Thinking it would be of interest to Melbourne Catholics, he submitted it to the editor of the Advocate, who then printed it. World Expo 88, mentioned here, will run from April 30 to October 30.

-- Ralph M Wiltgen SVD

## BOOKS

By Fr RALPH WILTGEN, SVD

**Y**OU no doubt read or heard about the Australian Bicentennial which began on 25 January this year.

You won't believe it, but something that I found in the Vatican Archives is a part of that bicentennial! More precisely, it is part of the Vatican Pavilion at World Expo 88 being held in Brisbane for six months in the course of this year.

Every four years a World Expo is held in some major city of the world, and this year Brisbane, because of the bicentennial, asked for and received the honor of being the host city.

The authorities there long ago started approaching the Vatican, asking it to have a pavilion of its own. The Vatican said 'no' many times, because of transportation costs of items, rent, and so on.

Eventually the offer from the Brisbane managers of World Expo 88 became so generous and so enticing, that it was impossible and inadvisable to say 'no' any longer.

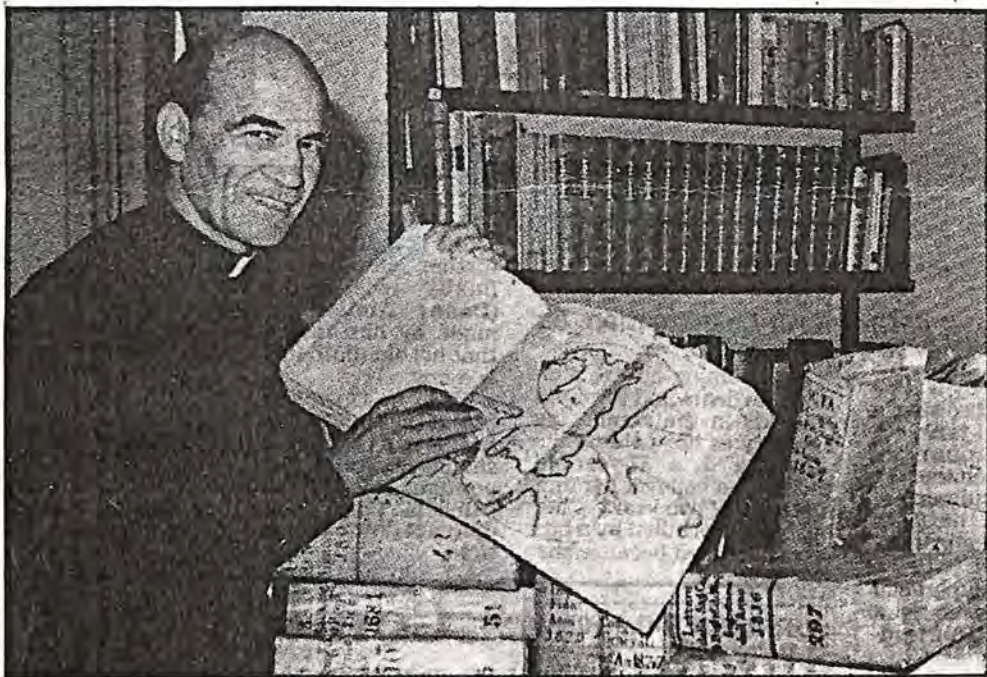
From Fr Josef Metzler, OMI, Prefect of the Secret Vatican Archives, I learned that one of the archive documents that will be on display in the Vatican Pavilion will be a map that I found in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples.

I was going page by page through a volume of old documents when I came across the odd-looking map in color that you see in my hands in the photo. It bore the name of an Italian Dominican priest, Fr Vittorio Riccio, OP, and was dated Manila 1676!

Excitedly I searched through other pages to see if I could find some details about the map. Lo and behold, there was a letter from Fr Vittorio Riccio dated 4 June 1676, written on tissue paper in Spanish, saying that he could get others to join him in founding a mission in Terra Australis (South Land), "once unknown and now partly known."

He submitted the map in color with his proposal to show the cardinals of the Evangelisation Congregation to what territory he was referring and to explain how he would get there from Manila in the Philippines.

To make a long story short, I then hunted through the minutes of the meetings held by these cardinals around that time. My patience was rewarded hours later when I found that this proposal had taken years to reach Rome and was brought up and accepted at a meeting held by the cardinals of the evangelisation congregation on 15 July 1681.



Fr Ralph M. Wiltgen is a Divine Word Missionary from Chicago with a doctorate in missiology from the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. Writing his history of the Church in Oceania between 1825 and 1850 took 13 years and included painstaking research in 87 volumes like these in the Vatican Archives, each of which provided much valuable data. This map, for example, led to Rome's creating the Prefecture Apostolic of Terra Australis on 15 July 1681. It shows Papua New Guinea and Antarctica joined to Australia and was drawn in Manila in 1676 by Vittorio Riccio, an Italian Dominican priest.

## Australia: it all began 307 years ago

In The Founding Of The Roman Catholic Church In Oceania 1825 to 1850 (pp. 170-180) I have pictures of the map, of Fr Riccio's original Spanish letter, of an Italian translation made for the benefit of the Italian cardinals, and of the minutes of their meeting on this matter.

At the 15 July 1681 meeting they created the Prefecture Apostolic of Terra Australis, the Catholic Church's first mission to Australia.

Now this was 307 years ago: 89 years before Captain Cook explored Australia's east coast, 95 years before the United States of America was founded, 107 years before the first European settlement was made in Australia on 25 January 1788. The country's bicentennial is honoring that first settlement made 200 years ago.

The map was published for the first time in my book in 1979. In July/August 1981 it was published in color for the first time with my story, The Prefecture Apostolic of Terra Australis: 15 July 1681, in Hemis-

phere: An Asian Australian Magazine published for Australia's Commonwealth Department of Education.

And in July 1982 it was published for the first time in full size (12 x 17 in) and in color by the Central Mapping Authority of New South Wales, Australia, as a wall map with text (22 x 36 in).

As I said, it will be on display at the Vatican Pavilion, World Expo 88, Brisbane. It shows that the Catholic Church thought about Australia as a mission long before England thought about it as a place to colonise.

So now you have the story of how something hidden away in an archive in Rome, in SOCG Volume 493 (1681), was discovered and became known to Catholic Church authorities and to the world.

Fr Wiltgen is a friend of Mr Frank Broderick of Reservoir who very kindly offered this piece, which is, in fact, a letter from the scholar-priest to Mr Broderick.

— Ed.



COLLEGIO DEL VERBO DIVINO  
Via Verbiti, 1  
00154 Rome, Italy  
tel. (6) 575-4021  
18 April 1988

To Whom It May Concern:

Rev Dr Ralph M Wiltgen, S.V.D., is listed  
in the following Who's Who publications:

Who's Who in the World (Chicago, London) 1977, 1978, 1980, 1982

Who's Who in Europe (Brussels, Belgium) 1983-1987 (5th to 7th editions)

Who's Who in the Pacific Islands (Sydney, Australia) 1963

The International Authors and Writers Who's Who (Cambridge, England)  
1976, 1978, 1981, 1983, 1986, 1988 (11th ed)

International Who's Who in Community Service (London) 1975, 1978

Dictionary of International Bibliography (Cambridge, England)  
1974, 1976, 1977, 1979

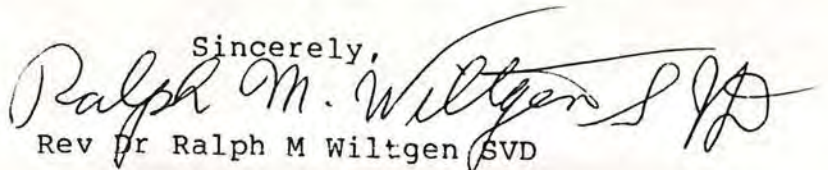
The Writers Directory (London) 1974, 1978, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988

Contemporary Authors (Detroit) 1971, 1976, 1983

Men of Achievement (London) 1973, 1979

Biography International: A Memorial Document on Men & Women of  
Achievement & Distinction (Model Town, Delhi, India) 1986

Sincerely,

  
Rev Dr Ralph M Wiltgen SVD



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
Australia,  
27 March, 1988.

Rev. Dr Ralph M. Wiltgen, SVD,  
Collegio del Verbo Divino,  
00154 ROME, Italy.

Dear Ralph,

I was glad to hear from you and to find that you are still interested in Pacific History. Your work on the Catholic Church in Oceania from 1825 to 1850 sold very well in comparison with other histories of the Pacific region, which have a reasonable sale in the U.S. and Australasia (including the islands these days) but are hardly bought at all in the EEC countries, which appear to have become rather an introverted part of the world.

As regards your Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Melanesia and Micronesia, 1850-1875, I would suggest your writing to Dr Robert C. Kiste, Director, Center for Pacific Islands Studies, 1890 East-West Road, Moore Hall 215, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, with a view to its inclusion in the Center's Pacific Islands Monograph Series, which is by far the most prestigious publishing outlet for scholarly books on the islands. You can mention my recommendation, if you like, as he knows me well.

sea  
Their first work was the superb First Taint of Civilization: a History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands, 1521-1885, by the leading historian of Micronesia, Father Francis X. Hezel, SJ, and their best known book probably Kerry Howe's Where the Waves Fall: a South/Islands History from first settlement to colonial rule. They are now engaged in publishing my collection of Sir Arthur Grimble's ethnographical fieldnotes and papers, which I have been editing for some years as a debt owed to my mentor from the time when I first arrived in the islands in 1929 to about 1932.

One advantage of the Monograph Series over all other publication choices is the fact that it is not hampered by worries connected with profitability, since the only criterion is the quality of the manuscript as a contribution to our knowledge of the subject it deals with, the reason being that the Center's publishing ventures are subsidized (I believe by an oil billionaire). The University of Hawaii Press does the actual publishing and both the Center and the Press appear on the imprint, the former giving the work an additional cachet, as well as lowering the retail price.

If you prefer to try the University of Hawaii Press direct you should write to the Director at 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, who will send you a 'Questionnaire for Authors' Form to fill in. They will, however, be concerned to an extent by their



estimate of the book's likely profitability, not being subsidized (at least to the same extent as the Center).

The only Australasian publisher I could recommend at the present time is George Allen and Unwin Australia Pty Ltd, 8 Napier Street, North Sydney, N.S.W. 2060, for the other commercial publishers seem either to be in the hands of accountants who will judge the work solely as a means for making money, or else they are too small concerns to provide you with the worldwide distribution which your book needs.

The university publishers, apart perhaps from the University of Melbourne Press, seem unlikely to be in a position to promote your book outside Australia. Many Australian firms, furthermore, are not interested in handling books on the islands, which is not considered a sufficiently lucrative field. It is rare to find a serious book on Oceania selling more than 4,000 copies, which is only a marginally profitable figure under modern publishing conditions. Your works are exceptions, I know, but one has still to overcome the bias of the publisher against an unknown area, where he has no sales outlets.

On the whole I feel that it might be best to try Honolulu first, and particularly the Center for Pacific Islands Studies, as it affords you the entrée to American university libraries, of which there are said to be 700 at least.

Hoping that this may be of some use to you and with my best wishes for the success of your second venture into Pacific studies,

Yours sincerely,

*Harry Maude*



COLLEGIO DEL VERBO DIVINO  
Via Verbiti, 1  
00154 Rome, Italy  
tel. (6) 575-4021  
4 March 1988

Dear Harry,

You may like to know that Father Riccio's map, which I earlier wrote about, will be in Brisbane soon as explained in my enclosed letter.

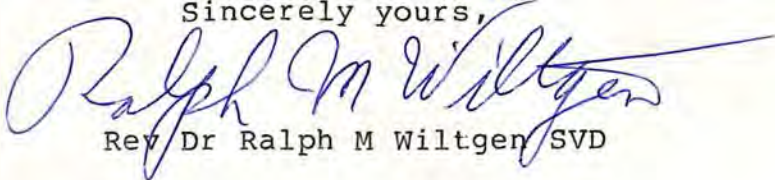
Now that ANU Press has written that they no longer publish works like my Oceania, I am looking for a new publisher. You wrote me back in 1978 that the University Press of Hawaii was next in line after the ANU Press for publishing scholarly books on the islands.

Would you suggest that I write to them about my Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Melanesia and Micronesia 1850 to 1875? And can you suggest someone in particular there to whom I ought to write? I do not even have the address of the University Press of Hawaii. Or perhaps you would have some other suggestion.

Enclosed is a page of extracts from reviews on my Oceania 1825 to 1850. It went into two printings. The Melanesia-Micronesia work is being written in the same style and also from archive sources.

My history of Vatican II called The Rhine Flows into the Tiber has gone into 5 printings in English, 4 in French, and this spring is to come out in German.

Sincerely yours,



Rev Dr Ralph M Wiltgen SVD



Dear Family and Friends,

Rome, 27 January 1988

You no doubt read or heard about the Australian Bicentennial which began on January 25 this year. You won't believe it, but something that I found in the Vatican Archives is a part of that Bicentennial! More precisely, it is part of the Vatican Pavilion at World Expo 88 being held in Brisbane for six months in the course of this year. Every four years a World Expo is held in some major city of the world, and this year Brisbane, because of the Bicentennial, asked for and received the honor of being the host city. The authorities there long ago started approaching the Vatican, asking it to have a pavilion of its own. The Vatican said 'no' many times, because of transportation costs of items, rent, and so on. Eventually the offer from the Brisbane managers of World Expo 88 became so generous and so enticing, that it was impossible and inadvisable to say 'no' any longer.

From Father Josef Metzler, O.M.I., Prefect of the Secret Vatican Archives, I learned last week that one of the archive documents that will be on display in the Vatican Pavilion will be a map that I found in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples. I was going page by page through a volume of old documents when I came across the odd-looking map in color that you see in my hands in the photo. It bore the name of an Italian Dominican priest, Father Vittorio Riccio, O.P., and was dated Manila 1676!

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TEXT PREPARED BY THE PUBLISHER FOR THE BOOK'S JACKET

*The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania 1825-50* is the first detailed and documentary history of the seminal period of Roman Catholic missionary activity in Oceania. Before 1825 there had been sporadic missionary efforts but from the founding of the Prefecture Apostolic of the Sandwich Islands in 1825 there was continued development in Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia.

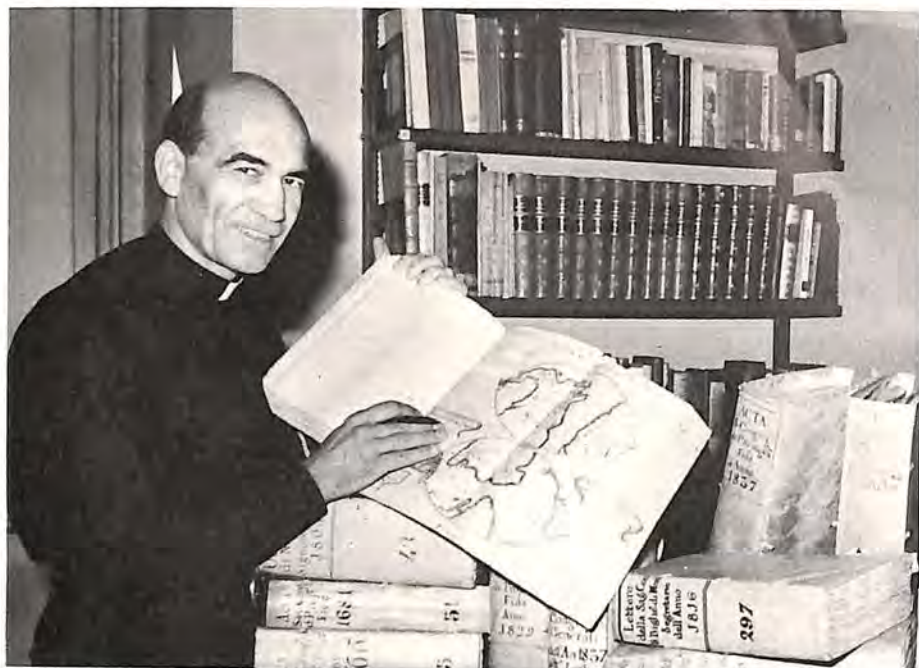
This lively and dramatic narrative is told largely through the words of the participants in the events, from diaries, documents and letters, and ranges from the politics of the Vatican to sufferings on outpost islands. The focus of attention shifts from Rome to Paris, Valparaiso, Sydney, Honiara, Auckland and many other places, in a study of men and institutions, faith and emotion, rivalries and confusions, murder and annexation, God and mammon.

The book's great strength is the authority of the material on which it is based, archival resources from the Vatican and seven religious orders, much of it old handwritten documents in many languages, nowhere published. From these complex records and with linguistic skills Ralph Wiltgen has compiled a masterly account with the absorbing interest of a detective story. He works on many levels, juggling the pieces so that we have a wide view of what is happening everywhere and how the moves are inter-related.

Powerful and ambitious men press their causes in Rome, their plans obstructed by vast distances, slow-moving sailing vessels, meagre funds, petty jealousies, limited personnel, and even death. In the lands remote from Europe the missionaries found themselves in a tropical climate, wrestling with strange tongues and confronted with puzzling cultures. Rivalries with Protestants, relations with governments, and the activities of idealistic businessmen were other aspects of the often slow and always painful progress in Oceania.

The illustrations include maps drawn according to specifications found by the author in contemporary reports, and facsimiles of maps and documents which recapture the details of historic decisions. The whole is a book of particular interest to the peoples of Oceania and to a wide reading public caught up with the magic of the South Seas.





Ralph M. Wiltgen is a Divine Word Missionary and Roman Catholic priest from Chicago with a doctorate in Missiology from the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. Writing his history took 13 years and included painstaking research in 87 volumes like these in the Vatican Archives, each of which provided much valuable data. This map, for example, led to Rome's creating the Prefecture Apostolic of Terra Australis on 15 July 1681. It shows Papua New Guinea and Antarctica joined to Australia and was drawn in Manila in 1676 by Victorio Riccio, an Italian Dominican priest.

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THE FOUNDING OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN OCEANIA 1825-50  
by the Rev. Dr. Ralph M. Wiltgen, S.V.D.

Published in mid-1979 by  
The Australian National University Press  
P.O. Box 4  
Canberra, A.C.T. 2600  
Australia

688 pages, 68 illustrations, detailed index, hard cover, jacket  
PRICE: AUS \$24.50 - US \$27.00 - DM 52 - Lire 23.000



The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania, 1825 to 1850

by Ralph M. Wiltgen

Published by: The Australian National University Press in December 1979  
P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600; Australia

First Printing: 2500 copies (sold out in five months)

Second Printing: 1000 copies (33% already sold)

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Missions--Oceania (LC)

Oceania--Church history (NLA and LC)

Catholic Church in Oceania--History (NLA and LC)

Catholic Church--Missions (LC)

Price:

AUS\$24.50

US\$27.00

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Extracts from Reviews

Only rarely does a book by virtue of its monumental scope, excellence of design, or attention to detail merit acclaim as a publishing event. Wiltgen's massive study is such a book. This impressive and profusely illustrated work should find a place in every general and most specialized church-historical libraries.

--James A. Scherer in Religious Studies Review (Waterloo, Ontario) #13/

A standard work, comprehensive in scope, indispensable to anyone interested in the mission of the Church in Oceania. Extremely well documented.

--The Catholic Periodical and Literature Index (Haverford, Penn- #123  
sylvania)

A most valuable aid...the first major penetration of the vast Terra Incognita of the Archives of the Roman congregation of propaganda... Father Wiltgen has offered the foundations of a new area of study.

--T.P. Boland in National Catholic Research Council Newsletter #121  
(Sydney)

A major historical work in the field of Christian missions.

--Russell Kirk in National Catholic Register (Los Angeles) #120

A unified story flows smoothly through the thirty-five chapters of this authoritative book...Highly recommended for libraries, history scholars, missionaries and Catholics in Oceania looking for their roots, and to all interested in the period.

--Philip Callaghan in East Asian Pastoral Review (Manila) #106

An enjoyable reading experience...widely and deeply researched...The material is presented skilfully and a plot is unfolded. The outstanding impression created by the author is that the spreading of the presence of the church in any direction has always required an initiator.

--Les Cashen in Canberra Historical Journal #103

The author is not satisfied with giving a string of facts one after the other, but instead he searches out the reasons for the development. He shows the motives and the negotiations that took place, often with the words of the original texts. The whole is truly a fascinating mission history.

--Ivo auf der Maur in Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire #101  
(Immensee, Switzerland)



This book confirms Wiltgen's reputation of being a master of a narrative style of historical writing. It is based on meticulous examination of the archives...When it comes to information about missionary activities we undoubtedly have here the definitive book on the subject.

--Charles W. Forman in Missiology: An International Review #140  
(Pasadena, California)

A magnificent edition enriched with many illustrations. The author begins his accounts not with 'the mission countries', but with causes which generally are found in Europe and in Rome and which exert a primary or decisive influence on the founding of the Catholic Church all across the Pacific.

--Archbishop Michel Coppenrath in Bulletin de la Société des Études Océaniques (Papeete) #139

A marvellous book...its comprehensiveness is staggering...the research behind it is immense. The author is to be commended for the lucidity of his writing, the clarity of the history.

--Peter Rudge in The Canberra Times #77

A standard work...It is creative history, making the story into a living whole.

--Euntes-Digest (Louvain) #81

It is comprehensive, critical, exhaustive in the use of sources, faultlessly documented, and written in a fascinating style. Nothing important has escaped the author.

--Josef Metzler in Bibliografia Missionaria (Vatican City)#76

A stupendous effort...meticulous indexing...an impressive tome...by a man with a perfect mission for research...and an ability to write clearly and stimulatingly.

--Alan McElwain in The Sydney Morning Herald #72

The wealth of accurate detail...and its methodical presentation...make this volume an essential one for any religious or general study of these island regions during the period it covers. An outstanding production...a must for any library...and there is an excellent index.

--John Hosie in Pacific Islands Monthly (Sydney) #82

Excellent monograph...masterful study...a notable literary feat...solid scholarship...readable style...handsome printing.

--William J. Malley in A Journal of the Southern Philippines #132  
(Cagayan De Oro)

Written in such vigorous language that this 'history' becomes something living and will prove fascinating far beyond the Pacific area. A good manual for visually presenting the history of the Church in the Pacific, on TV for example.

--Franz-Josef Eilers in Communicatio Socialis (Aachen) #161

Massive scholarship, thorough research, careful analysis and scrupulous concern for original documentation. Written so agreeably that even the casual reader is drawn into the sweep of the author's vision.

--Stanley W. Hosie in Worldmission (New York City) #128

Not the least merit of this long study...is to make clear the precise structure and lines of authority between the missionary orders and the officials (in Rome) and to bring to light the important roles of the cardinals.

--Colin Newbury in The American Historical Review (Bloomington, #148  
Indiana)





TELEPHONE: (07) 377 1111  
TELEX—UNIVQLD AA40315  
FACSIMILE: (07) 371 5896

ADDRESS REPLY TO REGISTRAR  
BUT IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE:

# University of Queensland

ST. LUCIA, QUEENSLAND, AUSTRALIA, 4067

PDG:KMP

FOR ENQUIRIES REGARDING  
THIS LETTER TELEPHONE:

377 3833

25 November 1988

Professor H. Maude  
Unit 42  
"Mirinjani"  
11 Namatjira Drive  
WESTON ACT 2611

Dear Professor Maude,

At the request of the University of Queensland you were kind enough to provide a confidential assessor's report on the application of Dr E.J. Hockings for promotion to the level of Senior Lecturer.

I am now writing to inform you that the promotion has been approved on the recommendation of our Promotions and Reappointments Committee.

The Committee is very much aware that the task of providing such an assessment is a difficult one and that our request has made a heavy demand on your time. We are indebted to you for your willingness in accepting this responsibility and for the care with which you have carried it out.

On behalf of the Committee I should like to thank you for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'D.J. Munro'.

(D.J. Munro)  
Deputy Secretary





UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND

St. Lucia Brisbane Australia 4067

PRO/PDG

*ASSESSMENT OF SCHOLARSHIP AND ORIGINAL ACHIEVEMENT*

*Recently you were kind enough to provide an assessment of the scholarship and original achievement of an applicant for promotion at this University.*

*May I on behalf of the Promotions and Reappointments Committee thank you for your co-operation in this matter. Later this year, when recommendations have been finalised, I shall advise you of the outcome of the application.*

*D.J. MUNRO  
Deputy Secretary*



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
10 June, 1988.

Mr D.J. Munro,  
Deputy Secretary,  
University of Queensland,  
St LUCIA, Queensland 4067.

Dear Mr Munro,

Dr D.J. Hockings

Your letter PDG:LDS of 1 June, requesting me to provide an assessor's report on Dr D.J. Hockings' application for promotion to Senior Lecturer in the Department of Architecture, has just been received and, in reply, I enclose a copy of a letter which I wrote to Professor S.V. Szokolay on the same subject.

It would appear probable that Professor Szokolay is under the impression that I am an architect or have some training in, or understanding of, the academic discipline of architecture.

In actual fact my degree, from Cambridge University, is in anthropology and as most of my research has been done in trans-cultural Pacific history I am usually referred to as an ethnohistorian.

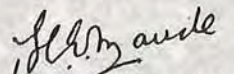
Under the circumstances the only publications by Dr Hockings marked with an asterisk which I might be able to comment on, and then essentially from the point of view of a cultural anthropologist, would be his second - Building a Culture - and conceivably his third - 'Built Form and Culture'. Publications one and four are presumably beyond my comprehension.

I am not, as you state in your third paragraph, 'an expert in the candidate's field' and know nothing of what you term in paragraph two 'the applicant's work', i.e. what he has been doing since the completion of his thesis.

If it is desired that I should comment, as an anthropologist or an historian, on the two publications mentioned above you will have to send me copies; and as I am in my eighties and retired from university work over 16 years ago I shall require at least two months from the date of their receipt to read, digest and comment on them.

I could, of course, comment on the applicant's thesis and should be willing to do so if you send me a copy at the same time.

Yours sincerely,

  
H.E. Maude.

Copy to Professor S.V. Szokolay





TELEPHONE: (07) 377 1111  
TELEX-UNIVQLD AA40315  
FACSIMILE: (07) 371 5896

ADDRESS REPLY TO REGISTRAR  
BUT IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE:

# University of Queensland

ST. LUCIA, QUEENSLAND, AUSTRALIA. 4067

PDG:LDS

FOR ENQUIRIES REGARDING  
THIS LETTER TELEPHONE:

377 3833

1 June 1988

Professor H. Maude  
Unit 2  
"Mirinjani"  
11 Namatjira Drive  
WESTON ACT 2611

Dear Professor Maude,

## REQUEST FOR ASSESSOR'S REPORT - Dr E.J. Hockings

Dr Hockings is a candidate for promotion to Senior Lecturer in this University and you have been nominated as an assessor who would be willing to report on the scholarship and original achievement of this candidate.

I have attached a list of the University's criteria for promotion together with a copy of the candidate's application which includes a list of publications. Your assessment of the overall quality of the candidate's work and, in particular, an opinion on the four most significant publications (selected by the candidate and marked with an asterisk in the bibliography) would be appreciated. Your comments on the extent to which the applicant's work satisfies the stated criteria would be of considerable value in assessing this application.

I should emphasize that we are seeking a frank and critical assessment from you as an expert in the candidate's field. Your appraisal of the candidate's suitability for promotion will, of course, be treated as completely confidential.

I should be grateful if you would provide a report within one month. Would you please mark your reply - ATTENTION: Mr P. Griggs.

Yours sincerely,

(D.J. Munro)  
Deputy Secretary

Att.



**ACADEMIC PROMOTION – 1988 FOR 1989  
TENURED SENIOR TUTOR TO SENIOR LECTURER  
LECTURER TO SENIOR LECTURER  
SENIOR LECTURER TO READER**

---

**QUALIFICATIONS FOR PROMOTION**

**A. GENERAL**

1. Ability and achievement are the principal factors in promotion. The Promotions and Reappointments Committee seeks evidence of the continuing quality of the candidate. Promotion takes account of performance particularly in the candidate's present position at this University. Relevant qualities will include –
  - (a) formal academic qualifications;
  - (b) scholarship; that is, an advanced level of knowledge and ability in the discipline;
  - (c) original achievement as evidenced by research and publications, or, in the case of some disciplines, by other creative work;
  - (d) teaching ability and experience; and
  - (e) service to the University including the efficient performance of administrative tasks and committee work.Other relevant qualities may include –
  - (f) professional experience; and
  - (g) service to a profession, a discipline, or to the community.
2. To qualify for promotion, a candidate must –
  - (a) have qualifications which, when viewed overall, are of an appropriate standard; and
  - (b) achieve appropriate minimum standards under each of the headings 1 (a) to (e).
3. A candidate's formal qualifications shall be appropriate to the position sought and shall preferably include a doctorate. Professional qualifications may also be relevant in some disciplines.
4. The importance given to service within the University will vary with the individual. It is recognised that some candidates will have given outstanding service to the University and that this must be assessed in association with their performance in other areas. Nevertheless, a case for promotion based principally on service to the University will not be sufficient. The minimum standard of University service expected of all candidates is that they shall have demonstrated readiness and ability to perform those matters of service which may reasonably have been required by them by their Head of Department.
5. Opportunities for service to a profession, a discipline, or to the community will also vary. Evidence of such service, which may include election to office in professional organisations or appointment to advisory bodies or committees of inquiry, may be used to give further support to an application made principally on other grounds.
6. Promotion is heavily dependent on demonstrated ability and achievement since the candidate's appointment to the position currently held at this University.
7. It will be very rare for candidates who have held their current positions for less than one year, before the closing date for applications, to be promoted. In most cases candidates will have reached the top of their salary scale.
8. The Head of Department is asked to comment on each application from that department and is expected to consult with other senior members. The Head may also consult with other persons considered appropriate. Where the Head is a candidate the President of the Board should be requested to nominate some other person to undertake consultation and to comment on the application.
9. A successful application for promotion involves the acceptance of a new contract of employment under the conditions in effect at that time for that position. For the promotion to take effect a candidate must sign and return the letter offering appointment at the new level.



## B. CRITERIA FOR PROMOTION

The information listed below includes guidelines for assessing ability and performance in various categories. Given the diversity of disciplines within the University and the very wide range of human attainment in specific aspects, rigid definitions are not possible. Infrequently, there may be a just case for promotion even though the application may not comprehensively fit the guidelines.

### PROMOTION TO READER

1. Candidates for promotion to reader must have made a significant contribution in their field. In assessing the value of this contribution particular attention will be given to *scholarship and original achievement*.

Evidence shall be provided of either –

(a) *outstanding scholarship and original achievement, supported by superior teaching and at least adequate service to the University;*

or

(b) *superior scholarship and original achievement, supported by outstanding teaching and superior service to the University.*

2. Scholarship and original achievement shall normally be demonstrated by scholarly publications in books or in refereed journals of high standing, but may also, in appropriate disciplines, be demonstrated by original works such as musical compositions, patents and engineering or architectural designs. These publications or original works shall have received substantial and preferably international recognition as significant and valuable contributions. These publications and original works may be supported by evidence of outstanding professional skill which has made an identifiable contribution within a discipline.
3. The Promotions and Reappointments Committee will seek confidential assessments of *scholarship and original achievement* from three assessors chosen by the Committee. At least one of these will normally be a professor or of professorial status in Australia, and at least one will be pre-eminent in the candidate's research field.
4. The evaluation of *teaching* shall have regard to both teaching experience and ability.

Superior teaching may be evidenced by –

(a) extensive and varied experience, ability in coursework planning, the mastery of communication techniques, a demonstrated capacity to provide intellectual stimulus, and publications and production of materials to do with teaching in the discipline; and

(b) a record of competent teaching performance.

Outstanding teaching shall be evidenced both by a high level of ability in matters listed under (a) above, and by outstanding performance.

Teaching shall be evaluated with the aid of reports from

- (i) staff members who have had the opportunity to observe the candidate's work;
- (ii) past students; and, exceptionally,
- (iii) present students.

Candidates are required to submit objective evaluation of teaching including student assessment of their teaching based on properly conducted surveys.

### PROMOTION TO SENIOR LECTURER

1. Candidates for promotion to senior lecturer must have made a significant contribution in their field. In assessing the value of this contribution, particular attention will be given to *scholarship and original achievement, teaching and service to the University*.

Evidence shall be provided of *superior scholarship and original achievement, superior teaching and at least adequate service to the University*.

2. *Scholarship and original achievement* shall normally be demonstrated by published work in refereed journals or by other original work. There must be, at the very least, evidence of substantial commitment to research together with evidence of original achievement. Professional experience may be relevant in some disciplines.
3. The evaluation of *teaching* shall have regard to both teaching experience and ability.

Superior teaching may be evidenced by –

(a) substantial and reasonably varied experience, ability in coursework planning, knowledge of communication techniques, and a demonstrated capacity to provide intellectual stimulus; together with at least competent performance; or



**PROMOTION TO SENIOR LECTURER (continued)**

## 3. (continued)

- (b) moderate experience and outstanding performance.

*Teaching* shall be evaluated with the aid of reports from

- (i) staff members who have had the opportunity to observe the candidate's work;
- (ii) past students; and, exceptionally,
- (iii) present students.

**Candidates are required to submit objective evaluation of teaching, including student assessment of their teaching based on properly conducted surveys.**

4. All currently tenured senior tutors are eligible to apply in any year for promotion to the rank of senior lecturer on the same terms as lecturers, with the proviso that, in the evaluation of teaching performance, service in tutorials will be considered as comparable to lecturing service, and that the unavailability of post-graduate supervision for senior tutors will not be regarded negatively.

**C. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION**1. **Composition of Promotions Committee and Sub-Committees**

The Promotions Committee of the Academic Board consists of the President of the Academic Board, the Deputy President of the Academic Board and five elected members, at least two of whom retire each year. Sub-committees are established to cover the five academic groups in the University, namely biological sciences, health sciences, humanities, physical sciences and engineering, and social sciences. Each sub-committee consists of one of the elected members of the Promotions Committee, an additional co-opted professor and four co-opted members - two readers to consider candidates for promotion to reader and two senior lecturers to consider candidates for promotion to senior lecturer. (The senior lecturers do not consider candidates for promotion to reader and the readers do not consider candidates for promotion to senior lecturer.)

2. **Application**

Application may be initiated by the staff member or suggested to the staff member by the Head. In all cases, the staff member completes the details of qualifications etc. and the Head makes a confidential report and recommendation after consultation with other senior members of the department and with the department promotions committee if such exists.

3. **Review of policies and procedures**

Members of the Promotions Committee and its interviewing sub-committees meet each year before applications are considered to discuss procedures. The professorial members of each sub-committee meet with heads of departments in their group to discuss general policy and procedures before the interviews take place. Another meeting of the parent body is held to review procedural matters in the light of interview experience.

4. **Assessment of teaching ability**

A candidate for promotion provides the names of not more than two referees who can be contacted with regard to teaching ability. The Head of Department should not normally be nominated as a teaching referee. The candidate's Head of Department is also asked to nominate two additional persons to be consulted. Those nominated by the candidate and the Head are requested to provide a confidential assessment on a special form. **Candidates are required to submit objective evaluation of teaching, including student assessment of their teaching based on properly conducted surveys.**

5. **Assessors of the scholarship and original achievement of senior lecturer applicants**

In the case of applications for promotion to senior lecturer, candidates should supply the name of one person who may be asked to report on their scholarship and original achievement. The Head is asked to provide the name of two persons who may be consulted on a candidate's scholarship and original achievement. (The person may be one of those asked to report on teaching ability.) There is no specific requirement on an assessor's status or pre-eminence in the candidate's research field; however, applicants should not feel constrained in seeking the best possible assessor.

6. **Assessors of the scholarship and original achievement of reader applicants**

In the case of applications for promotion to reader, candidates should supply the name of one person who may be asked to report on their scholarship and original achievement. The Head, in consultation with at least the professorial staff of the department, provides the names of at least three assessors who may be consulted on a candidate's scholarship and original achievement (see paragraphs 2 and 3 of p. 2 above). The Head may consult a candidate when selecting assessors but must advise the Promotions Committee of any assessor suggested by the candidate.

The Committee decides which assessors it will contact after taking into consideration factors such as whether the assessor has been requested to provide a report on an earlier application. The Committee may appoint assessors other than those nominated by the Head of Department.



**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION (continued)****7. Supplementary information**

Supplementary information accepted by the Promotions Committee includes: notification of acceptance of publications; appearance of publications; reviews of books or articles; TEDI reports on teaching performance in first semester of the current year; higher degree awards; and receipt of research grants or other funds. **Supplementary information transmitted after the closing date for submission of applications must be submitted through the Head of Department.**

**8. Personal and unsolicited testimonials**

Candidates are not encouraged to submit personal testimonials, but if they consider such testimonials may in exceptional circumstances be needed to give an accurate picture, they should be included as part of the initial material provided in support of an application. Apart from supplementary information described in paragraph 7, all unsolicited communications, whether from candidates or other people, should be directed to the President of the Academic Board.

**9. Interviews**

All candidates are interviewed by the appropriate sub-committee. The interview augments the written application and affords an opportunity for questions from both members and the applicant, including questions on procedural matters. Although one or more of the promotion criteria may not be discussed at interview this does not imply that any individual criterion is unimportant.

Early interviews are arranged at the discretion of the chairperson of the appropriate sub-committee for candidates who will be leaving Brisbane (e.g. to undertake a special studies program) before the main interviewing period. Members of the interviewing sub-committee are allowed to withdraw from the interview of any particular candidate if they wish to do so and a stand-in will be appointed by the President of the Board from the Promotions Committee. Also, if a candidate objects to the presence of a member of the interviewing sub-committee, the President will be asked to rule on the matter.

The five interviewing sub-committees give consideration to the following material:

- (a) the application form containing the recommendation of the Head;
- (b) the candidate's publications, which are available well in advance of the meeting (in the case of candidates for promotion to senior lecturer, the chairperson of the sub-committee may seek comments from assessors nominated by the Head and the candidate; in the case of candidates for promotion to reader, assessors' reports on the publications are sought and considered);
- (c) referees' reports on teaching ability;
- (d) assessors' reports;
- (e) the Dean's report;
- (f) the Pro-Vice-Chancellor's report; and
- (g) previous applications if relevant (committee assessments of previous applications are not consulted until the current sub-committee has reached an independent recommendation).

Heads of departments may be interviewed if the sub-committees so desire.

**10. Final recommendations for promotion**

- (1) Each sub-committee submits its recommendations with detailed notes to the parent Promotions Committee.
- (2) The Committee considers the recommendations of its sub-committees and consults with the Vice-Chancellor.
- (3) A final list of recommended promotions is tabled at a meeting of the Academic Board for consideration and subsequent executive approval by the Vice-Chancellor.
- (4) All candidates and assessors are advised.
- (5) The President and the Chairperson of the relevant interviewing sub-committee, or the Chairperson alone, interview unsuccessful candidates on request. Since promotions guidelines may change, since the membership of committees will alter and since assessors and referees may differ over time, it will not be possible in interviewing unsuccessful applicants to give specific, binding advice. Such advice as may be given can only be general and it will not be binding on future committees. All unsuccessful applicants who attend an interview will receive a brief written statement of advice from the Promotions Committee as a record of advice given.

**11. Other important Committee policies**

Applications for additional increments will *not* be accepted, as the Promotions Committee does not regard accelerated incremental advancement as an avenue for promotion. Promotion will only be recommended from one grade to the next. If, in consideration of an application for promotion, it becomes apparent that a serious anomaly exists concerning the point on the salary scale at which the applicant was originally appointed, the Promotions Committee may, on its own initiative, recommend the case to the Vice-Chancellor for consideration.



**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION (continued)**

11. (continued)

Tenable Lecturers and Senior Lecturers on probation are eligible for consideration for promotion.

Staff members who are currently on secondment to another institution are not thereby rendered ineligible for promotion.

Applications from candidates who subsequently resign will cease to be processed from the date of receipt of the resignation.

\* \* \* \* \*

February 1988

Douglas Porter  
Secretary and Registrar



**APPLICATION FOR PROMOTION - 1988 FOR 1989**

~~Senior Lecturer to Reader~~  
~~Lecturer to Senior Lecturer~~  
~~Teacher to Senior Lecturer~~

(delete whichever not applicable)

ARCHITECTURE  
 DEPARTMENT

Dr  
 Mr  
 Miss  
 Mrs  
 Ms

E. J.  
 INITIALS

HOCKINGS  
 SURNAME (BLOCK LETTERS)

**1. APPOINTMENT DETAILS**

<u>1.7.85</u>	<u>1.7.85</u>	Point on	<u>7th</u>	<u>1 / 7 / 89</u>
Date of initial appointment	Date of appointment to present classification	salary scale 1.1.89		Date when top of salary scale reached

Details of increments or higher starting salary:

Date of birth: 18 / 6 / 50

Salary at date of initial appointment was at 4th point with annual increments since then.

**2. ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS, AWARDS AND MEMBERSHIPS (degree, date, place)**

*Degrees:* PhD, 1985, Uni. of Queensland; B.Arch(hons), 1974, Uni. of Queensland

*Awards:* 1987: Brisbane Development Association Post-Expo Design Comp. First Prize  
 1987: C'tee Heads of A'sian Schools of Architecture (CHASA) Design Citation: Koorinal House  
 1987: CHASA Design Citation: Kuranda Amphitheatre  
 1985: Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA) Urban Design Ideas Competition: Six Street Insertions. First Prize  
 1985: RAIA Qld. Chapter. Design Citation: Springwood Post Office. I had the major responsibility for the design of this building while employed at Noel Robinson Built Environments.  
 1984: RAIA. National Design Citation: Kenlynn Centre (office building, Upper Edward Street, Brisbane). I had the major responsibility for the design of this building while employed at the above firm.  
 1984: RAIA Qld. Chapter. Design Citation: Kenlynn Centre.  
 1983: Concrete Institute of Australia Award for Excellence in Concrete: Kenlynn Centre

*(Continued on Page 8)*

**3. POSITIONS HELD (including research fellowships, professional experience etc., with dates - most recent first)**

- (1) Lecturer, Department of Architecture, Uni. of Queensland, 1985 -
- (2) Occasional design/research consultancy work with architectural practices at their invitation: Bligh Jessup Robinson and Geoffrey Pie, 1985 -
- (3) Associate, Noel Robinson Built Environments, Architects, 1980-1985. The firm has a high reputation within the profession and is noted particularly for its design innovation and excellence; it is a frequent award winner in this respect. During my period of employment I was responsible for the design and construction of a large number of residential and commercial projects of varying scale and complexity throughout Queensland, Australia and overseas. They include city office buildings, extensive mining town housing at Blackwater, a new Anglican Cathedral in Canberra and the design of the new hangar for the 'Southern Cross' at Brisbane Airport. During the five years I completed over five hundred design submissions for various clients to at least sketch design stage, an invaluable experience for the teaching and research which I now undertake. A number of these projects received awards, both locally and nationally. As an associate of the firm, I was also responsible for general administration and ran the practice during periods of the principal's absence.

*(Continued on Page 8)*



#### 4. OTHER EXPERIENCE (including activities undertaken on special studies programs)

No special studies programmes have yet been undertaken. Apart from the experience documented in Item 3, I also work as a part time professional artist exhibiting annually in one-man and mixed exhibitions. My works are held in the Queensland Art Gallery and in private collections in Australia and overseas.

#### 5. SERVICE (including departmental, University and external service including involvement in professional organisations relevant to the candidate's discipline/profession.)

##### *Departmental:*

- (1) A number of departmental staff (the Design Group) meet regularly to co-ordinate their teaching and research activities. I have been an active member of the Design Group since taking up my appointment, and was chairman from 1986 to 1987. During this time the department was organising a new course structure for the undergraduate degree and, as chairman of the Design Group, I was very active in these formulations.
- (2) I am a member (1985-) of the Departmental Research Committee, which meets regularly to plan and encourage research activities within the department, distribute research funds, and to plan higher degree programmes.

(Continued on page 8)

#### 6. TEACHING (Details should be given of teaching experience at various undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Candidates should refer to the *List of Teaching Materials and Activities* which was distributed with these application forms.)

##### *Course Materials:*

- (1) As anticipated at the time of my appointment, my principal teaching duties at undergraduate level lie in the area of Architectural Design. Since July 1985 I have been responsible for this subject in all but one semester, teaching at second through to final year level. This is a major 20-25 credit point subject which includes one lecture per week, more than two full days of studio tutorials per week, and occasional seminars and juries.  
  
Teaching in three different levels of the course has required the development and preparation of new studio programmes and lecture material on each occasion. Monitoring and reassessment of the Architectural Design subject by the Design Group has also required the development of new lectures to replace existing material.
- (2) For one semester each year I take a fourth year 10 cp departmental elective, Architectural Theory. This is principally a lecture/seminar subject which involves students in work preparatory to their undergraduate thesis.
- (3) Teaching responsibilities over the last three years have also included the first year course in Communications (5 cp), tutorial assistance in Architectural Design (depending upon the number of students, there are normally two staff allocated to this subject - one in charge and one assisting), and occasional involvement in lectures, seminars, tutorials and juries conducted by other staff members.
- (4) The lecture programmes have all been notated and are accompanied by extensive slide material.

(Continued on page 9)



## 6. TEACHING (continued)

- (a) Successful higher degree candidates supervised, if applicable. Include name, degree, year degree awarded. State whether supervision was shared. If supervision was shared, state applicant's contribution as a percentage of the whole.

Not applicable.

- (b) Higher degree candidates currently under supervision. Include name and degree sought. State whether supervision is shared. If supervision is shared, state applicant's contribution as a percentage of the whole.

*Student Supervision:*

I am currently supervising 2 PhD students and 1 Master's student, and have temporarily supervised three other postgraduate students during semesters of their supervisor's absence. There are currently nine Master's and nine PhD students enrolled in the department. I also give occasional lectures in a Course Master's programme and am currently assisting in the planning of a new Master's programme.

Names, positions, and addresses in full of two people who could be consulted on teaching ability. Please state why the proposed referees are considered to be in a position to give an assessment and ascertain, in advance, their willingness to report. Referees should have first-hand knowledge of the candidate's teaching and should cover as many aspects of the candidate's teaching as possible.

1. Prof. B.S. Saini, Dept. of Architecture, Uni. of Queensland. Has close contact with my teaching, especially at postgraduate level.
2. Mr. Michael Keniger, Lecturer, Dept. of Architecture, Uni. of Queensland. Has close contact with my teaching at undergraduate level, and is chairman of the Design Group.

Note: Two teaching evaluations and a summary are attached.

## 9. SCHOLARSHIP AND ORIGINAL ACHIEVEMENT (Include a brief description of current research projects.)

(1) *Studies in Culture and Architecture*

My first priority in this area, upon joining the Department, was to convert my recently completed PhD dissertation into publishable form. Negotiations with UQ Press have just resulted in the completion of a manuscript entitled *Building a Culture: Traditional Architecture in the Gilbert Islands*. It is for publication in their Scholars Library Series and scheduled for release in early 1989. The manuscript represents an edited version of the first half of the PhD dissertation. By concentrating on traditional architecture, it serves the valuable function of documenting a number of ideas and techniques which are being rapidly forgotten in the face of cultural change, whilst still containing important and innovative arguments as to the more general nature of the Architecture/Culture relationship. It thus has specific content for the Gilbert Islanders and also architects, anthropologists, etc. interested in the cultures of the S.W. Pacific region and a broader interest for scholars of architecture in general.

In the course of manuscript preparation, a section on domestic architecture was slightly revised, but again including a broader theoretical aspect, and published in the international journal *Architecture and Behaviour*.

(Continued on page 4)



## 9. SCHOLARSHIP AND ORIGINAL ACHIEVEMENT (continued)

### (1) *Studies in Culture and Architecture (Contd.)*

My interest in this area of research continues, and in 1987 for example, I participated in the Inter-Campus People-Environment Seminar Programme with a response paper on aboriginal housing. This area of research and these publications are the outcome of a research interest fostered when employed as a research assistant in the department in 1974. I was then working as a member of the Queensland team on a joint programme with the Institut fur Tropenbau, Starnberg, West Germany which resulted in the publication *Prefabrication of Low-Cost Housing for Tropical Areas* which I co-authored.

### (2) *Urban Design Research*

However, after five years in practice, my research interests now centre upon Architectural Design and Theory research, particularly in relation to urban design and contemporary architectural theory.

With a \$4500 research grant from the architectural firm Bligh Jessup Robinson, I have spent the last twelve months investigating and preparing material for a new Brisbane City Council policy document on *Urban Design Guidelines* for the central city. My first task was the preparation of material for the architectural component of the document, but I have now also undertaken overall editorial responsibility.

*(Continued on page 10)*

Candidates should supply here the name, position, and address (in full) of one person who may be consulted on their scholarship and original achievement. (The person may be one of those asked to report on teaching ability.) Please ascertain, in advance, the assessor's willingness to report. Please note, however, that no undertaking is given that the assessor's opinion will be sought.

Professor B.S. Saini, Dept. of Architecture, Uni. of Queensland, St. Lucia.  
N.B. Professor Saini may be absent for some months during this promotion  
round but has indicated that he will remain in close contact with the  
department, and has left forwarding addresses.

## 10. PUBLICATION OF BOOKS, MONOGRAPHS OR ARTICLES IN JOURNALS OF HIGH STANDING

Candidates should attach a list of published work. Candidates should refer to the *Instruction Leaflet* for details on bibliographic style.

Please refer to page 13.

## 11. PREVIOUS APPLICANTS

Applicants who have sought promotion in either of the two previous years are invited to indicate ways in which their position has strengthened since their most recent application was submitted.

Not applicable.

12.

23.03.88

Date

John Hawkins

Signature of Staff Member



2. ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS, AWARDS AND MEMBERSHIPS (degree, date, place)  
(Continued from page 1)

- Awards:* 1974: RAlA Student Medallion for best performance over duration of B.Arch. course.  
1974: A.E. Brooks Travelling Scholarship in Architecture.  
1974: Board of Architects Prize. 5th Year  
1970: James Hardie and Co. Pty. Ltd. Prize  
1970: Board of Architects Prize. 3rd Year  
1969: Board of Architects Prize. 1st Year
- Memberships:* Associate, Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA), 1986 -  
Student Member, RAIA, 1968-73  
Committee Member, South Australian Matriculation Arts Board, 1980

3. POSITIONS HELD (including research fellowships, professional experience, etc., with dates - most recent first) (Continued from page 1)

- (4) Occasional lectures and tutorials, Dept. of Architecture, Uni. of Qld. 1980-85.  
(5) Full-time design tutor, Dept. of Architecture, Uni. of Adelaide, 1977-1980.  
(6) Two years fieldwork on the island of Onotoa, Kiribati, Western Pacific Ocean, conducting research for PhD 1975-77.  
(7) Research assistant, Dept. of Architecture, Uni. of Qld, 1975. This project was conducted jointly with the Institut fur Tropenbau, Starnberg, West Germany and resulted in the publication of the book 'Prefabrication of Low-Cost Housing for Tropical Areas', of which I was a joint author.  
(8) Architectural assistant, William Holford and Partners, London, UK, including work on the large scale redevelopment of the Thames South Bank.  
(9) Occasional employment with Van den Broek and Associates and Birrell and Partners as a student architect, 1968-70.

5. SERVICE (including departmental, University and external service including involvement in professional organisations relevant to the candidate's discipline/profession.) (Continued from page 2)

*Departmental:*

- (3) Those members of the department engaged in regular research are organised by interest into a number of sub-groups. I am co-ordinator of the Design Theory Research Group and a member of the Historical and Cultural Studies Research Group. As co-ordinator of the Design Theory Group I am responsible, after consultation, for the distribution of funds within the group and for research strategy planning.  
(4) I am a regular member of the ad hoc Departmental Committees of Review (appeals, awards, etc.).  
(5) 1986 -. Staff representative to the Architecture and Music Library responsible for purchases, distribution of funds and other sundry duties.  
(6) In a department with relatively few staff there are many occasional duties and initiatives which need to be performed. I have always been willing to participate in these at the request of the Head of Department and on a voluntary or initiating basis when and where appropriate. For example: assisting in the preparation and organisation of competitions at the request of outside bodies, preparation of sketch designs for modifications and extensions to the department, graphic work



5. SERVICE (including departmental, University and external service including involvement in professional organisations relevant to the candidate's discipline/profession.) (Continued from page 8)

*Departmental:*

- (6) for departmental publications, etc.

*University Service:*

- (1) University Library Committee Member 1988 - .  
 (2) Member, Building and Grounds Landscape Committee, 1986-87.  
 (3) I am currently preparing sketch plans for the English Department for modifications they hope to make to the Avalon Theatre to improve the teaching they undertake there.

*Professional Service:*

- (1) 1986 - . Associate, Royal Australian Institute of Architects.  
 (2) 1986 - . Member, Membership and Awards Committee, RAIA Qld. Chapter.  
 (3) 1987. Jury member, RAIA State Awards Programme.  
 (4) 1987. Member, RAIA Architecture Week Committee.  
 (5) 1988. Chairman of Jury, National RAIA Interior Design Competition.

In relation to points (3) and (5), it should be noted that to be asked to sit as a jury member or, even more particularly as chairman of a jury for a national competition, is an indicator of high professional and scholarly standing within the architectural community as one is put in the role of assessing ones peers.

Apart from these formal commitments and appointments, I have been active in the general affairs of the Institute of Architects since joining in 1986.

6. TEACHING (Details should be given of teaching experience at various undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Candidates should refer to the *List of Teaching Materials and Activities* which was distributed with these application forms.) (Continued from page 2)

*Course Materials:*

- (5) To expose students to the widest possible range of architectural ideas, I organise an interstate field trip each year. Students spend a week meeting architects and visiting architectural projects at various stages from sketch plans to finished buildings.  
 (6) Each year I supervise from three to four undergraduate theses, principally in the area of Architectural Theory and Design.

*Scholarship:*

I am a member and past chairman of the Design Group. This group meets regularly to discuss and coordinate teaching programmes across the five years of the course, to plan new courses, to inform others of courses seen in operation overseas, and to coordinate and oversee end-of-semester assessment.



6. TEACHING (Details should be given of teaching experience at various undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Candidates should refer to the *List of Teaching Materials and Activities* which was distributed with these application forms.)  
(Continued from page 9)

*Summary Table of TEDI Surveys of Teaching:*

	Sem. 2, 85 AT240 n = 22	Sem. 2, 87 AT240 n = 18	Cumulative Uni. Mean
1. Class sessions were organised to ensure maximum learning.	2.3	2.0	2.3
2. The objectives for each session were clear.	2.3	2.1	2.2
3. The lecturer's explanations were clear.	2.0	1.7	2.2
4. The lecturer seemed well prepared for each session.	1.6	1.8	1.8
5. The lecturer stimulated my interest in the subject.	1.8	1.7	2.6
6. The lecturer seemed willing to offer individual help.	1.5	1.5	2.1
7. The lecturer made assessment requirements clear.	1.7	1.9	2.1
8. There were enough opportunities to ask questions.	1.7	1.7	2.1
9. The lecturer motivated me to work hard.	2.4	2.1	2.9
10. How would you rate this subject?	5.6	5.9	4.7
11. All things considered, how would you rate this staff member's overall effectiveness as a university teacher?	5.8	6.1	5.1

N.B. Full TEDI printouts attached.

9. SCHOLARSHIP AND ORIGINAL ACHIEVEMENT (Continued from page 4)

(2) *Urban Design Research*

The document has just been typeset and is due for publication in the next month or so. It will sit beside the Town Plan and the Building Act as principal controllers of development within the central city.

Certain ideas contained within this document have also been pursued through two Urban Design Competitions. The first, sponsored by the RAIA, was concerned with ideas and strategies for an architectural identity for Brisbane's Central Business District. My entry, entitled *Six Street Insertions*, was an investigation of the possibilities of a transfer and adaptation of certain European design concepts to the Australian context. This competition was assessed by a jury which included members of international standing (Professor Barry Maitland, for example) and my entry was awarded First Prize.

The competition resulted in the publication of a book, *Urban Architecture for Brisbane*, to which I contributed a Chapter, "Ideas and Provocations", and which I jointly edited with fellow academics M. Keniger and M. Roehrs.

(Continued on page 11)



## 9. SCHOLARSHIP AND ORIGINAL ACHIEVEMENT (Continued from page 10)

(2) *Urban Design Research*

The second competition, sponsored by the Brisbane Development Association, sought ideas for the development of the south bank of the Brisbane River following the 1988 World Exposition. My entry continued the exploration of ideas first postulated in the urban design competition and was again awarded First Prize.

I am continuing with this research and have planned a Special Studies Programme in first semester 1989, looking in detail at recent urban projects in Germany and northern Italy and holding discussions with the leading theoreticians and academics in those countries. As the question of appropriate urban structures for the present and the future remains one of the most vexing of contemporary architectural problems, I anticipate that I will continue to work and publish in this area for some time to come. The Department of Architecture is currently investigating the possibilities of a Coursework Masters Degree in Architectural and Urban Design and it is intended that my research will feed directly into this programme, and also that I will have a teaching role there.

(3) *Architectural Theory Research*

In 1986 I received a \$4000 Bicentennial grant to investigate theatre design and to develop a proposal for a performance amphitheatre at Kuranda in northern Queensland. Research into (a) the theatre as an architectural type, (b) architectural translations of ideas about the role of theatre in relation to society and conceptions of reality as well as (c) the context of landscape, in this case tropical rainforest, were presented and in consultation with the Kuranda Amphitheatre Society, developed into a design proposal. Fundraising for the construction of the amphitheatre is presently under way.

This design/research programme was submitted to The Committee of Heads of Australasian Schools of Architecture Refereed Designs Programme and received a Certificate of Merit, being adjudged by a national panel of referees as both an 'appropriate solution to a difficult problem' and 'a significant contribution to the art of architecture'.

Note: 'The Committee of Heads of Australasian Schools of Architecture (CHASA) resolved in 1986 to introduce a system of 'refereed designs' comparable to refereed papers in learned journals practised by most academic disciplines. The system is intended to (a) promote the development of the discipline, its intellectual content and its academic rigour, to improve the standard of criticism and to assist the cumulative development of knowledge and (b) to redress the imbalance between architectural and other academics by providing an outlet for products equivalent to publications in refereed journals by establishing a structure for peer-group evaluation.' (Extract from CHASA document - Appendix 1).

A second design/research programme, *Koorringal House*, was also submitted to the CHASA programme. On this occasion an investigation of the possibilities of bringing into interplay both 'ad hoc' and critically conscious approaches to design and material selection was undertaken, and this also received a Certificate of Merit under the same criteria as the scheme above. The CHASA scheme began last year and these Citations represent two out of the total of five citations made across Australasia in 1987.

I intend to maintain this practice of undertaking occasional design/research programmes and competition entries as the opportunity arises. Apart from the benefits to my on-going research and the dissemination of ideas, they keep me in contact with the pragmatics of contemporary practice with a consequent benefit to the department's teaching programmes. They also promote opportunities for research and consultative work with architectural practices. Two such opportunities arose in 1987 though only one could be undertaken because of the restrictions of time. However, I could take up the offer of Geoffrey Pie and Associates to undertake the initial conceptual designs for a large project in the central city. Again, benefits accrue to my own research but in addition, valuable links are formed between the profession, the public and the university through this type of programme. (Continued on page 12)



9. SCHOLARSHIP AND ORIGINAL ACHIEVEMENT *(Continued from page 11)*

(4) *Research in Architectural History*

As one of a number of projects currently under way within the department dealing with late nineteenth and early twentieth century Queensland architects, I am presently conducting a study on the architectural works and philosophies of E.M. Hockings. He practised in Rockhampton between 1895 and 1940 and was responsible for a number of the most significant buildings in the region including the Town Hall and the Rockhampton Girls Grammar School.



## 10. PUBLICATION OF BOOKS, MONOGRAPHS OR ARTICLES IN JOURNALS OF HIGH STANDING

Note: all entries are published unless otherwise noted.

## Books

- HOCKINGS, E.J., KENIGER, M. AND ROEHRS, M. eds. *Urban Architecture for Brisbane*. Brisbane, RAIA. 1986. Forty percent contribution.\*
- HOCKINGS, E.J., MUKERJI, K., SULEJMAN-PASIC, N., MURISON, H. *Prefabrication on Low-Cost Housing for Tropical Areas*. Stanberg, W. Germany, Institut fur Tropenbau. 1975. Forty percent contribution.
- HOCKINGS, E.J. *Building a Culture: Traditional Architecture in the Gilbert Islands*. University of Queensland Press. Manuscript accepted for publication. Approx 300 pp. Due for publication early 1989.\*
- HOCKINGS, E.J. Thesis. Built Form and Culture: A Case Study of Gilbertese Architecture. PhD, University of Qld. 560 pp. 1985. Unpublished dissertation.

## Book Chapters

- HOCKINGS, E.J. Remedies and Provocations. In Hockings, E.J., Keniger, M. and Roehrs, M. eds. *Urban Architecture for Brisbane*, pp 41-48. Brisbane, RAIA. 1986.

## Journal Articles

- HOCKINGS, E.J. Built Form and Culture: A Theoretical Appraisal Supported by a Case Study of the Dwelling House in the Gilbert Islands, West Pacific Ocean. *Architecture and Behaviour*, 3(4), 281-300. Lausanne, Switzerland. 1987. A\*
- Design. Six Street Insertions. Reviewed by Downton, P. *Australian Planner*, 25(2), 29. 1987. B.
- Design. Six Street Insertions. Reviewed by Halik, K. *Transition*, 20, 25. 1987. B

## Designs

- HOCKINGS, E.J. Design. *Six Street Insertions*. RAIA Urban Design Ideas Competition. First Prize. 1985. A
- Design. *Post-Expo Proposal*. BDA Post-Expo Competition. First Prize. 1987. A
- Design. *Koorinal House*. CHASA citation. CHASA. 1987. A\*
- Design. *Kuranda Amphitheatre*. CHASA citation. CHASA. 1987. A

Note. The University of Queensland's approved definition of this new category of inclusion in the Bibliographic and Audio-visual Record is:  
'Building designs published or critically reviewed in a recognised professional journal, or selected by a professional panel for inclusion in an exhibition, or winning a professional award, citation or professionally conducted competition.'

## Reports

- HOCKINGS, E.J. ed. *Design Guidelines: Brisbane Central City*. Brisbane, Brisbane City Council. 1988. Accepted for publication.



University of Queensland Tertiary Education Institute  
STUDENT EVALUATION OF TEACHING - SEMESTER 2, 1985

E.J. Hockings AT240 Batch 61 0900 21.10.85

Below are the responses from students in the above class. N shows the number of students selecting each option. The responses 'no answer' and 'not applicable' are not used in calculating either percentages or the mean for each rating.

Section 1 - Standard items+++++

Students are asked to read each of the statements below and circle the number which corresponds most closely to their experience with this staff member's performance in teaching this class.

	1		2		3		4		5		No Answer/ Not Applicable	Number Used	Mean		
	Strongly Agree	%	Agree	%	Uncertain	%	Disagree	%	Strongly Disagree	%					
1. Class sessions were organized to ensure maximum learning	3	14	10	48	6	29	2	10	0	0	1	21	2.5		
2. The objectives for each session were clear	3	14	12	55	5	23	2	9	0	0	0	22	2.5		
3. The lecturer's explanations were clear	6	27	12	55	3	14	1	5	0	0	0	22	2.0		
4. The lecturer seemed well prepared for each session	10	45	11	50	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	22	1.6		
5. The lecturer stimulated my interest in the subject	7	32	13	59	1	5	1	5	0	0	0	22	1.8		
6. The lecturer seemed willing to offer individual help	12	55	10	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	1.5		
7. The lecturer made assessment requirements clear	8	38	11	52	2	10	0	0	0	0	1	21	1.7		
8. There were enough opportunities to ask questions	9	41	12	55	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	22	1.7		
9. The lecturer motivated me to work hard	4	18	8	36	7	32	3	14	0	0	0	22	2.4		
10. How would you rate this subject?:	(Note: use 1 = very poor, 4 = satisfactory, / = outstanding)														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					No answer	Number used	Mean	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
	0	0	0	1	5	1	5	6	27	12	55	2	22	5.6	



University of Queensland Tertiary Education Institute

STUDENT EVALUATION OF TEACHING - SEMESTER 2, 1985

E.J. Hockings AT240 Batch 61 0900 21.10.85

Below are the responses from students in the above class. N shows the number of students selecting each option. The responses 'no answer' and 'not applicable' are not used in calculating either percentages or the mean for each rating.

Section 2 - Overall effectiveness

This question asks about the staff member's overall effectiveness as a university teacher, disregarding personality and the type of subject taught. Students are asked to compare the lecturer's performance with that of other staff they know.

11. All things considered, how would you rate this staff member's overall effectiveness as a university teacher?

NOTE: use 1 = very poor, 4 = satisfactory, / = outstanding.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NO answer	Number used	Mean
N	0	0	0	1	5	5	10	4	20	5.8
%	0	0	0	5	25	25	50	20		



E.J. Hockings 'A1240 Batch 61 0900 21.10.85

Below are the responses from students in the above class. N shows the number of students selecting each option. The responses 'no answer' and 'not applicable' are not used in calculating either percentages or the mean for each rating.

Section 3 - Optional items+++++  
 The following statements were chosen by this staff member to give him/her more feedback on specific aspects of teaching.

	1	2	3	4	5	No Answer/ Not Applicable	Number Used	Mean					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree								
	N	%	N	%	N	%							
12. The lecturer is open to student opinion	6	27	14	64	2	9	0	0	22	1.8			
13. I have learned to think critically	5	23	12	55	5	23	0	0	22	2.0			
14. I have developed the ability to solve problems in this field	1	5	15	68	5	23	1	5	0	22	2.3		
15. I learned to feel responsible for my own learning	8	40	12	60	0	0	0	0	2	20	1.0		
16. The lecturer links material in this class to activities in other classes	3	14	5	23	10	45	3	14	1	5	0	22	2.7
17. The lecturer presents material in an interesting way	3	14	13	59	4	18	2	9	0	0	22	2.2	
18. The lecturer stimulates me to follow up points that are raised	4	18	11	50	6	27	1	5	0	0	22	2.2	
19. The lecturer seems to know the subject matter well	11	50	10	45	1	5	0	0	0	0	22	1.5	
20. Assignments tie in with the course objectives	6	29	13	62	2	10	0	0	0	0	1	21	1.8
21. Studio projects were well chosen for developing practical skills	8	36	9	41	4	18	1	5	0	0	0	22	1.9
22. The lecturer shared studio tutoring equally amongst students	4	18	12	55	2	9	4	18	0	0	0	22	2.3
23. The lecturer gives adequate feedback on studio work	2	9	16	73	3	14	0	0	1	5	0	22	2.2







University of Queensland Tertiary Education Institute  
STUDENT EVALUATION OF TEACHING - SEMESTER 1, 1988

E.J. Hockings AT240 Batch 26 0000 9.03.88

Below are the responses from students in the above class. N shows the number of students selecting each option. The responses 'no answer' and 'not applicable' are not used in calculating either percentages or the mean for each rating.

Section 2 - Overall effectiveness

This question asks about the staff member's overall effectiveness as a university teacher, disregarding personality and the type of subject taught. Students are asked to compare the lecturer's performance with that of other staff they know.

11. All things considered, how would you rate this staff member's overall effectiveness as a university teacher?

NOTE: use 1 = very poor, 4 = satisfactory, 7 = outstanding.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	No answer	Number used	Mean
N	0	0	1	0	0	10	5	2	16	6.1
%	0	0	6	0	0	63	31			



University of Queensland Tertiary Education Institute

STUDENT EVALUATION OF TEACHING - SEMESTER 1, 1988

E.J. Hockings AT240

Batch 26

0000 9.03.88

Below are the responses from students in the above class. N shows the number of students selecting each option. The responses "no answer" and "not applicable" are not used in calculating either percentages or the mean for each rating.

Section 3 - Optional Items

The following statements were chosen by this staff member to give him/her more feedback on specific aspects of teaching.

	1	2	3	4	5	No Answer/ Not Applicable	Number Used	Mean
	Strongly Agree N %	Agree N %	Uncertain N %	Disagree N %	Strongly Disagree N %			
12. The lecturer is open to student opinion	2 11	12 67	3 17	1 6	0 0	0	18	2.2
13. I have learned to think critically	4 22	8 44	5 28	1 6	0 0	0	18	2.2
14. I have developed the ability to solve problems in this field	3 17	7 39	7 39	1 6	0 0	0	18	2.3
15. I learned to feel responsible for my own learning	6 33	10 56	2 11	0 0	0 0	0	18	1.8
16. The lecturer links material in this class to activities in other classes	3 17	11 61	4 22	0 0	0 0	0	18	2.1
17. The lecturer presents material in an interesting way	4 22	11 61	3 17	0 0	0 0	0	18	1.9
18. The lecturer stimulates me to follow up points that are raised	2 11	11 61	5 28	0 0	0 0	0	18	2.2
19. The lecturer seems to know the subject matter well	10 56	8 44	0 0	0 0	0 0	0	18	1.4
20. Assignments tie in with the course objectives	6 33	9 50	3 17	0 0	0 0	0	18	1.8
21. Studio projects were well chosen for developing practical skills	4 22	12 67	2 11	0 0	0 0	0	18	1.9
22. The lecturer shared studio tutoring equally amongst students	3 17	5 28	9 50	1 6	0 0	0	18	2.4
23. The lecturer gives adequate feedback on studio work	4 22	11 61	1 6	2 11	0 0	0	18	2.1





THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

BOX 498, G.P.O., ADELAIDE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA 5001

Please address correspondence to

28/4/88

Dear Professor Maude,

Many thanks for your reply of 21 April and for your suggested amendments. All are most gratefully accepted, and have already been sent to the editor of the Pacific Archives Journal. I enclose her letter and a copy of the most recent issue of the Journal, which crossed with my letter sending your comments and amendments.

With regard to her request for a photograph, I have sent a copy of the issue of the University publication Lumen in which appeared a photograph of you and Mrs. Maude at the Library. I feel it is a very suitable photograph but we do not hold either a print or the original negative, and I do not know if the quality will be adequate for publication. If you have a print, or another suitable photograph, would you be willing to make it available to Miss Lutton? I have also sent one of your distinctive bookplates for inclusion with the article, if this is acceptable to you.

I wish you and Mrs. Maude a wonderful visit to the northern sun, and hope it may restore you to health and strength. We shall look forward to receiving those straying books and papers at your leisure (they would feel very much at home in the present state of my office and workroom!)

Yours sincerely,

Susan Woodburn



PARBICA

PACIFIC REGIONAL BRANCH INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON ARCHIVES  
C/o National Archives, P.O. Box 6148, Te Aro, Wellington, New Zealand.

EDITOR

Nancy Lutton  
12/396 Stirling HWY  
Cottesloe, W.A. 6011

25 April 1988

Mrs Susan Woodburn  
Barr Smith Library  
University of Adelaide  
Box 498 GPO  
ADELAIDE SA 5001

Dear Susan,

Thank you very much indeed for your article on "The Pacific Collection of the University of Adelaide", which I received on Friday. Yes, I think we will call it that. I think it is a very good account and reads well. No, I will not have any trouble with the editing. If Professor Maude requires any changes, please let me know immediately as I am handing it to the typist this week. I'll make the changes (if any) at proof reading stage which I expect to be about weekend 7/8 May.

It seems to me that a photograph of Professor Maude would enhance the article. If you have one readily available and could send by mid-May, I would be sure to return it safely.

I am enclosing a copy of the issue of Pacific Archives Journal which I have just produced. This contains no articles, only two lots of proceedings, but they are quite informative of what PARBICA is all about. I might say, there are only 40 names on the mailing list of members so if you feel like getting your institution to join, it would help the coffers along (see page 63).

The style of this issue is quite different to the previous four produced by Alan Ives. They are similar to his Bibliography of Archives in Australia, if you have ever seen a copy.

Hope all is well with you, and thanks again for taking the trouble to write the article.

Fondest regards,

*Nancy*

PRESIDENT  
George Paniani

VICE PRESIDENT  
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SECRETARY GENERAL  
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TREASURER  
John Davies



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
Australia,  
17 April, 1988.

Carl Olsen,  
Chairman, State Department Watch,  
PO Box 7981, Northridge,  
California 91327, U.S.A.

Dear Mr Olsen,

Thank you for sending me copies of material on the U.S. claim to Wrangel and other islands to the west of Alaska.

I found this fascinating reading and it brought back to me vivid recollections of many of the issues involved in the claims made by the U.S. to 25 islands in the Central Pacific, leading to a dispute in which I was actively concerned during 1946.

I take it that the American position in regard to disputed sovereignty over these northern islands is still in essence as laid down by Mr Stephen T. Early, Secretary to President Roosevelt, as long ago as 1938, since the statement conforms substantially to international law on the subject as interpreted today: see p.87 in my book Of Islands and Men (Oxford University Press, 1968).

It would appear that the U.S. had a valid claim to sovereignty over Wrangel Island on the grounds of its discovery by Captain Thomas Long in 1867, the hoisting of the American flag on the island in token of annexation by the U.S. Revenue Marine Captain Calvin L. Hooper in 1881, its 'reasonable occupation' by 14 U.S. subjects headed by Charles Wells during 1924, and the declaration of Secretary of State Evans Hughes recognizing the ownership of the island by the Lomen Brothers, U.S. subjects, in 1924 (Canadian and British action foreshadowing possible sovereignty claims not having been taken up by the Governments concerned).

It would appear, however, that the U.S. Government failed to ratify the annexation by any official act on the part of the Federal Government authorities, nor did the Federal Government make any formal protest at the action of the Soviet authorities in removing U.S. subjects from the island in 1924 against their will, an action which conveyed a clear presumption on the part of the Soviet Government that it considered, on grounds which we apparently do not know, that Wrangel Island was in fact U.S.S.R. territory.



Since 1924 Wrangel Island has been stated to be claimed by the U.S. in official, or at least demi-official, publications issued by the Department of the Interior and the State Department, but these pronouncements, as in the case of similar ones regarding Pacific Islands stated to be claimed by America, are not considered to be of any greater legal standing than a 'routine, administrative act derived from the historical position of the United States in this regard and is not intended to imply that the United States is actively pursuing or supporting the claim' (U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research 1965, 'United States and Outlying Areas', Geographic Bulletin No.5).

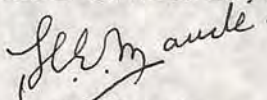
In my submission the present position thus is that the U.S. has a case but that it does not appear to be a very strong one, especially as it has lain dormant for 64 years, so far as we are aware; the degree of its credibility must therefore to a large extent depend on the strength of the U.S.S.R. case, which we do not know.

It is unlikely, however, that in view of the considerable economic development which has taken place in the U.S.S.R., and in particular the north of Siberia, during the past half century Wrangel Island would have remained untouched. The island lies close to the increasingly important northern sea route from Europe to the Pacific and one would expect the Russian Government to have taken adequate steps by now to sustain a claim based on 'reasonable occupation'.

This would presumably be reinforced by a contention that Wrangel (or Ostrov Vrangelya, as it is called on most maps) is in fact an off-shore island. All this is of course mere supposition and is only mentioned to warn against any expectation that the Russian claim to Wrangel Island has remained unchanged.

I have not commented on the other islands mentioned in your Background Brief as their sovereignty would appear to be dependent on the extent to which their discovery has been followed by some degree of user, though again it is presumed that the Russian authorities would argue that they are in any case contiguous islands to the mainland of Siberia or to some larger uncontested Russian island.

Yours sincerely,

  
H.E. Maude.



# WATCH STATE DEPARTMENT

9 March 1988

Reply to:

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
Post Office Box 65398  
Washington, D.C. 20035  
703-379-1070

WEST COAST OFFICE  
Post Office Box 7981  
Northridge, California 91327  
818-886-5710

Mr. D. H. Maude  
42/11 Namatjira Drive  
Weston, ACT 2611  
Australia

Dear Mr. Maude:

Our group's vice chairman Mark Seidenberg shared with me a letter he received from you, and asked me to forward to you some of the materials that our group has compiled on the giveaway of five strategic Alaskan Arctic islands and vast oil-rich seabeds to the Soviet Union. It is a truly pathetic story of State Department policy run amok.

We would appreciate your comments.

Sincerely,



Carl Olson  
Chairman

CLO:moi

Enclosures



# WATCH STATE DEPARTMENT

CITIZEN SUPPORT CENTER  
Washington Intelligence Bureau Building  
Washington, D.C. 20070-2042  
703-379-1070

## BACKGROUND BRIEF

Subject: Giveaway of Five Alaskan Islands and  
Vast Petroleum-Rich Seabeds to the Soviet Union

Prepared for: Members of U.S. Congress

Prepared by: Carl L. Olson, Chairman, State Department Watch

There's no question that the State Department has already taken action to set in concrete the giveaway of five highly-strategic American islands and incredibly-extensive petroleum-rich seabeds off Alaska to the Soviet Union. Attached you will find extracts of the State Department's own documents, plus maps and other background material.

This Background Brief will give you conclusive proof that this giveaway is in progress--if not already completed--by the State Department. If you don't believe that this could happen, just ask yourself which side of the Panama Canal fiasco was the State Department on.

### I. THE BASIC FRAME OF REFERENCE

Alaskans stand literally eyeball-to-eyeball with the Soviet Union every day. Most Americans don't realize that it is only a couple miles across the Bering Straits between Alaska and this country's most powerful enemy, the Soviet Union. This is the frontline of defense.

The other important fact that needs to be understood is that there is no international boundary established by treaty between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Borders between countries are set by treaty. In the U.S., treaties must be consented to by two-thirds of the U.S. Senate.

A high-level State Department delegation traveled to Moscow for talks regarding the turnover with their Kremlin counterparts during the week of July 23-24, 1984. So secret was this mission that the State Department continues to this day to refuse to disclose the names of the members of the delegation, let alone the details of the giveaway. By various means, we have been able to extract some of this data--as shown later in this Brief.

### II. THE FIVE ALASKAN ISLANDS

There's no question that the five islands belong to Alaska. As you know, Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867. However, these islands were not part of the Alaska Purchase, for the simple reason that they had not yet been discovered and claimed! Thus, the 1867 U.S.-Russia Convention agreement does not even apply to them.

Here's a quick summary of the islands:

Wrangell Island  
At 2,800 square miles, it is the largest of the five (equal to Rhode Island and Delaware combined). Discovered by the U.S. in 1867, it was formally taken into U.S. possession on Aug. 12, 1881, by Capt. Calvin Leighton Hooper aboard the U.S. Revenue Marine (Coast Guard) ship Thomas Corwin. Captain Hooper was the de facto governor of the Territory of Alaska at the time. Among the landing party going ashore onto Wrangell was the famed explorer John Muir, who wrote of the expedition in his book The Cruise of the Corwin.

(Continued, next page)



## BACKGROUND BRIEF

Bennett, Henrietta, and Jeannette Islands were discovered and taken into U.S. possession as the result of the famous expedition led by U.S. Navy Commander George Washington DeLong in 1879-81 aboard the U.S. ship Jeannette. A large monument still stands at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis to give tribute to this brave expedition into the Arctic. These are still called the DeLong Islands.

Herald Island was also taken into formal American possession in the 19th Century. Capt. John Rodgers aboard U.S.S. Vincennes surveyed the island in 1855 for the United States.

### III. STRATEGIC LOCATION, STRATEGIC OIL RESERVES

A quick glance at the map should make it clear that this Arctic area is on the defensive frontline of America. It would be totally nonsensical to withdraw our claims here and back up hundreds of miles, while the Soviet Union advances hundreds of miles closer to our frontier.

#### The Oil Reserves

Looking beneath the surface of the Arctic waters gives us another vital reason not to give up the area to the Soviets: oil and gas. Literally, billions of barrels.

The shallow water around the islands is called the outer-continental shelf. Unlike other parts of the U.S., the outer-continental shelf around Alaska extends hundreds of miles out to sea. As a matter of fact, Alaska has about three-fourths of all of the U.S. outer-continental shelf. The giveaway of this territory would include turning over four times the size of the State of California.

The recent enormous oil finds around Alaska have not been any accident. The shallow waters make it entirely feasible to explore and pump there. The vast proven oil reserves are a national treasure that should not fall into the hands of the Soviet war machine. The U.S. Department of the Interior has placed the Alaskan oil and gas reserves in the tens of billions of barrels.

How can America protect herself from blackmail from the OPEC countries over oil supplies--regardless of the price--when America is in the process of throwing away billions of barrels of her own reserves from her own backyard? Whatever happened to Project Energy Independence?

We are extremely grateful for the leasing of the outercontinental shelf by the U.S. Department of the Interior, because it was during one of these leases that the State Department's scheme for the wholesale giveaway emerged. This story of the Navarin Basin also shows how valuable in hundreds of millions of dollars the oil reserves really are.

### IV. HOW THE SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WERE UNCOVERED

It was an obscure passage in the publicly-available Federal Register for March 16, 1984, that provided the startling revelation about the State Department's policy on the international boundary between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. As you recall, there is no treaty that sets such a border.

This passage in the Federal Register dealt with the oil and gas leasing for the Navarin Basin in the Bering Sea, describing the seabed blocks that were available for exploration.

Suddenly, there was this one-line revelation (on page 10065) to the effect that the State Department, on its own, without any treaty, and without



## BACKGROUND BRIEF

the "advice and consent" of the U.S. Senate, had allegedly created an international boundary. It had converted the old 1867 Convention reference line into a border: "The United States depicts the 1867 Convention line as the maritime boundary...." The State Department has no such constitutional right.

At first glance, you might not see the monumental significance of this concession. Just look at the map, and you will see that this old 1867 line proceeds from the tip of the Aleutian Islands through the Bering Straits and then straight north.

By accepting the old 1867 line as a boundary, the State Department has cut adrift everything to the west--that is, the American islands of Wrangell, Herald, Bennett, Henrietta, and Jeannette, plus all of the vast oil-rich seabeds that surround them.

### V. SOVIET GREED, STATE DEPARTMENT APPEASEMENT

If you can believe it, the Soviet Union was not content with the overly generous State Department. The Kremlin bosses wanted even more seabeds in the Bering Sea along the 1867 line. The way they justified this demand was to draw the old 1867 line as a "rhumb line" on the map (a straight line on a Mercator projection map), rather than to use the shortest distance between two points on the globe (that is, by the "arc of a great circle"). You see, the Soviets, by this ploy, would push the old 1867 line farther to the east and thus grab onto at least 15,600 square nautical miles more of seabeds.

That's what the dispute was all about at the July 23-24 meeting in Moscow. The State Department wasn't trying to stop the giveaway of American territory--they were negotiating giving even more away!

In the meantime, the Navarin Basin leasing went on according to schedule and attracted bids of over \$631 million. Of these, bids of over \$108 million were for blocks in the "disputed" area. These 17 blocks were won by ARCO, Shell, Amoco, and Unocal, but they have not yet been awarded the leases, nor guaranteed that their exploration ships or drilling rigs would be protected by the U.S. against Soviet incursions. Thousands of jobs, hundreds of millions of dollars of production and the investments of over 860,000 stockowners lie in the balance.

### VI. THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S DOUBLE-THINK

Since when was the old 1867 line an international boundary? This is a vital, historical question that demands an answer. By the State Department's own words in 1965, it looks like there has been a total reversal of policy (without benefit of treaty or public debate, of course).

The State Department's 1965 International Boundary Study #14 on "U.S.-Russia Convention Line of 1867" flatly states:

"Rather than a boundary per se, this report concerns a convention line...."

"Furthermore, in keeping with the policy that the line does not constitute a boundary, the standard symbol for the representation of an international boundary should never be used."



BACKGROUND BRIEF

The respected Digest of International Law by Green Haywood Hackworth in 1973 made this unequivocal statement:

"The United States has not relinquished its claim to Wrangell Island."

Authoritative Dr. William E. Butler, Dean of the Faculty of Law at University College in London, wrote in 1978 in International Straits of the World the following clear statement:

"The Russo-American Convention Line of 1867 is not regarded as a state frontier, and the continental shelf boundary in the Chukchi Sea and northward remain to be negotiated."

These are the facts that we have been able to track down so far. What happened between 1965 and 1984--what secret agreement--what sellout of American interests--remains to be dug out by continued effort.

We won't stop our efforts, but it will take a massive project on behalf of millions of people, both in Washington and in every state of the Union, to get to the bottom of this--and to expose the giveaway to the public. Congress should then decide what to do about it.

We could certainly use more financial help IMMEDIATELY. Every day that ticks by without action means less hope to reverse this policy. We need to mount an immediate media publicity campaign and a targeted direct-mail alert to millions of ordinary Americans.

The Panama Canal giveaway was bad enough. Let's not slide into what could easily become a "Polar Panama"--only worse!

-----  
ADDENDUM:

You may be interested in which State Department officials have been involved so far in this policy setting. Even though the State Department has stonewalled attempts to learn even the names of the participants in the mission to Moscow, we have traced them down. They include:

- \*\* Davis Robinson, Legal Adviser (Delegation leader)
- \*\* Elizabeth Verville and Scott Hajost, Legal Adviser's staff
- \*\* Harry Marshall and Richard T. Scully, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs
- \*\* Robert W. Smith, Office of the Geographer

Undoubtedly there are officials higher up in the policy-making bureaus which deal with the Soviet Union who have had key roles in approving this giveaway policy. As soon as we track them down, we will let you and your Congressional staff know--so that they can be dealt with accordingly.

**WATCH**  
STATE DEPARTMENT

CITIZEN SUPPORT CENTER  
Washington Intelligence  
Bureau Building  
Washington, D.C. 20070-2042  
703-379-1070



ARTICLES

The Right of American Sovereignty over Wrangell Island

DAVID B. NOLAN,\* 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.

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ABSTRACT

The dispute over rightful sovereignty to Wrangell Island today continues as an international issue of the Arctic. The Soviet Union, United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada at one time or other have asserted interests over this frozen piece of tundra and mountain. The proximity of the island to both the U.S. and Russia has great strategic value in our push-button nuclear age. The issue itself has implications for the resurgence of American military might, for superpower detente, and for international law.

The history of Wrangell Island is filled with courage and tragedy. It is a tale of kidnapping and death.

The valiant Captain Calvin L. Hooper, the *de facto* governor of the Alaska territory, was the first to land on Wrangell Island. He claimed the island for the United States which perfected this claim through effective occupation in accordance with international law.

The Soviet government seized control of Wrangell Island in 1924 and took American citizens into custody. This act is held to have been in violation of international law and American statutes that sought to protect U.S. territorial rights.

Hence the Soviet Union is believed to have occupied Wrangell Island illegally until the present time. International law does not allow any nation to gain sovereignty in such a fashion. The U.S. sovereignty over Wrangell has never been legally ceded to the Soviet Union, either on account of treaty or due to U.S. inaction.

RESUME

La question de la souveraineté légitime sur l'île Wrangell demeure encore aujourd'hui une des questions internationales les plus chaudement disputées de l'Arctique. L'Union Soviétique, les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni, et le Canada, ont tous à un moment ou à un autre, exprimé quelque intérêt dans cette île montagneuse couverte de toundra. La situation de l'île à proximité des Etats-Unis et de l'U.R.S.S. revêt une grande importance à l'âge de l'armement nucléaire. La question en litige a des conséquences sur le renforcement de la puissance militaire américaine, la détente des grandes puissances, et le droit international.

L'histoire de l'île Wrangell est empreinte de courage et de drame. C'est une histoire d'enlèvement et de mort.

Le vaillant capitaine Calvin L. Hooper, gouverneur de facto du territoire de l'Alaska, fut le premier à atteindre l'île Wrangell. Il prit possession de l'île pour les Etats-Unis, qui confirmeront cette prétention territoriale par l'occupation effective de l'île, en conformité avec le droit international.

En 1924, le gouvernement soviétique prit par la force le contrôle de l'île et déplaça les citoyens américains qui y étaient établis. Ce geste constituait une violation des lois internationales et des lois américaines concernant la protection des droits territoriaux des Etats-Unis.

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L'Union Soviétique a depuis occupé à tort l'île Wrangell. Le droit international ne permet pas à un pays d'acquiescer de cette façon la souveraineté sur un territoire. La souveraineté des Etats Unis sur l'île Wrangell n'a jamais été légalement cédée à l'Union Soviétique que ce soit par voie de traité ou encore par la non-intervention des Etats-Unis.

СОБЪЕДИНЕННЫЕ ШТАТЫ

Американское правительство с 1867 года владеет островом Врангелл в Арктике. Этот остров находится в 85 милях к северо-востоку от побережья Сибири и в 270 милях к северо-западу от мыса Лисбуэн, Аляска. Остров Врангелл расположен на 180° меридиана и 71° параллели и является одним из самых труднодоступных островов в Арктике. В 1924 году Советский Союз захватил остров Врангелл и заключил в плен американских граждан. Это действие является нарушением международного права и американских законов, направленных на защиту территориальных прав США.

Капитан Калвин Л. Хупер, фактически губернатор территории Аляска, первым достиг острова Врангелл. Он заявил о своей принадлежности к США, что было подтверждено фактической оккупацией острова в соответствии с международным правом. В 1924 году Советский Союз захватил остров Врангелл силой и вывез американских граждан в плен. Это действие является нарушением международного права и американских законов, направленных на защиту территориальных прав США.

Extensive exploration of the Arctic did not occur until the nineteenth century. It is not surprising that Wrangell Island, one of the largest yet most inaccessible islands in the Arctic did not become known to the world until this time.

Wrangell Island is located eighty-five miles off the northeast coast of Siberia and two hundred seventy miles northwest of Cape Lisbourne, Alaska. It straddles the 180° meridian and the 71° parallel and en-

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compasses an area of two thousand square miles. As with other islands in the Arctic Ocean, accessibility is limited by thick fog and sea ice. Impenetrable ice floes block access even to its southern shore for at least ten months of each year.

Four nations have asserted interests over this island — the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and Canada. The superiority of the claim by the United States can best be understood when placed in the perspective of arctic history and international law.

Early recorded explorations into the Arctic did not intend to lay formal claim to, and take effective occupation of, arctic territory. Without these elements sovereignty will not arise over discovered land. The Greek navigator Pytheas of Massilia made the first recorded voyage into the Arctic Ocean in the fourth century, B.C.E., but was turned back by fog and ice.<sup>1</sup> The next recorded voyage into the Arctic of any significance was by a Norse chief named Ottar who sailed into the White Sea, after passing the Kola Peninsula.<sup>4</sup>

By the sixteenth century, England and other maritime nations sought better trade routes to the Orient than the long and arduous routes around the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn. In the year 1553 English merchants organized voyages to China by the Northeast Passage across the top of Europe and Asia.<sup>5</sup> In 1594 the Dutch navigator Willem Barents sailed into the Kara Sea.<sup>6</sup>

A Cossack trader named Simon Dezhnev sailed eastward from the Kolyma River in the summer of 1648. The natives of eastern Siberia told him of a "large country" lying to the north of Chukchi and Alaska. He was the first white man to hear of this land called Beringia.<sup>7</sup>

In 1763, another Cossack named Andreyev heard of this land and traveled to the Medvezhi Ostrova to find it. He claimed to have seen a large land to the East from that island location. However, six years later three Russian surveyors named Leontev, Lesev, and Pushkarov confirmed that there was no land that could be seen from such location.<sup>8</sup> Mirages of islands are not uncommon in the Arctic. This factor, added to the difficulty of obtaining star readings for location determinations in arctic fog, have often made land sightings unreliable.

Baron Ferdinand Petrovich von Wrangell, a lieutenant in the Imperial Russian Navy, also heard the tale of the land's existence from the Chukchi chiefs of Siberia. Between 1820 and 1824 he commanded several expeditions in search of the island but he never saw it, let alone land on or occupy it.<sup>9</sup> In April of 1824, at the end of his last arctic expedition, Wrangell wrote:

[W]ith a painful feeling of the impossibility of overcoming the obstacles which nature opposed to us, our last hope vanished of discovering the land which we believed to exist. We saw ourselves compelled to renounce the object for which we had been striving through three years of hardships and danger.<sup>10</sup>

Despite this failure, Wrangell gained worldwide fame as an arctic explorer. He later became Governor of Russian America. Yet he was never to land upon the island that would bear his name in his honour.

During the mid-nineteenth century, England, still looking for a short-cut to the Orient, attempted to find a Northwest Passage. In 1845 Sir John Franklin left England with a company of 129 to travel over the top of America to Petropavlovsk, Kamachatka. By September, 1846, the expedition's ships had become locked in an ice pack twelve miles from King William Island.

On 11 June 1847 Sir John Franklin died. On 22 April 1848 the ships *Erebus* and *Terror* were deserted and what was left of their crew started on a hopeless march to safety. No one survived.<sup>11</sup>

By 1848 the Royal Geographical Society became concerned over the ships' disappearance and the British Admiralty agreed to its request to organize a search. The United States and Canada also organized searches for the missing ships.

On 6 August 1849, Captain Henry Kellett, R.N., of H.M.S. *Herald*, one of the Franklin search vessels, arrived at a small island west of Cape Lisburne. Upon landing, Kellett took possession and named the island *Herald* after his ship. He hoisted the Union Jack and claimed the island on behalf of Queen Victoria.

Kellett sighted a large land mass beyond *Herald* Island to the west which he called *Plover* in honor of another Franklin relief expedition ship. Whereas no land mass existed at the position noted by Kellett on navigation charts, it may have been a mirage rather than Wrangell Island. In any event, no further landing or exploration was made.

Six years later, on 13 August 1855 Captain John Rogers, in his flagship the U.S.S. *Vincennes*, reached the position ascribed to *Plover* Island, also known as Kellett Land on the Admiralty charts.<sup>13</sup> When there was no land to be seen from the clear horizons, the charts by the Depot of Charts and Instruments of the U.S. Navy were changed accordingly. It should be noted that the Russian author Shvede gives credit to the American, Rogers, for discovering Wrangell Island<sup>14</sup> on that Congressionally authorized voyage.<sup>15</sup>

The United States' legal rights in the northwest of the North American Continent have a foundation in the



Treaty of Adams-de Onus of 22 February 1821 which ceded Spanish rights in Oregon Country to the U.S.<sup>16</sup> The United States' claims to northern parts of the Oregon Country (now southern Alaska) are based, in part, upon voyages of discovery and annexation by Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and Don Ignacio Arteiga for the Spanish Government between 1775-1779.<sup>17</sup>

H.I.M. Tsar Aleksandr Pavlovich of Russia issued a ukase in 1821 banning "transaction of Commerce, and the pursuit of whaling and fishing or any other industry . . . all along the North West Coast of America from the Bering Sea to the 51st parallel."<sup>18</sup> This coast was part of the area ceded to the United States by Spain in 1821. The Tsar's ukase prompted U.S. President Monroe, in his message to Congress on 2 December 1823, to proclaim the Monroe Doctrine. A compromise was reached on 11 January 1825. The United States government ceded the coast of America north of the 54° 40' parallel to the Imperial Russian Government as part of a Treaty of Navigation and Fisheries of the Northwest Coast.<sup>19</sup>

As will be seen, this accord was superseded by the Seward-de Stoechl Treaty in 1867 which ceded Russian America to the United States. The 1825 treaty has no bearing on sovereignty over Wrangell Island which was undiscovered at the time.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Russian interests in expansion beyond the Asian mainland waned just as American interest in expanding to the West increased. The loss of the Crimean War illustrated the vulnerability of the Russian Empire at its extremities.

The Russian government, fearing that its American colony was no longer defensible and recognizing its economic liability, sold the North American lands to the United States for 7.2 million dollars on 20 June 1867.<sup>20</sup> This convention between the governments of Russia and the United States ended all Russian claims to sovereignty east of the demarcation line.

On 18 October 1867 the Tsarist double eagle flag was lowered over Novoarkhangelsk, the capital of Russian-America, and the Stars and Stripes was hoisted over the renamed city of Sitka. Alaska was now a possession of the United States.<sup>21</sup>

The Office of the Solicitor, U.S. Department of State, determined after a review of the documents leading up to and including the Seward-de Stoechl Treaty "that the Emperor of all the Russias ceded to the United States certain territories, and that the United States on its part entered into no commitment which could be interpreted as an understanding not to press claims to any land west of the particular line above described."<sup>22</sup> Therefore,

there can be no inference that the United States ceded sovereignty to any as yet undiscovered island to the west of the Diomed Islands.

During this period the American whaling industry expanded into arctic waters. On 14 August 1867 Captain Thomas Long of New London, Connecticut, sailed his whaling bark *Nile* along a trek some thirty miles north of the route navigated by U.S.S. *Vincennes* some twelve years earlier. A seaman named Thomas sighted land (Cape Thomas) to the northeast from the ship's mast-head. Captain Long named this territory "Wrangell's Land" as an appropriate tribute to the memory of the Russian explorer who spent three consecutive years above the 69th parallel.<sup>23</sup> Long also was the first to sight the identifying volcano of more than 2000 feet in height on Wrangell Island. He sailed past the southern shore and returned to the port of Honolulu. Between 1868 and 1869 the news of the American discovery of "Wrangell's Land" spread worldwide. Geographical Societies in the United States and Europe honored Captain Long for his discovery.<sup>24</sup>

Other American whalers — the captains Raynor of the *Reindeer*, Philips of the *Monticello*, and Bliver of the *Nautilus* also confirmed the sighting of the large land mass discovered by Thomas Long. They spread their belief that Wrangell was not an island but a frozen continent similar to that at the South Pole, a speculation that prompted the New York *Herald* to outfit an expedition in 1879, led by Naval Lieutenant George Washington De Long, to Wrangell Island and then the North Pole.<sup>25</sup> De Long and his ship, the *Jeannette*, formerly called the *Pandora*, never made it. The *Jeannette* became locked in ice floes and drifted westward past Wrangell Island where it was crushed and sunk in the summer of 1881.

Fearing for the fate of De Long, the U.S. Congress in early 1881 authorized one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars for a search. The *Jeannette* relief ships, the U.S. Revenue Marine Steamer, the *Thomas Corwin* and the U.S.S. *John Rogers* entered the Bering Sea in the summer of 1881. Commanding officer of the *Corwin* was Captain Calvin Leighton Hooper.

Hooper at the time commanded the Bering Sea Patrol of the U.S. Revenue Marine, which made him the *de facto* Governor of Alaska. During the spring of 1877, jurisdiction of the District of Alaska was transferred from the Department of War to the Treasury Department. Treasury in turn placed Alaska under the charge of the U.S. Revenue Marine from that year until 1884.<sup>26</sup> Hooper clearly had authority at that time to discover and claim sovereignty over land on behalf of the United States.<sup>27</sup> The *Corwin* also carried aboard a complement of scientists. These included the world renowned naturalist, John Muir, who was later to found the Sierra Club.



The *Corwin* landed on Herald Island in hopes of finding the *Jeannette* or its crew. Unsuccessful in the rescue attempt, Hooper valiantly forced his ship through heavy ice floes to Wrangell Island to the west.<sup>28</sup>

On 12 August 1881, Hooper, Muir, and their party of six made the first recorded landing by man upon Wrangell Island. Edward W. Nelson, a member of the landing party later noted.

The result of our examination of the Island, so far as we saw, gave not the slightest evidence of its ever having been visited by man before. All subsequent examinations of Wrangell Island by those who have visited it later appear to establish the fact that the landing party from the *Corwin* contained the first men to set foot on this island.<sup>29</sup>

Landing at the mouth of the Clark River on the eastern side of the island, Hooper and his fellow officers raised the American flag and took possession of Wrangell Island in the name of the United States. While Hooper and Muir explored the island, other party members erected a rock cairn and deposited documents recording the significant event. William Reynolds, a member of the party, recalled:

I had the flag and with the Captain's permission waved it and took possession of the new land in the name of liberty and of the Government of the United States of America. I planted the flag on a bluff a little to the northwest of our landing place and left it there together with a record of our visit.<sup>30</sup>

Hooper called the island "New Columbia." He explained,

It was believed that as the island had become, by our act of landing upon it, a part of the United States, by selecting a name of national character, no disrespect would be shown to the memory or offense given to the friends of the gallant officer whose name it bore, and that the name given would be adopted by all nations.<sup>31</sup>

The name "New Columbia" never replaced Wrangell, however.

Captain Hooper told Captain L. C. Owens of the American whaler *Belvedere* of his plan to annex Wrangell Island to the United States prior to landing there. The *Belvedere* became the second ship to land at Wrangell on 19 August 1881. "As soon as we got ashore we saw the signal planned by Lieutenant Reynolds, a small American ensign fastened to a slender piece of driftwood, driven into the soil," confirmed a *Belvedere* crew member.<sup>32</sup>

On 26 August 1881 a party from the *Rogers*, the other relief ship, landed on Wrangell Island. They completed an official survey for the U.S. Government on 13 September of the same year. One crew expedition proceeded overland to the mountains, where a general view of land and water could be obtained. Another

group found the cairn left by the *Corwin*, and deposited copies of the documents contained therein, taking the originals for the Navy's report. The crew of the U.S.S. *Rogers* also raised the American flag over Wrangell Island.<sup>33</sup> The crew determined that its new U.S. possession was not a continent but a large island.

Major E. W. Clark, the Chief of the United States Revenue Marine Service, informed the U.S. Coast and Geological Survey in 1881 of the annexation of Wrangell Island to the United States. The U.S.C. & G.S. of the U.S. Treasury Department determined that Wrangell Island should be included in the District of Alaska.<sup>34</sup>

Between the years 1881 and 1910 Wrangell Island was visited exclusively by Americans. These were mostly whalers and walrus and seal hunters. On 8 September 1889 the U.S.S. *Thetis* went to Wrangell Island while cruising the Arctic Ocean, "showing the American flag."<sup>35</sup> In the year 1910 Captain Louis Lane sailed the ship *Adler* of Nome, Alaska, to Wrangell Island with a motion picture company from Hollywood, which filmed a polar bear hunt.

For a period of twenty-nine years following Hooper's claim, U.S. and Russian publications recognized United States sovereignty over Wrangell. U.S. Geological Survey Bulletins No. 169 in 1900, No. 187 in 1902, and Nos. 274 and 299 in 1906 included Wrangell Island as part of the U.S. Russian Naval Maps and Encyclopedia at the turn of the century also show the same designation.

In 1910 the Imperial Russian government, interested in compiling hydrographic charts to facilitate shipping routes from Kolyma to Vladivostok, commissioned two steel ice-breaking ships, the *Vaigatch* and *Taimyr*. On 16 September 1911 the *Vaigatch* anchored in a cove off Blossom Point at the southwest corner of Wrangell Island while taking shelter from a gale from the northeast.<sup>36</sup> Its captain sent a landing party ashore on 15 September via whaleboat and motor launch to establish the correct astronomical position by celestial observation. The landing party found a coal deposit and erected a ten meter structure to establish the astronomical position of the landing place before leaving.

The Russians then circumnavigated the island, but unfortunately at a distance too far to contribute to the definite outlining of the coast.<sup>37</sup> This was the only visit that the Russians ever made to the Wrangell Island before 1924, nor did they ever make any claim to the island during their stay.

In 1911 Dr. Rollin Harris, an American oceanographer, again raised interest in the possibility of an as-yet-undiscovered arctic continent. He hypothe-



sized the existence of "Harris Land" to explain tidal movements in the Arctic Ocean.

In 1913 the National Geographic Society planned to finance an expedition to the Arctic to find this new land. Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, asked and received permission to finance the expedition for fear that Americans might make new discoveries north of Canada for the United States.<sup>38</sup>

Vilhjalmur Stefansson, a Canadian who had grown up on the plains of North Dakota, was chosen to lead the expedition. The Canadian government directed Stefansson that "any new or partly unknown lands which the expedition would touch would be observed, position fixed, and the British flag would be planted on these lands."<sup>39</sup>

Stefansson's flagship was the whaler *Karluk* under the mastery of Captain Robert A. Bartlett. Bartlett was a U.S. citizen who had commanded the ship *Roosevelt* for the Peary and Henson expedition to the North Pole during the years 1905 to 1909. The *Karluk* suffered the tragic fate of other vessels and became caught in arctic ice, drifted west along the north coast of Alaska, and eventually sank. For two months the survivors walked south across the polar ice cap, arriving at Wrangell

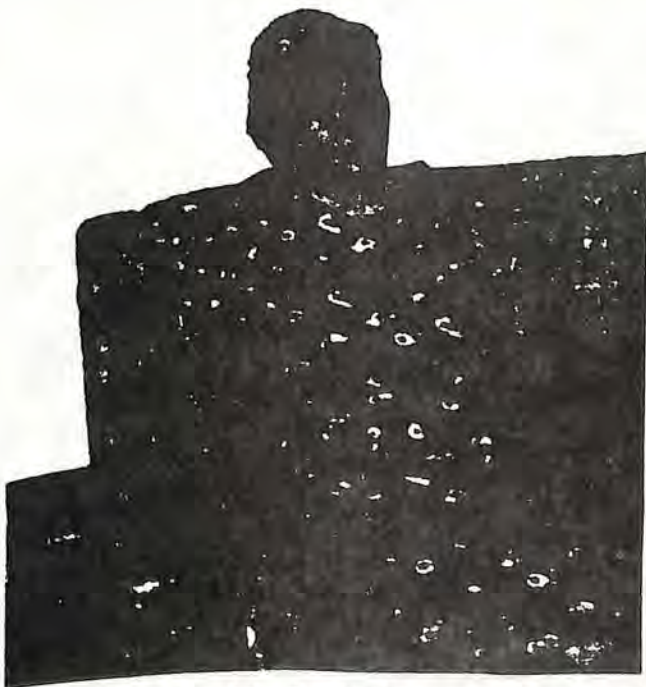


Figure 1. "Mugpi" — Mrs. Ruth Ipalook, daughter of "Auntie" Kiruk, Eskimo seamstress on the *Karluk*. Mrs. Ipalook now lives near Barrow, Alaska. She and William McKinlay, a Scottish schoolmaster who served on the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-18 as magnetician and meteorologist, are the only living survivors of the disaster.

Island on 12 March 1914. Two members of the ship's crew, John Munro and Robert Templeman, raised the Canadian flag over Wrangell Island in celebration of Dominion Day, 1 July 1914.

Of course, Wrangell Island had already been formally claimed by the United States, and the previous establishment of U.S. sovereignty served to cut off subsequent rival claims. Furthermore, Great Britain had transferred jurisdiction of her rights to islands in the Arctic Ocean to the Canadian Government in 1880.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, whatever pretention to sovereignty Great Britain might have had to Herald and Wrangell Islands by virtue of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Herald* in 1849, or the landing on Wrangell in 1914, now belonged to Canada.

The shipwrecked members of the *Karluk* also recognized the prior discovery of Wrangell Island. Bartlett later wrote that "we passed Hooper cairn, which was built by a party from the U.S. Revenue cutter *Corwin* in August, 1881. The cairn, as I could see, was still intact."<sup>41</sup>

Captain Bartlett and an Eskimo crew member, Kakatovik, walked across the ice pack to summon help. Upon Bartlett's reaching Alaska, Captain William E. Reynolds, U.S.R.C.S., immediately ordered a rescue attempt. On 7 September 1914 the American ship *King and Wing* picked up the happy survivors on Wrangell Island (Figure 1). Not knowing that the *Karluk* survivors had already been rescued, the *Thomas Corwin* landed at Wrangell a few days later. The same ship that thirty-three years earlier had carried Hooper to claim the island, re-established the flying of the U.S. flag over Wrangell Island.

After the *Karluk* survivors were transferred to the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Bear*, they were transported to the ship's home port of Unalaska where the port commander, William Reynolds (who in 1881 had landed on Wrangell with Hooper) told Bartlett that the island was indeed part of Alaska.

On 13 November 1916 a challenge to U.S. sovereignty over Wrangell Island came from a different source. The Imperial Russian Embassy in Washington presented a memorandum to the U.S. Department of State regarding Russia's claim to lands in the Arctic. It claimed that Wrangell Island, Alaska, was one of the islands which "form an extension Northward of the Continental tableland of Siberia."<sup>42</sup> This argument, like that of the sphere of influence, continuity, or sector theory to the Pole has no validity in international law.<sup>43</sup> Before this claim could again be pressed the Imperial Russian Government was overthrown by the Bolsheviks. World events were to continue to play a major part in the issue of sovereignty over Wrangell.







transmit supplies to the said colonists on said island  
 before and afford them an opportunity to pass to and fro  
 between said island and the Alaska mainland and to secure  
 the location and obligation of said occupation in and under  
 said contracts above referred to and central and have it  
 carried therefrom.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF said Stefansson Arctic  
 Exploration & Development Company, Ltd. and Lomen Brothers  
 have caused this instrument to be duly executed this 1st day  
 of April, 1924.

STEFANSSON ARCTIC EXPLORATION  
 & DEVELOPMENT COMPANY, LTD.

Attest:

*[Signature]*  
 Secretary

Witness:

*[Signature]* (.....)  
*[Signature]* (.....)  
*[Signature]* (.....)  
*[Signature]* (.....)

Figures 2(a) and 2(b). Certificate of sale of his interest in Wrangell Island by Vilhjalmur Stefansson to the Lomen Brothers of Nome, Alaska, 1 April 1924.

Bolsheviks claimed that Wells had died of pneumonia. His diary was never found.

A year later the Soviets proclaimed Wrangell Island as their territory. But in 1930 the U.S. Department of the Interior publication entitled *Boundaries, Areas, Geographic Centers and Altitudes of the United States and the Several States* expressly included Wrangell Island as an American possession. Since that time no abandonment by the U.S. of its rightful sovereignty has occurred, nor under international law could such abandonment occur following a deprivation of sovereignty by force.

Besides the abducting of Americans on Wrangell Island, the Russians violated federally promulgated Alaskan law that prohibits the exercise of foreign jurisdiction. The Alaskan Organic Act of 1884 adopted Oregon law, which in turn had adopted the Iowa Territory prohibitions against foreign governmental interference with American sovereignty.<sup>48</sup>

In 1973 the State Department reissued the *Hackworth Digest of International Law* which explained, "The United States has not relinquished its claim to Wrangell Island." In the centennial year of the American landing on Wrangell, the United States gov-

ernment's position has not changed. Captain Hooper formally claimed Wrangell Island on 12 August 1881 and the U.S. established effective occupation until the Soviet invasion.

NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> The island has also been spelled Wrangel and Vrangell. The U.S. Board of Geographic Names, by resolution named 29 July 1901 determined that Wrangell Island, Alaska, in the Arctic Ocean should be spelled with two l's. The island was named in tribute to Ferdinand Petrovich von Wrangell who spelled his own name with two l's when he wrote in the Roman alphabet.
- <sup>2</sup> Dermot Cole, "Now We're Losing Wrangell Island," *Fairbanks Daily News Miner*, 1 October 1977.
- <sup>3</sup> David Mountfield, *A History of Polar Exploration* (New York: The Dial Press, 1974), pp. 15-16, 19-20.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 33.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33-39.
- <sup>7</sup> Leonid Vasilevich Gromov, *Oskolok Drevnei Beringi* (Moskva: Gos izd-vo geogr. lit-ry, 1960).
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> Lieutenant Baron Ferdinand Petrovich von Wrangell, I.R.N., *Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea in the Years 1820-1823*, ed. Major Sir Edward Sabine, R.A. (London: James Madden and Co., 1840) pp. 342-359.
- <sup>10</sup> "Wrangell Island," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 62, No. 6, (December, 1923), p. 441.
- <sup>11</sup> Leopold McClintock, *The Voyage of the Fox: Discovery of the Fate of Franklin* (London: J. Murry, 1908).
- <sup>12</sup> Bertold C. Seaman, *Narrative of the Voyage of the Herald during 1845-51*, (London: Reeve & Co., 1853), pp. 115-116.
- <sup>13</sup> Wilhelm Heine, *Die Expedition in die Seen von China, Japan und Ochotsk unter Commodore Colin Reingold und Commodore John Rodgers, in auftrage der Regierung der Jahren 1853 bis 1856* (Leipzig: H. Constenoble, 1858-59).
- <sup>14</sup> Evgenii Evgenievich Shevde "Ostrov Vrangelya" *Morskoi sbornik* God 76, No. 9 (Sept., 1923) pp. i-xiv.
- <sup>15</sup> 31 August 1852 (10 Stat. L. 100).
- <sup>16</sup> 8 Stat. L. 252.
- <sup>17</sup> Francisco Antonio Mourelle, *Journal of a Voyage in 1775* (London, 1781).



## RIGHT OF AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY

- <sup>18</sup> John J. Underwood, *Alaska: An Empire in the Making* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1913) p. 265. It should be noted that Prof. William R. Hunt of the University of Alaska, in his book, *Alaska: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. and Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1976), p. 30, erred in ascribing the ukase to "Alexander II" (Tsar Aleksandr Nikolaevich of Russia).
- <sup>19</sup> 8 Stat. L. 302. For background information concerning counter-claims of sovereignty to the Oregon Country read Thomas Falconer, *Oregon Questions; or a Statement of the British Claims to the Government of the United States of America*, 2nd Ed. (London: Samuel Clark, 1845), and Travers Twiss, *The Oregon Question Examined* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1846).
- <sup>20</sup> 15 Stat. L. 539.
- <sup>21</sup> The name Alaska was gradually established for this region by local use while the Russians officially designated it Russian America. The name Alaska was proposed for official acceptance by W. H. Seward, Hon. Charles Sumner, and Maj. General H. W. Halleck after the U. S. Government took possession of the region.
- <sup>22</sup> Bretton G. Sciaroni, *The U.S. Claim to Wrangell Island*, Contract Study (No. 1722-620057) prepared for the U.S. Department of State on February 4, 1976, p. 30. Also see, F. M. Anderson, "Memorandum" (November 25, 1924), M. S. Department of State, file 861.0144/75 and S. Wittemore Boggs "Delimitation of Seaward Areas under National Jurisdiction," *American Journal of International Law*, 45, No. 2 (April, 1951), p. 240, fn 2.
- <sup>23</sup> Captain Thomas Long, "Arctic Land Discoveries," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), 9 November 1867.
- <sup>24</sup> "A Polar Continent: Reported Discovery of a Polar Continent in the Arctic Ocean," *New York Times* (7 December 1867); William W. Wherldens, "The New Arctic Continent or Wrangell's Land" (Chicago: American Association for the Advancement of Science, August 1868); K. M. Baer, "Nesholho slov po povodu novothritoy Vrangelyevshoy zemly", *Izvesti Russhovo Geograficheshovo Obshchestva*, (1968), V4, N7, pp. 333-349.
- <sup>25</sup> J. E. Nourse, *American Exploration in the Ice Zones*, (Boston: D. Lothrop and Company), pp. 365-66 and David Mountfield, *A History of Polar Exploration* (New York: Dial Press, 1974), pp. 123-124.
- <sup>26</sup> Formal letters of 17 and 24 March 1877 between Secretary of War George W. McCrary and Secretary of Treasury, John Sherman. National Archives, files of the Adjutant General (Microcopy MGGG, reel No. 358).
- <sup>27</sup> International law has also recognized the status of private individuals to claim sovereignty on behalf of their country. A fortiori Hooper in his official capacity had no less authority regarding Wrangell Island than in his validly ordered claim of Wake Island on behalf of the United States in 1898, while in transit after the Spanish American War as a member of U.S. Pacific forces.
- <sup>28</sup> Muir, *The Cruise of the Corwin*, pp. 140-158; Hooper, *Cruise of the Corwin*, 1881, pp. 53-54.
- <sup>29</sup> Nelson, *Congressional Record, Senate*, 22 March 1922, p. 4261, col. 2.
- <sup>30</sup> William Reynolds, *Congressional Record, Senate*, 25 March 1922, p. 4538, col. 2. Also included under these papers sent from the Secretary of Treasury Andrew W. Mellon to Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, 13 April 1922, M. S. Department of State, file 861.0144/7.
- <sup>31</sup> Hooper, *Cruise of the Corwin*, 1881, p. 70.
- <sup>32</sup> "Wrangell Land: A Description of the Island by a Visitor" *San Francisco Chronicle* (16 August 1882), p. 3.
- <sup>33</sup> Nelson, *Congressional Record, Senate*, 22 March 1922, p. 4261, col., stated the "Rogers partly took possession of the island by right of [Captain Long's] discovery, and that was within a space of a few weeks [of the *Corwin* party taking possession for the United States Government]."
- <sup>34</sup> In 1900 the U.S. Geological Survey, at the direction of Henry Gannett, issued U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin No. 169 which included Wrangell Island of the Arctic as part of Alaska. Gannett is known as the father of American map making, and was the Chief Geographer of the U.S.G.S., having started in 1882.
- <sup>35</sup> Jean Denuce "les expeditions polaires depuis 1800," *Bulletin de la Societe Royale de Geographie D'Anvers* (Anvers: J. Van Hille-De Bocher, 1911), p. 336. Also see: Charles Herbert Stockton, "The Arctic Cruise of the USS *Thetis* in the summer and autumn of 1889," *National Geographic Magazine* (1890), v. 2, No. 3, p. 194; and D. W. Knox, Captain, U.S.N. (Ret.), letter to Lt. Comdr. F. W. Mead, U.S.N. (Ret.) dated 31 October 1933.
- <sup>36</sup> Blossom Point was named by Lt. R. M. Berry, U.S.N. in 1881 after H.M.S. *Blossom*.
- <sup>37</sup> L. M. Starokadomskiy, *Charting the Russian Northern Sea Route: The Arctic Ocean Hydrophic Expedition 1909-1919*; ed. and trans. William Barr, (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976) pp. 60-64; Nikolai Nikolaevich Alekseev, "Ostrov Vrangelya," *Bulletin of the Far Eastern Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.*, (Vladivostok: 1932) No. 3-4, p. 33; L. V. Gromov, *Ostrov Vrangelya* (Magadan: 1961) p. 24; Vilhjalmur Stefansson, "The Russian Visit to Wrangell Island," appendix 9, *The Adventure of Wrangell Island*, op. cit., pp. 393-394.
- <sup>38</sup> Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *The Adventure of Wrangell Island*, pp. 50-51.
- <sup>39</sup> Order-in-Council, approved 22 February 1913.
- <sup>40</sup> Gordon W. Smith, "The Transfer of Arctic Territories from Great Britain to Canada in 1880, and some related matters, as seen in official correspondence," *Arctic*, March, 1961, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 53-73.
- <sup>41</sup> Bartlett, *The Last Voyage of the Karluk*, op. cit., p. 173.
- <sup>42</sup> The note of 13 November 1916 stated in part:  
Le Gouvernement IMPERIAL profite de cette occasion pour faire ressortir qu'il considere aussi comme faisant partie integrante de l'Empire les îles Henriette, Jeannette, Bennett, Herald et Oujedinemia, qui forment avec les îles Nouvelle Sibirie, Wrangell et autres situees pres la cote asiatique de l'Empire, une extension vers le nord de la plate forme continentale de la Sibirie.



Le Gouvernement IMPERIAL n'a pas jugé nécessaire de joindre à la présente notification les îles Novaia Zemlia, Kologouev, Kolgouev, Waigatch et autres de moindres dimensions situées près la côte européenne de l'Empire, étant donné que leur appartenance aux territoires de l'Empire se trouve depuis des siècles universellement reconnue.

- <sup>41</sup> It should be noted that unsupported claims advanced by the Imperial Russian Government in the above note were rejected by the United States in 1902, as part of the "Whaling and Sealing Claims Against Russia." Herbert H. D. Peirce, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1902*, Appendix I. (Washington: GPO, 1903), pp. 18 and 107. Fedor Fedorovich Martens, the legal counsel for the Imperial Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, rejected the notion that Russian sovereignty extended northward into the Arctic. He contended that the marginal seas north of the Russian mainland were *Mare Liberum* from the judicial point of view. F. F. Martens, "Du territoire de l'état", *Traite de droit international*, trans. Alfred Leo. (Paris: 1883) v. 1, pp. 495-496.
- <sup>42</sup> Stefansson, *The Adventure of Wrangel Island*, op. cit. p. 95.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 128-131.
- <sup>44</sup> Colonial Secretary to Governor General: confidential dispatch No. 537. Cited in Bretton G. Sciaroni, *The U.S. Claim to*

*Wrangell Island*. Contract Study No. 1722-620057 prepared for the U.S. Department of State on February 4, 1976, p. 15.

- <sup>45</sup> Affidavit of 22 March 1977 by Hilda Koonuknowrunk Weber, one of the American prisoners.
- <sup>47</sup> *Japan Advertiser*, 27 January 1925.
- <sup>48</sup> On 7 May 1884 the U.S. Congress passed "An Act providing a Civil Government for Alaska", c. 53, 23 *Stat. at Large* 24. That act adopted Oregon law providing it does not conflict with other provisions of Alaskan law. This Act extended to Alaska "An Act Adopting the Statutes and Laws of the Territory of Iowa and the Common Law." *Oregon Acts and Laws Passed by the House of Representatives at a Meeting Held in Oregon City, August, 1845* (New York: N. A. Plemister Company, 1921) p. 16. It should be remembered that the Act of 12 August 1845 became part of the laws of the Territory of Oregon through "An Act to Establish the Territorial Government of Oregon", of 14 August 1848, c. 177, 9 *Stat. at Large* 323 (known as the Oregon Organic Act. Laws of the Territory of Iowa, passed at the Extra Session of the Legislative Assembly, begun and held in the City of Burlington: J. H. M. Kenny, 1840, and Des Moines: Historical Department of Iowa, 1902) c. 85.

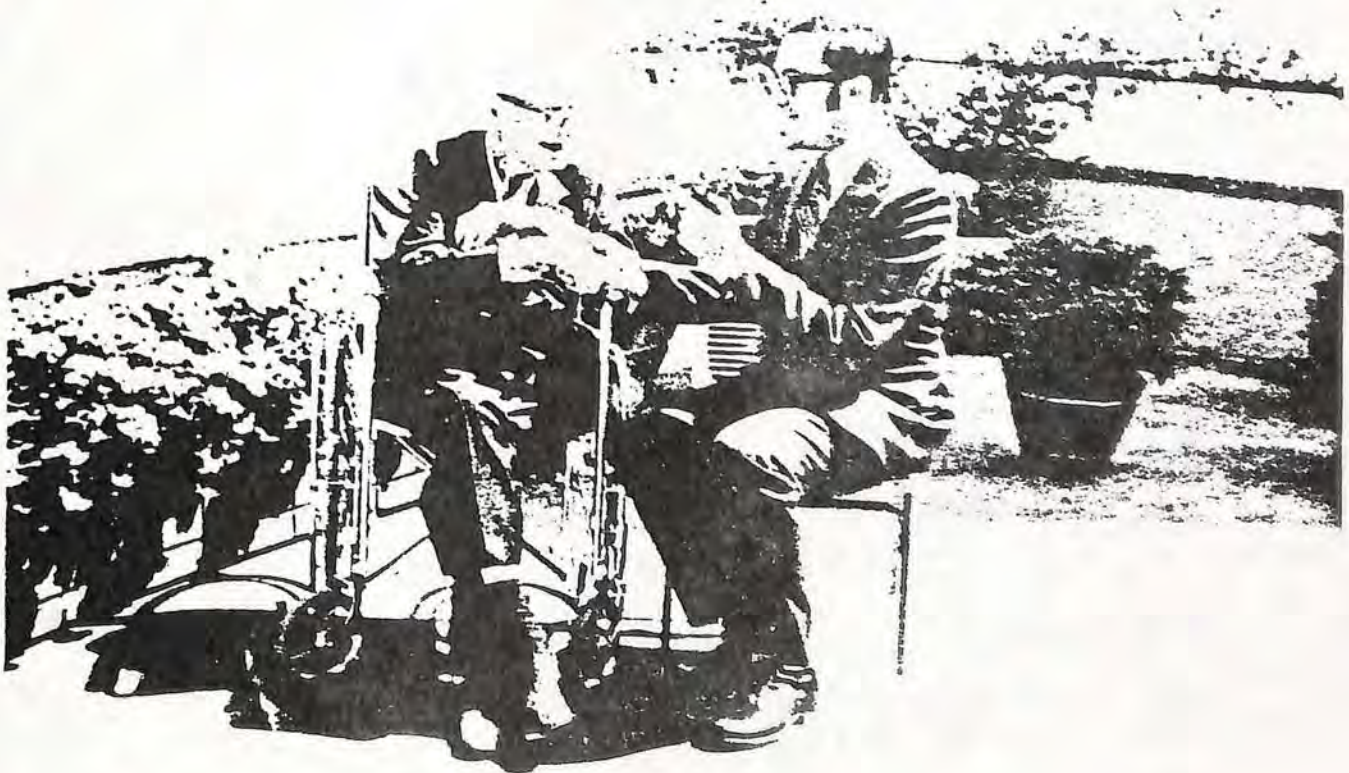


Figure 3. Mark Jerome Seidenberg with Ralph Lomen. Taken in Seattle, Washington, in June 1976.



## Border Dispute

Question: What country was the first to lose territory to Soviet aggression?

Answer: Not Finland, not even the unfortunate Baltic States, but the United States of America.

That happened on Aug. 20, 1924, when the crew of the Soviet gunboat *Krasny Oktober* (Red October) landed on Wrangell Island off the northeast coast of Siberia and took as prisoners the 14 American fur trappers encamped there. Twelve survivors were eventually released. Two men died in captivity. The Soviets claimed Wrangell and now operate a political prison camp on the island.

On "Face the Nation" last month, National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane indicated that the Wrangell "boundary dispute" will be on the table at the Geneva summit. Some members of Congress believe the State Department wants to finally resolve the island's status—in the Soviets' favor. Resolutions demanding that any agreement be subject to congressional approval have been drafted by Sen. Jesse Helms and Rep. Mark Siljander.

A U.S. irredentist claim to a chilly piece of Arctic real estate might sound like small potatoes. But the congressmen figure that it doesn't make much sense to complain to the Soviets about their expansionist tendencies—as President Reagan clearly intends to do—while at the same time politely forgetting that they once grabbed some land from the U.S. itself.

The U.S. claim to Wrangell and four small nearby islands dates from 1881. A U.S. Revenue Marine (Coast Guard) party that included John Muir, the famed naturalist and founder of the Sierra Club, visited the area that year. Mr. Muir later wrote that they "landed on Wrangell Land and took possession of it in the name of the United States." A czarist explorer, Lt. Ferdinand Wrangell, ad-

mitted in his memoirs that he never actually discovered the island that bears his name. Until the *Krasny Oktober* showed up, there was no official Russian presence.

Several U.S. oil companies are interested in searching for oil on the continental shelf between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. When last year the Interior Department announced it would begin leasing tracts in the Arctic Ocean, the State Department warned that anyone bidding on tracts to the west of the so-called 1867 Convention Line should be aware that the area might become Soviet territory.

As recently as 1973, the State Department maintained that the U.S. had never relinquished its claims to Wrangell and the other islands, and that the "convention lines" depicted on maps did not constitute an international boundary. But in December 1984, after some negotiations in Moscow, the department said it had not "found any evidence that the Government of the United States has ever formally asserted a claim to any of the islands." That seems to contradict the John Muir account. It also ignores a 1959 ruling of the Foreign Claims Settlement Board that the property of the fur trappers was illegally expropriated. *Russian* maps made early in this century show the islands as American.

We've had our own doubts about irredentist claims. The further back in history you go, the greater amount of disputed acreage there is. But the Soviets themselves are among history's most aggressive irredentists. Aside from their grab of the Baltic States and their expansion of the old czarist empire westward to the Elbe and southward to Kandahar, they have border disputes with Norway, Sweden, Japan and China. Whatever the prospects for satisfaction, the U.S. should hang tough over Wrangell Island just to demonstrate its resistance to Soviet imperialism.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## MILT COPULOS

# Why should we give the Soviets oil-rich turf?

If you were responsible for the disposition of a parcel of U.S. territory roughly four times the size of California and believed it contain upward of 25 billion barrels of untapped oil reserves, what would you do with it?

Well, if you worked for the U.S. Department of State, it apparently would be logical to give it to Moscow. Incredible as it seems, that's what a negotiating team from Foggy Bottom is preparing to do with about half of America's outer continental shelf.

The parcel lies to the east of the "1867 Convention Line." This line was used in the purchase of Alaska from Russia to establish what was being purchased. It was not, however, intended as an official boundary between the two nations. In fact, as recently as 1965 a State Department publication on interna-

Milt Copulos is director of energy studies at The Heritage Foundation.

tional boundaries stated unequivocally that the 1867 Convention Line should never be designated on maps as the boundary between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

More important, not just the outer continental shelf is involved in the giveaway. Above it lie a number of islands long-recognized as U.S. territory. One, however—Wrangell Island—has been a bone of contention between the two superpowers for more than six decades.

The official U.S. claim is based on the 1881 discovery of the island by a group of Americans. It was the site of an active commercial enterprise through the early 1920s.

There is no doubt about the validity of the U.S. claim to the territory; all the traditional international requirements for establishing sovereignty have been met. In 1924, however, the Soviet Union decided that Wrangell Island belonged to them and sent a force of soldiers, along with the gunboat *Red October*, to occupy it. The Soviets took prisoner

*Wrangell Island has been a bone of contention between the two superpowers for more than six decades.*

the 14 Americans living there, shipped them to Siberia (just 90 miles away), and confiscated the property.

U.S. attempts to resolve the dispute were considerably complicated by the fact that we did not recognize the Communist government at that time. Eventually, 12 survivors were returned to the United States. But the U.S. government never relinquished sovereignty over Wrangell

Island, and the family that owned the confiscated property pursued a claim against Moscow through the international courts. While it took until 1959 for their claim to be settled, the Lomen family did receive compensation under the International Claims Settlement Act.

This underscores the illegality of the Soviet actions on Wrangell Island, and the validity of the U.S. claim to that territory. The United States has a similarly strong claim to the area lying between Wrangell and the 1867 Convention Line—the area Foggy Bottom seems so anxious to cede to our adversaries.

What makes the State Department's move more disturbing is the secrecy involved. While negotiations have been under way since 1981, it was not until the Department of the Interior decided to hold an offshore lease sale of the outer continental shelf that the talks came to light.

Four major U.S. oil companies successfully bid on tracts in the

Navarin Basin (part of which lies to the east of the boundary the Soviets are pushing). But State notified Interior they might not be able to honor the leases awarded, because the United States might cede title to the territory to Moscow. Interior had to explain to the companies that their leases would be in limbo until the talks were concluded or five years had passed, whichever came first.

No one seems to know just how, in less than 20 years, the United States came to relinquish its claim to the outer continental shelf east of the 1867 Convention Line, not to mention the five islands.

More important, no one seems able to explain why we are so anxious to give up the enormously rich oil potential of the territory, or the strategic asset of five islands so close to Soviet shores.

Most of all, no one seems willing to explain why this was going on in secret for so long. Perhaps it's time someone did.

The Washington Times

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## Administration's Detente Mentality

The threat of the State Department to give away five strategic Alaskan islands and vast oil-rich seabeds to the Soviet Union has generated growing opposition around the country (page one, Dec. 7). The proposed giveaway reflects the unfortunate "detente" mentality which grievously undermines the Reagan Doctrine.

The vehicle for abandoning the islands is the State Department's negotiations over a boundary line between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Currently no treaty has even been adopted establishing such a boundary between Alaska and the Soviets, even though they are less than three miles apart in the Bering Straits.

The State Department is fighting to create a boundary line which puts the Alaskan Arctic islands of Wrangell, Herald, Bennett, Henrietta and Jeannette on the Soviet side. It has held eight super-secret rounds of negotiations with the Soviets so far on the exact location of the line, with the last round held in October. So sensitive is this potential giveaway that State has systematically excluded all representatives of the state government of Alaska from the negotiations, and has completely stonewalled the U.S. Congress.

Congressional members have rightly become upset and have introduced measures to bring this constitutional issue to a head. The principle of congressional approval being required for the transfer of territory to a foreign country and the setting of boundaries is at stake.

The Alaskan legislature has also been adamant. In 1986 it overwhelmingly passed a resolution sponsored by Rep. Roger Jenkins and signed by Gov. Bill Sheffield demanding that the State Department not give in to the Soviet demands in the boundary negotiations regarding the resource-rich Bering Sea. Also in 1986 the Alaska Senate passed on a 16-4 vote a resolution restating Alaska's sovereignty over the five islands. Currently pending is a resolu-

tion by Sen. Rich Uehling complaining bitterly that the State of Alaska has been totally excluded from the setting of its own boundaries.

In support of the State of Alaska, the state legislature of California passed a joint resolution in September urging that any boundary agreement be in the form of a treaty and that the State of Alaska be completely involved in the terms of the treaty.

Yet the giveaway of these five islands and immense outercontinental shelf, which would make the Panama Canal giveaway pale in comparison, remains shrouded in the recesses of Foggy Bottom.

CARL OLSON

Chairman, State Department Watch  
Washington

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1987

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# U.S. to resume talks with Soviets over 5 islands; Alaska unhappy

By John McCaslin  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Secret U.S.-Soviet negotiations to set an exact boundary between Alaska and the Soviet Union are set to resume this month, sources familiar with the talks say.

The meeting, which the State Department refuses to discuss, is the ninth such closed session since 1981 to resolve the boundary dispute, which includes questions about the ownership of five strategic islands.

The islands — dotting the Arctic Ocean from 300 to 900 miles off Alaska's northwest coast — are known as Wrangell, Herald, Henrietta, Jeanette and Bennett. Wrangell and Herald lie some 100 miles north of Siberia.

A State Department official, who asked not to be identified, said recently that "once a boundary line is agreed to by both nations ... it's a safe bet that the five-island chain will become official Soviet territory."

The official said the agreement could come as early as this year, depending on the outcome of the upcoming talks.

But Rep. William Dannemeyer, California Republican, is pushing legislation requiring Senate approval of any boundary decision reached by U.S. and Soviet negotiators.

"Borders between countries are set by treaty ... and must be consented to by two thirds of the Senate," Mr. Dannemeyer said in a letter

to fellow lawmakers.

"Under dispute here is not only the State Department's unauthorized conduct [of secretly] negotiating, but whether or not a legal boundary in the area exists at all. All the facts suggest not," he said.

Meanwhile, in a timely vote, Senate lawmakers in Alaska unanimously passed a resolution last week reiterating the state's rule over the islands — land once claimed by U.S. citizens and now controlled by the Soviet Union.

The resolution, passed by a vote of 18-0, asks for compensation and restitution to the citizens of Alaska from the U.S. government for the loss of the territory to the Soviet Union in 1924, due to "neglect."

"The continuing trespass by the Soviet government deprives the state of Alaska and its people of their fundamental rights to use the islands ... together with the surrounding continental shelf and its valuable resources," the resolution states.

The Alaska lawmakers sent a copy of their resolution to President Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz and House Speaker Jim Wright.

Two companion resolutions "are sailing through the Senate and House in Juneau" charging that Alaska is being excluded from the boundary negotiations, which could ultimately decide the ownership of the islands, said Carl Olson, chairman of State Department

Watch, a group which has fought for U.S. rights to the islands.

"It looks like a collision course is near," said Mr. Olson, who has enlisted the support of such lawmakers as Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican. Mr. Helms has introduced legislation complaining that a surrender of the islands would amount to handing the Soviets more than half of the entire continental shelf.

Mr. Olson said the shelf surrounding the Wrangell island chain contains "vast oil-rich seabeds," a claim supported by other researchers.

The islands contain "as much as 25 billion barrels of untapped oil reserves," said Mr. Dannemeyer.

The State Department official, while acknowledging that "there was some U.S. involvement in the discovery" of the islands, insists that "lawyers from our government have searched out and tried to find what belonged to Alaska, but the U.S. [government] never made a claim to the islands."

Wrangell, the largest of the islands, has been under Soviet control since 1924, when the last 14 Americans occupying it were captured by Russian forces and shipped to Siberia. Since then, the Soviets have operated a prison camp on the island, among other things.

Mr. Dannemeyer's resolution, which has 37 co-sponsors to date, says Wrangell Island was claimed for the United States in 1881.

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# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1988

WASHINGTON, D.C.

## 5 frozen islands stir a dispute with the Soviets

By John McCaslin  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The State Department and a 40-year-old Agriculture Department bureaucrat are locked in a bitter dispute over whether the United States or the Soviet Union should control five frozen, wind-swept islands near a disputed section of the U.S.-Soviet border.

The Agriculture Department employee accuses the FBI of harassing him at the State Department's request.

Since 1981, a secret U.S. negotiating delegation has held eight meetings with Soviet counterparts to establish an exact boundary between Alaska and the Soviet Union, according to a State Department official who asked not to be named.

"Once a boundary line is agreed to by both nations, which could come early this year, it's a safe bet that the five-island chain will become official Soviet territory," the official said.

But Mark Seidenberg, an Agriculture Department employee, *see ALASKA, page A8*



Map by Paul Woodward, The Washington Times

THIS FRONT-PAGE STORY BROKE THE NEWS THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT INTENDS TO COMPLETE THE GIVEAWAY OF THE 5 ALASKAN ISLANDS AND VAST OIL-RICH SEABEDS "EARLY THIS YEAR."

## ALASKA

From page A1

ture Department employee, has spent more than a decade battling to reassert what he claims is U.S. sovereignty over Wrangell Island, a patch of frozen tundra in the Arctic Ocean that has been suggested to be the site of a Soviet concentration camp.

Also in dispute are four smaller islands off the same Soviet coastline — Herald, Bennett, Henrietta and Jeannette.

Carl Olson, chairman of State Department Watch, a group which has also fought for U.S. rights to the islands, said in a telephone interview from Los Angeles that he is "equally optimistic the United States will retain the islands."

"The important thing is to get the State Department on our side, but so far they have shown zero initiative," Mr. Olson said.

"We have not been able to get anything out of State," he said. "They

refuse to talk about it — point blank. And they've stonewalled the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee."

A House bill introduced last Jan. 6 by Rep. William E. Dannemeyer, California Republican, would require that Congress approve any treaty for "transfer of territory or setting of a boundary line" between the United States and any foreign country. The bill has at least 30 co-sponsors.

On the Senate side, Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, has introduced similar legislation, complaining that surrendering the five islands would amount to handing over half of the entire outer continental shelf, which Mr. Olson said contains "vast oil-rich seabeds."

The State Department official said the United States "obviously hasn't sent any drilling ships to the area."

But he added: "The Department of Interior and other geologists haven't found any indication of any



[oil] up there."

"And as far as our maritime boundary agreement negotiations go, we are actively looking for natural resources — oil, fisheries, what have you — that might benefit us."

The official said that, contrary to complaints from both lawmakers and other individual parties, the State Department has and will continue to brief Congress and state officials in Alaska of its ongoing boundary negotiations with the Soviets.

The California state legislature passed a joint resolution in September that said the State Department should go a step further, and include Alaska in future U.S.-Soviet negotiations.

Mr. Seidenberg, charging harassment, said two FBI agents stopped by his Arlington apartment one night three weeks ago to ask why he was so obsessed for the past 14 years with seeing the island chain become U.S. territory.

"The FBI picked me up because the State Department asked them to," Mr. Seidenberg said in an inter-

view yesterday.

"The agents told me to keep silent, that anything I say can be used against me," he said. "It was an upsetting experience."

The agents, who carried no arrest warrant, asked Mr. Seidenberg to accompany them to their waiting car, where he was interrogated for an hour and a half.

"They wouldn't even let me call my attorney," he said. "They went so far as to tell the receptionist in my apartment building not to call my attorney when I asked her to. They told her, 'You don't want to do that,' and then proceeded to escort me out of my building."

Some officials conclude that Wrangell Island has been under Russian control since 1924, when the last 14 Americans occupying it — reindeer meat shippers — were captured and shipped to Siberia.

As far as U.S. officials know, little else other than snow has fallen on Wrangell since, although author Abraham Shifrin suggests in his book, "The Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union," that a Soviet

prison camp might be on the island.

The other four islands are believed uninhabited, and are ice-covered most of the time.

Perhaps this is why the State Department is so willing, as some critics have charged, to "give away" the five islands, which dot the ocean 300 to 900 miles off Alaska's northwest coast.

"Somehow the idea has crept out that we're going to give these islands away," said the State Department official.

"Wrangell Island was discovered in the 19th century, and there was some U.S. involvement in the discovery," the official said. "But lawyers from our government have searched out and tried to find what belonged to Alaska, but the U.S. never made a claim to the islands. The Russians, on the other hand, have claimed sovereignty to them."

Mr. Seidenberg, who is by no means alone in his endeavor to keep the island chain out of Soviet hands, is not so convinced.

His interest in Wrangell Island,

which began as a high school student in 1963, became greater when Ralph Loman, a U.S. businessman who claimed to have bought the island in the early 1920s, asked Mr. Seidenberg to continue working to get it returned to the proper owner. Mr. Loman made the request 14 years ago when he was on his death bed.

If the islands were not returned to him, the dying man at least wanted them returned to the United States, of which he was a citizen. Mr. Loman tried to sue the Russian government before his death over his rights to the land, but to no avail.

"I will not let this [or] the FBI's visit to my apartment stand in the way," said Mr. Seidenberg, who has pressured not only the State Department, but Moscow. "I will do everything I can to keep the islands in Alaska and in the United States."

In 1986, the Alaska Senate voted 16-4 on its own resolution that restated Alaska's sovereignty over the five islands, and the assembly is scheduled to take up the issue again when it convenes later this month.

**Note: Mr. Mark Seidenberg  
is Vice Chairman of  
State Department Watch.**

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**THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.**


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**MONDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1987**


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## *Crusade to Reclaim Arctic Island for U.S. May End at Summit*

\* \* \*

**Bureaucrat Has Devoted Life  
To Cause Despite Odds;  
Site of Soviet Foul Deeds?**

By **ROBERT S. GREENBERGER**

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Mark Seidenberg believes that Aug. 20, 1924, was a day of infamy for the United States.

On that day, the Soviet warship Red October steamed into Doubtful Harbor on Wrangell Island in the Arctic Ocean. Armed with a six-pound cannon and a company of soldiers, the Red October captured 14 Americans who worked for Lomen Reindeer & Trading Corp. and shipped them off to nearby Siberia.

Carl Lomen, a U.S. businessman, had just bought the island. He sued the Soviets to regain 167 fox skins and 40 polar-bear skins, and complained to the U.S. State Department. The U.S. was miffed but said that it couldn't do much because it didn't officially recognize the new Soviet government. The Americans were freed after the Red Cross paid \$1,600 to transport them to Seattle, but Mr. Lomen fought the rest of his life to regain Wrangell, passing the torch to Mr. Seidenberg before he died.

### **Daunting Odds**

Mr. Seidenberg, a 40-year-old Agriculture Department bureaucrat, is obsessed with reclaiming the island and uncovering alleged Soviet foul deeds there. He has enlisted such conservative stalwarts as Sen.

Jesse Helms in his cause, but he faces daunting odds. The State Department maintains that the U.S. has never claimed ownership of Wrangell, even though its assertion is flatly contradicted in official U.S. publications.

Right now, Mr. Seidenberg worries that the U.S. may quietly deal the island away, perhaps during this week's U.S.-Soviet summit. "I have great respect for the president," he says. "It's some of his advisers at the State Department who are causing the difficulty. Whatever they can do to shove this under the table, they'll do."

The latest wrangle over Wrangell involves secret negotiations between Washington and Moscow, under way since 1981, over establishing a border between the two nations; right now, there is only a "con-



vention line" drawn when the U.S. bought Alaska in 1867. The State Department insists that Wrangell isn't part of the talks. Conservatives contend that ownership of Wrangell—and four other nearby islands—could affect where and how the borderline is drawn. And, they say, that, in turn, may determine who owns what may be billions of barrels of oil beneath the sea.

"If we surrender these islands, we will be surrendering an area that amounts to almost half our entire outer continental shelf," warns Sen. Helms. The North Carolina Republican, who complains that the State Department won't even tell him who the U.S. negotiators are, has introduced a bill requiring the State Department to negotiate a treaty, which would make review

and approval by the Senate necessary. Otherwise, he fears, the department will make a deal under executive authority.

Mr. Seidenberg is convinced not only that the Soviets are illegally occupying Wrangell Island but also that it is the site of a huge Soviet gulag that once held Raoul Wallenberg. The Swedish diplomat, who helped thousands of Danish Jews escape from the Nazis during World War II, disappeared in 1945 after being arrested by the Soviets in Hungary.

Mr. Seidenberg has spent countless hours researching Wrangell at the National Archives. At his own expense, he traveled to Israel to interview Efrim Moshinsky, a former Soviet citizen who claims that he communicated with Mr. Wallenberg while they were both imprisoned at Wrangell in 1958. Mr. Seidenberg also found an obscure reference on page 10,065 of the March 16, 1984, Federal Register that indicated to him that the State Department was about to make a border deal with Moscow.

"I just want to do something to help Wallenberg. He helped so many people, but nobody wants to help him," says Mr. Seidenberg, his voice cracking with emotion. "The State Department acts like they're totally disinterested. It's a non-important issue to them."

Once, he sent a letter to Moscow praising a Russian geography article and asking whether its publishers could send him any material on Wrangell Island. They did. "I've gotten more information out of the Soviets than I have from the State Department," Mr. Seidenberg complains.

State Department officials sent him "denials—always denials," Mr. Seidenberg says. "They even wrote me a letter once denying that the island existed."

But Mr. Seidenberg isn't easily deterred. In 1976, to help get the department's attention, he took title to the 93,000 acres on Wrangell Island where he thinks the prisons are. Mr. Lomen, then 89 years old and dying, had wanted to give Mr. Seidenberg the land to carry on the fight, but Mr. Lomen's accountant warned of the tax consequences of such a gift. So they entered into a swap: Mr. Seidenberg got part of Wrangell, and he gave Mr. Lomen one square foot of Alaskan land that he had received as a promotional gift in 1967 when he opened a bank account.

But owning a piece of the 3,400-square-mile island didn't increase Mr. Seiden-



berg's influence with the State Department. Once, in 1986, he and a colleague attended a public State Department social function in order to accost Secretary of State George Shultz. When Mr. Shultz came by to shake hands, Mr. Seidenberg held on and asked him about the negotiations. A startled Mr. Shultz, in what was apparently an imitation of the late comedian Jimmy Durante, responded, "Everybody wants to get into the act," and quickly moved on.

A State Department official familiar with the negotiations says that all the talk about a giveaway is inaccurate. "There's a great misperception that somehow these islands have been claimed by the U.S. We've looked very carefully at the history of this. . . . There was never any claim made to them by the U.S. government."

Mr. Seidenberg, too, has looked very carefully, but he has reached a different conclusion. It all started when an American, Capt. Calvin Hooper, planted an American flag on Wrangell on Aug. 12, 1881, claiming it for the U.S. His ship, the U.S. Reserve Vessel Thomas Corwin, was part of a mission authorized by Congress to find the Jennette, a ship that had been crushed by ice during a North Pole expedition financed by the New York Herald the year before.

During the search, Capt. Hooper and a party that included John Muir, the naturalist who later founded the Sierra Club, landed on Wrangell. The island was named for Baron Ferdinand Petrovich von Wrangell, even though the Russian arctic explorer never set foot there.

A 1973 printing of the Digest of International Law, an official State Department publication, states that "the United States has not relinquished its claim to Wrangell Island." Five years later, with detente in full flower, a successor publication, the Digest of United States Practice in International Law, did an about-face, stating: "We have found little evidence that the United States has ever actively asserted a claim to Wrangell Island."

Mr. Seidenberg first stumbled on Wrangell in 1963, when he was a high-school senior writing a research paper on Russian exploration of the American Northwest. Textbooks at the time said that Wrangell was unoccupied. In 1973, Mr. Seidenberg learned that Wrangell had surfaced in a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing about

Soviet prison camps. That's when he first heard about Mr. Wallenberg's plight.

A year later, Mr. Seidenberg uncovered what he says was a quiet State Department effort to cede Wrangell to the Soviets. The two nations signed an environmental agreement under which some musk oxen from Alaska were to be shipped to a Soviet island. Moscow asked that the animals be shipped to Wrangell, and the State Department agreed, thereby conceding ownership, Mr. Seidenberg says. When the agreement was signed at Bethel Airport, in Bethel, Alaska, Mr. Seidenberg arranged to have the airport manager watch from a distance and give him a blow-by-blow report over the telephone.

Now, Mr. Seidenberg fears that Wrangell will be lost forever at the summit. Ironically, when Mr. Lomen wrote his memoirs, "Fifty Years in Alaska," he thought his efforts would preserve the U.S. claim on Wrangell for some future U.S.-Soviet negotiating session. He wrote: "We felt that at least we had provided our government with a strong case. If the day ever comes when representatives of the American and Soviet governments sit down at the council table for the settlement of claims, the matter of American sovereignty over Wrangell Island should prove of importance."

**Note: Mr. Mark Seidenberg  
is the Vice Chairman of  
State Department Watch.**

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FRONT PAGE NEWS  
IN THE  
WALL STREET  
JOURNAL.**

**IT SHOULD BE IN  
EVERY NEWSPAPER  
ACROSS THE  
COUNTRY.**







Dear Dr. Mawde,

5/13/88

I want to thank you for your warm and helpful reply to my letter of inquiry regarding Pacific Islander travel since European contact. I greatly appreciate your advice and the effort you made to suggest sources, and I feel honored even to have communicated with a historian and "old hand" of the Pacific of your stature. Your kind encouragement has confirmed my resolve to continue exploring the topic for my dissertation—and beyond. I have also—now that I have time at semester's end—written to Robert Langdon and Rhys Richards, as you suggested. I have been uncovering a fair amount of data here at U.H., although our microfimas of ship's logs (what's in Langdon's bibl.) have been disappointing. It will take some gleaning, but I think it's worth it. Thanks again for all your help! Dr. Brij Lal also sends his warmest regards.

(Cover: the fia fia at Aggie Grey's)

Sincerely,  
David A. Chappell



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
Australia,  
15 April, 1988.

David A. Chappell,  
1215 Alexander Street, No.204,  
HONOLULU, Hawaii 96826.

Dear David Chappell,

I'm glad that you are thinking of doing a dissertation on Polynesian, and possibly Micronesian, travel - both intra and extra regional and covering much the same span as Kerry Howe's period of emphasis in his Where the Waves Fall (see his p.xv).

It is an important and virtually untouched subject, as I pointed out as long ago as 1964 in my 'Beachcombers and Castaways' (see p.135 of Of Islands and Men); and researchers are only now beginning to nibble at the theme.

In particular there is Greg Denning, whom you mention; I. C. Campbell, who wrote recently on the subject of the Uvean (Wallis Island) Protestants; Caroline Ralston, who would like to do something on the subject but has got bogged down on gender relations (a trendy subject); and Rhys Richards who has the right idea but alas has difficulties in synthesizing his material into a publishable form.

Rhys Richards is in the N.Z. Dept of Foreign Affairs but has long been a devotee of Pacific maritime history. At present his address is P.O. Box 208, New Zealand High Commission, Apia, Western Samoa, and he would, I'm sure, be delighted to hear from you as he is a lone wolf and a lonely one (the Chatham Islands is one of his pet fields). I enclose a bad copy of his latest effort on Tapeooe, the peregrinating Tahitian: so far unpublished, I think. His best article was 'The "Manilla-Men" and Pacific Commerce', Solidarity (Manilla) No.95 (1983), which may be germane to your topic.

Robert Langdon, with whom I discussed your proposals over a beer last night, reckoned on five years for a full study; but he was thinking of a definitive book: your 'anthology of work by many authors' rather than a 'comparative, interpretive analysis'. Incidentally he mentioned several sources worth investigating: why not get them by writing to him at 15 Darambal Street, Aranda, ACT 2614. He is younger than I am and has not yet lost his memory as I have (on my 80th birthday).



I suggest that possibly the best way to organize your dissertation in the time available might be to have general chapters on the main categories of islander travellers: the curious, usually going as passengers to gain new knowledge and experiences; the whaler crews; the missionaries; the labour recruits; and the others you mention; as well as perhaps the involuntary groups expelled for some reason (usually population pressure) - see, for example, the Journal of Edward Robarts for one group which got from the Marquesas to the Tuamotus; the groups fleeing from defeat in war (e.g. the Kuria and Aranuka refugees); the barter traders, such as the Nui islanders who were accustomed to visit Rotuma for shells (I enclose a few other examples at 'A' which occur to me at the moment); the militants engaged in the subjugation of islands (e.g. the Gilbertese who invaded Ponape - see The Book of Luellen; and the women who accompanied their husbands, particularly those in groups, e.g. to Pitcairn, Palmerston, or the Bonins, when their effect as cultural modifiers was considerable.

In addition you could have chapters giving more detailed case studies of particular travellers, such as those mentioned in your para.4, and of specific migrations, for example the Tongans to the Lau Group, the Gilbertese to Mille or Nui and, on a smaller scale, to Lord Howe Island, where their descendants live today.

Sorry that so many of my examples refer to the Gilberts and some antedate the advent of Europeans: this is, I'm afraid, inevitable because I am working on Gilbertese material at the moment and in particular on the immediately pre-contact era. As the Gilbertese cards are to hand I have, therefore, copied those relating to your subject as I conceive it (see the enclosure at 'B') in order to indicate the discrete nature of the material you are likely to find on any island group, though there would be more of it for the more important areas. My library of some 10,000 books and other items, which would enable me to quote more examples from other areas, is unfortunately now housed in Adelaide, apart from the material on the Central Pacific.

This brings me to two points: firstly that I am doubtful if you can, or should, confine your researches to islanders who travelled by means of European shipping, for the end result of the journey is more important than the means by which it was made; and secondly I personally would be tempted to have at least an introductory chapter stressing that when the era of the main voyages of discovery was over small-scale inter-island canoe voyages were, if anything, more frequent than before. For instance the young chiefs in the Gilberts often completed their education with a tour of the 16 islands in the group (see Wilkes, or was it in Hale?) and I am at the moment translating a study by the authoritative historian Anetipa of Nui on pre-contact inter-island canoe navigation in Tuvalu extending to the Gilberts in the north and Samoa to the south. But then I am an island ethnohistorian rather than a Pacific historian and there is no reason why my interests should be shared.



As regards sources you will be using Robert Langdon's two main bibliographies on the whaling logs; he has also reminded me that the Transactions of the Missionary Society are a good quarry. Then there are the 8 vols of American Activities in the Central Pacific, and the Historical Records of New Zealand. But in general the material is not neatly laid out on shelves as it would be for an English medieval historian. The Index to JPH and perhaps JPS may provide you with likely articles to read, my paper on the Raiatean chief Auna and the conversion of Hawaii is a case in point, and there are other indexes still useful listed in 'Searching for Sources', JPH 3:210-22.

I cannot remember where I read that interesting paper by I.C. Campbell on the enforced migration of Uvean Protestants to Vavau which I mentioned earlier, a story worth detailed treatment in your thesis; I am miles from the nearest library, but you will be able to locate it. What I do remember is that Campbell did not give the Fanning end of the episode, so I enclose a TS from the ML which may lead you to more in the Hawaiian archives. Ian's thesis for an Adelaide Ph.D. on 'European Transculturation in Polynesia, 1789-ca.1840' might also be worth a glance. He submitted it in 1976 and there should be a copy in Honolulu.

Which reminds me that Fanning Island itself would make a good item for you, maybe even a chapter, on the migration of the mainly Hawaiian group of colonists in 1820-c.1832. I enclose some photocopies on this interesting attempt to form a colony which you are likely to miss otherwise.

But I must stop rambling or I shall exhaust your patience: one thought leads on to another. I cannot really comment on your methodology but 'comparative, interpretive analysis' sounds just what the doctor ordered for the kind of material you will glean. Brij Lal will know for, unlike me, he is well qualified in historical theory: I only essay to be a narrative historian myself, for I never read history at Cambridge. All these models and other arcane constructs of modern historians get me beat.

Be sure to let me know if you have any queries on specific points, or if there is any other way in which I can be of help; and please give Brij Lal my warmest good wishes, and thank him for pushing the Grimble Papers through the Editorial Board mill: he said that he would and hey presto the MS passed muster.

Wishing you all success with your dissertation - it is just the sort of thing I should have liked to have had a shot at myself,

Sincerely,

Harry J. *my uncle*



Enclosure

A. Islanders' Barter Trade

- (1) Morrison's Journal, p.201.  
Canoe Trade between Tahiti, Mehetia and the Tuamotus.
- (2) Williams and Barff, Journal of a Voyage ... (1830). TS.  
Barter trade between Samoa and Tonga.
- (3) Tatawaqa, Pita E., 'The "Tabua"', Fijian Soc. Trans (11.8.1912).  
Fiji and Tonga barter trade.
- (4) Williams and Calvert, Fiji and the Fijians, vol.I, pp.93-4.  
Fijian internal and external trade in pre-contact times.
- (5) Campbell, Archibald, A Voyage round the World ..., p.200.  
Pre-contact trade in the Hawaiian Islands.

B. Some Gilbertese Travellers

- (1) Gulick, L.H., 'Micronesia of the Pacific Ocean', Nautical Magazine 31:409 (1862). Rotuman on Abemama.
- (2) Rabone, Harold R., 'Lord Howe Island: its story from its discovery to the year 1888', RAHS, J & P 26(2):140-2 (1940).  
Gilbertese found dynasty on Lord Howe Island, c.1853.
- (3) Nautical Magazine 39: 248-9 (1870).  
Gilbertese castaways on Ponape.
- (4) McArthur, Island Populations, p.269.  
Gilbertese living on Huahine, 1871.
- (5) Op.cit., 258-9.  
Gilbertese indentured labour settle in Tahiti, 1872.
- (6) Sydney Mail 29.8.77:409.  
Four Maiana women rescued at sea and repatriated via Hong Kong and Sydney.
- (7) Crawford, Missionary Adventures in the South Pacific, pp.219-20.  
Gilbertese settles on Truk, marries and his son becomes the first missionary there, 1879.
- (8) Sittig, Otto, 'Compulsory Migrations in the Pacific Ocean'.  
Smithsonian Institution Annual Report (July 1895), 146ff.  
Drift Voyages.
- (9) Hambruch, P., 'Warula und Aua', Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Mitt.2.  
Alleged canoe communications between Yap and the Gilberts, and possibly Samoa.
- (10) Eason, A short History of Rotuma, p.37.  
Gilbertese settlers on Rotuma.



- (11) Trans. & Proc. of the Fiji Soc. of Sci. & Ind. 3(1):35, 39 (1945); 2(5):229(1944). Gilbertese settlers on Sikiana and Tikopia.
- (12) The Friend 4:134 (Sept.1846); 6:182, 189 (Dec.1847). Gilbertese community on Greggham Island (Agrihan in Marianas).
- (13) Gulick, L.H., Lectures on Micronesia. Lecture V - The Gilbert Islands, pp.15-17. Effect of wind and current prevalent in equatorial regions on drift voyages.
- (14) Gulick, L.H., Lectures on Micronesia', 52nd Annual Report of the HHS for 1943, pp.36-7. Drift Voyage of Ralik islanders to Kusaie, and return.
- (15) Hale, Horatio, Ethnography and Philology ..., p.190. Marakei islander drifts to Ponape, c.1835.

I have plenty more but these will serve to show how one has perforce to build up one's text from dozens (often hundreds) of casual, disconnected and inconsequential references; at least that is how I write my effusions. There are also too many on drift voyages, but then I envisage that you will have a chapter on drift voyages and their consequences.

Item (1) is, I see, on another subject - expatriate residents in the Gilberts; sorry about that, I typed it without thinking, and really its only looking through the other end of the telescope.

C. Some miscellaneous references I noticed en passant

- (1) The Friend 4:67 (1846).  
Mangarevans on Rapa.
- (2) Diapea, William, Cannibal Jack ..., pp.184-5.  
Tongan canoe navigation from Fiji to Tonga.
- (3) Howay, F.V., 'Some lengthy Open-boat Voyages in the Pacific Ocean', American Neptune 4(1):53-7.
- (4) Nelson, J.C., 'Drift Voyages in the Pacific', American Neptune 23(2):113-30. Importance to early navigation and cultural development.
- (5) Stair, J.B., 'Early Samoan voyages and settlements', Aust. Assoc. for the Adv. of Science 6 (1895), pp.596-603.
- (6) Jarman, Journal of the 'Japan's' voyage, 1838, p.149.  
N.Z. Maoris as officers and crew of island shipping.
- (7) Sydney Gazette 26.5.05.  
Polynesian sailors on European ships.



March 20, 1988

1215 Alexander Street, #204  
Honolulu, HI 96826  
U.S.A.

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

Dear Professor Maude,

I am a Ph.D. candidate in Pacific History at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. My advisor, Dr. Brij Lal, suggested that I write to you for advice about my dissertation topic. I realize you must be a busy man, and I feel very humble corresponding with someone so famous in the field, but here goes.

I want to research the ways Pacific Islanders took advantage of European shipping, from about the time of Bougainville to the 1880's, to explore the Pacific and the world beyond. I realize such a topic will require a lot of gleaning from various sources, including accounts by sea captains or other Europeans, ships' logs and, hopefully, islander traditions or autobiographies. I intend to focus primarily on Polynesian adventurers of that era, perhaps also Micronesians, depending on how much data I can assemble. I think the Melanesian labor trade has probably been covered fairly well by now.

I am interested in this topic for several reasons. First, I have traveled a fair amount myself, in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and I know that such cross-cultural adventures test one's own values as well as teaching one about other ways of living. I am curious to see what I can learn about the impact of such outmigration on islanders, and whether their experiences affected their home islands later on. Second, the issue of culture contact needs broadening, I believe, needs to be taken off the beach, so to speak, to see what islander-EuroAmerican contact occurred on ships or overseas. I have heard Greg Dening is working on the "culture" which foreign sailors brought to the Pacific; what about islander crews who shipped out into the unknown? Third, I regard this phenomenon, put most simply, as the second great age of Polynesian exploration, between that of ancient canoe voyages of settlement and that of outmigration this century (Cook Islanders to New Zealand or Samoans to Hawaii and California, mostly in pursuit of economic gain).

The scope of such a project could be huge, of course: the early curious men like Ahutoru, Omai or Lee Boo, who went to Europe and often didn't return at all, the more short range travels of Kadu with Chamisso or Tahitians Cook took with him or Maoris taken to Australia, the many Hawaiian and Maori sailors who shipped out with whalers, the missionaries like Ta'unga or Henry Opukaiah who assimilated the white man's God and traders like Henry Nanpei of Ponape or Tongans involved as agents in the sandalwood trade, and even monarchs like Kalakaua or Taufa'ahau, who tried to link their kingdoms to Samoa or Fiji. Foreign travels helped Hongi become a conqueror in New Zealand and even helped inspire the Maori King Movement. Meanwhile, Hawaiians worked in the Northwest fur trade and Boki's expedition tried to annex Tanna. There is a pan-Pacific story waiting to be told there, I think. One could almost take the



usual categories assigned to Europeans in the Pacific, from explorers to traders to beachcombers to missionaries to colonialists and populate them with Islanders who participated in that process, people who took the initiative and used the European presence to further their own dreams or desire for adventure, just as they did centuries earlier or are doing today.

The topic could be the subject of an anthology of work by many specialists, of course. I like comparative, interpretive analysis. I wrote a comparison of the Fiji coup with developments in ethnic relations in New Caledonia and Malaysia for Dr. Lal last fall which one a prize at our February Phi Alpha Theta conference and which he wants to publish in his forthcoming journal on contemporary Pacific history. I would like to apply such a comparative approach to my dissertation as well.

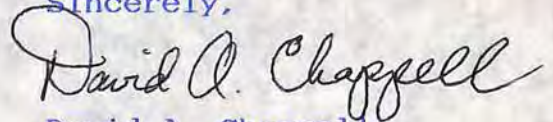
I wonder if you might reflect on what I have outlined -- in fairly broad terms, I realize. I would appreciate any insights you might be willing to share with me as to focus, sources, themes, etc. as I respect your experience in the field tremendously. Dr. Lal says you are a kindly man who might be willing to grant advice to a neophyte such as myself.

I have come to Pacific History after obtaining my M.A. from Stanford University in African History many years ago and teaching secondary school social studies in a wide variety of places: Ivory Coast, Malaysia, New York, California and most recently Maui. I find the parallels in historiography between Africa and the Pacific striking, as Peter Hemenstall's studies of resistance movements make clear. My own personal travels also impel me toward comparative, interpretive analysis, though I love detective work in primary sources, too. I have started to explore the microfilm records of whalers' logs here at University of Hawaii, and that may take a lot of looking for bits of data I can use. Accounts by captains or traders may be more useful as written sources.

Thank you for your time and patience. I think my proposal, while challenging in terms of searching out data, could prove very revealing in terms of demonstrating islanders' acting on their own behalf as participants in the so-called European era in the Pacific.

Dr. Lal sends you his fond regards.

Sincerely,



David A. Chappell



**PAULINE FARGHER ERNST**

1457 Ravenswood Drive • Los Altos, CA 94022 • U.S.A.

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

May 4, 1988

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Maude,

What fun you must have had in Fiji receiving your Hon. Doctorate in such a colorful ceremony. I do hope you have some colored pictures to help you remember it all. What a shame you encountered a "bug" which put you out of commission for so long. I know how frustrating it is to put one's research on hold. I seem to do it quite often due to other priorities -- at any rate, I know you are now deep in your latest book writing so only wish to send you our best wishes in that endeavor and we hope you are feeling great again.

Thank you so much for sending me the list of your papers which you have sent to Adelaide. That in itself must be a major undertaking. I recently undertook the task of cataloguing my Pitcairn/Bounty library, which is tiny compared to your collections, I am sure, and shelving it in a rather large closet I cleaned out. What a job!!! But the books really stay almost dust-free so I console myself with that unforeseen outcome as I try to not resent losing my office to my son, who has taken it over for his medical studies--temporarily until June of 1989--and I am really glad I can contribute to his future success in this small way. While my books are in the closet, my desk, typewriter and other files are in my bedroom which overlook the pretty back yard which promotes relaxation so I am not really suffering from the loss of my original quarters!!

Lately I have been working on some articles, to send off to magazines, if there is an interest in them. I hope to promote some interest in the 200th anniversary of the mutiny next year. People in our New England area should be aware of their Pitcairn connection in as much as the whalers came from their ports and touched at Pitcairn in the 1800's. Many of them returned with relics which are now in New England depositories and this is what I intend to point out along with a brief background history of the Bounty story.

Yes, my three-year deadline came and went - it so happened that the editor I spoke with at the publishing possibility left her job and after that things went down hill rapidly. I may contact them again but at the moment I have queried another bibliographical publishing house. I really would like to wind this up in 1988 - and get on to something different. I have lots of ideas, but need more time-- the one thing we all seem to lack these busy, hectic days.

Yes, I would really like to see the Bounty rudder in the Fiji museum. I have it listed in my bibliography. We have never been to Fiji and would like to see it along with many of the other Pacific Islands which hold so much of my interest.

This letter is just a get-well, or rather, a stay well message so please do not feel you have to answer it. I know your time is very



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, A.C.T. 2611,  
Australia,  
1 April, 1988.

Dear Mrs Ernst,

This is just a note to thank you for your letter of 11 December. It arrived when I was away in Fiji to receive a Hon. Doctorate from the University of the South Pacific in recognition of a lifetime spent in Pacific studies: it was a colourful ceremony in which I was garbed in an academic gown of blue and green Indian silk and presented with my degree by the Paramount Chief of Western Samoa, Malietoa Tanumafili II - the first time a university doctorate had ever been given to an expatriate European.

Unfortunately I came back not only with the Doctorate but also a bug or a wog which kept me in bed, and eventually in hospital where they operated and discharged me some days ago feeling a good deal better but with nearly four months carved out of my life. Hence the correspondence has got all in arrears, just as I was catching up after several months of seclusion while I worked at the Grimble Papers.

I finished editing these in November and the 513 page manuscript was sent to Hawaii early in December where it is being published by the Center for Pacific Islands Studies in association with the University of Hawaii Press. I have called it 'The Gilbertese of the Central Pacific: ethnographic notes and papers on an atoll culture': it is in essence a study in historical ethnography, which provides an ideal baseline for acculturation studies

Present plans are to get all the letters done by the end of April and then to bury myself again in writing a book on the traditional ethnohistory of Kiribati before European contact, while I have regional data on my mind. This will be my thank you present for the Gilbert Islanders in return for all they have done for us over a life association.

I am glad that you are progressing with your Pitcairn work and hope that the great book will be published while I am still alive and compos mentis: the three year deadline which I understood you were given by your publishers must have been somewhat exceeded.

To clear the decks in my small study I shall have to send the Pitcairn material to Adelaide as soon as I can get it into some sort of order: the published material to my library, long housed in the university as a special collection, and the manuscript material to the archives. I enclose a list of some preliminary archival material relating to Pitcairn which has already gone, together with notes made by the archivist. There is nothing of mine in the Mitchell Library at Sydney or the National Library at Canberra as I am a great believer in keeping everything together for the convenience of present and future researchers.



You ask whether I am writing my memoirs: I tried once, for the Oxford University Press, but soon found that I was not egotistical enough. All those 'Is': 'I did this, I said that, I went there' gave me a pain. But I have kept, as far as possible, every letter from 1927 onwards - thousands of them, all arranged by subject, or by date in Series J, as well as every other manuscript or typescript on the islands that I could get hold of. They used to call me the squirrel because I acquired everything I could lay my hands on and hide it away, so that my biographer in say 50 or 100 years will have more than enough to reconstruct my life and the island world in the earlies which was our background and environment. As a general rule biographies are much better than autobiographies, especially when as in my case care has been taken to preserve all the bad things written about me: it will be no plaster saint affair.

Next time when you cross the Pacific why not stop over in Fiji and see the rudder of the Bounty, or what is left of it after that antarctic explorer (Admiral Byrd?) had a large slice cut off it for the U.S. President (or so he said): the islanders were too scared to refuse. The British Admiralty rightly decided that it was their property, as they had never recognized anything being taken by piracy.

So I had it packed up for them and clearly labelled to the Admiralty in London by my wife Honor but when it reached New Zealand the High Commissioner ruled that it was too valuable to be shipped to the U.K. while the war was on and had better be kept in the Fiji Museum until things got better. I noticed the other day that they had still got it on exhibition there, quite wrongfully: presumably because it was considered an attraction for tourists. But of course everybody who remembers the incident is now dead, except us. We have a bit off it ourselves, given to us on the island Christmas tree, and must send it to Norfolk Island to be with the ring.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

*Harry Maude*



Pauline F. Ernst  
1457 Ravenswood Drive  
Los Altos, CA 94022

December 11, 1987

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

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Maude,

I see my last letter to you was in August of 1986 - where does the time go? Seems like a day is nothing anymore and I get less and less accomplished. I have too many interruptions such as family illnesses which, of course, take top priority. My dad, in Oregon, is failing fast at the ripe old age of 92 - he is of Manx descent and that seems to be a longlife, strong background - but I fear I did not inherit those genes!!!

Hope you are both well and enjoying your projects, whatever they are - I do think of you often and wonder what you are doing.

We had an opportunity to sign up for a trip to Pitcairn with the group who are going from Norfolk. Again it was a great disappointment to have to miss out on perhaps a "once in a lifetime" opportunity, but with my father in his condition I would not feel comfortable leaving on such a long journey - not knowing for sure when we would get back. Maybe some year we will be lucky enough to visit Pitcairn and Norfolk.

My research is coming along as well as can be expected under the circumstances. We did go to the Isle of Man in July. It was Homecoming so we received very special treatment. They are gearing up for some kind of a 1989 celebration in honor of the 200th anniversary of the Mutiny on the Bounty. I suppose Australia and other places will also be doing great things. I am trying to promote some interest in this country -- at present I have an exhibit at our local library in honor of the 200th anniversary of the sailing of the Bounty on Dec. 23, 1787. Also, I have sent out some News Releases about the anniversary and a recap of the Bounty saga. People in this country, unless totally involved in the Bounty episode some way, generally do not even know much about it except a vague memory of the MGM movies some years ago. I think that is unfortunate and they are missing a fascinating interest, in my opinion.

Well, I have kept you long enough for this time. Hope you do not have one of your postal strikes that you dread every year at Christmas time.

Until the next time, take care of yourselves and I hope we can visit Australia again very soon and perhaps get to your area for a meeting with you both.

Warmest wishes for very happy, healthy holidays and a great 1988.

Sincerely yours,







# Nollick Ghennal

Merriu as blein feer vie,  
Seihll as slaynt da'n  
clane lught thie,  
Bea as gennallys eu  
bio rycheilley,  
Shee as graih eddyr  
mraane as deiney.

(Manx Gaelic).



# Season's *mw* Greetings

A Merry Christmas on ye and a very  
good year,  
Long life and health to the whole  
family,  
Life and merriment living together,  
Peace and love between women  
and men.

*Polly Ernst and family*

Pauline F. Ernst  
1457 Ravenswood Drive  
Los Altos, CA 94022



December 23, 1987  
200th Anniversary of the Bounty's Sailing



**PAULINE FARGHER ERNST**

1457 Ravenswood Drive • Los Altos, CA 94022 • U.S.A.  
(415) 968-0854

August 29, 1986

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

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Maude,

Thank you for your informative, as always, letter of July 11. You have a different address; guess you have moved since your last letter of October 17, 1983.

It was nice to say "hello" to you from the Canberra Airport and to have a little chat with Mrs. Maude. I think we would get along famously if we ever get together!

My husband and I had intended to drive to Canberra, but when the rains came we gave up the idea of driving in unfamiliar territory under such conditions. I'm glad we did as the cab driver who took us to the National Library at night seemed to have some difficulty driving in a downpour. Also, we found that our airline (United) only left Sydney on certain days for Auckland so we had to revise our schedule. And it was a big disappointment to find we could not get to Norfolk Island due to school vacations, tournaments, etc. so all of our plans and routes changed.

You may wonder why we do not have an itinerary and reservations. Since we fly on passes (my husband is a retired United Airline captain), we never really are sure if we will get on a plane so over the past 30 years we have learned not to make reservations or definite plans. That is the reason I seldom get to visit people (like the Maudes) who we would really like to spend some time with--we seem to go on a moments notice and change plans mid-stream--

I was popping back in Mitchell Library after everyone thought we had left for good (including us) - but we had a few hours before catching the plane so I went in ML to try to check a few more items --- !!

You mentioned offering your bibliography and that you were "intrigued that I did not check through my (your) Bibliography of Pitcairn Island and extensive collections of MS and TS records on its history"-- I am afraid I did not receive that letter or else I would have 'jumped' at the offer. I'm assuming you are referring to items you have at your home. In other words, your Bibliography of Pitcairn is not at National; at least, there was no mention of it while I was there.

I am keeping in mind your generous and kind offer to check my bibliography when/if I ever get it in order so that I may send you a copy- I'm hoping that will be soon. *(Pitcairn Maude)*

The reason for my delay is that I'm first compiling information according to library, museum, etc; then I'll put it all together in alphabetical order as a straight bibliography. In this way, I feel I'm less apt to miss something - this may not prove to be the case but I hope it works.

***Bounty Mutiny & Related Subjects • William Bligh • Fletcher Christian • Norfolk Island • Pitcairn Island***



I do have your bibliographies from Of Islands and Men, In Search of a Home, Tahitian Interlude and Voyage of Pandor's Tender; the 3 latter from the pamphlets you sent to me.

At any rate, we'll probably return to Australia next year and try again for Norfolk Island. If we do come, I will plan more time in Canberra in order to check with you--and I'll let you know in advance if possible.

In May, after our whirlwind tour of Australia and New Zealand, we stayed home long enough for me to compile almost all of what I had collected and then we took another trip. We went to New York for 10 days and then drove to New England area where I finally was able to check through the numerous libraries and museums (only in Connecticut and Massachusetts) It was great fun inspecting the old whaling mementos and whaling logs; that must have been an exciting time. It is really hard to put one's self in the same position as the early sailors and whalers who were out for such long periods in those close quarters. I would get claustrophobia the first day! It had to be 'in their blood' although many had no other choice of occupation, I suppose. Seems today the adventures are less colorful, in my opinion.

Well, I must close for now. Have you started writing your memoirs yet? I hope you do that some day. Or maybe you both kept some sort of diary of your South Pacific Island adventures --

Thank you again for your helpful suggestions.

Keep well and enjoy your projects. I wish you easy going with them. Time really flies; it seems hard to accomplish much in a day/week/month!!

Our best to you both,

Sincerely yours,



Pauline F. Ernst

pfe

P.S. At the Auckland Museum we saw the iron blade and weaving implements from Pitcairn Island. There again, if I had given advance notice, we could have viewed your collection -- next time that is also on my list.



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, A.C.T.2611,  
Australia,  
31 March, 1988.

Dear Mrs Gaynor,

I was indeed sorry to hear of the untimely death of Lester and would have replied before but I was laid up at the time and have only this month been discharged from hospital after an operation.

The sudden onslaught of your husband's illness and your situation far from home must have made your ordeal particularly painful, especially as Lester was normally so full of life and anxious to get ahead with the completion of his Christmas Island project.

Still you have the consolation that he had accomplished so much in his life and at the end was spared the suffering of a long and painful illness, which is what those in my generation dread.

As you no doubt know Paddy Macdonald also died, on June 15 last, aged 77, so of the trio who were particularly interested in the publication of Lester's magnum opus on Christmas Island only I am left, the oldest as it happens, being 82.

I have read through the manuscript of his Christmas Island story and it is indeed a magnificent effort: a repository of factual, and much of it hitherto unknown, information on a little-known part of the world which will not be matched by any other scholar in the future. It was unfortunate that the size of the work and the detail which it contains, the very considerations which make it so valuable to the researcher, make it impossible for it to be published by a commercial publisher, while the university publishers, who are not motivated to the same extent by the need to make money, will not consider works which are not referenced throughout.

The manuscript could be published privately but it would be a very expensive operation owing to its length and format. It would cost even more to have it rewritten in three volumes as Lester proposed and I doubt if any ghost writer could do it effectively since nobody would have his background knowledge, or his personal interest.

Probably the best thing to do is to ensure that the manuscript is preserved for posterity (for the scholars of future generations) by depositing copies in Lester's name in the main specialist Pacific Islands Libraries. There are four recognized as being of world status:

The Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

The Thomas Hale Hamilton Library Pacific Collection  
of the University of Hawaii, Honolulu.



The Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand.

The Australian National Library in Canberra, Australia.

My own copy, which was sent to me by Paddy Macdonald shortly before his death should, I think, go to the Pacific Islands Library at the University of Adelaide, which has the largest collection of works relating to the Republic of Kiribati in the world (Christmas Island being part of the Republic).

These are only suggestions in case they may be of some use, the main idea being to benefit the generations to come and at the same time preserve Lester's name in perpetuity as the suthor of a unique and major contribution to the history of an island which will become of increasing importance in the decades to come.

I hope that by now the worst of your troubled time may be ending and that you will find a useful and happy niche for the second and new life which can be so rewarding, as I know well from living in a Retirement Village with a great number of women who have lost their husbands.

Honor and I do most sincerely wish you  
all the best for the future,

Yours in sympathy,

*Harry Byrnie*



December 1, 1987

152 Burgess Avenue, Westwood, MA. 02090

Dear *Professor Maude*

I have very sad news and a tragic loss to relate. My beloved husband, Les, suffered a heart attack on September 14th while we were on a vacation trip in the Midwest. After three weeks of hospitalization, he died suddenly on October 5th at Loyola University Medical Center in the Chicago, Illinois area.

Les and I left our home in Westwood in mid-August on what was to have been an extended vacation trip through the end of September. We drove our car, as Les often liked to do, so we could do sightseeing along the way. While on that trip we had planned to visit Dennis in Chicago, Illinois; attend a family gathering in early September in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and attend Les' Christmas Island Reunion in mid-September in Peoria, Illinois. Our daughter, Laurie, flew from Boston to Chicago to join Dennis and us at the beginning of September for the Wisconsin gathering in order for the four of us to spend some time together.

On September 14th while we were taking Laurie to Chicago's O'Hare airport for her return trip to Boston, Les suffered a heart attack. We were traveling on an interstate highway and it was a blessing that Laurie was driving at the time. She saw a state trooper was parked on the side of the highway, and was able to stop and get emergency assistance. Les was brought to an excellent suburban hospital, Hinsdale Hospital, where he remained for two weeks. He was transferred to Loyola University Medical Center where he died unexpectedly one week later from a second heart attack and major complications. Ironically, September 15th, the day following his heart attack, was the day Les and I had planned to leave for the Christmas Island reunion.

Laurie and I stayed with Dennis in his apartment during this painful ordeal. Each day was more agonizing than the previous day since Les' condition never improved greatly, but continuously deteriorated into complications. We were never told that he would not make it, but were always given conservative and guarded explanations. In fact, five days before he died, the chief of the cardiac care unit at Loyola told us he was still in critical but stable condition, yet they hoped that they would get him up on his feet, treat him medically, rather than surgically, and have him home in Westwood in 10-14 days. Two days later, however, he suffered congestive heart failure for the second time, and was put on a respirator. I think that was the most difficult, saddest and devastating thing to accept and observe. Here was Les, a bastion of control and strength, in need of a breathing machine. It's even hard to write about it. Sadder still was that he died without being able to respond or talk to us again.

Having this occur so far away from home, friends, support and a familiar environment made it extremely difficult to inform people about our concerns. The fact that we were not in our own area, and the knowledge that Les had no known medical problems nor any previous heart condition, added more stress and trauma to our loss.

Since Les died in Chicago, and our car was there, the three of us (Laurie, Dennis, and I) drove it back to Westwood which took three long, desolate, and painful days. We had a lovely non-sectarian funeral service in Westwood on Tuesday, October 13th with burial in Westwood Cemetery. It has been extremely hard on all of us. There are things which are difficult to manage without his guidance and advice. Les left many unfinished projects, among them the completion of the revisions on his adored Christmas Island opus into three books. I always thought he was invincible and immortal and would finish everything.

I'm sorry to have to write these letters to our friends. I started to call people, but it was so exhausting, and upsetting that I chose to write instead. The time lag in all of the funeral arrangements, and my writing to our dear friends is the time it took to get back home, make arrangements, and just the slow acceptance and lack of energy to do much of anything. I'm sorry it took me so long to inform you. I find it very difficult to believe and realize that he is no longer with us. His absence is sorely felt. He was such a vibrant, dedicated, and genuine person. Our world will not be the same without him.

*Mildred Gaynor*

Mrs. Lester Gaynor

(over)



Dear Professor Maude:

I know you are shocked and saddened by what you have just read on the other side. How it happened is still a nightmare. Les was so healthy and active, checked out medically, and lead a sensible life style.

Les' leaving this world was so unexpected and untimely that every room in this house, his workshop, his study, the grounds, the information regarding the reunions he was organizing, his many writing projects --all have something started awaiting completion or continuance. Among the projects was the Christmas Island Opus which he was in the process of revising into three volumes. I would like to see it completed as I realize there are many people interested in it. However, it will take some time for me to sort things out and see what I can do.

When we were in Australia some years ago, you had gone to England with Paddy MacDonald, so we missed seeing you. We were, however, planning to visit New Zealand, Australia, the South Pacific Islands, and Christmas Island in 1988, but that is now just an unfulfilled dream.

*Mildred,*



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
Australia,  
29 March, 1988.

Dear Ron,

Thank you ever so much for those excellent photos of my being enveloped, or whatever its called: it was a great day for me because I appreciated the honour more from the USP than I would have from my own or any other university.

I would have thanked you long ere this but I have only recently been discharged from hospital. You may remember that I was not at all well in Fiji, which was the reason I left rather precipitately instead of staying on to deal with some business I had with Asesela Ravuvu and Pat Hereniko.

When I got back I had to go straight to bed and there I stayed over Christmas and in fact until last month, when they put me into hospital and finally operated on me, taking out a few spare parts.

Things improved as a result and I was discharged a fortnight ago, a stone lighter (presumably the weight of whatever they removed) and feeling much better. But the correspondence has piled up and Honor's sister has arrived from England on a visit, so we go up to Cairns where most of Honor's Australian relations live.

I decided to send the Grimble Papers to Kiste who is publishing them at a price suitable for plutocratic Europeans but is letting me have 100 for the Gilbertese at about \$3 each, so that they can be sold in the Gilberts for about \$6 or so. A hundred should be enough for it is essentially a work of reference and as long as there are a few around people can always copy out any bits they want. I have also reserved translation rights for part or all of it into Gilbertese should anybody want to do it.

I am hoping that Asesela will agree to them being held for sale by the Kiribati Extension Centre - at a small profit, of course - though I suppose its really up to Roniti Teiwaki to decide.

I trust that by now you are free from all worldly cares and able to get up late and go to bed early, as befits the retired. Personally I have found retirement a good deal busier than any other period of my life, owing to the absence of any assistance - typing, research, or financial - but most people here just sit around all day waiting to be buried.



My sincere congratulations on your achieving the venerable rank of professor emeritus, than which there is no higher honour short of being deified. They tell me that you are the first, which makes it a unique distinction too and one which has seldom been better deserved, as I know better than most having watched with interest your peregrinations since your salad days in the Cook Islands. It makes me feel distinctly old to think that I was appointed a Cadet in the Gilberts a fortnight before you were born.

Anyway, wherever you are I expect that this letter will find you in the fullness of time. Here's wishing you and Marjorie the best of good fortune in your retirement, and may you two become the father and mother of many noble and definitive tomes on the problems of the island world.

Yours ever,

*Harry Maude*





# The University of the South Pacific

Serving the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Vanuatu, Niue, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Western Samoa

Our Ref :

P.O. Box 1168, Suva, Fiji.

Your Ref :

Telephone: 313900.

Date : 30.12.87

Cables: University Suva. Telex: FJ2276

Daisy Harry

—  
I would like to see you and  
congratulations on your well deserved  
achievement.

A black & white photo change  
task. The whole was performed

Best wishes to you both

Ron.

—





## National Library of Australia

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ref: 203/1/33  
date: 10 March 1988  
contact: GTP:LM

Canberra ACT 2600 Telephone (062) 62 1111  
Telegraphic Code Address: Natlibaust Canberra  
Telex Code No. 62100, Facsimile No. (062) 571703  
Telephone Typewriter No. (008) 026372

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

Dear Mr Maude,

Thank you for your letter of 5 March concerning the manuscript biography of J.T. Arundel by Aimée Bright. I have noted that you have returned the manuscript to Mr John Aris. Should we encounter any intending biographer of Arundel, we shall suggest that he get in touch with Mr Aris.

Yours sincerely

Graeme Powell  
Manuscript Librarian  
Australian Collections and Services



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
5 March, 1988.

Mr Graeme Powell,  
Manuscript Librarian,  
Australian Collection and Services,  
National Library of Australia,  
Canberra, ACT 2600.

Dear Mr Powell,

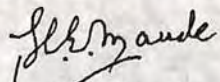
I am sorry not to have replied before to your letter 203/1/33 of 11 December but I have been laid up since returning from Fiji late in December, and have only recently been able to resume work on discharge from hospital after an operation.

Mr John Aris was disinclined to having the Aimée Bright biography of Arundel copied since his mother, Mrs Sydney Aris, had several objections to the manuscript being published, or even made available to researchers, and only gave it to me for my private use in preparing a more acceptable biography.

Pressure of other commitments made this impossible while I was employed as a Pacific historian by the ANU, and on retirement I am concentrating on studies relating to the islanders rather than Europeans connected with the islanders. In any case I could not undertake a work of this magnitude now that I am past 80.

So I have returned the Bright MS to Mr Aris, as being its rightful owner. Should any intending biographer of Arundel be approved of by Mr Aris it is possible that he would let him have a copy for use in its preparation. I tried to persuade Maslyn Williams, who would have been ideal, to undertake the task, but his failing eyesight precluded him from accepting.

Yours sincerely,

  
H.E. Maude.





## National Library of Australia

ref: 203/1/33  
date: 11 December 1987  
contact: GTP:LM

Canberra ACT 2600 Telephone 62 1111  
Telegraphic Code Address: Natlibaust Canberra  
Telex Code No. 62100 Fax No. (062) 571703

Mr H.E. Maude, O.B.E.  
11 Namatjira Drive,  
WESTON ACT 2611

Dear Mr Maude,

Following our telephone conversation yesterday, I have written to Mr John Aris suggesting that he write to you about the unpublished biography of J.T. Arundel by Aimee Bright. We would be happy to make a photocopy of the work for Mr Aris and, if there are no objections, for our collection as well. If you would like to pursue this idea, please phone (621258) whenever it is convenient and I can arrange to collect the manuscript.

Yours sincerely

Graeme Powell  
Manuscript Librarian  
Australian Collections and Services



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
Australia,  
7 March, 1988.

Dear Rhys Richards,

I am sorry not to have replied to your letter before - and now I see that it is nearly a year later. During the middle of last year I was flat out trying to get rather a formidable book on Arthur Grimble's field notes and manuscript papers on Gilbertese ethnography ready for publication, and when I had posted it off and started on my accumulating mail I had to go to Fiji to receive an honorary doctorate from the University (the first ever given to an expatriate European).

I was not well at the time and on my return went to bed, where I remained until last week, partly at home and partly in hospital, where I was operated on and after a fortnight's convalescence discharged to face once again the now piles of unanswered correspondence, which look~~s~~ at me accusingly as if I had been having a holiday. Being over 80 now and living in a Retirement Village far from former associates in the ANU my aim is to complete the remaining two books and 12 papers in hand and then stop.

The Grimble Book is being published by the Center for Pacific Islands Studies in association with the University of Hawaii Press and is the last I intend to produce for European consumption. The two books left are now half completed and will be published in the islands and essentially for the islanders. I actually wrote Slavers in Paradise for the islanders, where it was reprinted twice and is still selling well, but the American edition also sold well, to my surprise.

Your letter was written to ask me if I would like to have a look at your paper on Tapeoee, the peregrinating Tahitian; but I fancy that you must have sent it willy-nilly for I find a very imperfect copy in the same file (the High Commission should invest in a new photocopier).

I consider it a valuable contribution to an important but virtually untouched subject: the itinerations of islanders to other island groups and outside the Pacific. I certainly hope that it can be published for it is high time that someone started this ball rolling.

Next to your paper on the 'Manilla-men' (a great piece of work) I feel that Tapeoee is your best effort to date. It may be that to make your manuscript not more informative but more attractive from a publishing standpoint you will have to reshuffle the contents to make a connected narrative, quoting your II point by point and following each with your commentary, which at present forms III.



I cannot comment on your source material for I have long ceased to work on that period of Pacific history and would need to spend some weeks refreshing my memory of the sources to reach the degree of expertise which you evince in your commentary and notes.

I was sorry to hear of the extensive cyclone damage in the Tokelaus, and particularly on Nukunonu and the home islet on Fakaofu. I suppose that it will mean that even more Tokelau families will migrate to New Zealand. I have been sending photocopies of historical source material on the Tokelaus to Dr Iona Tanielu on Fakaofu, who seems to be the one most interested in Tokelau history; also to Judith Huntsman and Tony Hooper, the specialists on the area.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

*Harry M. Sunde*



Rhys Richards  
NZHC Apia  
c/o Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Private Bag  
Wellington New Zealand

27/3/87

Dear Mr Maude

I would very much like to reestablish contact with you now that, by chance, I am at last resident in a Pacific island for the next two years! So far my first six months in Samoa has been hot and hectic, but also interrupted by two short visits to the three Tokelau Islands plus Swains, mainly to assess the cyclone damage in January, and the massive storm waves on 28 Feb. Atafu has been least damaged, and Nukunono the worst with a thick layer of coral rubble washed over all the village and all the sand and soil drained out. Tiny crowded Fale on Fakaofo has lost its retaining walls, houses and the land itself on three sides. I think it may have shrunk by as much as 5% which with over 400 people crowded on about 5 acres, is quite a disaster.

Last January I sent to Gerard Ward a first draft of an article on Tapeooe, a Tahitian traveller from 1798 to 1810 who visited Sydney<sup>NZ</sup>, Tonga, Fiji, Guam, Manila and London, and was, I consider, influential in introducing knowledge of beche de mer coming into Fiji via NSW. If you have not yet seen a ~~copy~~ of it from Gerry, then I could send another as my introduction dwells on the unfortunate fact that we know much more about foreign beachcombers and castaways than we do about "local" island hoppings using foreign ships. And of course other Pacific Islanders probably had as much social impact, and new technologies to impart, as many of the foreigners. But I won't expand this here, but rather, simply ask if you would be interested in seeing my draft and making a few critical comments on it. I'll send a copy if you are willing.

Hoping that this finds you in good health and still actively following your catholic Pacific history interests,  
with very best wishes  
Yours sincerely  
Rhys Richards







TABECOR, A TRIBUTE TO NEWLY FROM 1798 to 1810.

by  
Rnys Richards.

I. Introduction :

Much has been written about the earliest foreign beachcombers and castaways who early last century had such an enormous impact on Pacific island cultures and lifestyles. These foreign visitors were wholly dependant upon their hosts but survived by becoming well integrated into the indigenous communities. They had some use too where they introduced more gently new methods and technologies, or could act as a trans-cultural bridge between their host communities and the influx of still more foreigners.

Unfortunately much less has been written about the equally fascinating indigenous beachcombers who, from a very early date, chose to join foreign vessels, but later left them in order to settle among other Pacific people than their own. Thus, as Maude noted in his comprehensive review of foreign beachcombers and castaways, remarkably soon after European whalers and traders entered the Pacific, there were "for example, Hawaiians on Tahiti, Tonga and Rotuma, Tongans in the New Hebrides, and Maoris on Rotuma and Ponape. This widespread inter-group mixing together of island peoples in early post-contact times, is a factor of considerable importance to the anthropologist but . . . . such intra-regional, cross-cultural contact . . . requires separate discussion." (Maude 1968 p135) Unfortunately, not much progress has been made on this in the two decades since Maude posed the need to broaden his own study to cover indigenous beachcombers and castaways too.

Essentially the problem is that even fewer records, whether contemporary writings or oral traditions, have been kept of the trans-oceanic travels of these itinerant Pacific islanders, and even less is known of their individual and collective influence in the transfer to their hosts of their own Pacific cultures and techniques. In most cases there is little alternative to merely noting their presence, where known, and observing cautiously that by the time historians and ethnologists arrived on the scene, they had been preceded, in many if not in most cases, by indigenous visitors as well as their better known foreign counterparts.



T. BECOM, A HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS FROM 1708 to 1810.

by  
Rays Richards.

I. Introduction :

Much has been written about the earliest foreign beachcombers and castaways who early last century had such an enormous impact on Pacific island cultures and lifestyles. These foreign visitors were wholly dependant upon their hosts but survived by becoming well integrated into the indigenous communities. They had some use too where they introduced more gently new methods and technologies, or could act as a trans-cultural bridge between their host communities and the influx of still more foreigners.

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The following short account of the travels of Tapeoco, a Tahitian who visited Fiji, Tonga, New Zealand, Australia, Palau, the Philippines and Indonesia and Malaysia while en route to England between 1798 and 1807, is unfortunately a good example of these limitations: All that is known of him is from foreign sources. Moreover although he can be placed in an historical context through the various activities in which he participated with foreigners, nothing at all can be said of the impact he may have had on <sup>the</sup> indigenous peoples among whom he also lived, including for almost two years at Tonga from 1800 to 1801.

In fact practically all that is known of Tapeoco is contained in a two page broadsheet issued by his friends and patrons in London in 1809 inviting further financial subscriptions for his upkeep and his return home. As it has not been republished since then, the 14 paragraphs are reprinted here, minus only the lists of original subscribers and committee members. The narrative conveyed only briefly in this short text, is then elaborated with notes from other sources to help provide a better idea of the historical context of Tapeoco's travels and exploits.

## II. "Case of Tapeoco, A Native of Otaheite"

In the year 1797, the Betsy, Captain Glasse, a South whaler, being also a Letter of Marque, arrived at Otaheite, when Pomare, the King of the island, ~~asked~~ <sup>asked</sup> ~~him~~ <sup>if</sup> ~~his~~ <sup>any</sup> people were desirous to go to England? Tapeoco, who had been much in company with the Missionaries, and having a thirst for knowledge, immediately replied that he would, and accordingly was taken on board.

The vessel, when it quitted Otaheite, was bound to Fort Jackson; at which place Tapeoco was noticed by Governor King, The Rev. Mr. Johnson, and the Rev. Mr. Marsden. After the ship had left Fort Jackson, it touched at Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands; but whilst it continued there, Tapeoco changed his mind as to visiting England, and expressed a desire to be carried back to Otaheite.

Captain Glasse, having captured two Spanish ships, determined to cruise in the South Seas, in quest of other prizes, and therefore told Tapeoco, that he would take him back to Otaheite. With this view Tapeoco again embarked on board the Betsy; but the captain immediately altered his intention <sup>of going</sup> to Otaheite, and determined to sail for the coast of Peru; on which Tapeoco declined proceeding with the captain; and preferred remaining at Tongataboo, where he

Inset whole quote



3.  
had met with a native of his own country. He continued in this island nearly two years; during which time the natives were engaged in a dreadful war; insomuch that through the scarcity of provisions, they were often obliged to devour their prisoners.

Being driven from place to place in this island by reason of the war, Tapeooe lost a letter which had been given to him by Mr Jefferson, Secretary of the Missionary Society at Otaheite, for the purpose of introducing him to the Society in London. When he had been at Tongataboo about two years, the Plumo, Captain Read, one of Captain Classe's prizes, arrived, and Tapeooe embarked on this vessel, but soon after it <sup>had</sup> left the island, the ship struck on a reef of coral rock near one of the Feegee Islands, called by the natives Scolo. By this accident the ship received considerable damage, and sprung a leak, <sup>at</sup> which time Tapeooe became exceedingly useful, by repeatedly diving, in order to apply such materials as they possessed, to prevent the rapid flow of water through the broken part of the ship's bottom. In this he so far succeeded as to stop the leak, and by the aid of pumps the water was removed, so that the carpenter was enabled to complete a false keel.

By these repairs the ship was fitted to proceed on her voyage, but on account of the provisions being exhausted, they were obliged to proceed to the island of Gasm, a distance of 3,000 miles from the place where the ship had sustained its injury, and cast themselves on the humanity of the Spaniards. At this place they were detained as prisoners; but in about three months, after a Spanish vessel, the Grifino, arrived, on board of which ship Captain Read was put as a prisoner, and Tapeooe, by the assistance of two English sailors, was also got on board, in order to take his passage to Manilla, at which place they arrived in the latter end of February 1803.

Whilst Tapeooe was at Manilla, he resided with a Mr Marsden, the supercargo of the Plumo, but Captain Read having obtained his liberty, and become engaged in a fishery, in the neighbourhood of the Pelew Islands, for the Chinese market, took Tapeooe with him, as he was skilled in the manner of catching the peculiar fish with which those seas abound. Whilst engaged in the fishery, one



night in a gale of wind, the ship parted from her anchors, and being driven on shore, was wrecked on Great Banda, one of the Moluccas. The crew and the cargo were saved by the of Captain John \_\_\_\_\_ bury, and Tapecoe, staved with \_\_\_\_\_ at the island \_\_\_\_\_ a month, and afterwards accompanied him to Amboyna, Malacca, Poulapuna and Penang which they called the Prince of Wales Island. From this last place he was brought to London in 1806 by Captain Henry Wilson of the Watley, eastindiaman.

By Captain H Wilson he was introduced by letter to the Treasurer of the Missionary Society ; who having declined to provide for him at the expense of the society, he was taken into the service of Captain Wm. Wilson of Fenchurch Street, until an opportunity should occur \_\_\_\_\_ to obtain for him a passage back to Otahaite. He lived with this gentleman nine months, and experienced very kind attentions, but was decoyed from him by one Kelso, a man who had gone with the missionaries, and who had seen Tapecoe at Tongataboo.

The object of Kelso appears to have been to raise money for his own benefit by the exhibition of Tapecoe ; and in this he so far succeeded as to obtain several sums from many humane individuals. During the whole of the time that \_\_\_\_\_ retained Tapecoe, he resisted all his attempts of acquiring the art of reading, and otherwise improving himself ; and at length he was so wearied out by the ill treatment he had received, that he applied to Mr Gilham, surgeon, in Surry Road, for his protection.

Mr Gilham humanely interested himself in Tapecoe's case, and succeeded in obtaining his liberty ; but not before he had witnessed an assault which Kelso made on Tapecoe, by striking him with a chair ; for which assault he was tried, found guilty, and punished at Hick's Hall.

Tapecoe was now placed in Mr Lancaster's Free School, where he is learning to read and write, and from his great diligence there is every reason to expect that he will attain a knowledge of the English language, and a thorough acquaintance with Mr Lancaster's Plan of Education.

Mr Braidwood of Hackney has also kindly undertaken to instruct him in the articulation of the difficult sounds of our language, which are usually so insurmountable to foreigners, on account of the number of consonants which enter into the composition of English words.

WHOLE QUOTE  
INSE



A committee has been formed for the purpose of raising a subscription, to be applied to the support and maintenance of Tapeoo, while he is obtaining the knowledge of reading and writing, and also with the view of raising a sum of money to be laid out on his return to Otahaite, in such articles as are considered of value in that island.

The Committee trust they shall not appeal in vain to the Generosity of a British public on behalf of a man, who, being prompted by a desire to gain knowledge, quitted his native country, and in the prosecution of his purpose has been twice shipwrecked, has lived for a considerable time among cannibals, was in danger of being taken into perpetual slavery by the Spaniards in South America, and after having arrived at the place of his hopes, had nearly been sent back again without having acquired that knowledge in pursuit of which he has encountered so many dangers.

The Committee in urging a liberal regard to the case of this interesting individual, earnestly recommend him as a man exceedingly likely, under the blessing of Divine Providence, of being instrumental in introducing into his native country, many of the arts of civilised society, and they also fervently hope, the knowledge of the blessings of Christianity.....

Subscriptions Received,  
From June 1808 to March 1809

[ 52 names and contributions are listed ]

Subscriptions received from June 1808 to March 1809	£ 59 — 8 — 6d
Expended in Board, Washing and Incidental Expenses, from June 1808 to March 1809	£ 45 — 1 — 10
	<hr/>
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer	£ 14 — 6 — 8
	<hr/>

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### III Notes on the Narrative

Since the days of Drake, Anson and the buccaneers, British seamen had heard fabulous tales of <sup>the</sup> untold wealth to be obtained by attacking silver-rich Spanish galleons, and the Spanish ports in the Pacific. Thereafter each period of warfare in Europe fostered privateers who were little more than licenced pirates, and acted as such preying on the enemy's merchant shipping and any undefended ports. Increasingly in the 1790s the Pacific coast of Spanish America was subjected to such attacks, many of which were euphemistically called "forced trading", but the various English letters-of-marque lacked a handy safe port from which to operate, and to which to send their most valuable captures. In 1788 the eastern boundary of the new convict colony at Botany Bay had been left undefined, apparently partly for this purpose. (King 1981 p71-89)

The first Spanish prize to be sent from America across the South Pacific Pacific to Port Jackson arrived there in April 1799. She was the Nostra Senora de Bethlehem which had been captured off the coast of Peru by three English whalers and letters-of-marque, the Cornwall, Kingston and Sally. At Sydney she was condemned as a lawful prize, auctioned and purchased by a group of local free colonists for trade with India. (Dunbabin 1931 p73, Cumpston 1964 p34)

The 316 ton London whaler Betsey, owned by Daniel Bennett and equipped as a letter-of-marque with 14 guns and a crew of 50 men, left England on 21 July 1798 (not 1799), and entered the Pacific, via the Falkland Islands, Staten Island and Cape Horn, in January 1799. Her third officer, John Myers, records their rampage up and down the Spanish Main where during the next twelve months, the crew of the Betsey sacked several coastal cities, and captured, pillaged and destroyed nine Spanish vessels while two larger ships, loaded with loot, were sent to Port Jackson as prizes.

On 7 July 1799 off Tres Maria Islands and San Blas in southern Mexico, three London whalers, Betsey, Barbara and Resolution, in company with the Venus, had captured the 250 ton Spanish ship El Plumier with a large cargo of wine, spirits and other general merchandise destined for Lima. She was sent to Port Jackson where she was condemned on 7 December 1799, and resold to local entrepreneurs, Messrs Belmaine, Crosley and Simeon Lord, to enter the new Pacific trades. (Myers 1817 p209, Vice Admiralty Court HCA 49/100.)

On 6 November 1799, near the Galapagos Islands, the Betsey had captured the Euphemia, "a fine Spanish coasting brig of about 250 tons with a valuable assorted cargo and 4000 dollars in specie." (Myers 1817 pl69, Vice Admiralty Court HCA 49/100). They both sailed to Port Jackson where the cargo of the Euphemia was described as 2000 gallons of spirits and 3,100 gallons of wine. (Cumpston 1964 p.36)



En route there the Betsey and the Euphemia had called at Otaheite in January 1800. John Myers noted that as a fat hog could be bought for a small axe, they took on board 60 hogs. (See Maude 1968 p. 131). It is disappointing that Myers did not mention that at least one Tahitian, Tapeooe, was taken on board.

From Tahiti, the Betsey sailed via Raiatea to Middleburgh Island (Tua) in the Tonga group. There they were met by many fast sailing Tongan canoes, in one of which were "two Englishmen who stated that they had been living some years on that island, and that they had made their escape from Botany Bay on board an American vessel." (Six men were landed at Tonga by the Otter early in 1796, and seven by the Mercur in mid 1797. One of the latter was a Hawaiian named Peppy. Earnshaw 1959 p. 73). At Tongatapu the Betsey rescued six missionaries. Their leader, Mr Jefferson, was much impressed with the young Tapeooe and gave him a letter of recommendation. After they reached Port Jackson, on 15 February 1800, Tapeooe was also noted favourably by Governor King, Rev. Mr Johnson and Rev Mr Marsden. These gentlemen still harboured some idealised, and patronising, concepts about "the Noble Savage" and Tahiti, and no doubt Tapeooe enjoyed their patronage. He probably found it a welcome change from the rough life on the Betsey where he was not a passenger but a working member of the crew.

Unfortunately there is no indication of what Tapeooe thought of the little settlement at Sydney. The colony was only twelve years old, and still quite raw, with under 5,000 people, of whom ~~under~~ half lived at Sydney. The civil administration and the military guard and the ~~free~~ <sup>population.</sup> settlers were under one tenth of the total. About a third were convicts still working out their original sentences, and the rest were emancipists, free except to leave the colony. (Steven 1965 p. 33) The small scale of New South Wales' population may not have made much of an impression on a Tahitian visitor, but the new technology, and the quantity of metal tools and guns, would have conveyed, to a Tahitian, an impression of immense technical and physical wealth.

It seems that the Governor and the gentry lionised their Tahitian visitor. In Sydney attitudes to the wider Pacific



were somewhat ambivalent. Several emancipist merchants were preparing to exploit for profit whatever produce they could locate among the islands. Other colonists however were on edge over the prospect that the use of Sydney as a base for privateering raids on South America, might bring the European wars <sup>and naval attacks to New South Wales</sup> <sup>quoted as</sup>. The three Spanish prizes now at anchor there were a proof of that. Governor Hunter felt obliged to mount cannon at the head of the harbour to be prepared for Spanish, or French, retaliation <sup>in case they considered the little colony</sup> a dangerous forward base for smuggling British goods into Mexico, Peru and Chile, or for further privateering attacks on those shores. In November 1799 Governor Hunter <sup>had already taken</sup> another step to join in the far-off hostilities when he <sup>had</sup> issued letters-of-margue to a local captain, Charles Bishop, for the brig Nautilus in which George Bass planned to raid the coast of South America. (Dunbabin 1931 p73, Roe 1966 p314)

These preparations for a trans Pacific war with Spain may also go some way to explain how it was that the Petse <sup>questionably a British vessel with a British crew,</sup> was recorded at Sydney as if an American vessel. (Cumpston 1964 p36, 106 and 138) apparently her



owners had taken the precaution, quite common at that time, of equipping their whaling letter-of-marque with dual registry that might just possibly secure her release if taken by the Spanish. Tapecoe would have been in no doubt that the ship on which he sailed was <sup>British and</sup> a ship of war, and not just a whaler.

Tapecoe left Port Jackson on the Betsey in April or May 1800, intending to stay with her until she reached England, the letter he carried from Mr Jefferson was to the Missionary Society in London. Once at sea however the new master of the Betsey, Captain Glasse, changed his mind and decided to return to the coast of South America "in quest of other prizes." First they visited New Zealand where they "anchored in the River Thames and procured some very choice spars... in only three days." (Myers 1817 p203-204) To have secured even part of a cargo in three days where later ships took several weeks and even months, indicates that the Betsey had major help securing her spars. Tapecoe might perhaps have been able to talk a little to the Thames Maoris, and to have secured their cooperation and labour, but additional foreign assistance seems more likely.

The Thames River mouth had been recommended as a good source of tall timber for spars and masts by Captain Cook. In 1795 the Fancy took there in three months, 213 very good spars, varying from 60 to 140 feet in length, with the Maoris doing most of the heavy work. (Collins 1971 vol II, p391 ; Wigglesworth 1982 p15) Next Captain Fearn in the Hunter, a Java built snow with 8 guns and a crew of fifty, secured a cargo of "very fine spars" from the banks of the River Thames in six weeks in September and October 1798. (Collins 1971 vol. II p116, p127 and 318.) Fearn took the Hunter to China, via Nauru, and reached Calcutta in February 1799. (McNab 1914 p89 ; Steven 1965 p25, Maude 1968 p.102) <sup>new para</sup> But it is much more likely that a depot of spars had been made at the mouth of the Thames by a second vessel, also called Hunter but previously the prize Nostra Senora de Bethlehem. Now owned by a syndicate headed by Simon Lord, and under the command of an experienced captain, William Hingston, the Hunter took a cargo from the Thames area in October 1799 and went on to Calcutta where she arrived at the end of 1800. The depot was probably prepared by the four former convicts Captain Hingston left living among the Maoris. They learned the local language and became the first Pakeha Maoris, and by 1800 would have been much more use than Tapecoe. One named Taylor left on the Royal Admiral, and the others three apparently sailed in the Flunier. (Cumpston 1964 p36 ; Collins 1971 vol II p205, 267, p318 ; Smith 1813 p233; Wigglesworth 1982 p19)



Meanwhile, after spending only three days at Thames, the Betsy and Tapecoe went on to Tongatapu in about June 1800. There Tapecoe "met with a native of his own country", which no doubt influenced his decision to leave the Betsy. "For about two years" Tapecoe lived at Tonga "during which time the natives were engaged in a dreadful war, in so much that through the scarcity of provisions they were often obliged to devour their prisoners." There he remained until "rescued" by another of the Betsy's Spanish prizes.

In Sydney the Plumier had been bought, with the help of the emancipated merchant Simeon Lord, by a <sup>colourful</sup> syndicate of time-expired former convicts and free settlers. One was Rev Thomas Fyche Palmer, famous as one of the "Scottish Martyrs," <sup>a group of unsuccessful reformers</sup> banished to Botany Bay in 1794. With him was his former servant, James Ellis, who was free to engage in saltmaking, then boatbuilding and coastal trading. Another partner was John Boston who had come out to New South Wales with his wife and <sup>three</sup> children, ~~on the same vessel~~ in 1794. As a free settler of some means had prospered not only at farming and fishing, but also as a brewer of passable beer, <sup>made</sup> from local corn. When Palmer's sentence had expired, they joined forces with several others, such as John Harris, James Puckey, Mulligan and Patrick Riley, <sup>all of whom</sup> had fallen out of favour with Governor Hunter, mainly for selling spirits and <sup>for</sup> other sharp trading <sup>practices</sup>. (Cumpston, pers comm 1969 and mss notes 8 Feb 1968) All of this motley lot were aboard the Plumier when it left Port Jackson on 5 January 1801 bound across the Pacific, round Cape Horn to the Cape of Good Hope, and then "home" to Britain. In addition to these ~~men~~ <sup>men</sup> ~~and women~~ <sup>and women</sup> ~~and children~~ <sup>and children</sup>, there were some women and children on board: Mrs Boston and two children, Mrs Butler the wife of the mate, and the son of Mr Harris. It is likely that despite the Governor's vigilance, some convicts were also smuggled out of the Colony, making in total about 30 aboard a vessel built for less than half that number.

To offset some of the costs of the voyage, the Plumier called first at New Zealand to secure a cargo of spars for sale at the Cape of Good Hope. However, soon after her arrival in the Firth of Thames on 2 March 1801, the Plumier "was driven on a sandbank and broke right of her larboard timbers, which rendered it necessary that all hands be employed for a long time to repair their damage." (Smith 1813 p229). "The ship was in a wretched condition, with provisions on board for a voyage of only six months.....but twenty-six weeks were spent at New Zealand, during which the whole of their stores were expended." (Sydney Gazette 12 May 1804 and Monthly Magazine 1 February 1804, quoted in Im Thurn and Wharton p177-179.) For a stay of this length, the men



on the Plumier established a base camp ashore where the Maoris proved most cooperative and helpful. It is noteworthy that the children from the Plumier would have been the first pakeha children to have visited New Zealand, and that <sup>their mothers</sup> were the first pakeha women except for a female convict stowaway landed briefly at Dusky Sound in 1795 from the ill-fated Endeavour. Unfortunately very little is known of this small pakeha settlement, and that only because another ship called there for spars during April 1801. (See Wrigglesworth 1982 p20.)

The large 923 ton convict transport Royal Admiral left Port Jackson on 28 March 1801 to take a party of missionaries to Tahiti and to continue on to China. Captain William Wilson called first at New Zealand where, after a near disaster from hurricanes in Tauraki Gulf, they reached the Firth of Thames in early April. Several Maoris came off in a canoe and indicated that timber could be got further south, and that another vessel was already there procuring timber. This proved to be the Plumier (also called the Plumo) which was still in a sorry state. Captain Wilson gave some assistance, including when the Plumier sank for a second time, but he collected his cargo of spars separately, and left in June for Tahiti and China. (Her missionary passengers provided some tantalising glimpses of the Maoris living near the Thames, including an all too brief mention that the Maoris had very fine, extensive fields of introduced white potatoes. Smith 1813 p224-243).

The Plumier remained at the River Thames for over six months, making repairs and taking timber until 20 August 1801, when she finally sailed in desperate need of provisions. "They steered for Tongataboo but there they could obtain no relief in consequence of an existing war between the natives of this and the neighbouring islands." (Monthly Magazine 1 February 1804 <sup>quoted</sup> in Thurn and Wharton) At Tongatapu Tapeooe would have recognised immediately the Plumier as a former prize of the Betsey which had lain <sup>close by</sup> when they were <sup>together</sup> at Port Jackson. He may even have been known to some among the Plumier's odd collection of passengers and crew. Certainly Tapeooe must have been very hungry and dissatisfied to have chosen to join such an ill-provisioned ship, but he may well have been recognised as <sup>likely to be an</sup> asset to the Plumier at other islands.

"From Tonga they resolved to call at the Feejee Islands, at which they procured a small supply, and the favourable reception they met with in the first instance, determined them to visit the others. By endeavouring to get to the island of Goraa, [Voro] they ran their crazy vessel on a reef, by which a large part of her keel was carried away, and in less than half an hour she made seven feet of water; but the surf rising they were driven off the reef into deep water. They immediately



cast anchor and with the assistance of some of the natives repaired their vessel."

Tapecoe identified the locality of this wreck as not far from Tonga, on a "reef of coral rock, near one of the Feejee Islands, called by the natives Scolo." Another source states that it was "upon a reef at entering the harbour's mouth, where the ship was considerably damaged .....so that before they could leave the place, bulkheads were necessarily erected in the after hold, and tightened with clay, in order to cut off the fractured part." (Sydney Gazette 12 May 1804). By his own account, at this stage Tapecoe "became exceedingly useful, by repeatedly diving in order to apply such materials as they possessed to prevent the rapid flow of the water...succeeded as to stop the leak,...so that the carpenter was enabled to complete a false keel."

While in Fijian waters, the Plumier was joined by an important figure in Oliver Slater, an American survivor from the wreck of the Argo on Mbukatatanoa Reef in the Lau group, early in 1800, while it was returning to Sydney from China. Slater had lived 22 months among the Fijians and had learned their language and customs. He had also visited the China market, and had learned that the Chinese would pay almost as much as gold for sandalwood, a commodity <sup>he had discovered was</sup> readily available on several of the Fijian islands. With this knowledge and his linguistic skills, Oliver Slater was no doubt a welcome acquisition for those <sup>aboard</sup> the Plumier, for whom he <sup>also</sup> obtained a "sufficiently liberal stock [of provisions] to go to sea with."

Still <sup>with their ship</sup> in very poor shape, the men on the Plumier decided to sail for Macao and China, but encountered contrary winds, while their vessel proved very leaky, and they soon ran short of provisions again. It seems that some of the crew mutinied, but the details are not known.

After sailing nearly 2,000 miles through unknown seas, they sighted Guam on 10 January 1802, where they "cast themselves on the humanity of the Spaniards." Instead, to their intense mortification, the Governor seized their rotten leaking ship as a prize, and made all of them, not only the mutinees, his prisoners. Fortunately <sup>But</sup> once his duty was done, the Governor treated them humanely, and eventually allowed them to leave on other ships, mainly to Manila.

By chance, an American trading vessel, the Lydia was then in Guam and a logbook kept on her, survives. This records that it was her captain, Moses Barnard, who piloted the stricken Lydia into the harbour. Later he wrote in his logbook a surprisingly accurate account of the trials and travels of the Plumier :

"Their story is as follows ; that their ship was taken from the Spaniards on the coast of Ieru, and carried to Fort Jackson,



inset whole quote

New Holland, and condemned. The present owners bought her there, and went with her to New Zealand to cut spars, which they affected, intending to carry them to the Cape of Good Hope; but their ship going on shore and bilging herself, delayed them some time, which caused a greater expenditure of provisions than what they had expected. They at length got the ship repaired and loaded, and went to the Friendly Islands to get provisions, but they were disappointed as they were at war with one another, and nothing to be got but yams, of which they got a slender stock. Their vessel went aground again... and her leaking was blocked with clay..... After many storms, the men continued and insisted on carrying the ship to Macao, but not being able to reach that place they put in here.... Their ship was so bad, she never left.... The Governor put them in irons for mutiny...." (Barnard 1802 p15)

Tapecoe states that after about three months on Guam, i.e. in April 1802, Captain Read and he, both prisoners, were sent to Manila. Captain Barnard later noted in the logbook of the Lydia: "From Guam we had a pleasant passage of sixteen days to Manila, and in about two months, the former Governor, Don Manuel, arrived in a galeon, and brought with him Mr and Mrs Boston, the owners of the English ship that we left in Guam, and part of her crew. (Barnard 1802 p57.)

After their privations, there were several deaths. Mr Palmer, the Scots martyr, died in Guam in June 1802. A letter written in London early in 1804 stated that "Mr Boston's children are both dead, as is Mulligan and Pucky.... Butler and his wife got to Copenhagen, so that Harris and his son are the only persons among the number who have reached England." (Sydney Gazette 12 May 1804.)

"Mr Boston, when arrived at Manila, engaged with some of the monied people in the concern of a distiller.... carrying on a large distillery under the protection of the Spanish Governor..... and has been very successful. Mr Ellis is with him, and Captain Read has the command.... of an American bottom, the joint property of himself and Mr Boston." (Sydney Gazette 12 May and 3 June 1804)

After living for some time in Manila with Mr Marsden, the supercargo of the Plumier, Tapecoe joined Captain Read fishing around the Palau Islands for trepang or bech-de-mer for the China market. Later their ship was wrecked on one of the Moluccas or the Celebes, but fortunately they were saved by an English spice trader who took Tapecoe to Penang. From there he eventually reached England, his original objective, apparently late<sup>in</sup> 1806 or early in 1807.

Thereafter Tapecoe is no longer part of this South Pacific history. Nevertheless he had been part of a chain of events that leads back to Australia and Fiji. On 1 January 1804 a large ship named Fair American and said to be owned by her captain, J E Farrell of Manila, brought



to Sydney Mr Boston, and Oliver Slater, and a "cargo" of ~~cattle~~, of which only two survived, plus an enormous quantity of at least 7,203 gallons of spirits. While Governor King was enraged <sup>at this subterfuge,</sup> he could not prevent the Fair American from being extensively repaired and the costs defrayed by the sale of over 2000 gallons of <sup>Sowler 1980 p72; Richards 1983 p54</sup> vanilla rum and gin. <sup>While she was being repaired,</sup> Oliver Slater left Port Jackson on the Marcia, a tiny 26 ton schooner made from a longboat. In May and June 1804 the Marcia salvaged iron from Flinder's ship lost on Wreck Reef on the Queensland coast, and also took a good quantity of beche-de-mer. (The preparation of beche-de-mer for the China market was quite complex, (see Fanning 1833 p461-463) but the technique learned by Tapecoe and others in the Palau islands and in the Banda Sea, was evidently passed on via Oliver Slater). In September 1804 / On the Marcia's second voyage, Captain Aiken sailed with Oliver Slater aboard, ostensibly "for the reefs and west side of New Caledonia". Instead they sailed the tiny Marcia over 1200 miles of ocean to a Fijian island they called Vooie, where for pieces of salvaged iron, they secured a handsome cargo of 15 tons of Fijian sandalwood. Thus did these contemporaries of Tapecoe launch both the beche-de-mer and the sandalwood trades: The latter was judged in Sydney <sup>to be as profitable as</sup> coining money, and when it flagged, in the 1820s the beche-de-mer trade provided a second "gold rush" to Fiji. (Ward 1972 p91-123; Cluny 1984 p. 42-86; ~~Ward 1972~~ 1967.)

Little more can be said of the fate of the main players. Oliver Slater returned to Fiji, and later alternated sandalwood voyages with sealing for some years, but in 1815 he was killed in Wailea Bay, northeast of Nbau and Suva. The Fair American was repaired and left Port Jackson in November 1804 for Tongatapu where she was to rendezvous with another American vessel, the Union, in order to sail together to Nbau for Fijian sandalwood. However soon after the Union arrived at Tonga in September, both Captain Pendleton and her supercargo John Boston, were lured ashore and killed by the Tongans with the help of two <sup>foreign</sup> beachcombers. One named Doyle was believed to have been with Oliver Slater when the Argo was wrecked nearby in 1800. The other beachcomber was called "Charley the Malay", but was probably a Filipino who had come on the Duke of Portland whose crew had been massacred at Tonga in June 1802. (Richards 1983 p54. Sydney Gazette 28 October 1804)

Another indigenous beachcomber was a Hawaiian named Tooi-tooi, who seems to have learned his "good English", and some gunnery skills, when he went to Manila and back to Tonga "aboard an American ship," apparently the Fair American. (Martin 1817 p40; Sydney Gazette 24 July 1808.)



Tooi-tooi later played a leading role in the capture and destruction at Haarai in November 1806 of the "ship of war" (letter of marque) Port-au-Prince, Captain Duck. A former Spanish prize, she had been refitted in London with 32 guns and sent to intercept vessels and sack towns on the Pacific coast of the Spanish Main. She and her companion, the Lucy, had taken much plunder when they set out for Fort Jackson. (Sydney Gazette 9 August 1809, issue 124, p44) The Port-au-Prince never left Tonga, the Lucy alone reached Fort Jackson in April 1806, while of their prizes the Santa Anna followed safely, but the Santa Tazidere was lost, or taken by the natives, somewhere en route <sup>to</sup> the South Pacific. (Sydney Gazette 4 May 1807)

While the outlines of these gory events in the South Pacific can be pieced together from written sources, unfortunately nothing more is known of Tapeoe after his friends in London in March 1809 sought subscriptions for his return home, whatever his role <sup>if he returned to live in Tahiti,</sup> years before he had probably had some technological impact on his hosts during the "two years", from June 1800 to September 1801, when he and another Tahitian had been living at Tonga. Later he played a modest part in the acquisition by Sydney traders of the necessary specialist knowledge for the beche-de-mer trade that followed when the easiest Fijian sandalwood had been overexploited. That we still know so very little about Tapeoe, should not deprive him, and his fellow <sup>island</sup> adventurers, of an honoured place among the commercial explorers whose efforts early last century exposed the South Pacific region to foreign influences. (Richards 1936)

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P.O. Box 208  
Apia, Western Samoa.  
January 1987



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42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
Australia,  
6 March, 1988.

Shirley Lindenbaum,  
Editor, American Ethnologist,  
Department of Anthropology,  
Graduate Faculty/New School,  
65 Fifth Avenue, NEW YORK,  
NY 10003, U.S.A.

Dear Shirley Lindenbaum,

Sorry not to have replied before to your letter of 17 December, inviting me to review a reprint of Lee Boo of Belau: a Prince in London. I was laid up from before Christmas until released from hospital last week, after an operation.

I leave the reviewing of books to my younger colleagues, apart from works on the Central Pacific atolls (Gilberts, Tuvalu, Tokelau, Northern Cook, Phoenix and Line Groups), on which I shall be working for the rest of my life.

Being over 80 and with two half-finished books still to complete I cannot spare the time for digressions into areas which no longer concern me.

The only historian in Australasia who has dealt with the early history of Belau is, I think, Dorothy Shineberg, at the ANU School of General Studies: we leave American Micronesia to the Micronesians and Americans as a rule, though there are two competent scholars working on the German period.

Katherine Kesolei in Koror, Belau, could either do the review or tell you who could; so could Father Francis Hezel, S.J., of Truk. They have both worked on the Lee Boo book. You could write to them and take your pick from their recommendations.

I have completed my book on the unpublished ethnographic field notes of Arthur G. Gimble on the Gilbertese (or I-Kiribati), written between 1916 and 1926, with some completed but unpublished papers written between 1929 and 1932. It is to be published by the Center for Pacific Islands Studies in association with the University of Hawaii Press, probably early in 1989.

Yours sincerely,

  
H.E. Maude.



# american ethnologist

Office of the Editor

Shirley Lindenbaum, *Editor*  
Pamela Smith, *Editorial Associate*  
Assistant for Reviews: Arline Mathieu/Nicole Polier  
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Department of Anthropology  
Graduate Faculty/New School  
65 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10003

17 December 1987

Dr. Harry Maude  
Unit 42, "Miringani"  
11 Namatjira Drive  
Weston, ACT 2611  
AUSTRALIA

Dear Dr. Maude:

Your last review was  
most enthusiastically received.  
Would this one interest  
you?  
S.L.


I am writing to ask if you would be willing to provide us with  
a review of

Lee Boo of Belau: A Prince in London, by Daniel J. Peacock (University of Hawaii  
Press, 1987; 261 pp.)

The review should not exceed 900 words in length, and I would  
like to have it in hand by 15 March 1988. I will send the book to  
you by return mail on receipt of your affirmative response. For  
your convenience, just return the enclosed postcard.

If you have any questions whatsoever, do not hesitate to write  
or call.

Sincerely yours,

  
Shirley Lindenbaum  
Editor

NOTE: The American Ethnologist is soliciting your review on the  
assumption that you have not reviewed the book elsewhere,  
in another journal or for the publisher.



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, A.C.T.2611,  
Australia,  
22 February, 1988.

Mark Jerome Seidenberg,  
4500 South Four Mile Run Drive No.214,  
ARLINGTON, VA 22204, U.S.A.

Dear Mark,

I am most grateful to you for sending me that excerpt from J. Watts de Peyster's book Miscellanies: by an Officer. This is by far the best account of de Peyster's discovery of Funafuti and Nukufetau, and it has somehow escaped being found by researchers on Tuvaluan history including, to my surprise, Samuel Eliot Morison who had a staff of U.S. naval personnel to help him with sources.

There is some more information on de Peyster's discovery in an article by Axel Paulin entitled 'Oscar's Island', which appeared in Forum Navale, the Journal of the Swedish Seahistorical Society, vol. 8 (1947), pp.32-45. This reproduces the diary of John Adam Graaner, a Swedish government servant working in South America, who was a passenger on the 'Rebecca', and who, with Captain de Peyster's permission, named one of the islets of Funafuti Oscar's Island, in honour of the then Swedish Crown Prince.

There was much in the newspapers some time ago about the activities of you and your colleagues in advising Congress on issues relating to the Pacific Islands. It took me back to the days when I spent weeks in the Pentagon at Washington advising the British and New Zealand Governments on American claims to a number of Central Pacific Islands (22, if I remember rightly).

It amuses me to think that all these islands now belong to the islanders themselves and that I am now advising ~~on the claims~~ of two independent island governments in disputed claims to ownership.

I went to Fiji in December to receive an honorary doctorate from the University of the South Pacific for my lifetime spent in Pacific Islands studies and some 100 odd publications on a variety of island problems.

Now I live quietly, as befits one over 80, and am working mostly on the pre-European history of the Gilbert Islands, which I shall publish for the Republic of Kiribati as a thank-offering for all that the Gilbertese have done for my wife and myself since 1929 (just on 60 years). My latest book, on the anthropological MSS left by Arthur Francis Grimble, is being published in the U.S. and should be out by the end of the year.



You ask about Doug Munro. His thesis, 'The Lagoon Islands: a History of Tuvalu, 1820-1908', got him a Ph.D. in 1982, but he has not yet revised it for publication. At the moment he is having a sabbatical year from lecturing at the Toowoomba College of Advanced Education and working on Chinese labour on Banaba, among other topics.

I was glad to learn that you are still engaged on island studies. The history of Wake Island sounds fascinating, as does the connexion between Hooper and Midway. While you are about it don't forget Marcus and Johnston. I once stayed on the latter but am told that it is hardly recognizable today.

Again many thanks for the de Peyster material, which will make a valuable addition to my files on Funafuti.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

*Harry Zande*



# MEMO

Professor H. E. Maude  
 77 Arthur Circle  
 Forest, A.C.T. 2603  
 Australia

Mark Jerome Seidenberg #214  
 4500 South Four Mile Run Drive #214  
 Arlington, VA 22204  
 USA  
 (703) 931-0401

SUBJECT South Pacific DATE 23 January 1988

M E S S A G E  
 I was going through some of my old files from the 1970's and found the attached du de Peyster. I remember that you cited the Colcutt Journal of 1819 for these events. Since I was not aware if you had a copy of this item I am enclosing same.

A friend from my college days, who was also active with me in the Conservation Youth Organization Young Americans for Freedom is now the Chief Justice of American Samoa, I. Stuart Royster as his friends call him Rocky.

Has Doug Muntz finished his history of Ellis Islands? I am working on Wake Island 19th century history. I am now into the connection between Hooper & ...

T O DATE SIGNATURE Mark Seidenberg

R E P L Y  
 See File F/1 for the letter re de Peyster



# MEMO

Professor H. E. Maude  
 77 Arthur Circle  
 Forest A.C.T. 2603  
 Australia

Mark Jerome Seidenberg #214  
 4500 South Four Mile Run Drive #211  
 Arlington, VA 22204  
 USA  
 (703) 931-0401

FROM

SUBJECT South Pacific DATE 23 January 1988

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I was going through some of my old files in the 1970's found the attached on de Peyster. I remember that you cited the colour journal of 1819 for these points. Since I was not sure if you had a copy of this item I am enclosing same.

A friend from my college days, who was also active with me in the conservative youth organization Young Americans for Freedom is now the Chief Justice of American Samoa, i.e. Stuart Roostler as his friends call him Rocky.

His Doug has finished his history of Ellis Island. I am waiting on Wake Island 19th century history. I am now into the connection between Mopper & Tusing.

Mark Seidenberg

SIGNATURE

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Dear Anne,

Thank you for so kindly sending me a get-well card. It certainly had the desired effect for I felt better immediately and am now out of hospital.

Jack's offerer may to ask if I would lead a walk but the doctor said I must start on a 30 minute stroll and work up from there slowly. So it may take a month or so before I can do what I'd like to do.

Henri's sister Sybil has announced on a visit from England - the first time she has been out of Europe - so there is great excitement.

Yours,  
Harry Droule

I'd like to work out a slow walk  
Droule







42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
30 January, 1988.

Mr Andrew Gyles,  
493 Scoresby Road,  
Ferntree Gully,  
Victoria 3156.

Dear Mr Gyles,

I enclose the List of Field Notes, by subject, which precedes Part I of the Grimble Papers.

Re the comment in your first paragraph, alas the academic Press has to pay its way, more particularly since the recent reductions in the subsidies for tertiary institutions, so could not afford to publish loss makers like Grimble. Under present publishing conditions if they were considered to be of special scholarly importance they would appear in a duplicated format.

Interest in the islands in Australia is virtually confined to Melanesia and I estimated the probable sales of the Grimble book here to be about 25, mostly to specialist libraries, with a few to anthropologists and one or two area or Grimble fans.

My last major work Slavers in Paradise: the Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia was published by the ANU Press in Canberra, Stanford University Press in America and the USP in Fiji. It sold thousands in the US and the islands and is still going strong there and being reprinted, with enthusiastic reviews everywhere: in Australia it sold about 100 copies, and there were no reviews.

Two specialist monographs, The Evolution of the Gilbertese Boti and The Gilbertese Maneaba, have sold about 3,000 each in the islands, with several reprints. I do not know of a single copy of either in Australia, unless it was a present from me.

All this worries me not a bit for I do not write for Australians but for the islanders, who have the background necessary to understand what I am talking about; and I see no reason why anyone in this country should be interested in the Gilberts or the Gilbertese. Hence three more monographs which I am finishing at the moment will be published in the Islands for the I-Kiribati.

When I was a student at Cambridge I once asked Malinowski why he had called his latest book The Sexual Life of Savages when it was about the Oedipus Complex in a matrilineal society. His reply was: 'I needed the money'.

Fortunately I can afford up to say \$10,000 to bring my books out: it cost \$2,000 just for typing the final text of the Grimble book and there are a lot more expenses to come. One gets no royalties. Its a fascinating hobby; but an expensive one.



It has its rewards, but they are not financial. For instance I have just returned from Fiji where I was given an Hon. Doctorate by the University of the South Pacific for my writing work and research on the islands (the first expatriate European to be given one).

That, to me, was a more than sufficient reward for 60 years of research and 100 odd publications of various kinds: after all it was fun, and not really work like less fortunate mortals have to endure. I once startled Sir John Crawford by telling him that I honestly could not recollect having done a day's work in my life: its always been so enjoyable.

Yours sincerely,

*Harry B. Cooke.*



493 SCORESBY ROAD,  
Ferntree Gully,  
Victoria 3156.

22 January 1988

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

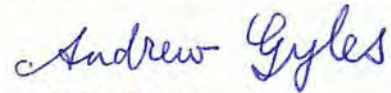
Dear Professor Maude,

Thank you for your letter of 18 January 1988. I am glad to hear that you found such distinguished publishers for the Grimble Papers. It passes my comprehension why an academic press in Australia did not jump at the opportunity.

I have written to the University of Hawaii Press to arrange for a copy of the book to be sent to me by air on publication.

I would be grateful for a more detailed inventory of the field notes that constitute Part I, which you kindly offered to provide in your letter.

Yours sincerely,



Andrew Gyles



42/11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
18 January, 1988.

Mr Andrew Gyles,  
493 Scoresby Road,  
Ferntree Gully,  
Victoria 3156.

Dear Mr Gyles,

Just a note to say that the Grimble Papers are in process of publication in the Pacific Islands Monograph Series by the Center for Pacific Studies in Honolulu, in association with the University of Hawaii Press.

It will, I gather, be subsidized to enable it to be retailed at a price in the region of \$US35, though the figure is really only a guess on my part as the book is unlikely to be costed until all the bills have come in.

I enclose a list of contents; if you would like a more detailed inventory of the field notes which constitute Part I let me know.

Should you be thinking of buying a copy best to write to the University of Hawaii Press, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, and arrange for one to be sent to you, preferably by airmail or air freight, on publication. I doubt if it would be available from any retail outlet in this country.

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.



Unit 42, 'Miringani',  
11 Namatjira Drive,  
Weston, ACT 2611,  
17 November, 1985.

Mr Andrew Gyles,  
493 Scoresby Road,  
Ferntree Gully,  
Victoria 3156.

Dear Mr Gyles,

Your letter has been sent on by the University and, as usual, they have taken some weeks over the operation, though they know my address.

I have little idea as yet when and by whom the Grimble Papers will be eventually published, for even though the ANU Press accepted the MS with acclamation they promptly ceased to exist.

The Pergamon Press took over their stock and goodwill, but declined to publish the book as being unlikely to make a profit for them. I think that they were probably right, being commercial publishers.

The trouble is that the Grimble Papers do not really constitute a book but rather a collection of all his unpublished field notes, plus a few unpublished but completed articles and one or two of his best despatches to the Colonial Office, notably one on the Gilbertese dance written in his inimitable style.

I cannot myself see the work selling more than say 100 copies, to the few specialists interested in historical anthropology: the notes would be valuable to a researcher working on a baseline study of Gilbertese life before culture contact had affected the society.

Two university presses (the University of the South Pacific and the University of Hawaii, through the East-West Center) are willing to look at it, and if I can get down to fixing the many references necessary to post-Grimble research when it bears on his work, and also write an appreciation of Grimble as an ethnographer, I shall send one of them the MS.

Otherwise I shall prepare a fair typescript of the material and duplicate sufficient copies to ensure that future generations of Gilbertese will have access to it and that researchers can obtain microfilms through the Kiribati Archives, the USP and other island centres.



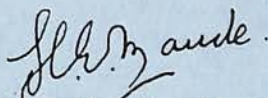
This may in fact be all that is really required and it would at least be cheaper than the \$6,000-\$10,000 that I should have to pay to secure publication, even through a university publisher.

My main difficulty is that I am in my eighties (probably the last of Grimble's colleagues in the islands left alive), I live in a Retirement Village with an older wife who needs much care, and I still have two books left to complete.

However, one way or another the material will be preserved as an ethnographic quarry in a form, or forms, and a quantity sufficient to enable future generations of (mainly Gilbertese) researchers to work on.

I find that the I-Kiribati of today have a great interest in their historical and cultural heritage, though the oral and documentary material available to them on the subject is both exiguous and too often inaccurate.

Yours sincerely,

  
H.E. Maude.



493 Scoresby Road,  
Ferntree Gully,  
Victoria 3156.

28 October 1985

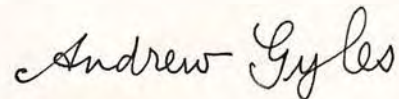
Professor H.E. Maude,  
Department of Pacific Studies,  
Australian National University,  
CANBERRA, ACT 2600

Dear Professor Maude,

Rosemary Grimble told me this month that the book you have been preparing, which contains much of the unpublished work of Sir Arthur Grimble, was ready for publication, and that you were seeking a publisher in New Zealand or a university. She had received this news in a letter from you last year.

I would be grateful if you would tell me whether the book has been published, and, if so, who the publisher is.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Andrew Gyles". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

Andrew Gyles