CROSS-CULTURAL INFLUENCES
ON VILLAGE RELOCATION ON
THE WEATHER COAST OF GUADALCANAL,
SOLOMON ISLANDS, c.1870-1953

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That the labor trade between Fiji, Samoa, Queensland and New Caledonia as hirers of plantation labor and the Solomon Islands, New Hebrides and New Guinea as sources of labor had a profound influence not only on the former, but also on the latter is becoming increasingly evident. The original intention, in 1972, to examine the impact of the intercolonial labor trade on a geographically confined and still isolated area of the Solomon Islands was precluded in part by Peter Corris' penetrating study of 1970. As a result the focus of investigation shifted to the specific effects of the labor trade on village nucleation and relocation, the thesis being that returnees from the plantations of Fiji and Queensland were catalysts of change who introduced the idea of larger settlements.

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More particularly, many returnees had been converted to Christianity and acted as missionaries to their own people as well as middlemen between them and the expatriate missionaries who apparently encouraged village consolidation in the valleys and along the coastal areas. Consequently the thesis pursued here is that returnees and Christian missionaries were the main forces in the Central Solomons to bring about changes from traditional settlement patterns.

Very little attention has been paid to the subject of the mechanism of village re-location and its results. This is surprising, as it appears that post-contact village nucleation and movement to the coast or to fertile valleys is a pan-Melanesian phenomenon which covers the period c.1840 to the present. Among the earliest recorded examples of village moves from mountain crests and hilltops due to cross-cultural factors are those in Fiji. There, in 1846, the people of Munia Island, following mission influence, left their fortified hilltop villages and moved to the coast. This process accelerated under increasing contact by the Christian missions and later the British government until, by the late 1870's, it was almost universal.

Similarly, in the New Hebrides, missions encouraged

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2 Melanesia includes Fiji, New Caledonia, The New Hebrides, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, Papua New Guinea and West Irian.

coastward relocation in the late nineteenth century and after. In Papua and New Guinea, the pressures to move to larger coastal settlements began to take effect about the same time as they did in the Solomon Islands. The Australian Mandate government enforced this in Bougainville after 1918, while the Papuan administration was extending it among the D'Entrecasteaux in the 1920's. However, as pacification is still relatively recent and on-going in the highlands of contemporary Papua New Guinea, the same process can still be seen at work in some of the more isolated areas of the great valleys of the highlands.

Little attention has yet been paid to traditional reasons for village relocation including those that still persist. Although Tonkinson's study of Maat Village in Ambrym, New Hebrides, deals very briefly with the fusion process operating within the settlement since c.1800, he is primarily concerned with post-contact influences and the dynamics of the recent relocation of that community to

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5 For Choiseul Island see Harold W. Scheffler, Choiseul Island Social Structure (Berkeley, 1965), pp. 26-27.


Another island in 1952. Certainly, no extensive coverage has been made of the response of the Western institutions of central government and Christian missions to the problems arising from village relocation and nucleation, except insofar as Scheffler, an anthropologist, examines the implications of altered social organization. Moreover, while all of the above sources refer to post-contact causative factors behind such moves, only Allen and Tonkinson make brief references to the effects on the health of the population.

This thesis, then, deals with some of these factors by focusing on the historical perspective of the cross-cultural processes at work on the Weather (South) Coast of Guadalcanal between c.1870 and 1953 (see Figures 1 and 2).

The Weather Coast was chosen as the study site because its people, of all those of the Central Solomons, constitute a large population in a clearly defined ecological and geographical location that even today is noted for its isolation and ruggedness. Because of this comparative isolation the number of contaminating factors such as

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9 Scheffler, *Choiseul Island Social Structure*, passim.
knowledge of popular written histories,\textsuperscript{10} resentment towards Westerners because of large-scale land alienation, and impatience among the people towards being studied and questioned by outsiders were, if not completely absent, of a lesser order than in other locations in the Central Solomons. In addition, this area is known to have been a major supplier of labor to plantations overseas. It also was early exposed to missionaries of three Christian sects. Since these two characteristics were prerequisites to a study of the influence of the labor trade and Christian missions on traditional settlement patterns, the Weather Coast was thus a suitable research site.

Since the Weather Coast and its people are unknown to much of the rest of the world, Chapter I describes certain features of the environment and aspects of the society which have some bearing on the process of village relocation. In Chapter II, a brief examination is made of one particular cultural phenomenon: settlement patterns and the traditional reasons that caused the people to relocate their villages. Since the first significant and prolonged contact with Europeans by the people of the Weather Coast occurred by means of the intercolonial labor trade, this is examined in Chapter III along with its implications for the indigenous material and non-material culture. Partly as a result of

\textsuperscript{10} For example see Charles E. Fox, \textit{Story of the Solomons} (Taroaniara, BSIP, 1967).
problems arising from the labor trade, the government of Great Britain declared a Protectorate over the Solomon Islands, one of the results of which was to facilitate missionary penetration of the Weather Coast. The gradual imposition of alien, superordinate, centralized government is discussed in both Chapters IV and V, as are the policies and influence of the government and missions on village relocation and nucleation. The effects of such policies on the health of population are discussed in Chapter VI, and some attention given to the impact of introduced diseases during the period c.1870 to 1941. The final chapter deals with the upheaval caused by World War II, with particular reference to its immediate effects on the settlement patterns and the people's health, as well as its longer term economic and political repercussions.

Techniques of Inquiry:

Westerners, in their writing of history, depend heavily on written records. This has proved an effective technique in literate societies, but is obviously inadequate when attempts are made to study the history of a pre-literate people. Recently, however, the work of historical researchers such as Vansina has produced a viable methodological approach to the recording, analysis and evaluation of oral traditions that "consist of all verbal testimonies
which are reported statements concerning the past." The techniques Vansina describes have proved useful in elucidating the past of societies in tribal Africa, where the traditions relate the actions of many generations.

For the Guadalcanal Weather Coast, the testimony of most of the informants falls within Vansina's category of eye-witness accounts rather than oral traditions. In those instances of oral tradition, such as the account by Naomane of Hautahe of events in the 1860's and 1870's that occurred before his birth, the facts or events had a very short chain of transmission. Except for some of the information about "line" or lineage migration, the chain of transmission in practically every case has been from the original observer of the fact or event to the informant and then to the recorder (the writer). While distortion is still possible, the probability of omission is much less than that found in the oral traditions of many successive generations of a specific society as studied by Vansina. This is particularly the case when a number of informants were told about the events by the original observer(s).

Although documentary sources were used in the present inquiry there was heavy reliance on oral sources for data on

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12 Ibid., passim.

13 Ibid., p. 20.
specific village movements (see Index maps) since the vast majority of these were previously unrecorded. Furthermore, as there are gaps in the documentary sequence—such as the lack of detailed tour reports by District Officers in the 1920's—14 the recollections of informants are often the only existing record. Of equal, if not greater, consideration in the decision to utilize oral sources was the problem of perspective. Since almost every document or written source cited in this thesis was written by a Westerner, and the writer herself belongs to a Western society, it would be difficult indeed to avoid predominance of Western attitudes, concepts and weltanschauung in interpretation and explanation. By using data obtained from informants, this problem of bias is at least a little nearer solution. Finally, since the focus here is on cross-cultural interaction, it is only logical to attempt to ascertain how both sides perceived the events related to village movements.

Over one hundred informants were interviewed along the length of the Weather Coast (see Informants) during October to late December, 1972. Wherever possible the oldest people, aged about sixty to eighty, were consulted and frequently these were the individuals brought forward by

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14 Most of the detailed records of the Guadalcanal district station at Aola from 1914 to 1942 were destroyed during World War II. Those that survive are usually enclosures or second copies that were forwarded to the Western Pacific High Commissioner in Fiji. Other records that refer to Guadalcanal exist in the Western Pacific High Commission archives, but are more general than specific.
the villagers themselves as knowing more about the past. In some areas, however, there were few or no old people and younger individuals, aged between thirty and forty, were interviewed. These were particularly useful for more recent events. Interviews usually lasted from one to two hours, although those with people living in the same general area or village as previous informants and who had little additional information to offer took from only thirty to forty-five minutes. Two or three persons proved to be of little help, exemplifying the fact that each society has its share of totally unobservant individuals. Interviews with them took no more than thirty minutes. On the other hand, a few interviews totalled four to six hours each, broken by one or two intervals. These were with very old and/or knowledgeable informants, like Dominico Alebua of Haimarao and Martin Manganimate of Sughu, Wanderer Bay, whose recollections their own people deemed particularly reliable and clear. In some cases, as with the old, infirm, and semi-deaf informants who could only understand the familiar voice of a son or brother, interview time was considerably lengthened by the need to recruit near relatives as additional interpreters. In one or two interviews, where the informants had spent all of their lives in an isolated bush area, their particular dialect was so pure that understanding of even the interpreter's wide range of dialects proved so difficult that more
travelled relatives had to assist with communication.

In general, interviews occurred in the home villages, with other villagers present frequently providing an important cross-check. An interpreter was present at all times, but often the interviews were conducted directly through the medium of Solomon Islands Pidgin. All were taped on a portable cassette recorder so that no inconvenience would result from prolonged note taking during the interview, though notes of names and sketch maps were made immediately. While in Western societies the presence of a cassette recorder is sometimes inhibiting, this did not apply on the Weather Coast and, if anything, the machine was of great interest to the villagers who enjoyed having parts of the recording played back. The interviews were later transcribed.

The older, and many of the younger people of the Weather Coast do not conceptualize time—especially time long past—in numbered years placed in a calendrical sequence. This is a Western concept. Thus, attaching a particular time label to an event was a major problem which was partially overcome by the use of three simple techniques.

The first, and most valuable, "essentially involves the linkage of recollected public events with personal activities or events which occur within a known and
restricted age range." This "historical calendar" method was originally utilized as a field technique in 1865 by Oldenfield working among the Australian Aborigines. In Africa it was first used in social-anthropological studies in the 1940's and was subsequently employed in demographic surveys and censuses.

The "public events" of the Weather Coast were ascertained from a number of sources. An historical calendar had been drawn up for the 1959 Solomon Islands sample census which was subsequently enlarged for the territorial census of 1970. To this base were added other dated events collated by long-time residents and previous researchers combined with more specific Weather Coast events gleaned from records of the Western Pacific High Commission in Suva, district office files at Honiara, mission publications and informed literate people (such as councillors and teachers) on the Weather Coast itself. As well as being employed by the writer, the resultant historical calendar (see Appendix A) was used in a field census of the Weather

16 Ibid., p. 93.
Coast conducted by the Guadalcanal Weather Coast Project. With this instrument, the dating of "personal activities or events," such as the consolidation of hamlets into a large village, could be done with some accuracy. Thus, if a person in the Koloula Valley stated that his village was abandoned "long ago," a more specific date could be discovered by narrowing down the abandonment to before or after, say, the coming, in 1912, of the S.S.E.M. missionary, Charles Lees.

If this event occurred before 1912 then a further narrowing was possible if it appeared to happen before or after, say, the Roman Catholic priests first came to Avu Avu in 1899. For more recent times, the date markers could be assigned with greater specificity, but dating becomes more general for earlier events with an error margin of up to five to ten years for events in the 1880's and 1890's and ten to twenty years for the earlier part of that

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18 The Guadalcanal Weather Coast Project team consisted of the directors, Drs. Murray Chapman and Peter Pirie, seven graduate students from the University of Hawaii, and assistants. The project was initiated at the suggestion of the government of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate which was concerned over reports that population was exceeding resources. Funded by the East-West Center (Hawaii), the Project team "investigated the population-resource systems of the Weather Coast and examined the extent to which the isolated village societies are functional and susceptible to change." (M. Chapman and P. Pirie, "Whether the Weather Coast?" East-West Center Magazine (Spring, 1973), 6-7. For further information see M. Chapman and P. Pirie, Report on the Guadalcanal Weather Coast (in preparation) or the Directors, Department of Geography, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
century—-a pattern that partially parallels the situation Chapman found in 1965-66 when dealing with events of this century. Some exceptions occurred in the dating of nineteenth century events because documents provide a close cross check. For example, using the historical calendar and a detailed description by Martin Manganimate as a basis, the date of the head-hunting raids by the Russell Islanders on Wanderer Bay was estimated to have been sometime from the late 1880's to the early 1890's. Subsequent research showed that one such raid had been recorded in 1886 by the labor recruiter, Douglas Rannie, after he had seen the results and spoken to a survivor.

The limitations of the historical calendar method, if used without other techniques, were also evident when only one or a general date marker was known for a certain area. The coming of the S.S.E.M. missionary, Lees, for example, was the only date fixed for Koloula - Malagheti - Vatukulau area. Some of the difficulty in this particular instance was overcome by the event being very well known and remembered along most of the central coast. In many situations, however, it was necessary to combine the historical calendar method with other techniques to achieve greater accuracy.

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If, for example, the date of a particular village move was needed, an individual was asked how big he/she or another specified person was at the time of relocation.21 Thus, if the person said that he was a "small boy" when Lees came he was further asked to point out a child of approximately the same size from the village audience. An age was then assigned to this specified child since the knowledge of youngsters' ages through baptism, immunization and Guadalcanal Council (local council) certificates makes possible recognition of age-size patterns defined in Western terms. For the above example, if the individual was reckoned to have been about seven years of age when Lees came to the central coast, and if the same person said he was born just as his parents were preparing to abandon their old village for a new site, then the approximate date of this move would have been 1905 (1912 minus seven years).

Yet another method was used to attach dates to events before c.1890-95. In this case, an estimate of twenty-five years per generation was employed, which fits recent reproductive patterns on the Weather Coast and certainly would have been no longer in past years when life expectancy

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21 The people of the Weather Coast, being unfamiliar with calendrical time, do not reckon ages in numbers of years as Westerners do, but by socially relevant criteria of specific responsibilities, abilities and size of the person concerned.
was shorter. Initially, data obtained during interviews in villages was verified or rejected by the presence of internal consistency. Consistency between informants was also tested and higher reliability placed upon information the more often it was confirmed by people from another locality or dialect area who saw the same event, or heard of it from kinfolk. Generally, there were very few directly contradictory statements about factual events, but there were some omissions of certain aspects or details of a sequence of events as reported by different individuals. The greater the number of informants for a specific event, the fuller and more detailed was the reconstruction. In any one locality, three to ten persons were interviewed. For example, seven villagers were interviewed in the Koloula

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22 This estimate was derived from two sources: first, Wrightson's demographic survey of Talise, undertaken in 1953, produced data from which a life expectancy of 32.5 years was calculated; second, Paul Wright found this estimate to be very close to that suggested by data on contract laborers during the period 1931-41. (Wrightson to District Commissioner, 1953, A Demographic Survey of the Talise Subdistrict of South Guadalcanal, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no file number; M. Chapman and P. Wright, draft chapter in Report on the Guadalcanal Weather Coast (in preparation, M. Chapman and P. Pirie, editors). Additionally, the Weather Coast Fertility Survey found that women aged more than forty-five in 1972 had married at an average age of twenty-one to twenty-six years, with a median age at their first birth of twenty-three. (T. Foye and J. Tanner, "Child Spacing, Family Limitation and Attitudes to Population Control," draft chapter in Report on the Guadalcanal Weather Coast).
Valley, a locality clearly defined socially, territorially and ecologically from neighboring areas by the inhabitants (see Figures 18 and 19: Koloula River Inset). Among these were two from the most inland settlement of Valearanisi and two from Veravolia, one of the four valley villages which are nearest to the coast.

In some cases information given by the people can be compared with documentary sources. Thus, for example, Ruth Kaveli's testimony concerning the destruction of Chaunarogha (II) a few years after the Second World War was confirmed by a government patrol report of 1951. Where such cross-checks were possible, the veracity and accuracy of the information was usually confirmed, even for events in the 1870's and early twentieth century. This is not altogether surprising since the period examined in this thesis mainly extends as far as the lifetime of the grandparents and parents of the present population, so that the chain of transmission is short. Some of the older people, in fact, lived through the first years of intensive cross-cultural contact, from c.1900 onwards, and witnessed many of the events they described. Furthermore, while not having as

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23 This name is used to conform with official practice, but the true name is Voravisi, Valearanisi having been located north-west of the more recent settlement (see Index map: Koloula River Inset).

24 Wrightson to District Commissioner, October 1, 1951, Summary Tour Report, Talise, Administration Touring Reports, Guadalcanal, Talise Sub-District, BSIP, no. 3/9/13.
extensive an oral tradition as many Polynesian peoples, the Weather Coast people esteem the history of their ancestors. A leader or "big man" traditionally was expected to be conversant with a body of tribal or lineage knowledge, among which was the story of the origin of villages and the migration of their people. In the writer's opinion yet another factor that encouraged the people's co-operation and truthfulness was that they perceived the questions and resultant information to be rather innocuous.

In any study of this kind, however, the people's response is often to give the inquirer the answer that is thought to be desired. This is particularly a problem in colonial Melansia, where certain European officials of church, state, and business interests are forever asking difficult but locally irrelevant questions and must be

25 Personal communication to writer from Murray Chapman as told to him by Marcus Pipisi of Duidui, December 1972.

26 One original area of inquiry concerned the extent and boundaries of clan lands. However, constraints of time plus the apprehension that such questions might antagonize the people precluded this. The activities since 1969 of the American controlled company, Utah Mining, in the upper catchment of the Koloula Valley have caused understandable alarm and resentment among the Guadalcanal people despite substantial attempts by the government to liaise between them and the company. Fortunately, Utah Mining has recently (1974) concluded survey operations, apparently because the mineral resources of copper and nickel are not yet worth mining, thus averting for a time a situation which could well have resembled the massive, alien, economic exploitation of the cleverly-managed and publicized Bougainville copper mine, conducted by an Australian-British parent firm, Bougainville Copper (a subsidiary of Conzinc Riotinto, Australia), which is heavily financed by the Bank of America.
placated. Much effort was consequently made to explain to the people the purpose of the present study and this usually involved a pre-interview speech in Pidgin, followed by some fairly searching questioning by villagers. Dissociation with the Weather Coast "establishment"—churches, central government, local council, mining company, traders and planters—was attempted in this talk, and an explanation of the aims and functions of a university attempted: the latter not always an easy task. This followed on some intensive efforts by the Guadalcanal Weather Coast Project, firstly by the directors, Murray Chapman and Peter Pirie, who visited the area and spoke with community leaders in January, 1972, and secondly, by all seven student members of the team throughout September - October, 1972. Despite this, there were at least two occasions when misunderstanding occurred and lack of co-operation on the part of the people became a distinct possibility. The first misunderstanding threatened the work of not only the writer, but also the entire Weather Coast Project in the Koloula Valley. This
area is sympathetic to the Moro Movement, but far enough away from the Moro heartland at Makaruka to be exceedingly susceptible to rumor which had it that the Project members were somehow associated with the Utah Mining Company. Fortunately, one of the Project directors, Murray Chapman, was able to walk up from his base at Duidui in time to address a large gathering of notables attending a feast at Valevuru in the Koloula Valley, explaining yet again the purpose of the Project. This prompt action defused the leaders' apprehension and appears to have resulted in a high level of co-operation by the Koloula people. The second difficulty occurred when the writer unwittingly arrived at the village of Makao, Kuma river valley, a few hours after the people of that and neighboring villages had driven off with sticks a helicopter carrying Utah Mining employees, who had attempted to land to discuss prospecting in the Kuma valley. Fortuitously, the writer's interpreter is related to a "big man" of the area, so entree was less difficult than otherwise would have been

27 The Moro Movement is a social movement which appears to focus on economic development and the revival of certain customary activities. It strongly emphasizes that the land of Isatabu or Guadalcanal belongs to the indigenous people as do the minerals contained in the earth. The ostensible leader is Moro. Revisionists in the movement continue to give certain "cargo cult" overtones. Once strongly anti-European and anti-administration, it has of recent years adopted a more conciliatory attitude. For a study of the movement see W. Davenport and Bulbun Coker, "The Moro Movement of Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands Protectorate," Journal of the Polynesian Society, 76 (June, 1967), 123-175.
the case. Nevertheless, the "big man's" comments and questions about the writer's purpose were very searching and exemplified how deeply felt was the fear of land alienation. At one stage he said, in translation, "If I tell you about all the previous sites my people have occupied, won't the government send us back there and move us off this land?" The reply to this was that if such were the case, there would probably be no nett gain or loss of lands to the Weather Coast people because X group would be moved into land once held by Y group and Y group would be moved to Z's, and so on. In addition, reassurances were given that the government was not interested in taking away their traditional lands, but in protecting them.

The "big man" appeared satisfied with these answers, which was fortunate since his approval and support made the cooperation of Kuma valley villagers much more likely.

In general, the people's response to the either general enquiries or prolonged questioning was one of interest, and of concern to ascertain the truth because they knew such information would be written down. The recording of information in itself was regarded as a serious matter. Repeatedly, opinion was distinguished from fact as was eye-witnessing from hearsay with the expression, "No gud me

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28 The "big man's" name is withheld for obvious reasons.

29 This might well have appeared a contradiction had Utah's mining operations extended into more inhabited areas!
bullshit long paper belong yu." (It is not good for me to give you incorrect information for you to record).

However, while the majority of villagers were helpful, there were groups who made it clear they wanted little to do with the research. The villages concerned were Makaruka and some of the neighboring villages, all of them associated with the Moro movement. The Moro Custom Company, among its numerous activities, is engaged in writing down the old customs and events of Guadalcanal, so the writer's role as historian has been pre-empted by the company's representatives. It is hoped that this material will soon be generally available to all. Thus, an obvious gap exists here in the writer's data, although some information was obtained by Thomas Foye, resident with his wife, Judy, at Makaruka for three months (October to December) in 1972 as a member of the Guadalcanal Weather Coast Project. To them the writer's thanks are given. At the villages of Sughu (Wanderer Bay), Ghauvalisi, Duidui, Aona, Haimarao, and Hautahe, (see Figure 2) members of the Project conducted interviews based on the writer's questionnaire (Appendix B) and/or they indicated knowledgeable informants whom the writer interviewed. The writer's thanks for this assistance go to David and Wanda McClure, Robert and Keri Freeman, Murray and Linley Chapman, Jane Tanner and Elizabeth Muir, Peter Pirie, and Eric Witt. Thanks are also offered to the government of the British Solomon Islands which granted
the Project and the writer access privileges to non-secret documents up to 1972. James Tedder's assistance is also gratefully acknowledged and that also of Patrick MacDonald, Bruce Burne, and the staff of the Western Pacific Archives. In Hawaii, Richard Naito, cartographer, provided many helpful suggestions.

Above all, the writer's thanks are due to the people of the Weather Coast (both brown and white) whose tolerance and hospitality were of the highest order, especially to the Vatumanivo villagers who suffered the "invasion" of their village and who provided a location for a "base" house for their visitor. The writer's special thanks go to her interpreter and in many ways, her second father, Luvusia Willy, of the Garavu "line" of Vatumanivo village. His patient explanations helped the writer to begin to understand something of the pattern of thought, system of explanation and life of the Weather Coast people. His persistent and careful questioning of informants elucidated details and sequences which on a few occasions the writer had despaired of obtaining.

Each informant is acknowledged in the bibliography and also in the footnotes. The latter practice is frequently
omitted in books, research papers and theses. To the writer, these people are much more noteworthy than a piece of paper lying on a dusty black shelf in an archives building. They are "living volumes" who, until very recently, had no way of permanently recording their history and even now are severely limited by the scarcity of facilities for formal education in the developing Solomon Islands Protectorate. It is the writer's hope that soon more Melanesians as well as Westerners will be trying to remedy the neglect of Euro-centric historians, as has been forcefully indicated by Francis Bugotu of the Solomon Islands: "We had no means of recording, but does this mean we had no history of our own? Perhaps even before Mendaña? No one asked us." 

30 Anthropologists rarely detail their informants and this carries over to their writing of history. For examples see D. Oliver, Bougainville, A Personal History (Melbourne, 1973) and M. R. Allen, "The Establishment of Christianity and Cash Cropping in a New Hebridean Community," Journal of Pacific History 3 (1968), 25-46.

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NOTE ON SPELLING

Since the maps contained in this thesis are also being included in a report for the Solomon Islands government, the spelling convention adopted for place names is that used in the 1972 field census taken as part of the Guadalcanal Weather Coast Project. Basically this means the omission of "n" before "d" and "m" before "b" in pronunciation. This convention has not been followed with the names of individuals except where they have indicated to the contrary.
### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>BSIP</td>
<td>British Solomon Islands Protectorate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RNAS</td>
<td>Royal Navy Australian Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>Seventh Day Adventist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SILC</td>
<td>Solomon Islands Labor Corps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSEM</td>
<td>South Seas Evangelical Mission</td>
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<tr>
<td>WPHC</td>
<td>Western Pacific High Commission</td>
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CHAPTER I

THE LOCALE: THE WEATHER COAST OF GUADALCANAL

(i) The Environment

Guadalcanal is one of the large southerly islands of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, located between 9° - 10° south latitude. The Weather Coast of Guadalcanal extends from Wanderer Bay on the south-west coast to Marau on the south-east coast, a distance of about 90 miles (144 km). Its inland boundary broadly follows the watershed (see Figure 2) which is nowhere more than about 9 miles (15 km) inland.

As its name indicates, this coastline experiences the full difficulties of a tropical rainfall on an exposed and elevated terrain. Besides being hot and humid, the Weather Coast receives a heavy rainfall, particularly in the "wet" season between May and October when strong south-easterly winds prevail. While detailed information does not exist for the whole of the south coast, the highest daily rainfall for the Weather Coast registered thus far at Chikora in the
upper Koloula river catchment was 600 mm. During 1972 Chikora registered 13,452 mm. of rain or about thirteen tonnes of water per square meter. November to March - April, when the prevailing winds are northerly, is the "less wet" season, but even during this time a week of rain is not unusual.¹

The nature of the terrain exacerbates the effects of such heavy rainfall. Unlike the north coast with its rolling plains, the south coast has high (maximum, about 8000 feet or 2330 meters), deeply incised, rapidly rising forested mountain ranges running parallel and close to the coast. This surface configuration aids the rapid run off of water, which is further assisted by the absence of water retentive soils and permeable underlying rocks. Saturation occurs rapidly with prolonged heavy rainfall and flooding is particularly common in the lower sections of deep narrow valleys like the Koloula and the Kuma, as was dramatically demonstrated in July, 1965 when 167 houses were destroyed by flood in these and neighboring valleys.²

The steep slopes and surface soils of clay and silt increase the likelihood of land slides, which often destroy

¹ David Wall, "Climate, Geology and Soils" (draft), Report on the Guadalcanal Weather Coast (M. Chapman and P. Pirie, editors), in preparation.

² Wall, "Climate, Geology . . ."; District Commissioner to Chief Secretary, July 26, 1965, District Office Files, BSIP (file number unreadable).
villages and gardens during prolonged rains. In the same floods of 1965, the food gardens of some 1,700 people were washed away or damaged by land slides and mud flows. Following heavy rain erosion is rapid and causes the accumulation of debris fans at gully mouths. When earth tremors occur, wet soils on the slopes are particularly susceptible to sliding and much destruction results. In November 1950, following a severe earth tremor, the entire village of Chaunarogha (II) was swept into the sea along with half the surrounding hillside.  

While flooding in the "wet" season is not uncommon, conditions are made even more difficult by cyclonic disturbances particularly between January and April. Much of the Weather Coast is protected from the worst of the cyclonic winds, but in 1972, Marau and eastern Bota Moli were hit by high winds that denuded much of the vegetation.  Cyclones often indirectly damage coastal settlements because they cause very high seas which have washed away villages and other settlements. Twice, in early 1918, and in January 1952, the Avu Avu mission station was destroyed by such heavy seas.

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1 Wrightson to District Commissioner, October 1, 1951, Summary Tour Report, Talise, Administration Touring Reports, Guadalcanal, Talise Sub-District, BSIP 3/9/13.
2 Observation by writer.
The likelihood of high winds and seas makes sea transportation along the Weather Coast a risky proposition at any time, but particularly in the south-easterly season. To add to this difficulty, there are no harbours along the whole of the coast between, but not including, Wanderer Bay and Marau. There are some fair weather anchorages and small boats may be beached. However, this coast line well describes the local name tasi mauri, "lively" or "devilish sea", since even in good weather small boats and canoes are often capsized by the heavy waves and fierce undertow that drags unremittingly at the shoreline. In fact, its reputation is so bad that non-Weather Coast men who visit the area on government and the rare trading vessel are extremely reluctant to risk a landing. Coastal people of Guadalcanal have succinctly delineated the contrast between the seas of the Weather Coast and those of the north coast in calling the latter tasi mate, meaning "dead" or "calm sea."

Despite the construction of small airstrips at Haimarao (1966), Marau (1967), and Babanikira (1973) and the gradual building in the sixties of a fair weather tractor road west from Marau to Balo, the Weather Coast still remains relatively isolated from the rest of Guadalcanal and almost a world apart from the north coast with its east-west road converging

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on the post-war capital, Honiara. Yet, surprisingly the Weather Coast population is 7,281 (de facto) or about 35 per cent of the Guadalcanal Melanesian total of 23,708 (1970) and seems to have always been of this magnitude, if not greater, since contact with the West in the nineteenth century.  

Today, 74 per cent of the population of the Weather Coast inhabit the coastal region. It is a problem in some areas to find sufficient flat land to set out a sizeable village, as along the central and much of the western section the coast ridges fall steeply into the sea, limiting beach development. From Avu Avu to Marau, however, a coastal belt of about two to four kilometers provides one of the very few areas where the growing of such crops as coconuts and cacao can be done on a small, but still commercial scale.  

Despite the vulnerability to sudden flooding the valleys of the rivers east from the Koloula still provide a home for a sizeable number of bush people. In the west, the valleys of the Tina, Lamulaghi and Gholi rivers have extensive fluvial plains in their lower sections that are not subject to periodic destruction by floods and they are

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9 Ibid.

10 Wall, "Climate, Geology . . ."
also suited to potential small scale cash cropping.

Although there is great lack of suitable land for commercial use, there is no shortage of garden land for subsistence purposes. The type of horticulture as in most of Melanesia, is swidden, bush fallow with a cycle of two or three years use as a garden and a twenty-year fallow period which is more than sufficient time to allow the fragile soils to rejuvenate.

(ii) Livelihood

The people of the Weather Coast subsist primarily by gardening. Fishing, hunting, and foraging supplement the basic foodstuffs of yam (mainly *Dioscorea alata* and *Dioscorea esculenta*), kumara, or sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and taro (*Colocasia esculenta*). Other crops are also grown and eaten, the major ones being coconuts (*Cocos nucifera*), bananas (*Musa spp.*), cassava (*Manihot spp.*), pineapple (*Ananas comosus*), sugar cane (*Saccharum spp.*), and greens (*Hibiscus manihot*). Important foodstuffs which are gathered include the chela nut (*Canarium salomonense*), which is rich in oil, a substance often deficient in the average Melanesian diet, and the kernal of the vala (*Barringtonia magnifica*). The bush produces a kind of breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*) and the tamana (*Dioscorea bulbifera*), which is, after processing, highly prized as a taste treat. Of the staples, taro and kumara may be harvested throughout the year, but yam is available only
from March to December. More taro is grown in the bush than on the coast where the yam predominates.

The other important items of the diet are the nut of areka palm and the leaves of the pepper vine (piper betel), which provide two of the three basic ingredients for chewing the betal mixture, with the lime coming from the burning of shells and coral. This mixture is believed to be somewhat narcotic.

Pigs are important more as a measure of wealth than as a regular food item. They are killed only for festive or ceremonial occasions, so that the average villager might eat pig for one or two days a month. Pigs are both wild and domesticated, the latter being fenced off from the village. Members of the Christian sect, the Seventh Day Adventists, do not eat pigs, but do sometimes eat tinned meat. This and refined rice are the two imported foodstuffs most purchased by Weather Coast people. Money for such goods is earned by the men who leave their villages for one to twelve months to work on coconut plantations in other parts of the Protectorate or as laborers and house servants in Honiara, the capital.11

(iii) Religion and Sorcery

In pre-contact times, religious ritual centered on

the veneration of ancestral spirits or Tindalo. These ancestors, in life, were persons of great renown and power, able to wield much nanama. Shrines dedicated to these spirits were set aside in which relics of the departed were placed. There, sacrifices were made in the hope that the Tindalo would assist in the ventures of the living. Priests of each moiety conducted the ritual associated with sacrifices and the veneration of the Tindalo.

Shark spirits were also worshipped along the coast of Guadalcanal, sacrifices being made at the beginning of the bonito season. Individuals also had personal shark guardians who protected them at sea and warded off other marauding sharks. In some areas, particularly in the bush, snake spirits were revered in a similar way.

On much of the Weather Coast, traditional beliefs have, to varying degrees, been supplanted by Christianity or, at lease, a synthesis of the new and old. Of continuing significance is the belief in the efficacy of sorcery. Sorcery is of two kinds: vele and piro. The former is said to have been introduced from the Russell Islands.

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13 This is the equivalent of mana; see Ian Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society: The Kaoka Speakers (New York, 1964), pp. 72-73; pp. 88-89.
15 Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society . . ., pp. 77-79; Luvusia Willy.
A vele man, having had a long period of apprenticeship, usually from a maternal uncle, possesses a small bag containing various items including parts of a mango and ginger. When the intended victim is alone and away from his village, the vele man overtakes him and moves the bag in front of his face. The victim becomes unconscious and the vele man inserts the bag in the victim's mouth while he pushes a sting-ray spine under each toe- and fingernail. The following formula is said by the vele man: "In the three days the mango will ripen, the dogs will bark and you will die." Retrieving the bag from the person's mouth, the vele man leaves the victim, who recovers, forgets the episode and returns to his village where he dies after three days have elapsed.

Unless counter sorcery is made, death always follows the vele attack. Other things that can neutralize vele are fire and water. If a burning torch is carried by the intended victim, the vele man will not attack him. Should the vele man laugh or be seen by a third person while performing the vele, the sorcery would be useless. If the victim were a woman and the vele man attempted to have

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17 Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society . . ., p. 56.
sexual intercourse, the vele power would also be neutralized.  

Vele is said to have been known and practised only on the north and west coast of Guadalcanal until c.1830, but has since spread through the bush to the south coast. There, the original type of sorcery was piro, which is said to have come from the Moli area. Piro is a form of contagious magic. Anything of the victim's person--such as hair, excreta and remnants of his food--is taken by the sorcerer to his house where it is placed in a basket and the ritual performed.

At the present time, both forms of sorcery are feared and believed to be the cause of the vast majority of deaths on the Weather Coast. Because of the fear of vele, in particular, the Weather Coast people are unwilling to travel alone through the bush.

(iv) Social Organization

As is found elsewhere in Melanesia, the established pattern of social organization for much of the Weather Coast is based on two matrilinial exogamous moieties

19 Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society . . . , p. 57; Paravicini, Reisen . . . , p. 117.
20 L. W. S. Wright, "Guadalcanal," Census of the BSIP for 1931, December 23, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 274 of 1932.
These rau are the Garavu or Lakuili (eagle) and the Manukiki or Kidipali (hawk). In the hierarchy of social organization, clans or raundakedake are the sub-units within the moieties. In certain areas, some of these clans seem to have gained sufficient influence and numbers to move to the uppermost level of the social organization hierarchy and, for the purposes of marriage and land inheritance, are considered to possess a status similar to the moieties. In the west, extending from the north of Wanderer Bay to Cape Hunter, there are three exogamous matrilineal groupings with moiety status: Lakuili, Kidipali, and Kakau. East of Cape Hunter, there are various locality-specific groupings of different clans within the moieties. For example, in Talise, there are thirty-four clans within the Manukiki and thirty-two in the Garavu. Here, also, clans have risen to the highest

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21 There appears to be some controversy in anthropological circles as to the meaning and reality of the moiety pattern. The writer is not concerned here with the details of such debate, particularly since the social organization of the peoples of much of the Weather Coast has not yet been subjected to intensive anthropological study. The following is merely an attempt to summarize the current state of knowledge as the writer perceives it.


status for the purposes of marriage and inheritance. Within Talise, three clans have fused to form the Garavu vetale or Garavu, "half line," which ranks with the moieties. Similarly, the Koinaghau clan of Moli (within the Manukiki moiety) and the Ghaumbata in Malango and Vulolo areas exemplify this process.

The naming principle of these matriclans appears to vary over space and time. Often clans take their names from a locality such as around Duidui, while near Makaruka, they take birds' names. Hogbin states that the territory owned by a clan covers about one square mile and, while this preserves continuity in one location, various factors such as warfare, the dying out of a clan, and natural disasters in traditional times probably caused substantial variation.

Throughout the Weather Coast (excluding Marau), the Garavu or Lakiuli rau appears to have been the dominant moiety for the past seventy or eighty years and is certainly

25 Allan, Customary Land Tenure . . . In Pidgen, "line" is the word to express moiety and is used as such hereafter.


28 Ibid., p. 69.
the most numerous at present.\textsuperscript{29} Traditionally, as the moieties are strictly exogamous, death was the reward for an incestuous relationship or "breakem line." However, enraged public sensibilities could be placated sometimes by the payment of compensation. District Officer Leonard Wright stated: "A significant point is that with the 'Garavu' an offender, if capable of paying a huge fine, had to endure a ritual of spear throwing which was so managed that with ordinary skill, he could ward off the spears or escape with slight wounds."\textsuperscript{30}

The gravity of this offence varied with the degree of relatedness of the two parties, if from the same descent group within the moiety then it was very serious; if not, less serious.\textsuperscript{31}

This type of social organization has certain implications in terms of land rights and warfare. As the clans are matrilinial, an individual has rights to his mother's clan or sub-clan lands and generally moves to these lands from his father's village when he attains manhood and marries. As clan membership defines relationships within the clan,

\textsuperscript{29} The Garavu and Lakiuli constitute 25.5 and 14.6 per cent respectively of the de jure population (de facto 29.4 and 13.9 per cent) of the 1972 census of the Weather Coast (M. Chapman and P. Pirie, editors, \textit{Report on the Guadalcanal Weather Coast}).

\textsuperscript{30} Wright, "Guadalcanal," p. 117, Report of the 1931 Census of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, no. 274 of 1932.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
no matter the location, members of the same clan whose villages were at war did not kill each other.  

In Bota Moli, from Hunivatu east and including Marau, a different social organization is found. The people, the 'Are 'Are, originated in Malaita. As early as the sixteenth century, these people had connections with the Longgu district (eastern Guadalcanal) and the Marau islands. 

These links probably grew out of trade partnerships strengthened through marriage. The 'Are 'Are people did not settle the Weather Coast mainland in numbers until c.1865 when a village was established in Bota Moli at Hunivatu. The 'Are 'Are are ambilineal with the patrilineal descendents of group or clan founders having jural dominance for certain purposes. Land inheritance is patrilineal. These people group themselves according

32 Forster to the Secretary to the Government, March 10, 1950, BSIP, no. 17/4.

33 William Amherst and Basil Thomson, eds., The Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Alvaro de Mendana in 1568 (London, 1901), pp. xi-xii, pp. 339-345; Forster to the Secretary to the Government, March 30, 1950, BSIP, no. 17/4; Naomane (First interview).


35 Naomane (First interview); Traditionally, Malaita women frequently went about naked near their houses. Such a custom was noted in this area in 1865. (Julius Brenchley, Jottings During the Cruise of the H.M.S. Curacoa among the South Sea Islands in 1865 (London, 1873), p. 275).

to the canoe that first brought their paternal ancestor to a particular area, the area now having the name of the canoe. There are nine such groupings: Hanuasua, Manunairoa, Varaihanua, Hiuainamae, Utsutaimarau, Merainaonaokera, Apiuraromoa, Tarakau, and Pakearivu. 37

There is a larger unit of social organization on the Weather Coast. This is the "tribe" 38 or polity. Common territory, language 39 and culture are the main determinants of such a grouping. A polity consists of all or most of the clans in a particular area that act and perceive themselves as a unit. 40 For Guadalcanal, a polity comprises approximately 400 people, although these groupings may be widening with the influence of a centralized government. 41

Local political leadership to a large extent centers around the "big man." This individual, through his ambition and personality, builds up a group of followers among his clan, and often beyond, by economic manipulations (such as

37 Naomane (first interview).
38 Allan, Customary Land Tenure . . ., p. 62.
39 There are eight dialects spoken on the Weather Coast. All are mutually intelligible, but the intelligibility is greatest between speakers of adjacent dialect areas. (M. T. Chapman, Population Movement . . ., pp. 32, 33).
the financing of bride price for young men), whereby those people become indebted to him. With a "creation of followship," he achieves status. By giving feasts and, traditionally, dance entertainments, he can gain further prestige by putting more people in his debt. Certain qualities in a "big man" are particularly admired in Guadalcanal: "... it is essential that he be forceful, even-tempered, tactful, industrious, a good speaker, and an able organizer."

Hogbin goes on to say that in earlier times, there were also advantages in being a famous warrior and magician. This was certainly the case for the Weather Coast. However, there also existed fight leaders or warrior generals who led bands of wandering mercenaries (malaghaip) whose services could be hired for assassinations and warfare. Thus, it gave a wealthy "big man" who was not a warrior a chance to punish his enemies and eliminate competitors.

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44 Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society ..., p. 63.
45 Ibid.
46 Luvusia Willy; Dominico Alebua.
Today, of course, the "big man" has other means, in addition to the permitted established ways, of achieving status. He may, for example, leave his village for some years as a young man and work on a plantation, thereby accruing money with which he can create indebtedness in others. He may also gain additional authority through his role as a Christian pastor or mission teacher, while he area of legislation can be extended in co-operation with others through the local government council and native courts. However, the fundamental characteristics of "bigmanship" still continue.

The modern "big man" does not have any kind of absolute authority over his followers, but is rather a respected primus inter pares. Should he ask too much of his followers in terms of work in the gardens and give back too few wealth objects or even too little renown, his prestige lessens and he eventually loses followers and power to another aspiring "big man." In pre- and early contact times, "big men," if overly exploitive of their followers, were frequently murdered by hired assassins. Similarly, if a "big man" got too powerful by extending influence beyond his district, he was likely to arouse the fear and jealousy of other "big men." In the main, he probably wielded relatively more absolute authority in pre-contact times as he could call on his warriors to kill dissident elements, or, if necessary, he could hire assassins for this purpose. However, being vulnerable
to the same mechanisms himself, this was a risky procedure. Some of these warriors were cheka. In their attempts to create a followership, many "big men" took extra wives, orphans and other unattached people. They also purchased cheka. Purchase price varied from ten strands of red shell money to one or two basketfuls (eight inches deep by fifteen to eighteen inches diameter). After the death or decline of the "big man," cheka dispersed as did his other followers, some returning to their original homes, but others staying on in the district of the "big man" becoming members of the "tribe." As allegiances to a new "big man" formed, clustering of his clan and their relatives by marriage commenced in his village.

48 The closest word for this in English is "slave," yet this does not convey the meaning that some cheka, at least, could attain villager status, marry and use land within a community. Additionally, a few inherited some of the prestige of the "big man" if, of course, they had the requisite personal attributes. Weather Coast cheka were sometimes bartered for canoes from the Savo island people. Both male and female children and adults were purchased. Both sexes were of use in gardening, while the men made good warriors and the women possibly sometimes acted as prostitutes. Cheka were bought by "big men" from "big men" in districts miles away--thus a Ghorobau man, Ben Mbelambua, was sold to a "big man" in north-west Guadalcanal, while John Lambi, born in the bush country behind Kolina, was sold to the "big man," Vuvunu Tuaniboo'a, of Kologhailivei near Kuma river, a woman from Vatalena to a Wanderer Bay "big man," and Kearae'a, the mother of Moro, in Makaruka, was sold by a Vatalena "big man." Cheka had to get the "big man's" permission to marry. (John Lambi; Ben Mbelambua; Charlie Tave; Dominico Alebua).

49 Ben Mbelambua; Dominico Alebua.

50 John Lambi; Ben Mbelambua; Dominico Alebua.
CHAPTER II

THE EVE OF CONTACT, c.1850:
(i) A Reconstruction of Settlement Patterns
(ii) Traditional Reasons for Village Relocation

(i) A Reconstruction of Settlement Patterns

Coastal villages were actually a series of strung-out hamlets.\(^1\) Each hamlet consisted of about five houses close together with a stretch of land between it and the next. This land was covered in undergrowth, betel nut and coconut groves. Paths connected one hamlet to the next.\(^2\) The distance between adjacent hamlets varied with the terrain,

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1 H. M. Denham, Report of Proceedings of Her Majesty's Ship "Herald," Nov. 24, 1854 to Jan. 9, 1855, to ascertain the fate of Mr. Benjamin Boyd ... at the Solomon Islands, Western Pacific, p. 20. This was not the case with villages on the central and eastern north coast. Mendaña records large compact villages in 1568 and this pattern was also recorded in this century; W. A. Amherst and Basil Thompson, The Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Alvaro de Mendaña in 1568, pp. 41-43; District Officer to Secretary of Government, Report of Guadalcanal, 1936, BSIP, no. 17/11.

2 Napthali Markia; Jo Ongavi; Voho Laeni and Basilio Mangalu; Alice Mary Kaevingu.
but usually averaged about 200-300 yards (182.8-274.2 meters), a distance which would have allowed shouts and conch shell blasts to be heard above the noise of the surf. The neat paths and tidy ordered village areas of most of today's settlements are not traditional. In pre- and early contact times, refuse from houses was thrown into the immediate vicinity, sometimes merely outside the entrance where foraging pigs could consume it.

As enemy attacks were always a possibility, the strung-out arrangement of the coastal villages was strategically advantageous. If attacked, the inhabitants could raise alarm, thus giving their neighbors an opportunity to organize defense or flee.

The larger coastal villages had from 100-250 inhabitants. Bush villages however, were generally smaller than coastal villages. A ten-household village (about thirty to forty people) was an average-sized settlement, although in some areas such as the bush hinterland of Avu Avu a

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3 H. M. Denham, Map of Aowawa Roads, Hunter Roads, Guadalcanal (Solomon Islands), D 1539 Pacific Folio 1.

4 Napthali Markia; Jo Ongavi; Voholaeni and Basilio Mangalo; Alice Mary Kaevingu; Wilson to Secretary of the Government, January 23, 1931, Annual Report 1930, BSIP no. 1103 of 1931.

5 Patteson Nganga.
A six-household village was considered big. Nonetheless, there were a few larger villages in the bush where terrain and resources allowed. These had twenty to forty houses or about 200 inhabitants.

These villages were most commonly situated on a hill top or crest of a mountain range. Such difficult sites were chosen because of defense considerations. This former pattern of settlement is evinced today by patches of coconuts, ngali nuts, and other vegetation peculiar to village sites dotting the crests. Although the villages were permanent settlements, they were not inhabited continuously throughout the year by all villagers. The pattern was dual residence—or the komuruka (village-hamlet) system—as first described by Chapman. The main village (komuto) was where all the people had houses and was the

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6 Martin Manganimate (second interview); Dominico Alebua; Susana Sekona. See also C. M. Woodford, "Life in the Solomon Islands" Popular Science Monthly (August, 1889), 481, for a Chimiu bush settlement; P. Boudard, "Lettre de Fevrier 24, 1919," Annales des Missions de l'Oeanie, XIII, 4 (1921), 560.

7 Samson Rasile; One such village was Buturua in Veursu Moli which had about 250 inhabitants in c.1897. (M. Chapman, unpublished field notes, November, 1966).

8 Nelson Volanga; Patteson Nganga.

9 M. T. Chapman, Population Movement in Tribal Society: The Case of Duidui and Pichahila, British Solomon Islands (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1970), pp. 67-73. This system was widespread, but varied in some areas. In the bush north of Duidui, for example, the libolibo was inhabited almost continually with the inhabitants congregating only in one area—usually a village with particular sacred significance—for feasts. (M. Chapman, unpublished field notes, 1966).
center of ceremonial activities. However, only the old people and those with large gardens nearby lived permanently in the villages. The majority of villagers had their main gardens at some distance from the kumoto, a distance often inconvenient for daily walking. Thus, each family or sub-clan built a hamlet (libolibo) at its garden site and lived there during most of the yam planting and growing season (September to May or June), when food supplies most needed supplementing by hunting and foraging.\(^\text{10}\) This period of scarcity was even more marked in pre-contact times than it is today, as the kumara or sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas) was not introduced until c.1860-70,\(^\text{11}\) possibly from New Zealand by the Melanesian Mission. It was probably not grown widely until the first decade of the present century, as this is when its presence on the Weather Coast was first

\(^{10}\) Ibid.

\(^{11}\) Harold W. Scheffler, Choiseul Island Social Structure (Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 9-10. The presence of the sweet potato was not recorded anywhere in the Solomons by Mendaña, although Yen points out that a root crop was described by Quiros (one of the members of Mendaña's crew) as having a sweet taste. This could have easily been processed Dioscorea bulbifera, which is prized for its sweetish flavor. On Melanesian islands, as far apart as Bougainville, D'Entrecasteaux and Trobriands (Kiriwina) islands, evidence points the recent (i.e. eighteenth or nineteenth century) introduction of the sweet potato. (D. E. Yen, "Ethnobotany from the Voyages of Mendana and Quiros in the Pacific," World Archaeology, 5, no. 1, (June, 1973), 33-43; D. Oliver, Bougainville, A personal history (Melbourne, 1973), p. 52; D. Jennness and A. Ballantyne, The Northern D'Entrecasteaux (Oxford, 1920), p. 28; B. Malinowski, Coral Gardens and Their Magic, Vol. 1, (London, 1935), pp. 161, 181.)
noted by Westerners. Kumara can be planted and harvested through the entire year, but at present, is eaten most in the period September to May and thus, clearly fills the function of a "tiding over" crop during the yam growing period. In general, then, the pattern of residence reflected horticultural activity.

However, even during the harvest period (May or June to September or November) when feasts and ceremonials drew back the inhabitants of the libolibo to the komuto, their occupancy was sporadic as they frequently left the komuto to stay out hunting or harvesting at the libolibo.

The komuruka system was also of strategic value. The komuto was located in a readily defensible position. If an enemy attacked a libolibo, the other villagers were warned either by the escapees directly or by shouts or conch shell blasts. They then retreated quickly to the komuto along the paths which only they knew well. The komuto was frequently surrounded by a stockade as high as seven feet.

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14 C. M. Woodford, Diary, March 31, 1887. (In reference to Paripao-Chimiu Bush).
and had across its approaches deep trenches\(^{16}\) which contained sharpened sticks. These were positioned and forces grouped to meet the attack.\(^{17}\) If an enemy attack was successful, the survivors always had some libolibo left to use as shelter until the raid was over.

In time of sickness, the libolibo served as a virtual isolation center, preventing the contagion of the entire village (komuto).\(^{18}\) The libolibo may also have been of value in providing an escape valve for villagers who were quarrelsome or who found the tensions of komuto living too great. The dual residence system characterized most bush settlements, but was not found on the coast.\(^{19}\)

(ii) Traditional Reasons for Village Relocation

Warfare itself frequently caused village relocation. Before the advent of British centralized government, inter-district warfare on the Weather Coast was a continual, if intermittent, feature of life. As mentioned earlier, the threat of enemy attack to some extent determined settlement patterns.

Warfare usually resulted from disputes over women,\(^{20}\)


\(^{17}\) Murray Chapman, unpublished field notes, 1966.

\(^{18}\) Ibid; Luvusia Willy; Peter Kimbo.

\(^{19}\) Luvusia Willy.

\(^{20}\) Patteson Nganga; Ruth Kavele; Hari Kala.
pigs, or land. Vele, as well as damage to gardens were other causes. For example, about 1900, the great Lakuili tauvia, Paura, of the Wanderer Bay region, attacked the bush village of Tasule because the people of this village injured his pigs, which were foraging in the gardens of the Tasule people (see Figures 14 and 15: Wanderer Bay).

Typically, warfare on the Weather Coast was waged on a small scale. There was, however, one instance of a "big man" who was able to gather together large numbers of warriors. Paura was one of the most powerful leaders of the Weather Coast. He reached a height of authority and organization that few men could attain and was able to conduct warfare on a large scale. Previous to his leading the Ravu-Avisi people to Karo after the cessation of head-hunting raids by the Savo, Russell and New Georgia Island people, Paura was able to call as many as 700 men together to fight the Tiaro bush people who attacked the Ravu-Avisi region in the 1880's (see Figure 3). Bertin, the Catholic missionary, said of him, "This chief was the

21 Patteson Nganga; Martin Manganimate (first interview); Marasiliano Choki; Elson Kavaro; Charlie Churu; Luvusia Willy; Tatakuva; Neomane.
22 Jack Palau.
23 Martin Manganimate.
24 Woodford to O'Brien, Report of British Solomon Islands, 1898-1899, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 133 of 1899.
25 Martin Manganimate; Patteson Nganga.
uncontested master of this part of the island and had driven back his enemies almost as far as Tiaro. "26
(Translation from French).

Warfare on this scale was uncommon. The more usual is exemplified in the attack on Ngalipapa in c.1960 (see Figure 3 and Figures 17 and 18: Duidui-Malagheti). The villages of the Kuma river bush region mustered thirty to forty warriors who destroyed Ngalipapa whose people, being warned of the attack, had fled to Vatumanivo. 27 In one of the very few sea battles, c.1860, the 'Are 'Are Ramo (fighting chief), Vaisere, with his fifty to sixty men in war canoes sunk the smaller dug-outs of the bush-dwelling Botas near present day Hunivatu (see Figure 3). 28

Guerilla tactics prevailed. The sudden raid, two or three killings, burnings, and a quick retreat characterized warfare, 29 although pitched formalized battles did occasionally occur in certain places, such as the open stretch of beach between Ngiluniuna and Kolokiki near Vatumanivo. 30 When it was convenient, a slain enemy was divided up for eating, with a section of the body going to

27 John Tovar; Cho Ranga; Tatakuva.
28 Naomane (First interview).
29 Patteson Nganga; Tatakuva; Ruth Kavele.
30 Luvusia Willy.
Figure 3
each sub-group or village that had contributed men to the raid. Sometimes prisoners were taken and later sold as "slaves" (cheka) for red shell money.

Except for the overall bush-beach conflict, few generalizations can be made regarding the constancy of conflict between any two groups during the period c.1860-1910. Taking the central Weather Coast as an example (Figure 3), warfare is known to have taken place between the Malagheti and the Kuma river people (c.1870), between the Malagheti allied with the Kuma river people and the Areata (c.1875), between the Malagheti and the Talise (c.1870-1880), the Kuma river bush people and the Areata (c.1880), the Malagheti and the Kuma (1905), and the Malagheti and the Kuma allied with the Areata (c.1906). In view of the way warfare was initiated, this continual variation of opponents is understandable. As Hogbin explains with regard to the Kaoka people of eastern Guadalcanal, there were no vendettas because a group wanting to attack or punish its enemies employed the services of a third party to organize and carry out the military expedition. Such a pattern also prevailed on

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31 Ruth Kavele; Patteson Nganga.
32 Benjamin Pangetaua.
33 Tatakuva; Cho Ranga; John Tovar; John Lambi; Hari Kala; Dominico Alebua.
the Weather Coast. Thus, group A hired group B to attack A's enemy, C. Group C, in retaliation, hired another group, D, to attack group B. The quarrel with A would fade into the past. In any one conflict, one side was a hired party which, if victorious, was paid with shell money and pigs. Enemy and agent were not originally synonymous, but became so in the act of war.

There was, therefore, no continuing series of "payback" that sharply divided (and divides) groups as in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea. The ally-enemy alignment was fluid. This had obvious advantages; in peace time, mobility mediated by lineage kin was quite considerable. Moreover, marriages were arranged over fairly extensive distances between Tetekanji and Bota Moli beach, Marau Islands and Bota Moli bush, Sukiki and Malagheti, Malagheti and the Koloula bush, and between the Koloula river villages and western Guadalcanal. Dance groups

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36 Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society . . .
37 Joe Ongavi; Ghesi Kimbo.
38 Vanetihe Koimakana.
39 Naomane (First interview).
40 Charlie Ghesi.
41 Peter Kimbo.
42 Chele.
from Sukiki in the 1860's and from Talise in 1910 were able to visit the Malagheti; Pite refugees from the attacks of the bush people were able to make their way as far east as Bokasughu and Balo on foot in c.1860-70 (see Figure 6: Warfare); and cheka outcasts from Wanderer Bay returned safely to their original homes in Talise in c.1855. Few groups were driven irrevocably from their home districts. Paura allowed the conquered Tiaro bush people back to their villages and the Tasule fugitives to return after peace offerings had been made (Figures 14 and 15).

Nonetheless, just as the majority of villages contained individuals of the same "line," they likewise contained members of different "lines." A visitor was regarded as a potential threat by those village inhabitants not of the visitor's "line." For example, visitors might be kinsmen of a villager arranging a marriage, and at the same time might be spies hired to eventually attack the village. On another level, they might be hired by some of the villagers them-

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43 Charlie Ghesi.
45 Hilda Ketala and Alice Mary Kaevingu.
46 Charlie Tave.
47 Bertin, "Villages Chretiens de Guadalcanal . . .," p. 552.
48 Martin Manganimate (First interview).
selves to kill a *tauvia* or "big man" who was resented. This pervading feeling of suspicion and distrust was a very real aspect of politics on the Weather Coast. 49

Although the method of waging war prevented large scale, permanent dispossession of lands, the moving picture of village location and relocation due to war, halted with the advent of "Pax Britannica", reveals certain patterns (see Figure 3). Conflict between bush and coastal or saltwater people, as mentioned previously, was continual though following the described conventions. The bush people of Ko'o fought frequently with the coastal people around old Chaunarogha over rights to garden land. In c.1890, this caused the Tauna people to flee to Chaunarogha (I). Another was in c.1900 caused this same group to retreat to Bubuleleoa to escape the Ko'o who were themselves driven back a year later. 50 In similar fashion, outlying bush hamlets near Pite were forced back to the beach by the Poleo bush people from near the Tina river (c.1875). 51 Likewise, the Ghari bush people of the upper Tina catchment were at odds with the saltwater people of Marasa-Veuru (c.1890-1900) which, as elsewhere, caused the former to eschew the fertile valley of the Tina for the

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49 Dominico Alebua; Anule Kolima.
50 Ruth Kavele.
51 Benjamin Pangetava.
rugged mountain crests. The bush people were in no way a united front as is attested by warfare among the various groups such as the Tetekanji and the Chimiu, the Kologhona and their neighbors, and between other groups in the upper Tina catchment.

Some populations were definitely pushing into new or disputed areas. The Koloula people were exerting pressure south and eastwards into Malagheti lands. The Malagheti, unable to expand northwards, pushed east, establishing new villages at Vatumanivo, Vatukulau, and Ngalipapa bringing them into conflict with the Kuma bush people who were desirous of land near the coast. Further west, the Ko'o were pushing south on the coast and were able to force the purchase of land in the Viso area from the Garavu line who had established themselves there in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Marasa-Veuru raids into the Tina achieved little however, in terms of new settlement as did the see-saw conflict between the Naho and Longgu peoples across the uninhabited "no man's land" of Avu Avu.

52 Patteson Nganga; Nelson Volanga.
53 Vanetihe Koimakana; Nelson Volanga; Patteson Nganga.
54 Marasiliano Choki; Susana Sekona.
55 Tatakuva; Cho Ranga; John Tovar.
56 Luvusia Willy of the Garavu line.
57 Patteson Nganga; Nelson Volanga.
58 Statement made to author by Peter Pirie.
Further east, the Tetekanji had established an outpost near the mouth of the Tanahecha river at Komulonga as early as 1885 and were able to ally themselves with the coastal Balo people to drive back the raiding Chimiu. Near Marau, by the 1860's, the colonizing 'Are 'Are had founded a settlement on the unoccupied coastal plain of eastern Bota Moli.

The conditions of warfare that caused the relocation of villages in the extreme west of the Weather Coast were unique and significantly influenced by contact with Westerners in other parts of the Solomon Islands. As early as 1790, the people of the central Solomons began trading with ships which, having come from America, went to the Australian colonies seeking suitable cargo to trade with China for tea. By the 1820's whaling increased these contacts which intensified in the 1840's with the establishment of resident traders in Simbo and New Georgia seeking, among other items, tortoise shell to sell to the New Hebrides traders who bartered it for sandalwood. As Jackson points out, this brought metal in quantity to the central Solomons. He argues that steel axes as weapons increased the efficiency of head-hunting which, promoted by

59 Vanetehe Koimakana.
60 Naomane (First interview).
61 Dorothy Shineberg, They Came for Sandalwood (Melbourne, 1967), p. 151.
opportunistic "big men," took on enormous proportions and, by the 1880's, had depopulated considerable areas of New Georgia, Santa Isabel, the Floridas, Choiseul and the west coast of Guadalcanal.\textsuperscript{62} Head-hunting quite literally spread both by imitation and retaliation from New Georgia and Simbo to Santa Isabel, the Russell Islands, Baruku, Choiseul, Savo and was beginning on western Guadalcanal on a similar scale just before government suppression.\textsuperscript{63} Unfortunately, Jackson neglects entirely to consider that steel axes, while no doubt more effective for lopping off heads than stone axes, were of far greater social and economic significance as tools, providing the male population with


\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., pp. 24-26.
an extra 30 - 40 per cent "leisure" time. This time was devoted to head-hunting and associated ceremonial activities.

By the 1880's, the New Georgia (using the Russell Islanders as guides) and the Savo raiders, were making forays into West Guadalcanal, including Wanderer Bay (see Figure 3). (There were settlements around the shores of

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64 Salisbury's research on the efficiency of stone tools versus steel tools for horticultural work in Papua New Guinea demonstrates clearly the time saved by the use of steel axes (R. F. Salisbury, From Stone to Steel (Melbourne, 1962), pp. 108-110, p. 220). Godelier's work on saltmaking among the Siane supports this as do Belshaw's observations for eastern Melanesia, (M. Godelier, "La 'Monnaie de Sel' Baruya de Nouvelle Guinée," L'Homme, IX (April-June, 1969), no. 2, 5-37. C. S. Belshaw, Changing Melanesia (Melbourne, 1954), p. 60). In neolithic Melanesia, the division of labor was such that the men did the heavy work of felling trees and clearing undergrowth while the women did the planting and daily weeding of the gardens. (There are obvious, but few exceptions to this--among the Mae-Enga men have some gardens where only "male" crops grow and which only men may cultivate). (M. J. Meggitt, "Male-Female Relationships in the Highlands of Australian New Guinea," American Anthropologist, 66 (August, 1964), 208). With the introduction of the steel axe, the men were the main beneficiaries as the women used, and use, the digging stick as their principal tool (J. Barrau, Subsistence Agriculture in Melanesia (Honolulu, 1958) p. 9). The options open to the men with steel axes were (a) to do more work in the same time, (b) to do the same work in less time. Clearly, (a) could be dismissed unless they wanted to put an impossible burden on the women or unless they did "women's work," the latter a highly unlikely choice in a traditional society where sex roles were rigidly defined. Thus, (b) was the obvious choice. That such happened elsewhere in Melanesia supports this assumption (Salisbury, p. 118). Thus increased "leisure" time allowed the growth in ceremonial economic and political activities, which resulted in more head-hunting and warfare for the central Solomons, where steel first became common. As Salisbury notes for the Siane in the New Guinea Highlands, increased warfare accompanied the introduction of metal and was only curtailed because of the imposition of Australian control (Salisbury, p. 118).

65 Martin Manganimate (Second interview).
Wanderer Bay in 1851 when William Boyd was killed there).\textsuperscript{66} These raids were frequent and feared. In one raid from Russell Island, thirteen heads were taken, plus nine women prisoners.\textsuperscript{67} In early 1886, Rannie came across the remains of a Wanderer Bay village, skeletons without skulls and cut-down coconut trees. Slaves had also been taken by the Savo people.\textsuperscript{68} The survivors fled into the bush\textsuperscript{69} or south along the coast to bigger villages miles away.\textsuperscript{70} No permanent settlement was again made until the late 1890's.\textsuperscript{71}

One of C. M. Woodford's first tasks as Resident Commissioner of the Solomon Islands Protectorate, when he arrived in 1896, was to suppress head-hunting. By 1898-9, the task was virtually completed\textsuperscript{72} and it was then that the opportunistic tauvia Paura, perceiving the unoccupied territory, led the Avisi-Ravu people to Karo (Figures 14 and 15).\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{66} J. Webster, The Last Cruise of "The Wanderer" (Sydney, [c.1863]), pp. 111-128.
\textsuperscript{67} Journal of H. A. Mair, Flirt, no. 27, October 25, 1880.
\textsuperscript{68} Douglas Rannie, My Adventures Among South Sea Cannibals (London, 1912), pp. 190-191.
\textsuperscript{69} Martin Manganimate (Second interview).
\textsuperscript{70} Rannie, My Adventures ..., p. 191.
\textsuperscript{71} Martin Manganimate (First interview); Patteson Nganga; W. Wawn, 'Private Logs,' August 18, 1894. Wawn's map of Wanderer Bay shows no villages.
\textsuperscript{72} Woodford to O'Brien, August 27, 1898, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 295 of 1898.
\textsuperscript{73} Martin Manganimate (Second Interview); Patteson Nganga.
The Wanderer Bay area was the only part of the Weather Coast to be directly affected by the depredations of head-hunters. A lack of safe landings, dangerous seas and treacherous shelving beaches proved a barrier to the canoe-borne raiders. However, there is evidence to suggest that some of the southward pressure of population on the western and central south coast may have been due to fleeing groups of people from the west and north-west coast, particularly from around Lungga Point to the west. This area was under attack in the 1870's and 1880's from Savo head-hunters who had ready access to steel axes from the increased number of local traders and the labor vessels. Some of these Savo people were allies of the great head-hunting chief of Isabel, Bera, who had made war on the people of Vatilau in the Floridas. In 1888, one of these groups from Savo attacked Vaturanga in north-west Guadalcanal, taking thirty heads. On a subsequent raid, another forty heads were won. While the Vaturanga launched retaliatory attacks, they also removed their settlements to the mountains. Raids such as this probably caused the depopulation of the vulnerable Guadalcanal plains. There


75 Ibid., pp. 183-184.

76 Woodford to O'Brien, March 17, 1901, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 91 of 1898; Map of Guadalcanal Island, 1887-1888, Sec H 363/1889, Guadalcanal North Coast B 2073, Shelf Pv.
were villages there in the 1840's,\textsuperscript{77} while in Mendafia's time, 1568, the population of the plains area alone was of the order of 2,000 to a possible 6,000 people (see Appendix C).

Survivors from the raids from Savo and Nggela (Floridas) retreated southwards from the plains and eastwards into less exposed areas.\textsuperscript{78} The hypothesis that southward population pressure had reverberations on the Weather Coast, possibly intensifying warfare, is supported by the histories of the "lines" of the Weather Coast people. These reveal a southward movement while some show a definite retreat from the north coast (see Figure 4).

While warfare was common, there were periods of uneasy peace brought about because of exhaustion of resources on one side or both. There were traditional trade arrangements which warfare upset. Many of the bush people in the Bota area, for example, had to go to the coast to get sea water in bamboo tubes for their salt.\textsuperscript{79} The Koloula bush people needed coconuts and fish from Malagheti while the Malagheti people obtained big trees for canoes and \textit{tamana}, a special type of yam (\textit{Dioscorea bulbifera}), from the Koloula people.\textsuperscript{80}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{77} Woodford, \textit{A Naturalist . . .}, pp. 180-181; See also Journal of M. Murray, \textit{Daphne}, May 25, 1876.
\item \textsuperscript{78} L. W. S. Wright, "Guadalcanal," Census Report of BSIP 1931, pp. 45-46, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 274 of 1932.
\item \textsuperscript{79} Alice Mary Kaevingu.
\item \textsuperscript{80} Luvusia Willy.
\end{itemize}
"LINE" MOVEMENTS
1800–1900

Figure 4
The Ko'o people commenced peace negotiations with the Viso-Pite people following the war of c.1900, because they wanted a type of herring (white bait) caught by the latter. 81

Peace was negotiated by a method of mutual compensation. A life taken was reckoned as worth one malona (six strings of two fathom lengths of red shell money), one large pig and a number of yams. The tauvia or "big man" of each village or set of villages handed over the compensation to his opponent. The compensation was then distributed to the sub-clan of the deceased. 82

Warfare was one of the more spectacular causes of village relocation, but unlike other traditional causes, it ceased in the second decade of this century. One factor influencing village relocation that continues into the present is the need to site a settlement near suitable land for gardening.

If the horticultural factor is considered in isolation, bush villages were more subject to relocation than coastal villages. The latter had access to better and more varied food supply since fish and coconuts were available. Therefore, if numbers were equal, there was less pressure on the land by coastal people for root crops. It can be argued,

81 Ruth Kavele. For reference to this area's continuing importance for white bait see Secombe to Director of Agriculture, October, 1963, Tour of South East Guadalcanal Agriculture Office Central District, BSIP XT 10, General Extensions Eastern Sub District.

82 Alverti Tongorovo.
also, that in most areas, the beach itself provided a means of access which made walking easier than in the hilly bush. Thus, the distance travelled along the beach could afford to be greater than that in the inland because the time and effort expended would, within limits, be the same. There is no way of knowing with certainty the distance between gardens and village in pre-contact times. Four present-day sites at Sughu (Wanderer Bay), Ghauvalisi, Aona and Marau, averaged a walking distance between village and the majority of the gardens of 18 to 26 minutes which is approximately 1.5 to 2.16 km in actual distance, with the most distant gardens being one hour away (at Aona). This fits the present pattern of "tolerable distance" described by Brookfield for Melanesia.

A bush village would be relocated when the distance between the komuto (village) and the majority of libolibo (garden hamlets) exceeded a "tolerable distance." If similar patterns prevailed in pre-contact and early contact.

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83 Even though the sea provided a means of extending the distance constraints, the difficulties of this coastline alone would have precluded sea transport as a common means of gaining access to distant garden sites.


85 5 km per hour.

86 Witt, "Agricultural and Economic Resources . . ."

times, this distance would have been of the order of 3-5 km. Gardens have about a two-three year life with a twenty year fallow. Thus depending on terrain and fertility, gardens would be planted further away from the komuto until the 3-5 km level was reached. Then, all other factors being equal, the village or part of it at least, would be relocated closer to the gardens. The coastal village of Ngalipapa was established as a new settlement out of Sulu (inside Taupada, Malagheti) because the people found the distance between Sulu and their gardens too great. This distance between Sulu and Ngalipapa is approximately 3.25 km. Assuming Ngalipapa was close to the gardens then 3.25 km was "tolerable distance" for these people in c.1911.

Relocation of komuto constantly occurred in pre-contact times because of the horticultural factor alone. However, in actual practice, the relocation may have been made before the outside limit of 5 km distance, suggested by present-day patterns, was reached because of the danger of enemy ambush

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88 M. Chapman, Population Movement . . ., p. 29. A fallow of 10 - 12 years would be sufficient (Barrau, Subsistence Agriculture in Melanesia, p. 25).

89 John Tovar.

90 In present day Tadhimboko, north-east Guadalcanal, only 10 per cent of the gardens are located beyond 3.2 km on relatively flat land (Brookfield with Hart, Melanesia . . .).

91 Vanetihe Koimakana; Nelson Volanga; Dominico Alebua; Gaius and elders of Poisugbu; Charity Panda; Lucius Mai.
which increased proportionately with distance from one's home village.

From the brief description of the climate and geology of the Weather Coast given earlier, it is clear that the people of this area have a constant battle with a difficult environment. Floods, tidal waves, erosion, earthquakes, and cyclones are hazards faced yearly by the population. It is safe to assume that, within the limits of pre-contact set, similar conditions existed and were, as today, among the most significant factors causing village relocation. 92

Returning to social factors, a "big man" could influence village location. Traditionally, as now, members of the various "lines" were proud if one of their "line" achieved "big man" status. There can be no doubt that one of the qualities necessary to achieve this status was prowess in warfare as either an organizer, a warrior or both. 93 A "big man" attracted followers, particularly people of his own "line." Followers clustered in the village of their "big man" or nearby. In this manner coastal villages expanded considerably to incorporate more hamlets 94 while the bush villages were similarly expanded or, as was

92 Alverti Tongorovo; Luvusia Willy.
93 Martin Manganimate (Second interview); Dominico Alebua.
94 Martin Manganimate (First interview); Patteson Nganga; Nathaniel Ulu; R. P. Bertin, "Villages Chretiens de Guadalcanal dans le district de Tangarare," Les Missions Catholiques, p. 552.
often the case, a new village was established. However, with the "tolerable distance" constraints operating more strongly on the bush komuto, it was exceedingly rare to have a village of more than 250 on the Weather Coast.

When a "big man" died, the inhabitants of the bush village dispersed and some of those of the coastal village drifted away. Beyond the scale of the sub-clan, these people were virtually leaderless until a new "big man" appeared. In the days of warfare, this was of greater potential threat than it is today. Bush villages were frequently completely abandoned, though some sites were reoccupied years later. There are no recorded cases of entire coastal villages being abandoned after the death of a "big man," though some of the hamlets were deserted as various groups dispersed.

While the death of a "big man" fragmented a community, an unusually high number of deaths among villagers within a community also affected it significantly. On the Weather Coast, as in most of traditional Melanesia, death was

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95 While the loss of the "big man" was in itself sufficient to cause the dispersal of most of his followers, the custom of killing one or two members of his "line" to propitiate the spirit of the leader was a source of tension reducing the community's cohesiveness and engendering suspicion and fear. (See for example, Criminal Jurisdiction; In the matter of a charge against Dick Kitzau, Vekilapilapi, Mativoulu and Kapini, April 20, 1917, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1554 of 1917.

96 Susana Sekona; Dominico Alebua; Heman Lambuglai'a. For examples of this in post-contact times see Map 6: Primary Reasons, Components "Big Man."
attributed to sorcery except sometimes in the case of small children and very old people. As mentioned earlier, this sorcery was of two kinds, piro and vele. Whatever the cause, the effect was the same. When a number of deaths occurred in close sequence in a village, the survivors usually abandoned the site. 97

Warfare, horticultural requirements, natural disasters, the rise and death of "big men," and sorcery or disease were the main factors bringing about village relocation in pre-contact and early contact times. Since contact and the coming of the Protectorate government, only the factor of actual warfare has been eliminated and thus represents a discontinuity with the past. The other factors, with some modification, still continue and influence village relocation on the Weather Coast. These provide a constant context within which cross-cultural factors influencing village relocation have operated.

97 Benjamin, Jackson and Thomas of the Garavuvatale "line"; Luvusia Willy of the Garavu "line"; Alverti Tongorovo.
Prior to the advent of British government in 1896 and resident Christian missionaries, the most significant cross-cultural contact between Solomon Islanders and Westerners occurred through the intercolonial labor trade. Since this trade spanned forty years (1870-1910) and involved people from most areas of the Weather Coast, its potential for generating cultural change and evoking an indigenous response was great. To understand its effect on village relocation and related cultural processes in both the pre- and post-Protectorate era, it is necessary to examine the whole process of recruitment, laboring, and repatriation.

1 By the 1870's, as the demand for plantation labor grew, recruiting ships from Fiji and Queensland were

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extending their operations from the New Hebrides to the Solomon Islands. Although the extant records are incomplete, Guadalcanal is known to have been one of the major exporters of labor. Of 8,603 Solomon Islanders entering Fiji between 1877 and 1911, 1,580 or 18.2 per cent came from Guadalcanal. In all, between 1870 and 1911, an estimated 2,047 people from the Weather Coast were recruited for Queensland, Fiji and Samoa (see Appendix D).

There is no doubt that some of the earliest recruits were kidnapped. The agent of the Fijian vessel Daphne had fourteen men to return to the Weather Coast in 1876 who were described in the passenger list as having been kidnapped by the crew of the ship Lulu. As most contracts were for a three-year term, these men would have been captured in 1873 or earlier. The oral tradition along the whole of the coast also supports the kidnapping of the first groups of recruits. Weather Coast people, except for the extremities

2 Ibid., p. 337

3 General Register of Polynesian Laborers Introduced to Fiji, 1870-1911, 3 vols. 1914 was the first year (following the cessation of the intercolonial labor trade) in which statistics for inter-island labor migration were kept. Guadalcanal contributed 15.1 per cent of the Solomon Islands total which indicates that little variation in terms of each island’s labor contribution had occurred over the years. (Report by the Inspector of Labor, 1914, W P H C Inward Correspondence, no. 698 of 1915.

4 Journal of M. Murray, Daphne, April 16-September, 1876. Note, all logs referred to throughout pertain specifically to the Weather Coast or closely adjacent areas near Wanderer Bay or Marau.
of Wanderer Bay and Marau where there were harbors, had had very little, if any, experience with Westerners. The first recruiting ships were perceived by people as superhuman spirits or 'devils' (vigona) which were described as un-ngau-ngau (something terrifying). Their reaction was first to hide and then to sacrifice pigs and dogs to ancestral spirits or Tindalo for protection. Some, overcoming their initial awe, left their hiding places in the jungle, ventured out to the ships in canoes and, either by

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5 Prior to 1870, it is known that John Shortland in the Alexander sailed along the Weather Coast in 1788, but did not land and was well out to sea. Similarly, the Marion Watson carrying the first group of Catholic missionaries to the Solomons passed this coast in 1845. Benjamin Boyd in the Wanderer visited and died at Wanderer Bay in 1851. Shortly afterwards H.M.S. Serpent came briefly to investigate Boyd's murder to be followed by H.M.S. Herald in 1854. Denham, the Herald's captain, and his crew surveyed and visited villages in the Wanderer Bay to Cape Hunter area. Marau was visited by Mendana's ships in 1568. Ships of the British Navy visited Marau in 1864 on hydrographic work. It is probable that the odd trader and whaler may have visited these anchorages at Wanderer Bay and Marau, but that landings were attempted elsewhere for "refit and refreshment" is highly unlikely in view of the treacherous coast line. (C. Jack-Hinton, The Search for the Islands of Solomon (Oxford, 1969), pp. 299; C. M. Verguet, Histoire de la Première Mission Catholique au Vicariat de Mélanésie (Carcossonne, 1855), pp. 82-83. J. Webster, The Last Cruise of the Wanderer pp. 111-128; H.M. Denham, Proceedings of Her Majesty's Ship Herald ...; see also Log of E. M. Clark, Two Brothers, September 2, 3, 1860; The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies XXVI, (July-December, 1829) pp. 757-758; Map of Guadalcanal, East End (Marau) by Thomas Kerr, D 8203 Shelf Fv.).


7 This word may be represented (Un)nguaungu.
having their canoes sunk or by being inveigled on board, were kidnapped by the recruiters.⁸ In some areas, the recruiters landed and distributed tobacco, pipes, and calico as inducements, but were unable to explain their purposes because of language difficulties. They then forced those young men on the beaches into the boats.⁹ Believing these individuals to have been taken and killed, their kinspeople distributed or destroyed their possessions in the customary way.¹⁰ Great was the surprise when most returned well supplied with products of the white man's material culture: powder muskets, axes, tomahawks, saws, bayonets, pans, pots, umbrellas, tobacco, pipes, tinned biscuits, clothes, hats, bangles, Jew's harps, coin money and the ubiquitous bokus (box or chest).¹¹

These goods and the tales of far-away places aroused the interest of the Weather Coast people. According to informants, the desire for Western goods was the major external stimulus drawing the young men away from their villages;¹² "People wantem for go long Queensland because

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⁸ Ruth Kavele; John Mbumbuparumbau; Peter Kimbo; Jo Ongavi; Ghesi Kimbo; Bereto Voliantogu; Berndito Ola; Jack Palau; Dominico Alebua; Reme Ava; Naomane.

⁹ Dominico Alebua.

¹⁰ Berndito Ola; Jo Ongavi.

¹¹ Ruth Kavele; Dominico Alebua; Journal of M. Murray, Daphne, Passenger list, April 16-September 3, 1876; Journal of R. Haddock, Marion Rennie, Passenger list, June 24-December 28, 1877.

¹² Jimmy Vataloughu; Peter Kimbo.
There were factors operating within the society that provided conditions favoring such migration. Firstly, there was a natural hiatus in the life cycle of the young men of the Weather Coast. There were no initiation or puberty ceremonies for which they had to prepare. Marriage did not occur until the mid-twenties or later. Until marriage, work requirements were minimal, consisting of token assistance in the clearing of clan gardens and house-building. In warfare, their services were valued, but with much unoccupied time, young men may have been the chief

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13. Patteson Nganga, whose brother was recruited.

14. Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society . . ., pp. 23-24. Very few women were recruited. Biological facts were real considerations for employers in the colonies. Women could not labor on as heavy work as the men on plantations. They tended to become pregnant, which curtailed their working capacity for a few months at least. In most of the Solomon Island societies, including the Weather Coast, women were considered to be valued members of the clan. If they went away, the clan would have probably lost the bridal payment, should the young woman take a husband in the colonies. Additionally, the presence of men and women on board ship produced many difficulties. Despite regulations, cohabiting between the sexes occurred, with the crew being involved in some cases. This caused fighting. (Journal of the Ethel, May 1, 8, 13, 1884). Malaita men did not like to be in close proximity to a woman who was menstruating or in child-birth as both were tambu. (Neomane; Donasiano Pororasu).

15. Few recruits were married at time of recruiting and many were estimated to be in their mid-twenties. Contract lists of Flirt, August 10, 1880; Dauntless, November 16, 1879-February 19, 1880; Dauntless, April 4-July 6, 1880; Sea Breeze, April 8-July 19, 1881; Albatross, February 25-August 31, 1885; Clansman, October 23-February, 1909. See also T. Foye and J. Tanner, "Fertility Survey of the Weather Coast," (draft chapter) Report on the Guadalcanal Weather Coast.
instigators in the stealing of women, food, and pigs which usually resulted in war.

Secondly, by the 1870's and early 1880's with the return of the first recruits, the availability of axes was increasing.\textsuperscript{16} The widespread introduction of steel axes would have had the same effect as elsewhere in Melanesia—the liberation of men from 30-40 per cent of gardening time (see Chapter II). Traders and recruiting vessels were the sources of these axes. The establishment by Ferguson of a trading depot at Marau Sound in the mid-1870's provided ready access to trade goods for people of that region.\textsuperscript{17}

By the early 1880's, copra was being produced for trading in some of the coastal villages.\textsuperscript{18} Trade goods, including some axes, were given in exchange for yams, taro and coconuts by the captains of recruiting ships who required fresh food for their passengers.\textsuperscript{19} Furthermore, axes were probably also given as part of the compensation

\textsuperscript{16} By 1886 in north-west Guadalcanal stone adzes were of curiosity value only. Woodford attests the commonness of steel axes:

"But a man would as soon think of going to his garden of a morning without a spear and tomahawk as an Englishman would of wearing his hat in church." (C. M. Woodford, "Life in the Solomon Islands . . .," pp. 485-486).

\textsuperscript{17} Journal of C. Rudd, \textit{Dauntless}, April 19, 1877.


to relatives when their kinsman was recruited.

With increased availability of axes it is highly likely that the tempo of local warfare increased on the Weather Coast. However, the scale and level of involvement appears to have been not as great as that in the Western Solomons. Headhunting had not "spread" to the Weather Coast in the huge proportions it took on in New Georgia, Simbo and Santa Isabel because of the former's geographically enforced isolation, as earlier discussed. As headhunting was virtually non-existent on the Weather Coast, recruiters deemed it a comparatively safe place in which to seek laborers. Since young men had fewer demands on their time and less satisfaction from warfare and ceremonial activities than their neighbors in the Western Solomons, some took advantage of the recruiters' offers and signed on to work on overseas plantations.

Moreover, there is an increasing body of data indicating that Melanesian populations, especially those free from large resident expatriate components, exhibit masculinity (see Appendix E). A surplus of males over females is a pattern quite contradictory to the demographic trend of much of the rest of the world. This pattern cannot be proven to have existed in the years prior to 1931. However, the first territorial census of the Solomon Islands in that year, as well as the 1959 and 1970 censuses and the 1972 field census of the Weather Coast, demonstrates this
consistent trend. There were 543, 528, 530\textsuperscript{20} and 519.4\textsuperscript{21} males per 1000 respectively for each of these counts. If this pattern of masculinity existed in pre-1931 days—and there is no reason to assume it did not—then the excess males could afford to leave the Weather Coast without substantially affecting the reproductive potential of the population. In this context it should be noted that even if the estimated 2,047 laborers recruited to Queensland, Fiji and Samoa between 1870 and 1911 from the Weather Coast never returned, the loss of approximately 50 males a year could not have substantially contributed to a population decline due to a decrease in the reproductive potential of the group. That most of these men returned (more than 70 per cent) must dismiss the popular notion that the labor migration \textit{per se} caused a significant decline in the population\textsuperscript{22} of the Weather Coast and other areas of the


larger islands of the Solomons group. The existence of polygamy among "big men" and aspirants to "big man" status would have made the numbers of "unattached" males somewhat higher. It can be argued that more men than women were killed in traditional warfare. Hogbin states that around Kaoka in eastern Guadalcanal, whose society and culture are very close to those of most of the Weather Coast, the women and children were spared in warfare. However, Woodford who witnessed actual warfare, describes raids in north-east Guadalcanal where, in both bush and coastal areas, men and women were killed indiscriminately.

Another factor which predisposed Weather Coast groups to allow their young men to migrate for labor was the giving

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24 Corris' statistics are the basis for this. Adding the Fiji figures for 1877-1911 (excluding 1870-76 figures which are estimates) of 8,603 to Queensland's 18,735 (1871-1904) a total of 27,338 results, of which 18,706 were returned or 72.1 per cent (P. Corris, Passage . . ., pp. 334-337). Statistics for Samoa and New Caledonia are deficient, but the number of recruits is of an order of no more than 700. (P. Corris, Passage . . ., p. 339). McArthur and Yaxley hold a similar view for the effects of the labor trade on the population of the New Hebrides to which approximately 80 per cent of the numbers recruited returned. (N. McArthur and J. Yaxley, A Report on the First Census of the Population, 1967: Condominium of the New Hebrides (New South Wales, 1968), p. 16.

25 Ibid., p. 59.

26 C. M. Woodford, Diary Commencing January 24, 1887, entries for March 31, August 23, 1887.
of presents or yangona (as the Fiji recruiters called it) by the recruiter to the kin of the recruits as compensation for the loss of members of their clans. The captain of the Flirt, working along the west and south coast of Guadalcanal, mentions giving "1 musket, 3 tins powder, 1 box of caps and 10 pipes, 10 tobaccos" for each recruit. Until 1884, a musket per recruit for the "big man" of the village or clan was standard practice, especially among the Queensland vessels.

Other forces within the society caused some men to seek recruitment as a means of escape. Those cheka captured as adults felt very insecure and were tempted to flee their captors by means of the recruiting ship. Fugitives from war or social sanction found an alternative life style in the overseas plantations. Peter Kimbo (still living in December, 1972) appears to have boarded the Sydney Belle in May, 1901 for Queensland because he was a social misfit. He was ordered from the bush village of his birth, Inakala, in the Koloula river area, because the "big man" thought

28 Jimmy Vataloughou.
29 Journal of H. G. Mair, Flirt, October 5, 1880.
31 Journal of J. Blyth, Glencairn, October 11, 1885.
32 List of Pacific Island Laborers, 1865-1905.
he was a sorcerer or a source of "poison." Fleeing to Lumia, near present-day Valechomara, he attempted to make his home there. However, the villagers swore at him and he left. His arrival at Volanghau unfortunately was followed shortly by the death of the "big man," this doubtless enhancing his reputation as a source of "poison." After a brief stay at Valevaghalo, Kimbo heard firsthand of the attractions of Queensland from some of the returnees of the original group kidnapped from canoes at sea. He left and, after six years away, returned to the Koloula area to be accepted by his society. 33

Some communities, fearful of being left in a weakened position by the loss of their young men in the face of their warlike neighbours, tried occasionally to prevent recruiting. 34 Yet the yangona was a compensating factor while the axes and firearms the returnees brought back increased the fighting potential of the group. In this respect because of their location, the coastal people were the first to benefit from the labor trade. Often this was at the expense of their enemies, the bush people. 35 Firearms, initially muskets, with some revolvers and Winchesters in the 1900's were

33 Peter Kimbo.
34 Jo Ongavi.
35 Labour Trade: Collected papers relating to External Affairs collected by the Director, Pacific Branch, 1920, pp. 18-19.
used in warfare against them.36 If any military advantage accrued to the possession of these by the coastal people, it declined in the 1880's as some of the bush people, particularly in Veuru and Bota Moli, had been recruited and were thus more able to obtain guns. They also had access to Marau and its trader.37 Only scattered groups far inland—in the uppermost headwaters of the Tina and Koloula rivers—seemed to have had little experience of the labor trade and therefore limited access to guns.38

There is a tendency to overstress and overgeneralize the impact of firearms in increasing the mortality rate above that of traditional warfare in Melanesia.39 Certainly, on relatively flat exposed terrain, such as large sections of the north coast of Guadalcanal, firearms if well-aimed, could be lethal. In the rugged and forested terrain of the Weather Coast, firearms would have had this lethal potential only in the first few seconds of an ambush—which would have been the case with a spear, though the range of the latter was shorter. As the majority of the firearms introduced were Tower muskets (popokka) or single shot Sniders, the noise of the first shot would allow the enemy

36 Jack Palau; Elson Kavaro.
38 Patteson Nganga; Cheonikai.
to disappear into the bush before a second round could be loaded and discharged. Muskets were of little use if it was raining—and raining it often was on the Weather Coast.

Yet there was a tremendous demand for firearms from Queensland, Fiji, Samoa and New Caledonia. However, a law passed in the British colonies in 1884 banned the trading and carrying of guns in British vessels. Nevertheless, firearms were smuggled past the authorities in Queensland and Fiji. When Woodford instituted inspections after the establishment of the British Protectorate in 1896, the number of firearms escaping detection was fewer. Still a considerable number slipped through, particularly on Queensland ships, much to Woodford's annoyance.

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41 O. W. Parnaby, Britain and the Labour Trade in the South-west Pacific (Durham, 1964), pp. 178-179.

42 Few New Caledonian and Samoan vessels recruited on the Weather Coast. (Corris, Passage, Port . . ., p. 337; Naomane).

43 Labor Trade: Prime Minister's Department collected Papers . . ., pp. 18-19; John Mbumbunarumbau; Charlie Churu; Aloysio Sangu; Susana Sekona; Marasiliano Choki; Ruth Kavele.

44 Woodford to O'Brien, March 20, 1903, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 82 of 1898.
guns to the Weather Coast at Wanderer Bay and Moli and hidden in the ships and in the false bottom of the "bokus" of returnees. The Svensen traders at Crawford Island in Marau Sound openly sold arms and ammunition in 1892 before the Protectorate was declared, capitalizing on growing antagonism between the 'Are 'Are and the eastern Guadalcanal people of Longgu who were massing to attempt to drive out the former. Certainly, by 1900, practically all groups of the bush people had some muskets which indicated widespread smuggling as many of these people would not have been able to leave until the late 1880's onwards, because of the difficulties with the coastal people. Firearms were common and the possession of them was an obvious status symbol for which recruits were willing to pay substantial sums (from £3 to £5 for a Snider musket).

45 Labor trade: Prime Minister's Department, p. 34.
47 John Tovar.
48 H. M. Davies to Commander-in-Chief, July 1891, RNAS, Northern Division Box, p. 6.
49 Rannie to Governor of Queensland (?), December 19, 1893, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 31 of 1893. This war did not substantially alter the status quo. (Naomane, first interview).
50 Casimero Cheniporo; Charlie Churu; Peter bimbo; Ruth Kavele.
51 N. Deck, Letter of May, 1910.
52 Labor trade: Prime Minister's Department, pp. 32-33.
Other than having the advantage of earlier employment and contact with the labor trade, the coastal people were able to exploit their geographical position vis-à-vis the bush men. On occasions, the coastal people demanded a portion, if not all, of the "cargo" of the hapless bush recruit once he was put down at one of the passages. This was particularly the case after March, 1904, when Queensland ceased taking labor recruits. Queensland vessels from then until 1906-07 visited the Weather Coast only to discharge recruits. Vessels simply put down their passengers and did not anchor or "lay off and on" for a few days as they had during the recruiting period when they waited for the bush people to come to the beach in response to the sound of the ship's cannon. Thus, the parties of bush folk that came to farewell the recruits were not present after 1904 to meet and protect their returnees. Often, then, the bush returnees were at the mercy of the coastal or salt water people.

The central Weather Coast had a bad reputation for such extortion. For example, an inquiry in the Australian courts in 1905 centered on the suspected murder and robbery by coastal people of a bush man, Tarahow, returned by the Clansman to Kiekienockshaw (currently spelled Kikinocho).

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53 Parnaby, Britain and the Labor Trade . . . , p. 197.
near Viso Point on September 23, 1904. Some of the bush folk preferred, in fact, to walk across to the north coast where they could avoid the predatory coastal people.

At Longgu in the 1900's, the "big men" constantly exploited the bush people. In September, 1904, eleven returnees from Queensland were landed. The Longgu leaders, Gona and his brother, Kouritsi, demanded a portion of the bush men's goods. Unfortunately for Gona, this was witnessed by Father Chatelet of the newly-established Catholic mission in Avu Avu. Gona, who had sold the land to the church, was informed he had no right to commit extortion on church lands. Gona backed down temporarily (see Chapter IV). In December 1908, the government agent of the Fijian vessel, Clansman, W. R. Bell, noted that a Longgu chief, Sombui, and his followers were known to have stolen the bush returnees' goods. In this period also, people from the bush village of Makaruka in the upper catchment of the Alivaghato river lost all their goods to a malaghai (warrior chief), Vaisu, who was hired by the

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54 Craig to Undersecretary, February 5, 1906, Premier's and Chief Secretary's Department, no. 44/9.
55 Archibald Forsyth, Statement of, February 3, 1905, Premier's and Chief Secretary's Department, no. 44/9, pp. 245-246.
57 Journal of W. R. Bell, Clansman, December 22-23, 1908.
Longgu "big men," Kodovera and Kuchidu, to rob the returnees.  

Sombui also took an active part in another form of exploitation of the bush people. He tried to force a man to sign on so he could get the compensation of tobacco for him. In another instance at Sukiki, the coastal people had intimidated a bush man into being recruited. Recruiters tended to "overlook" these practices and it was only the alert government agent such as Bell who noticed and objected to such occurrences.

The return of laborers was fraught with difficulties. Sometimes an unscrupulous captain discharged returnees in the midst of enemy territory instead of their correct passage. Others were dropped at the most convenient place; thus, in the early 1900's, quite an "expatriate" native community of men from Longgu bush, Tina river bush, Marasa bush and Malagheti grew up at Wanderer Bay where they built houses and made gardens while awaiting an opportunity to return home.

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58 Kabutoulaka or Longgu bush.
59 Journal of W. R. Bell, Clansman, December 22, 1908.
60 Journal of W. R. Bell, Clansman, December 16, 1908.
61 W. Bell later became a District Officer on Malaita where he was murdered in 1927.
62 Journal of M. Murray, Daphne, June 1, 1876.
63 Martin Manganimate (Second interview).
each other, no landing could be made. Jimmy Vataloughu
and others from the Areata area had to be discharged at Moli
because the Areata people were at war with the Malagheti. 64
Often returnees were not even put down as close as this to
their homes. The captain of the Clansman in 1904 wanted
to discharge all the eighteen Weather Coast returnees on
the island of Rua Sura off the north-west of Guadalcanal
where the headquarters of the Catholic mission was established,
no doubt expecting the mission to make the deliveries. 65 A
Vatumanivo man, Jack Tasi, and some companions were returned
from Queensland on the Fearless to the village of Tasisi on
Sulu Fou in north Malaita. The people there threatened to
"saunia lalamoa" (kill the enemy) 66 and to steal their
goods. The famous Kwaisulia of Ada Gege intervened and
saved their lives. Later they were returned to the Weather
Coast on a government vessel. 67

Queensland was preferred to Fiji by the Weather Coast
recruits. By the 1880's, the coastal people at least were
well aware of the differences between Fiji and Queensland

64 Jimmy Vataloughu.

65 Journal of W. R. Bell, Clansman, August 31, 1904.

66 Translation given by Ellison Suri of Lau Lagoon,
north Malaita.

67 Luvusia Willy. For the role of Kwaisulia in the
labor trade see P. Corris, "Kwaisulia of Ada Gege--A
Strongman in the Solomon Islands." Pacific Island Portraits
(J. W. Davidson and D. Scarr, eds.)
in terms of wages and conditions. Even after recruiting for Queensland had ceased, the would-be recruits around Beletania in Veuru Moli chose to stay at home rather than accept the lower wages in Fiji. As Corris states, it is difficult to generalize about the kinds of experience that the recruits had in the colonies, because this varied with time and place. Certainly, the attractions of the colonies were sufficient for many Weather Coast returnees to sign on again.

No matter where they went, the returnees all had a much wider world view and knowledge of the West than their less peripatetic fellows. Some used this knowledge to capitalize on existing cultural patterns within their own society. Others perceiving, albeit perhaps unclearly, the inevitable ascendancy of the West in the islands,

68 Journal of J. Day, Sea Breeze, May 14, 1881. In Queensland the wages were £6 per annum compared with £3 in Fiji. Returnees were able to purchase goods freely in Queensland whereas in Fiji they had to buy them from a single contractor. Additionally there were more big towns in Queensland and more opportunities to buy illegal alcohol than in Fiji. (Scarr, Fragments of Empire; A History of the Western Pacific High Commission (Canberra, 1967), pp. 140-141).

69 Journal of W. R. Bell, Clansman, December 20, 1908.

70 By the 1880's the earlier poor conditions of employment and health care had lessened. The New Hebrideans rather than the Solomon Islanders had borne the worst of these. (P. Corris, Passage Port and Plantation . . ., p. 221).

returned as revolutionaries to attempt to transform aspects of their society. The majority waited until that ascendency appeared in tangible form to assert their role as middlemen and innovators.

This catalyst of change at work within the groups of the Weather Coast influenced village relocation both directly and indirectly. The "big man," Paura, who led many of the Ravu-Avisi people to resettle Wanderer Bay in c.1898, was in fact one of the original group kidnapped for Fiji. This experience seems to have aided his rise to power. His widespread authority, while doubtless dependent largely on his own personality and ability, was also dependent on the need for decisive leadership by the people in the Cape Austen to Cape Hunter area due to the raids of head-hunters in the Wanderer Bay area and the attacks of the people of Tiaro in west Guadalcanal who had been driven back into the bush by the same head-hunters. The reluctance of the men in the Cape Austen to Cape Hunter region in the late 1880's to sign on as laborers can be explained by the need for them to remain and defend this extremely precipitous coastal area. They were led by Paura and his ally, Tunga, of Veuru

72 Woodford to O'Brien, Report of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate 1898-1899, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 133 of 1899.

73 Rannie, My Adventures Among the South Sea Cannibals, pp. 190-191; Erimano Vei.

74 Journal of H. A. Mair, Flirt, October 4, 1880; See also Journal of J. Blyth, Glencairn, October 11, 1885.
against the Tiaro Bay and west coast people. After the need for leadership of large numbers in warfare passed and Paura's death in 1902, this area again became politically fragmented despite the acknowledged abilities of Paura's son, Samu.

A few returnees influenced by Christian teaching overseas tried to convert their society before the actual appearance of expatriate Christian missionaries on the Weather Coast. Their teaching was radical and appears to have been successful only when they were able to work through the existing political structure and win the backing of the "big men." In c.1902, Silas Vero and George Kasi returned from Queensland to Kolina. However, there was a war between this village and other villages to the west, Pite, Ghorobau and Biti. As a result the Kolina people had scattered to the inland villages of Tabala, Kolomatanga, Ngalighasi and Vatumakere (see Figures 16 and 17: Duidui-Malagheti). Vero and Kasi preached Christianity and peace to Mati, the "big man" of Touni (a village within the Kolina area), who was influenced to commence peace negotiations. Are Kari, a Fiji returnee, was similarly able

75 Bertin, "Village Chretiens . . ." Paura was the "big man" of the Lakuili "line." His kinspeople of that "line" had to marry out. They married predominantly the Kakau "line" whose "big man" or tauvia was Tunga of Veuru and Chechele. At that time, both groups had ascendancy over the Kidipale "line." (Martin Manganimate; Patteson Nganga; Michael Longoni; Nathnail Ulu).

76 Bertin, "Villages Chretiens . . .," p. 552.
to influence the Ghorobau leader and the war ceased. With peace, the people gradually returned to Kolina which became an even larger village with the coming of the missionary, Frank Bollen, to preach there.\textsuperscript{77}

In pre-missionary times, the only new villages known to have become established under the auspices of forming a Christian community were those founded by Samson Chaku.\textsuperscript{78} Chaku was converted by the Queensland Kanaka Mission at the Faerymead plantation, Bundaberg.\textsuperscript{79} He returned to the Koloula river area and commenced evangelizing at a small bush village, Rongoni (see Figures 18 and 19: Koloula River Inset).\textsuperscript{80} The adults were not impressed, so Chaku concentrated on the children. However, without any support

\textsuperscript{77} John Mbumbuparambau, who was Mati's son. (This informant died in late 1973).

\textsuperscript{78} Chaku is spelled elsewhere as Jacko and Jacku, but as his step-son, Timmy Chaku, pointed out, the orthography of the Kob dialect has no "J." See also, A. Capell, "The Language of Inakona, Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands." \textit{Journal of the Polynesian Society}, 39 (1930), 113.

\textsuperscript{79} Florence Young, \textit{Pearls from the Pacific} (London, [c.1926]), p. 202; Timmy Chaku.

\textsuperscript{80} Northcote Deck, \textit{Letter of May}, 1910; 'Not in Vain ...' 1954, p. 15; Chele; Timmy Chaku. Hilliard states that Jacko started a school "among his own people at Malagheti." (D. Hilliard, "The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands: The Foundation Years." \textit{Journal of Pacific History} 4 (1965), 49). However, informants say Chaku was a bushman belonging to the Ko’c-speaking people occupying the lands to the west of the Koloula river. He did occasionally preach in the Malagheti area, but this was after the advent of the expatriate missionaries when warfare had ceased. (Susana Sekona; Timmy Chaku).
against village social pressure, he returned to paganism and engaged in warfare. From Queensland came his brother, Paul Vikimbo, who persuaded him to return to Christianity. Both men then established a new village, Chorokindi, where a few followers, probably relatives, settled. Later, another move was made to Niumasanga because of the need for new garden land. At the adjacent hamlet of Ngaliabula, two "big men," Karasa and Manambasi, became interested in the ideas of Chaku and his brother. In the customary way, these "big men" who were "line" kinsmen, invited Chaku and his people to their settlement. Chaku, whose own religious learning was slight, wanted to contact missionaries and even sent across to the north coast in his quest. This being of no avail, he decided to move to the south coast itself, so he could easily contact any passing ship. This was not a simple proposition because the land around and to the east of present-day Inakona belonged to the Malagheti people who frequently fought with their neighbors of the Ko'o bush. Yet ties existed through marriage, while Chaku, Karasa

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81 Timmy Chaku.
82 Susana Sekona; Timmy Chaku.
83 Young, Pearls ..., p. 203; Timmy Chaku.
84 For example, Peter Kimbo's mother was a Malagheti woman.
85 Karasa was not converted to Christianity until shortly after the death of Chaku in 1913. 'Not in Vain' ... 1911-1913 (Sydney, 1914), p. 31.
and Manambasi had "line" relatives in Malagheti. These men negotiated a customary purchase of this land and obtained the Malagheti people's permission to move there. This move occurred c.1906. Thus, the village of Inakona was established with about 50-70 Christians. Shortly afterwards, the ship Royal Endeavour, came to the Weather Coast where its captain, Lane, was contacted by Chaku. Lane, a Christian, was able to put Chaku in touch with his missionaries.

Thus, in this one sequence of events can be seen the meshing of two cultures; aspects of the new, embodied in Chaku, his Christian beliefs and his desire for increased knowledge, working through the mechanisms of the old, alliances with "big men" and the negotiation of customary land purchase.

There were other Christian returnees attempting to introduce change on the Weather Coast. At Marasa, for example, the returnees tried to teach the people how to read before the missionaries came. At Bubuleleoa and Tanachuichui the first efforts of the Christian returnees, however, fell on deaf ears. Little progress was made

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86 Northcote Deck, Letter of May 1910; Susana Sekona; Timmy Chaku; Young, Pearls . . .
87 Ibid.
88 Patteson Nganga.
89 Ruth Kivale.
90 Pasesi Perolae.
until the arrival of the expatriate missionaries whose coming legitimized what the Christian returnees had said about the spiritual and material advantages of the religion of the Westerners. Some Christians practised in secret, while others were quite happy to revert to their traditional beliefs and practices. Of course, many returnees, had not been Christianized while away from the Weather Coast.

Whether Christianized or not, all had been exposed, in varying degree to aspects of Western ideology, religion, education, economy, and technology. When the revolutionary secular and religious forces of the West, in the form of the Christian church and the British government, made an impact on the societies of the Weather Coast, it was the labor returnees, men and a few women, who were most readily prepared to act as innovators, interpreters and exploiters of cross-cultural contact.

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91 Napthali Markia.
92 Susana Sekona.
CHAPTER IV

ALIEN INSTITUTIONS (c. 1870-1913), THE BEGINNING:
(i) The British Government
(ii) The Christian Missions

(i) The British Government

A British Protectorate was declared over the Solomon Islands in 1893 because of British fears of increased abuses in the labor trade and a concern about Australia's reaction should the French annex the islands. Actual resident British government did not eventuate until 1897 when Charles Morris Woodford with "six native policemen trained in Fiji and a whaleboat" arrived to take up office as Resident Commissioner.

1 Santa Isabel, Choiseul, the Shortland islands and Ontong Java were not included until the Samoan Tripartite Convention of 1899 was signed. Germany relinquished control of these islands in exchange for British withdrawal in Samoa. (W.P. Morrell, Britain in the Pacific Islands (Oxford, 1960), p. 347.

However, the British presence had been felt much earlier. The 1870's were the first years of frequent contact between Westerners and natives of the eastern Solomon Islands. For the Weather Coast, the initial years of the labor trade were characterized by kidnapping rather than recruiting. This resulted in some distrust of Westerners despite the fact that most of the "recruits" were returned to their homes. Even with labor recruiting, the actual contact time for Weather Coast people with the Westerners was brief; in fact, because of the difficult coastline, it was shorter than elsewhere as much recruiting was done from canoes rather than on the shore.\(^4\) A very different situation was created with the establishment of a trading station at Marau in the mid 1870's. Contact was continuous, affording more opportunities for conflict. The situation was exacerbated by the nature of the 'Are'Are people who were, and are, a particularly independent and aggressive people in comparison with their neighbors.\(^5\) It was not surprising then, that of the three white expatriates murdered in Guadalcanal in 1879, two of them Charles

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Halgate and Jimmy Morrow, were killed in the vicinity of Marau. Both were traders, mainly in copra. Halgate worked for A. Ferguson on the island named after the latter in Marau Sound and Morrow was in command of the vessel Ariel owned by the trader, Brodie. The Ariel was attacked and burned twelve miles north-west of Ferguson Island in April, 1879. Some of the murderers were from Marau Sound. The cause of the Ariel attack is not known, except insofar as it resulted in the plundering of the traders' stores. However, Halgate's murder, also in April, appears to have been in revenge for a fine of ten fathoms of shell money imposed on a Marau man, Washarri, by the captain of HMS Sandfly in 1878. The fine was imposed because Washarri stole pearl shell from Ferguson whose diving for shell in the area was naturally resented by the local people.

Another local trader, Wodehouse, had conducted his own punitive raid to avenge the murders of Halgate and his companion, a Savo man. Even though Wodehouse burned a village near the trading depot in revenge for the murders, the Royal Navy was sent to investigate the killings. When HMS Conflict and Bragle arrived in May, 1879, the murderers of Halgate and the Savo man, Washarri and Alick, had disappeared and were never apprehended. This is not surprising. Washarri

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6 Masters(?) to Hoskins, November 18, 1877, and Hoskins to Secretary of Admiralty, October 29, 1879, RANS, Pacific Islands, volume 14, 1877-79; Wilson to Gorrie, June 9, 1879, and Enclosure no. 1 of May 16, 1879, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 35 of 1878.
(Wasare or Vaisare) was the Ramo (fighting chief) of the area, the founder of the first mainland settlement on the south coast of Guadalcanal by the 'Are'Are, and the conqueror of the Bota Moli people inland from Hunivatu village. The fact that he was the product of several generations of marriages between people of Malaita and the Marau islands on the one hand and the people living on the coast between Bambasule and Marau Sound on the other gave him many contacts in the area and many hiding places.

Although none of the murderers was apprehended, the naval officers drove back an ambush, burned a village, canoes and fishing nets and seized muskets and spears as well. As labor recruiters noted, the punitive expedition certainly had a chastening effect on the 'Are'Are and their neighbors. Conditions were sufficiently peaceful.

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7 Foster to District Commissioner, March 30, 1950, BSIP, no. 14/32; See also District Commissioner to Secretary of Government, March, 1950, BSIP, no. 17/4.

8 Naomane (First interview).

9 One of the prime reasons for Vaisare's reputation was his having taken part in the murder of at least one white man. (Naomane, first interview).

10 Naomane.

11 Foster to District Commissioner, March 30, 1950, BSIP, no. 14/32,

12 Hoskins to Secretary of the Admiralty, October 29, 1879, RANS Pacific Islands, no. 53 of 1879.

to allow the Svensen and Nurdrum brothers to commence operation of the Marau Company on the island of Tavanipupu (Crawford Island) in 1890.\(^{14}\) A few years later, while declaring the Protectorate at various spots in the Solomons, Captain Gibson of the HMS Curacao, received a courteous welcome by the "chief" at Danae Bay, Marau.\(^{15}\)

This peace in south-east Guadalcanal was broken again in September, 1897, when Jean Porret, the manager of the Marau Company's plantation at Kaoka, Longgu, was murdered along with his two cooks, Ola and Misiana.\(^{16}\) Clearly, the local people who sold the land to the Marau Company did not fully understand the transaction and were hostile to its occupancy by planters. They then hired some bush people to

\(^{14}\) J. Svensen, The Early Development of the Solomon Islands: The First Kapitan Marau (Copy of unpublished original manuscript held by R.A. Langdon, Australian National University, [c. 1970]).

\(^{15}\) Gibson, "Special Report in Proceedings taken in Declaring a British Protectorate over certain of the Solomon Islands." Original Correspondence, Western Pacific, Colonial Office. 225/43, 1893.

\(^{16}\) Woodford to O'Brien, September 25, 1897, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 508 of 1897.
murder the intruders. Retribution was immediate. Woodford, acting somewhat precipitously, led a group of ten white traders gathered at Aola, to Kaoka on a punitive expedition. As the suspects in canoes cautiously approached the Sarah Beattie where the traders and police were hidden behind the bulwarks, the traders disobeyed Woodford's instructions and opened fire, killed two suspects and narrowly missed shooting Woodford's sergeant, William Buruku, in the fracas. Capturing some of the suspects, Woodford and his party proceeded to burn all the villages of those implicated—the hired assassins and their employers. The suspects, later taken to Fiji for trial, were found guilty.

Understandably, in Woodford's view, this episode "had an excellent effect all along the coast of Guadalcanal." The natives paid up on their debts to traders and plunder from the wreck of a trader's cutter on the north coast of Guadalcanal was returned. This kind of action made a distinct

17 Woodford's reaction was probably so definite because of the murder of members of the ill-fated scientific team from the Austrian vessel, Albatross, in 1896. These men made the grave mistake of attempting to climb the sacred mountain, Tatuve (Lion's Head), which incurred the hostility of neighboring natives. The apprehension of those implicated was impossible, due to the inaccessibility of the area and the small force at Woodford's disposal. (See Woodford to Thurston, November 25, 1896, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 508 of 1897).

18 Woodford to O'Brien, September 25, 1897, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 508 of 1897.

19 Woodford to O'Brien, October 2, 1897, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 510 of 1897.
impression on the minds of the inhabitants of the eastern end of Guadalcanal. It was but one of a series of constant interventions by the Navy and later, Woodford and his officers in the 1890's, to punish the headhunters of the central Solomons and other islanders who had attacked recruiting vessels, planters, and traders. Pacification allowed for the development of expatriate-owned plantations. Encouragement of such development was at the core of Woodford's administrative policies because only through commercial enterprise was a raison d'être provided for the British Colonial Office's support of a continuing British presence in the Solomon Islands. The Solomons, it appears were to be made safe, particularly for the white man.

Although word of these events may not have reached all the people of the Weather Coast, information regarding conflict and resulting government intervention on the Weather Coast itself certainly must have. As mentioned previously the disappearance of William Boyd of the Wanderer in 1851 brought HMS Serpent and later, in 1854, HMS Herald to the Wanderer Bay area. These visits were more investigatory

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20 Scarr, Fragments of Empire, pp. 266-267.
21 Ibid., pp. 263-264.
than punitive and, in view of when they occurred, were isolated incidents. Events in the Wanderer Bay region after the establishment of the Protectorate came quickly to the notice of Woodford as he had visited there in 1898, exploring with Svensen and the police sergeant, William Buruku, the mountains behind present-day Komate around the Charimalenga river. While at Veuru, he investigated the activities of the supposed headhunter, Baumate. In the same year, William Buruku returned to his Wanderer Bay home after twenty years absence and became the means by which British law was introduced into the area. Buruku attempted to put down local fighting. When the scale of operations was too large for him and his supporters, he wrote to Woodford, telling him of the presence of illegal guns in 1902 and of predatory raids by the bushmen on the coastal people at Bolonda the following year.

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22 Woodford to O'Brien, Report of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate for 1898-99, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 133 of 1899.

23 Woodford to O'Brien, May 21, 1898, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 205 of 1898.

24 Martin Manganimate (Second interview)


26 Hazelton to Woodford, March 7, 1903, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 60 of 1903.
Woodford had these charges investigated by Hazelton, the magistrate from Gizo station. In 1904, Woodford fined Wanderer Bay natives and empowered Buruku to collect the money. Such reinforcement of Buruku's authority so increased the latter's power that by 1910, his influence was felt in the Ghari bush near the upper catchment of the Tina river, as well as along the coast.

The people of the central Weather Coast also realized the government was serious in its pacification policy. Gona, the "big man" of Longgu, sold the "no man's land" of Avu Avu to the Roman Catholic mission. However, when the priest acquainted Gona and his brother, Kouritsi, with the former's concept of morality and land rights (see Chapter III), Gona and his followers complied but secretly sought out a party to avenge the felt insult. Those hired were bushmen who attempted to attack the mission in 1904. However, a Malaita catechist, Aloisio, alerted the priest who sent to Marau for his fellow priests. Bloodshed was averted. Woodford was notified and quickly arrested Gona and Kouritsi, taking both

27 E.C. Perry's deposition, Enclosure, Woodford to im Thurn, June 7, 1906, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 64 of 1906.


29 Woodford to O'Brien, September 21, 1900, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 134 of 1899.
away to work a year in the government gardens at Tulagi, the capital. 30 A few years later in 1909 at Moli, near Makaruka, another Catholic mission station was attacked, plundered, and the church linen profaned. Once again, the government was called. 31

Government action on the central Weather Coast initially centred around conflict between the natives and the mission, but the government was also concerned with establishing a general peace, the Pax Britannica. With his woefully limited resources, Woodford exploited to the utmost what was available. His tactic of utilizing men who understood the government's aims has been demonstrated in the case of Buruku. Although a network of such middlemen was not built until after 1914, David Sango was a force in the central Weather Coast to Queensland in December, 1886, on the Eliza Mary (See Appendix F). 32 He remained there for twenty years,


31 Ibid., p. 116

32 List of Pacific Islands Laborers, 1865-1904, Queensland Immigration Department, no. 44/1a; See Appendix F.
becoming a Christian with the Queensland Kanaka Mission and marrying another Christian, Rhoda Marapongul from New Ireland. Although exempt under the Australian Commonwealth Extradition Act following the cessation of labor recruiting, Sango and Rhoda chose to return with their family to his village at Talise in 1907 in order to evangelize.\(^3^3\) While a worker for the South Seas Evangelical Mission,\(^3^4\) he also later took on the role of innovator of British law for much of the central Weather Coast.\(^3^5\) His position as brother\(^3^6\) of the leading Garavu "big man"\(^3^7\) assisted his initial attempts to convert his people while his continuing association with the West on its secular and religious fronts confirmed his status. The influence of the Christian missions in general and Sango in particular brought about a general peace among the south coastal villages before the government station was established at Aola. In 1911, these coastal people met and destroyed their firearms as a gesture to

\(^3^3\) 'Not in Vain'... being Annual Report of the South Seas Evangelical Mission... for the year 1913-1914 (Sydney, 1915), p. 50.

\(^3^4\) The Queensland Kanaka Mission following the cessation of recruiting changed its name to the South Seas Evangelical Mission in 1907. ('Not in Vain'... 1906-1907 (Melbourne, 1907), p. 8.).

\(^3^5\) Hari Kala; Bereto Voliantoghu; Jack Palau.

\(^3^6\) 'Not in Vain'... for the year 1907-1908 (Sydney, 1908), p. 41.

\(^3^7\) Timmy Sele.
signify the end of their warfare.\textsuperscript{38} Although no official record exists of the government having appointed headmen prior to 1915-16,\textsuperscript{39} Woodford had noted as early as 1911 that a group of suitable men existed on Guadalcanal.\textsuperscript{40} As early as 1900, he had commenced recruiting individuals to give them basic police training.\textsuperscript{41}

Before the sub-district station was founded at Aola in north-east Guadalcanal in 1914, the government's only concern had been pacification of the coast. Clearly, there was no official government policy on village relocation.\textsuperscript{42} However, with the introduction of peace and punishment for lawbreakers, the conditions were being established by 1914 that allowed for greater mobility of population. There was less need to site settlements in inaccessible places and to have scattered hamlets along the coast and the nearby bush areas.

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{38} 'Not in Vain' . . 1916.
\textsuperscript{39} Woodford to Sweet-Escott, December 11, 1916, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, no. 89 of 1916.
\textsuperscript{40} Woodford to May, November 21, 1911, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2244 of 1911.
\textsuperscript{41} Woodford to O'Brien, January 17, 1900, WPHC Inward no. 57 of 1900; Woodford to O'Brien, February 2, 1900, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 59 of 1900.
\textsuperscript{42} A. Mahaffy, Memo on the Duties of District Magistrates in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and the Solomon Island Protectorate, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1196 of 1911, p. 3.
\end{quote}
The government was not the only force attempting to bring peace and the eradication of major crime (in the Western view) such as killing and stealing. The Melanesian Mission (Anglican Church), the Roman Catholics, and the South Seas Evangelical Mission were all operating on the Weather Coast by the first decade of this century and as such provided a continual ideological reinforcement of government policy. Their role in pacification was appreciated by the government as is witnessed by Woodford's swift action when Avu Avu Catholic mission was threatened and similarly, when the Melanesian Mission was under attack from the "big man," Sulukavo, in the Vaturanga area.

(ii) The Christian Missions

The Melanesian Mission early embarked on a policy of establishing Christian or "school" villages where Christians gathered. It commenced operations on Guadalcanal in the north-west near Vaturanga and Savulei where, in the early

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44 Woodford to O'Brien, September 21, 1900, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 213 of 1900.
years, it faced much opposition. By 1901, a number of school villages were attracting converts from neighboring settlements on the coast and in the bush. By 1901, a number of school villages were attracting converts from neighboring settlements on the coast and in the bush.45 In the south, visits by missionaries had been made to the Wanderer Bay area since 1896.46 By 1902, five boys from this area were permitted to be taken to the mission's training centre on Norfolk Island. and the following year, the tauvia, Paura, allowed a teacher to start a school at Veratasi, a hamlet within Sughu.48 The missionary, Frank Bollen, managed to establish teachers in villages as far east as Malagheti by 1908, but those villages beyond Veuru (near Cape Hunter) were infrequently visited by expatriate missionaries after Bollen's death the following year.49 Beyond Malagheti, both competition by the Catholic mission and the Melanesian Mission's lack of staff curtailed expansion. The only other Melanesian Mission center was founded in Moli in 1910.50

45 Southern Cross Log (Auckland), February 15 1901, 130.
46 Southern Cross Log, May, 1896.
47 Michael Longoni; Southern Cross Log, March, 1902.
48 Southern Cross Log, April, 1904; Benigo Tiula Michael Longoni.
49 Southern Cross Log, October 11, 1909. See also Hilliard, Protestant Missions in the Solomon Islands, 1849-1942, p. 161.
50 Southern Cross Log, April 1, 1910.
The policy of this mission in regard to village location for the Solomons is best summarized in the words of Cecil Wilson, Bishop of Melanesia:

"In our large islands, I mean in the Solomon Group, the most important islands, there are no villages until we make them. . . .the people live in hamlets. . . .When we get Christians in any one spot, we gradually gather all the people together from that neighborhood so that we form a village in time. When the number is finished, and all the people are gathered together, there may be 150 of them." 51

The Weather Coast villages of the Melanesian Mission followed this pattern. 52 At Wanderer Bay from 1903 on, people moved from Karo across to the mission village of Veratasi, while many came down from the bush settlements of Chadua, Tasule, Saudato and Kokoran (Figures 14 and 15: Wanderer Bay). 53 In the bush itself, scattered hamlets concentrated at Tamisu (c.1910) after being converted by the

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51 Southern Cross Log, August 13, 1910, 41-42. The diocese of Melanesia included the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands.

52 Patteson Nganga.

53 Michael Longoni; Martin Manganimate (First interview); Benigo Tiula.
teacher, George Gerakona. Three years later with the con­struction of a better church, the Tamisu people moved to Lumabogho. Gerakona was the first resident teacher at Marasa where followers of the mission congregated. The Queensland returnees prepared the way for the Melanesian Mission at Veuru. Similarly, Ari Kari at Ghorobau and George Kasi and Silas Vero at Kolina preceded the missiona­ries in attempting to evangelize (Figures 16 and 17: Duidui-Malagheti). It was they who called the people together from outlying hamlets as early as 1905 and it was through them that the Melanesian Mission extended its work. After being converted to Christianity by Queensland returnees, Charlie Buka and Jimmy Gaumasi, the people of the bush village of Tanachuichui in the Duidui area were influenced by Bollen to come closer to the coast to the villages of Inavidi and Veravaolu. Under the same impetus, the people of Bulaketava and Nglichechele also relocated at Veravaolu. In the much-missionized Malagheti villages, Ghaliatu became the Melane­sian Mission center, where the teacher, Cecil Baringala

54 Elders of the Melanesian Mission community at Ghauva­lisi; Patteson Nganga; John Mbumbuparumbau; Alverti Tongorovo.

55 Southern Cross Log, April 10, 1907, 151.

56 Pasesi Perolae.

57 Census of the BSIP for 1931, December 23, 1931, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 274 of 1932.
from north-west Guadalcanal, was able to bring about peace between the Malagheti and bush people in 1908.\(^58\)

For the Weather Coast, there was very little establishing of completely new, separate villages by the Melanesian Mission. A church was first built and a teacher lived within a hamlet whose people had been converted. Thereafter followers congregated around this settlement. Unlike the SSEM, the Melanesian Mission did not encourage its followers to completely segregate themselves from the rest of a hamlet cluster that followed a different mission, or was still pagan. This, of course, sometimes happened with the Christian converts as the scarcely veiled animosity among sections of the mission groups was often interpreted by their followers in a more concrete way.\(^59\)

The South Seas Evangelical Mission was more extreme in its insistence on the creation of Christian communities. Their policy for the Solomon Island Christians was:

"Come out from among them and be ye separate."\(^60\)

\(^58\) *Southern Cross Log*, January 8, 1910, 131.

\(^59\) Dominico Alebua. For examples see, *Southern Cross Log*, March 7, 1905, 11; *Southern Cross Log*, April 10, 1907, 150; *Southern Cross Log*, April 14, 1906, 40; Raucaz, *In the Savage South Solomons*, p. 196.

\(^60\) 2 Corinthians 6, v. 17.
New villages of SSEM followers grew up around the church, apart from the pagans and later other Christians. Once the SSEM missionaries started preaching on the Weather Coast in 1908, the Christian village of Inakona, founded by Chaku, expanded. Another Christian village on the coast was established by Ko'obush people on the site of Kikinocho, while the Queensland returnee Dicky Melu, later assisted by the missionary, Charles Lees, called together converts at Tabala in c.1913. In the Koloula valley another returnee from Queensland, Peter Ula, founded a SSEM village of about forty people at Inakaro (Figures 18 and 19: Koloula River


62 In 1931, Inakona had an SSEM population of 97, being the largest of all the Weather Coast SSEM villages. Since its population has only exceeded 100 in the 1965 head count when 106 (de jure count) were recorded, its limit was probably always around that number. (Census of the BSIP for 1931, December 23, 1931, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, no. 274 of 1932; Report of Assistant Medical Practitioner to Senior Medical Officer, August 20, 1953, BSIP, District file no. 3/9/1/13; Talise West, [October, 1963], BSIP, Central District File Administration no. 17/1/1; Talise West Ward, Census, 1965, BSIP, Central District--Unnumbered D. C. File; K. Groenewegen, BSIP: Report on the Census of the Population, 1970, p. 159; Chapman and Pirie, Report on the Guadalcanal Weather Coast (In preparation).). In relation to SSEM villages in the Solomons, Hilliard states that "few villages exceeded 80-100 inhabitants," but does not cite his source nor the specific period to which he is referring. (David Hilliard, "The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands: The Foundation Years," The Journal of Pacific History, 4 (1969), 52).

63 'Not in Vain. . .'1909-1910, p. 25.

64 Rutu Kivana.
However, the Koloula valley, being subject to frequent disturbances by flood and landslide, was not suited to the establishment of many large villages. The SSEM teachers here tended to move around, visiting each area. On Sundays, SSEM adherents walked to a central village where the church and teacher were located. On the coast at Sughu (Talise), David Sango was living in an area of concentrated population as was the teacher at Bokasughu, in Bota Moli. In both these villages, while some expansion occurred because of the appeal of the SSEM, the teachers worked within villages already established and where they were already known.

Prior to 1914, Sango and the Bokasughu teacher appealed to bush people to leave their hill top villages and come to the coast. However, traditional enmity between the saltwater and bush people plus the prevailing condition of warfare in the bush itself militated against this coastwards movement.

The Catholic Church was the first to introduce resident expatriate missionaries on the Weather Coast. The Avu Avu

65 Susana Sekona who is Peter Ula's sister; Timmy Chaku; Asaph Alo who is Peter Ula's son.

66 Charity Panda; Jimuel Singe.


68 Voho Laeni; 'Not in Vain' . . 1913-1914, no pagination.
station was founded in 1899, but was forced initially to discontinue operations for periods of up to a year, when the priests fell prey to malaria and returned to mission headquarters on the island of Rua Sura. \(^69\) At first the Catholic missionaries found their teachings met with rejection and some hostility by the people near Avu Avu. The villagers suffered their presence initially because the missionaries gave away tobacco as gifts. \(^70\) As Catholicism requires the mediation of a priest for most of its highest religious acts, the priests were required to visit scattered and inaccessible villages in the bush. This made work extremely difficult. \(^71\) Rather than attempting to persuade the villagers to move as did the Protestant faiths, they chose as their conversion strategy to bring the children to reside at the mission station for schooling and, in this way, create a core of adherents who could return to their villages with sufficient religious understanding to spread the faith and sustain it between the priest's visits. \(^72\)

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\(^{69}\) Raucaz, *In the Savage South Solomons*, pp. 105-108, p. 115.

\(^{70}\) Laracy, *Catholic Missions in the Soloman Islands*, p. 76.


The priests at Avu Avu interfered very little with traditional settlement patterns, but by 1909, their fellow missionaries at Tangarare (Figure 2) were encouraging the movement of bush villages closer to the coast. Two villages within the Weather Coast catchment, Tabuti and Tabala, consolidated at Lauvuna, a site which was more accessible to visiting priests and where a chapel served the people of both villages.\(^73\) Within Wanderer Bay, a Catholic village was founded at Bilikovu c.1910. These Wanderer Bay people had originally been taken to school as children to the foundation Catholic mission at Rua Sura. Subsequent converts assembled in this village, since most of the people in the neighboring villages in the Bay area were Melanesian Mission adherents.\(^74\)

Mission influence instigated the overwhelming majority of village moves during this time. Most of this nucleation was along the coast itself, which was the area initially contacted by the missionaries. As can be seen in the map of movement of village populations for the period 1900-1913 (Figure 5, second section), this occurred solely in the

\(^73\) R.P. Bertin, "Villages Chretiens de Guadalcanal dans le District de Tangarare," Les Missions Catholiques, 1928, 573; Camillo Lusu. These villages are beyond the area shown on the map as they are on the mountain crest line.

\(^74\) Bertin, "Villages Chretiens. . .," 551.
western half of the Weather Coast, the east being evangelized by the Catholics, mainly from Avu Avu mission, who did not interfere with traditional settlement patterns. Most of these moves were within clan and/or tribal regions that had been formerly occupied by the ancestors or relatives of the group concerned, since the distances traversed by villagers in order to achieve nucleation were approximately 1.9 km. (See Figure 6). Even Chaku's quite extensive move was mediated by lineage kin. Thus the mission-influenced moves occurred within the existing socio-territorial ambit and, in general, were extensions of familiar patterns of settlement.

In this early period (1870-1913) of contact with outsiders, the people of the Weather Coast were faced with two of the most pervasive institutions of the West—a superior government and the church. Where it occurred, violent resistance to these or to the mercantile wing of imperialism proved ultimately to be futile as each institution reinforced the seeming legitimacy of the others. Certain benefits were perceived to accrue from accommodation of these dominant alien forces. Both the need to come to terms with these forces and the possibility of exploiting the inherent potential of the new order by the indigenous people became even more imperative when government penetration and control accelerated after 1914.
CHAPTER V

ALIEN INSTITUTIONS (1914-1940), CONSOLIDATION:
(i) The British Government
(ii) The Christian Missions

(i) The British Government

With the establishment of a sub-district station at Aola in 1914, the government was brought into more direct contact with the Guadalcanal people than it had been when Tulagi had been the nearest government center to the island. The government's aims for the whole of the Protectorate—mere desiderata for Guadalcanal prior to 1914—were now able to be pursued as administrative possibilities. As before, the predominant concern was pacification. Added to this were the policy of weaning the people from their isolation\(^1\) and the prevention of conflict between them and the expatriate planters and traders who had become quite numerous on the

\(^1\) May to Harcourt, December 8, 1911, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2161 of 1911.
on the north and western coasts of Guadalcanal.\(^2\)

By 1916-17, a network of unofficial government headmen was established along the Weather Coast.\(^3\) William Buruku at Wanderer Bay, Ari Longalae at Ghorobau,\(^4\) David Sango at Sughu (Talise),\(^5\) Ari Arasi at Nakili,\(^6\) Charlie Paeona at Visanaoru,\(^7\) and Ekouwa at Marau were among the early appointees.\(^8\) All were laborers returned from Queensland or Fiji, and thus had some understanding of British law and,

\(^2\) Barnett to Secretary of State, October 26, 1914, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2808 of 1914.

\(^3\) Official district and village headmen and village constables were not employed as paid members of the administration until 1924. (Hill to High Commissioner, February 22, 1924, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 849 of 1924.). See also Wilson to Resident Commissioner, September 20, 1923, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2600 of 1923. Headmen appear to have been chosen on the basis of their leadership abilities as well as their loyalty to the administration. Difficulties arose in the traditional political structure when the headman was not the "big man." However, the government consciously attempted to select headmen who were traditional leaders. (Hutson to Secretary of State, October 26, 1925, WPHC Outward Correspondence, no. 2352 of 1925.).

\(^4\) Martin Manganimate (second interview).

\(^5\) Dominico Alebuia; Rikeena Matekiki; Susana Sekona; Jo Ongavi; Wilson to Resident Commissioner, April 2, 1927, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 888 of 1927, (8a).

\(^6\) Billy Erumania; Alice Mary Kaevingu; Reme Ava; Voho Laeni.

\(^7\) Berndito Ola; Naphali Markia.

\(^8\) Naomane.
probably of more importance, British power. In addition, some of the men selected from all parts of the Weather Coast for police training also included former laborers. Upon returning to their villages, these individuals were often sent by the headmen to other settlements to supervise the implementation of government orders and to apprehend law breakers. District headmen relayed government policy to the village headman and/or "big men" after having met with the District Officer and his police when they visited the Weather Coast on patrol.

Concentrating initially on the eastern half of Guadalcanal, these patrols commenced to confiscate guns early in 1915—a procedure which was continued by the headmen.

9 John Mbumbuparumbau; Benjamin Pangetava (who was one of R.B. Hill's policemen); John Lambi; Jo Ongavi; Reme Ava; Dominico Alebua; Billy Erumania (who was one of C. Norris' policemen); M. Chapman, unpublished field notes, 1966; Resident Commissioner to High Commissioner, January 6, 1919, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 9 of 1919.

10 Wilson to Barnett, February 6, 1915, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1138 of 1915; Malaghai Saniele; Chele.

11 Wilson to Barnett, February 6, 1915, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1138 of 1915; Barnett to Sweet-Escott, March 1, 1915, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 40 of 1915.

12 John Lambi.
In the first few years of the government officer's residence on Guadalcanal the apprehension of murderers from the eastern Weather Coast was almost an annual occurrence. In 1915 four men from the Balo-Sukiki area were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for the killing of four of their fellows in 1910. The reputed multiple murderer Rava'ahoa (or Lavahaua) of the 'Are'Are village of Hunivatu (Marau) was jailed in 1916, for twelve years for acting as a hired killer. The following year Dick Kitzau of the Sabalahava river valley (See Figure 22: Veuru Moli) was imprisoned, having been found guilty of killing his mother in 1915.

13 Record of charge against Jacky Gai, Johnny Pono, Voli and Ruga, Criminal Jurisdiction, June 24, 1915, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 113 of 1915.

14 Record of charge against Lavahaua, Criminal Jurisdiction, May 27, 1916, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2216 of 1916; Naomane (First and second interviews). Naomane is Rava'ahoa's brother. Their father, Touhu'au, was a returnee of several years experience in Fiji as was their uncle, Alike, who was kidnapped and taken to Samoa. Naomane was the Marau leader of "Marching Rule" in the immediate post war years and suffered imprisonment at the hands of the British Government.

15 Record of charge against Rick Kitzau, Vekilapilapi, Mativouru and Kapini, Criminal Jurisdiction, April 20, 1917, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1554 of 1917.
Murder by *Vele* brought the death sentence to a man in 1918.\(^{16}\) Two years later three men were jailed on similar charges.\(^{17}\) Both *Vele* cases were from the remote bush in the Chimiu--Valasi region.

The government met with very little direct opposition, except insofar as offenders tried to flee. The only violent confrontation came later, in 1927, when three policemen (Funansua, Gena, Veki) and a boy were murdered at Verakone, not far from the area where the Austrians from the *Albatross* were murdered in 1896. There is no doubt that the policemen exceeded their authority in a misinterpretation of the law and provoked their murderers. The killings occurred in the same year as the murders on Malaita of the government officers, W.R. Bell, K.C. Lillies, and twelve Solomon Island members of their staff. In both cases retribution was swift. On Guadalcanal, government officers and the police, aided by friendly villagers, including a large group of the Talise people organized by the aged David Sango, rounded up the

\(^{16}\) Record of charge against Suni, Criminal Jurisdiction, (undated), 1918, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2042 of 1918.

\(^{17}\) Record of charge against Gausere, Porobolo and Duru, Criminal Jurisdiction, June 4, 1920, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1910 of 1920.
suspects. Six were hanged, a severe punishment for men whose area had never been toured by a district officer, yet paid the tax, and who appear to have so acted because the government officers neglected to supervise their policemen's use of authority. However, the murders were premeditated and the perpetrators cognizant of the enormity of their deed. On Malaita, a local defence force, with the aid of HMS Adelaide, captured the accused who were tried and six also were hanged.

The first resident district officers to patrol the Weather Coast were Charles Norris (district officer, May, 1915 to October, 1919) and Ralph Brodhurst Hill (April, 1920 to September, 1925 with intervals, see Appendix G).

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18 WPHC Inward Correspondence, files nos. 888 and 3434 of 1927; 1651 of 1928.

19 H.C. Moorhouse, British Solomon Islands Protectorate: Report of Commissioner appointed by the Secretary for the Colonies to inquire into the circumstances in which murderous attacks took place in 1927 on Government Officials on Guadalcanal and Malaita. London, 1929, passim; Dominico Alebua; Barley to High Commissioner, March 2, 1928, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1651 of 1928.

20 Norris, a very effective and active officer, served three years elsewhere in the Solomons followed by this entire term in Guadalcanal without a break, due to staff difficulties resulting from World War I. The rigors of climate, work, and isolation proved too great a burden. He left the Solomons suffering from a "nervous breakdown," never to return to the Protectorate and was recorded in 1925 as being an inmate in a mental hospital in England. Released in 1935, he was "still mentally enfeebled." (Acting Resident Commissioner to High Commissioner, December, 1920, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, no. 2327 of 1920; David Blair to Sec. of Colonies, Nov.16, 1925, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, no.2594 of 1925; Sec. of State to High Commissioner, April 17, 1936, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, Telegram, no. 62 of 1936).
Implementing the policy of breaking down the isolation of the people, Norris supervised the nucleation of hamlets into sizeable villages along the coast and in the bush (Figure 5, 1914-1929). He, and subsequently Hill, insisted that villages in the bush should be sited in the valleys and away from the mountain crests and hill tops, preferably near a good supply of running water.\(^{21}\) This made the population, from the government's point of view, more accessible; it was easier for patrols to follow river valleys than it was to visit scattered settlements high in the mountains. The inhabitants of bush hamlets closer to the coast were encouraged to relocate near the beach or combine with an existing saltwater settlement. As a result of this nucleation, communities sited in one location increased in size, but rarely exceeded 100.\(^{22}\)

These policies, however, were not implemented simultaneously or uniformly throughout the Weather Coast. The eastern end was first contacted,\(^{23}\) with patrols visiting

\(^{21}\) Wilson to Secretary of the Government, January 6, 1934, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1522 of 1933.

Wilson to Resident Commissioner, July 18, 1927, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 22 of 1928.

\(^{22}\) Bush Kumuto prior to this nucleation occasionally contained over 200 people, however this number did not reside permanently in one location.

\(^{23}\) Barnett to High Commissioner, March 1, 1915, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 40 of 1915.
Talise as early as 1915. After pacification, the government insisted on the building of a road—actually no more than a path—from Aola connecting the Ngarambusu and Mongga river valleys across the mountains through the pass near Suilonggolonggo and down the Alivaghato river valley to the south coast near Longgu. Mountain hamlets along this route were resettled closer to the road. Similarly, the government ordered the construction by villagers of a cleared path along the coast to aid in the mobility of officers and the population in general.

From the eastern section, the construction of the path along the coastline spread into the western half of the Weather Coast under the direction of Norris. Although much of this coast road was near completion in 1918, only the more accessible inland areas of the western section, such

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24 Wilson to Resident Commissioner, September 20, 1923, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2600 of 1923.

25 Hill to High Commissioner, January 4, 1924, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 254 of 1924; Martia Alverti, Laurence Vungalaela and Ubi Anderiano.

26 Workman to High Commissioner, January 17, 1919, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 456 of 1918; Hill to High Commissioner, January 4, 1924, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 254 of 1924; Jack Palau; Pasesi Perolae. Parts of the rugged western section proved impossible for road making, these parts being between Inakona and Wanderer Bay. A similar situation exists today. (Filose to Resident Commissioner, April 15, 1926, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1185 of 1925).
as the valleys of the Tina and Lamulaghi rivers, came under continual contact with the government prior to the change in policy on village relocation. Norris and the Police Commandant, Campbell, were the first government officials to patrol the whole of the western coastal area. Hill visited the Lamulaghi river area in c. 1920. Inland Ghari and the area north-east of the Tina river were barely affected by the government's early policies; what relocation and nucleation that did occur was initially stimulated before 1916 by the Melanesian Mission and the Catholics. This inland region was rarely patrolled beyond Kuekue, Kalikere and Lumabogho by the district officers, as an officer in the 1950's discovered when he found that Maokao and environs had been last visited in 1920. Other extensive areas of bush districts were unvisited by the government. Acting District Officer Wilson, who relieved Hill from July to December, 1923, was the first officer to patrol the Suta area around the Sutakama river and the headwaters of the Kuma river—yet the people

27 Patteson Nganga who witnessed the officers' visit.
28 Michael Longoni who witnessed Hill's visit.
29 District Officer to District Commissioner, April 9-13, 1957, Administrative Touring Reports Southern Sugu (Central District), BSIP, no. 3/9/1/12; Wilson, Log of A/V Ramada, April, 1928, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 3168 of 1928.
of this region had previously paid their tax by taking it all the way to Aola.  

There was variation within this general pattern of government penetration into first, the eastern portion, next the western coast, and finally pockets of the bush. In the east, in the Duidui area for example, people of the village of Malaponggu heard from returning plantation laborers of the government's policy of re-locating villages near the coast on some of the other islands such as Choiseul and Santa Isabel. Of their own volition, but doubtless reinforced by the earlier mission-influenced moves of people from nearby Bulaketava and Tanachuichui to the coast, the Malaponggu people moved southwards to Verarigia in c. 1912 (Figures 16 and 17: Duidui-Malagetti), some years before government patrols visited the area.  

Following government contact, in the eastern section, the most dramatic nucleated growth in community size and coastward movement occurred at Purakiki (Figures 24 and 25: Bota Moli-Marau). Initially involving the bush hamlet of

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30 Wilson to Resident Commissioner, September 20, 1923, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2600 of 1923.  
Bulusoso in c. 1916, others followed over the next three to four years. The inhabitants of the small hamlets of Burobaghalo, Belathrenghau, Veratabu, Naho, Valepiro, Tava and Tiromasau filtered down from the Bota Moli hills and established themselves at Purakiki. Such a move, while initiated by the government, was encouraged by the SSEM, which was active in this area. Only a few die-hard pagans refused to move, preferring to remain close to their ancestral shrines. The Bota Moli coastal area prior to 1920 had been sparsely settled.32 Because of warfare and a probably unhealthy environment even in the pre-contact period, people eschewed the coastal plain for the safety of the hills.33 There is also evidence to suggest that settlements on the sea front itself were remnants of larger habitations. Both Bota Moli and eastern Veuru Moli appear to have experienced a period of population decline after contact.34 Their proximity to Marau heightened their exposure to introduced diseases which carried off many people in the 1890's around Veramakuru and continued to

32 Piro Tatau.
33 Piro Tatau; Naomane.
34 T. Foye and J. Tanner, "Child Spacing, Family Limitation and attitudes to Population Control," Report on the Guadalcanal Weather Coast; Census of the BSIP for 1931, December 23, 1931, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 274 of 1932; Reme Ava.
decimate the population into the late 1920's (See Chapter 6). 35

If nucleation occurred in the valleys of the Kolokondali, Kandahu and other rivers in Bota Moli no record of it has been found. However, it is not surprising that this area shows no coastwards movement since a majority of the people in the 1920's and 1930's were either pagan or Catholic. 36 Neither affiliation was likely to encourage coastward consolidation.

In obedience to the government's edict the many scattered hamlets in the Sabahalava and Alualu river regions had moved down to three main "Government" villages by c. 1922: Nakavoa, Old Pichahila and Makanakolo. Nakavoa and Manganakolo were new villages whereas the other was expanded from a Komuto (Figures 22 and 23: Veuru Moli). All the village "big men" met with the headman from Nakili, Ari Arasi, 37


36 Census of BSIP for 1931, December 23, 1931, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 274 of 1932.

37 Because of his reputation as a "larrikin man" and his intelligence and sophistication, Ari Arasi may have been the once infamous Harry Harris who was involved in several cases of gun smuggling in the Solomon Islands at the turn of the century. Rene Ava; Labour Trade, pp. 18-19, Collected papers relating to External Affairs, assembled by the Director, Pacific Branch, 1920, Prime Minister's Department, CAO, CRS, A1108, vol. 57; Woodford to Chermside, March 20, 1903, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 82 of 1898.
and Norris who explained the government's edicts. Ari Arasi was a returnee from thirty-five years in Queensland and he, his wife, and children spoke fluent English. An ideal middleman, he supervised the government's orders in the Sabahalava and Alualu river areas, brought peripheral bush people down to Namunahai and saw to it that coastal hamlets in his area such as those of Sukiki, Nakili and Balo nucleated into more compact settlements. In Ari Arasi's area, the twenty to thirty people in the hamlet of Kilikili-kibe under Norris' direction built a new village further south at Nenepuhu to which they subsequently moved.

Nucleation of hamlets was enforced along the valleys of the Alivaghato river and its tributaries with some coastward movement shown in the relocation of the inhabitants of Nachupu and Pelu at Labeano and Longgu (Figures 20 and 21: Talise-Longgu). Around the Avuavu mission, little

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39 Eugen Paravicini, Reisen in Den Britischen Solomonen (Leipzig, 1931), p. 120; Ari Arasi was headman until his death in November, 1928. (Ibid.; Resident Commissioner to High Commissioner, July 6, 1926, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 283 of 1926; Enclosure "Headman and village Constables, Guadalcanal," no. 2558 of 1926).
40 Reme Ava.
41 Alice Mary Kaevingu.
42 Billy Erumania.
43 Martin Alverti, Laurence Vungalaela, and Ubi Anderiano.
change in settlement patterns was recorded except for the movement of some bush people coastwards to Tanggiata in c. 1925.  

On the central Weather Coast Sango primarily encouraged nucleation of hamlets along the coast from around Sughu (Talise) to Viso. Some absorption of peripheral bush settlements occurred in the Vatalena area where the people of Alitauva moved to the village of Vatalena itself in c. 1917. In c. 1920, some amalgamation occurred in the Kuma river valley at Ngalikache as it had done in the Koloula valley (Figures 18 and 19: Koloula River Inset) at Valevaghalo, Valetovolo and old Valeranisi. In both these valleys, however, the susceptibility to flooding and earthquake damage hindered growth of permanent large settlements.

44 Paravicini, Reisen. . ., p. 48
45 Jack Palau; Rikeena Matekiki; Marasiliano Choki; Rutu Kivava.
46 Hari Kala.
47 Cho Ranga.
48 Cheonikai; Amule Kolima of Valeranisi whose father, Porokimi, was the "big man" in this area and led some of the moves.
In the west, nucleation and coastward movement occurred under government direction at Ngaligonu near Duidui. After being informed of the government's wishes by policemen c. 1919, most of the people of Chokadora and Lusuruka moved quite a distance to the coastal settlements of Komate and Biti where they had relatives (Figures 14 and 15: Wanderer Bay). The people of the Tina river headwaters region moved from several small hamlets into Verolea and Vunisoto.

The settlements created as a result of the government's policy from 1916 to 1924 were laid out in accordance with specific directives. The site of the village had to be located near a good supply of water. Formerly, while hamlets had been close enough to a stream to fetch drinking water, they were not always close enough for frequent bathing, which, in the view of the government, was a desirable habit. Houses were to be sturdily built with a distance of five fathoms (30 feet) between them for reasons of hygiene and fire-prevention. Traditionally, much of the household cooking had been done within the windowless and chimney-less house.

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49 Ratu Kivava.

50 Benjamin Pangetaua who was one of the policemen to deliver the government's orders.

51 John Mbumbuparumbau; Elders of Poisughu.
The government encouraged building of separate cooking houses—a measure designed to prevent eye infections, but which unfortunately also encouraged mosquitoes. Where terrain permitted, houses were to be set out in lines facing inwards to a path extending down the center, except on the coast where the entrance always faced the sea. In addition, people were forbidden to share their houses with pigs, as had been the custom in most areas. Pigs had to be fenced off from the village. The village area had to be kept clean; undergrowth and patches of uncleared vegetation were not permitted. Forbidden also was the dumping of waste in the village area. Paths connecting villages had to be kept clean of undergrowth and marauding pigs.  

The reaction of the villagers to the government's radical changes was mixed. In the main, the cessation of warfare was not regretted by the people. However, although

52 Napthali Markia; Berndito Ola; Pasesi Perolae; Chapman, unpublished field notes, 1966; Barnett to Sweet-Escott, February 24, 1917, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 47 of 1917. The legislation to empower District and Village Headmen with authority to enforce these laws was not passed until 1922, but such rules had been promulgated prior to this. (King's Regulation, November 25, 1922, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2768 of 1922).

the government's policy of resiting and consolidation of villages was extensively implemented, people did not like having such an integral part of their lives altered. 54 While the pattern of re-locating villages was not alien in itself, the government impetus was. The prevailing condition of peace, which removed the necessity for the siting of hamlets in high places for defence allowed for the resigned acceptance of such policy as did the threat of fine or imprisonment, if the law were disobeyed. In relation to the new sanitation requirements, the acting High Commissioner, Barnett, stated in 1917 that "the natives willingly obeyed the orders given for bettering their condition" and that "they are now appreciating this altered state of living." 55 Obey they did, but appreciate they did not. 56

In the early years when Norris and Hill were governing, rules relating to village sanitation were secondary to the fundamental requirement of village nucleation and continuous residence in that site. Such priority was potentially dangerous, since new patterns of settlement and residence usually

54 Alice Mary Kaevingu; Reme Ava; Maria Vura.
55 Barnett to High Commissioner, February 24, 1917, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 47 of 1917.
56 Dominico Alebua; Luvusia Willy.
require a new set of behaviors so that the health of the population will be maintained. Norris was active in introducing these policies, as he was in road building, but many of the laws were not policed in the second half of Hill's administration. Although native taxation of 10 shillings (U.S.$0.80, Aust.$1.00) per adult male was introduced in Guadalcanal in 1921, Hill refused to leave Aola on foot even to collect the money and required the headmen to bring the tax to him. Hill's own description tells of the difficulties faced by people because of his attitude: "The bulk of the population being on the south coast, the majority of natives had to traverse difficult country where absolutely no food exists. The length of these journeys varies from sixty miles to one hundred miles, and occasionally it is even more. I have known natives from Wanderer Bay arrive by the south coast and return by the north, not knowing which route was easier, and thus, traversing the entire circumference of the island." His handling of the "timid and

57 Filose,"Roads," Enclosure in Filose to Kane, April 15, 1926, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1185 of 1925.
58 Hill to Resident Commissioner, November 29, 1922, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 177 of 1923.
59 Hill to High Commissioner, January 4, 1924, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 254 of 1924 (1).
cowardly natives of Guadalcanal was despotic and, as his superiors found in 1924, verged on misgovernment. Administration suffered under Hill who was reprimanded "for not travelling more frequently in his district" and was subsequently transferred.

Without regular patrols, many of the apparently minor rules relating to village sanitation were neglected. This situation continued until the late twenties because of frequent changes in administrators at Aola (See Appendix G), as District Officer Leonard Weight noted in relation to general government by indirect rule: "A very important point with regard to the training of chiefs as rulers is that progress is only obtained when they have confidence in the district officer who to them is the whole government, and this confidence is only gained by long acquaintance. For this reason, owing to the many changes which have unfortunately

60 Hill to High Commissioner, April 29, 1924, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 254 of 1924 (5).
61 For an example of Hill's arrogant attitude, see Hermann Norden, Byways of the Tropic Seas (High Holbon, W.C., 1926), p. 49.
62 WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1181 of 1925, passim.
63 Fell to Secretary of State, November 19, 1924, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 254 of 1924 (14). Hill appears to have been on the verge of a mental breakdown, which the British attributed to Hill's imprisonment during World War I. (Eyre Huston to Secretary of State, November 13, 1925, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 254 of 1924 (21).
64 Eyre Huston to Resident Commissioner, March 24, 1926, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 254 of 1924 (24).
been necessary in the administration of this district, progress has often been retarded. The Protectorate government, shocked into an examination of its administrative policies and practices by the Guadalcanal and Malaita murders in 1927, became more rigorous in its supervision both of officers and their performance of duties. From 1928 and into the thirties, there was greater continuity in staffing at Aola which resulted in frequent and regular patrols supervised by officers. Law enforcement considerably improved with annual and often bi-annual visits of the District Officer to the Weather coast.

District Officer Colin Wilson, who as early as 1923 appears to have preferred to allow traditional settlement patterns to continue, perceived the havoc nucleation had caused in some bush settlements by 1927 (See Chapter VI), and

65 Wright to Resident Commissioner, Report on Guadalcanal for 1929, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1290 of 1930.
66 Secretary for Colonies to High Commissioner, June 4, 1929, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1801 of 1929; Barley to Wilson, April 18, 1929, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 3049 of 1928.
67 For visits by government vessel Ramada to the Weather Coast, See WPHC Inward Correspondence, files nos. 1832 and 3168 of 1928; 1422 (66), 1428, and 2831 of 1929; 1278 and 3026 of 1930; 1465, 2897 of 1931; 1721, 3422 of 1932; 918 of 1934. Forwarding of boat's logs was discontinued in 1934. (High Commissioner to Resident Commissioner, July 20, 1934, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 140 of 1934). See also BSIP no. 14/9, passim.
68 Wilson to Resident Commissioner, September 20, 1923, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2600 of 1923.
permitted the relaxation of this practice wherever it interfered with the health of the people. That some villagers were loath to take advantage of the new order when the need for it arose is an indication of both people's fear of the government and the inconvenience occasioned in resiting villages. Even when disease ravaged villages, as was the case with Inakaro and Nakavoa, the people sought government permission before they dispersed from their unhealthy sites. By the mid 1930's, however, the government officers were much more inclined to allow the traditional pattern to persist and to seek the opinion of the village leaders in regard to altering village sites. In areas where relocation had already been enforced, reversion to former settlement patterns was not greatly censured by the government.

69 Wright to Secretary of the Government January 6, 1934, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1522 of 1933 (5a); High Commissioner to Resident Commissioner, October 31, 1933, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1522 of 1923 (3).

70 Peter Kimbo.


72 District Officer, Guadalcanal, Diary of July, 1936, Diaries Monthly District Officers, Secretariat, BSIP no. 14/1, Part III.

73 See I. Hogbin, "The Hill People of North East Guadalcanal," Oceania, 8 (1937), 70.
(ii) Christian Missions

Until the late 1920's the various missions altered little in their policies on village relocation and nucleation. Initially, all denominations consistently supported government policy, because it made the people more accessible to the missionaries.

By 1928, the Melanesian Mission and the Catholics in north-west Guadalcanal had realized the dangers in the relocation of bush people in large coastal communities and ceased their former emphasis on such moves. As early as c. 1910, the Catholic missionaries at Tangarare had begun to perceive that the bush people were highly susceptible to disease in a coastal environment. People of the Ghari bush hamlets of Tabule and Tabala had, after a series of moves, finally relocated near the Tangarare mission at the village of Choighi. At this lower altitude and in a larger community, the villagers became ill and some died. The priest allowed a return to a mountain crest village site at Kuena where the people regained their health.

On the Weather coast itself, the Melanesian Mission did not emphasize nucleation as part of its teachings although

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74 Paravicini, Reisen. . . p. 48.

75 Bertin, "Villages Chretiens de Guadalcanal dans le District de Tangarare," Les Missions Catholiques, 1928, 573; Camillo Lusu.
small groups of people from Balubalu and Sesadou in the bush of the Tetekanji and Birao areas moved a considerable distance south to the coast to Oa in Bota Moli because they wanted to live within a Melanesian Mission community. The pagans of Balubalu went to Keresoto when the former village was deserted by the Christians (Figures 24 and 25: Bota Moli-Marau). However, the SSEM, seemingly blind to the physical needs of its people, continued to actively encourage nucleation in the bush areas of Birao in the east in 1916 and in the Horahana central bush at Nata and Suta in the early 1930's.

The policy of the Catholic mission on the Weather Coast at Avu Avu changed little over the years, with Jean Boudard resident as priest from 1907 to 1942. Once the first groups of children were taught and trained as catechists, they were sent as "scouts" into the distant bush hamlets. In some of these hamlets, rough chapels were built to which the people from nearby settlements came for instruction or when the

76 Augustine Vara.

77 N. Deck, Letter: Guadalcanal, 1916

priest visited. At no time did the Catholic mission attempt to move the people from their traditional settlements, but by the same token, neither did the mission oppose the government's policy. Some resettlement of bush population occurred in the vicinity of Avu Avu and Lauvi lagoon. The environs of the latter were always considered by the people to be a particularly tabu place probably due to the presence of crocodiles in the early days and the continuing presence of numerous mosquitoes which proliferate in the swampy fringes of the lagoon.

A new mission, the Seventh Day Adventists, entered the Weather Coast in 1926. By 1931, led by Norman Ferris, SDA teachers were evangelizing in Talise and Bota Moli, gaining a following in Vatumanivo, the Areata-Vatalena region and at Beso and Kopiu. Like the SSEM, the SDA

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80 Eugen Paravicini, Reisen. . . p. 106.

81 Tabu means "forbidden".

82 The avoidance of this area is illustrated in Figure 11, "Distribution of Population, 1931 to 1972;" Luvusia Willy.

83 Colin Wilson to Secretary of Government, May 4, 1927, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2894 of 1927.

84 David L. Hilliard, Protestant Missions in the Solomon Islands, 1849-1942, p. 448; Luvusia Willy.

85 Census of BSIP for 1931, December 23, 1931, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 274 of 1932.
insisted on the building of new villages where its followers gathered. However, unlike the SSEM, the SDA rated village and personal cleanliness high on the list of Christian virtues. Their prohibition against the consumption of pork, while decreasing the people's intake of animal protein, certainly made village hygiene easier. The SDA encouraged the building of houses with a wooden floor raised off the ground on piles. Unlike the traditional Guadalcanal house which was constructed without windows so as to keep out enemies and malevolent spirits, the SDA's houses had windows. Such measures assisted in the prevention of pulmonary diseases. With strict rules of village sanitation, the SDA people do not appear to have suffered in terms of health by the act of nucleation, since they had a new set of customs to cope with a new style of living.

It had taken some time and many lives for the early mission groups and the government to learn this fact, that an enforced change in the settlement patterns and general life style of the people had repercussions on the overall health of the Weather Coast population. These repercussions were frequently detrimental and exacerbated by the impact of alien diseases.

86 Luvusia Willy.

87 For an example of a typical SDA village, see James E. Cormack, Isles of Solomon (Washington, 1944), picture facing p. 160. The Melanesian Mission followers appear to have adopted this practice also, but when this was first encouraged by the missionaries is not known.
CHAPTER VI

ALIEN DISEASES;
RELOCATION, NUCLEATION, AND MORTALITY

"The whole population of the British Solomons, with a few unimportant exceptions . . . is entirely Melanesian and will . . . disappear. . . .

My opinion is that nothing in the way of the most paternal legislation or fostering care, carried out at any expense whatever can prevent the eventual extinction of the Melanesian race in the Pacific. This I look upon as a fundamental fact and as certain as the rising and setting of the sun."¹

Charles Woodford's pessimism is understandable in the light of the conditions prevailing in the Solomon Islands during his period of office (1896-1914) and explains his attempts to obtain coolie labor to work on European-owned

¹ Woodford to im Thurm, December 26, 1909, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 111 of 1910.
coconut plantations. He saw as one of the major causes of depopulation the diseases introduced by foreigners.

However, prior to outside contact, the islands were hardly healthy. Certain diseases are known to be endemic. Malaria was the worst of these as its cumulative debilitating effects created the "80 per cent man," woman and child.

On Guadalcanal, malaria of the *Plasmodium vivax* and *P. falciparum* varieties was probably the most common.

Rarely fatal in adult immunes, malaria results in anaemia. Furthermore, some evidence exists to show that it reduces the number of conceptions and causes interrupted pregnancies though a recent survey of the Solomon Islands does not support this latter assertion. Anaemia was also caused

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5 The infant death rate due to malaria may have been of the order of 40 per cent as was the case in New Ireland. (R. F. Scragg, *Depopulation in New Ireland: A Study of Demography and Fertility* (Administration of P.N.G., 1954), p. 47.


8 J. D. MacGregor, "Malaria and Mortality in the British Solomon Islands." (Unpublished manuscript for submission to *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*) Honiara, BSIP, [c.1968]).
by the massive and universal infestation of hookworm
(Necator americanus)\(^9\) which again served to further weaken
the population.

Yaws (Treponema pertenue) was also common in pre-contact
times.\(^10\) Though infrequently causing death, the disease in
its advanced stages destroys tissue, causes muscular
contractures and hypertrophy of the bones, particularly in
the extremities which, in the Melanesian environment, are
most susceptible to laceration and thus the initial
infection.\(^11\) This debilitating disease was certainly very
prevalent in the early contact period and continued to be
so in the first three decades of this century.\(^12\)

Eye diseases such as conjunctivitis and trachoma seem

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\(^9\) An early survey conducted in 1930 on hookworm
infestation on Guadalcanal showed that of 8,983 people
examined, 8,485 were infected—and this was seven years
after the use of carbon tetrachloride as a treatment for
hookworm had commenced for laborers at plantations on north
and west Guadalcanal (District officer to Secretary of
Government, Jan. 23, 1931, WPHC Inward Correspondence,
no. MP 1101; Carment to Secretary of Government, July 5,
1923, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1969 of 1923).

\(^10\) P. Pirie, "The effects of Treponematosis and
Gonorrhea on the Population of the Pacific Islands," Human
Biology in Oceania, 1 (Feb., 1972), 189; Ashley to High
Commissioner, June 25, 1930, WPHC Inward Correspondence,
no. 1160 of 1930.

\(^11\) For description of cases at Talise see 'Not in
Vain' . . . 1911, (Bundaberg, Australia, 1911), p. 22.

\(^12\) Heffernan to Barnett, February 20, 1917, WPHC Inward
Correspondence, no. 701 of 1917, p. 6; Carment to Secretary
of Government, July 5, 1923, WPHC Inward Correspondence,
no. 1969, of 1923.
to have been endemic and possibly affected at least a quarter of the population of Guadalcanal. Skin diseases were also common, particularly bakua (Tinea imbricata). The latter were uncomfortable particularly to babies, but by no means disabling.

Other than early post contact data, indirect evidence for the prevalence of these endemic diseases in pre-contact times comes from informants. Traditional or "custom" medicine can alleviate and, in some cases, cure the above diseases, whereas informants state that introduced diseases are beyong the capabilities of the practitioners of the craft.

Malaria (especially cerebral malaria) and yaws could result in death particularly in children, but the general effect of these and other endemic diseases was to weaken, rather than decimate, the population. Even with such

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14 Journal of C. Rudd, Dauntless, May 12, 1877; Journal of W. Bell, Clansman, December 26, 1908.

15 J. Foye, "Folk Medicine, Moli District of Guadalcanal," (unpublished paper, 1973). One informant described in great detail a "custom" cure for tuberculosis. As he described how the medicine worked, it became clear to the writer that the worms expelled from the patient were intestinal parasites rather than tubecule bacilli. The informant went on to state that should this medicine not relieve the coughing, practitioners of Western medicine would be consulted. (Luvusia Willy).
diseases, the population of the pre-contact Weather Coast must have at times exerted pressure on the land-resource base since the people deemed it necessary to employ artificial checks on their population growth. Had the death rate exceeded or equaled the birth rate, such checks would not have become institutionalized, other factors being equal. In pre-and early contact times, warfare was an in-built population balancing mechanism of a Malthusian kind. Abortion, infanticide, two to four year post-partum taboo, marriage in the mid- or late twenties and the use of ingested contraceptive mixtures also acted as checks on population growth.

Since intensive contact with outsiders did not occur on the Weather Coast until the 1870's, the likelihood of introduced diseases having reached this area earlier is fairly slight. However, a severe epidemic of dysentery is said to have killed many people along the north-west coast of Guadalcanal in the 1860's and may have spread elsewhere. Contact with the Weather Coast in the 1850's had been made at Wanderer Bay by the Wanderer and the ships that later searched for Boyd while during this same period the Southern


Cross visited Marau as well as other parts of Guadalcanal.

Warfare and the practice of quarantine by means of the komuruka system provided some isolation and thus a check against the rapid spread of such introduced diseases before the establishment of government control. Coastal areas obviously would have suffered first after contact. This is especially the case since coastal people were considered to be generally less healthy than the bush people.

Among the serious diseases introduced to the Solomon Islands were tuberculosis, influenza, whooping cough, bacillus dysentery, leprosy and venereal disease. Some of these were introduced by returning laborers from Fiji and Queensland. As early as 1877, a suspected case of venereal disease was noted among returnees, some of whom were destined for the Weather Coast.

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18 E. S. Armstrong, The History of the Melanesian Mission (London, 1900), p. 27. The young men and boys that went to New Zealand and Norfolk Island under the auspices of the Melanesian Mission frequently fell ill with dysentery. In 1863 on Norfolk Island, 6 of the 52 Melanesians died despite intensive care of the 50 who contracted the disease. (Ibid., pp. 69-70).


21 Journal of R. Haddock, Marion Rennie, Passenger list, Jan. 24-Dec. 28, 1877.
82 Solomon Islanders leaving Fiji in 1895, three lepers, two cases of "Coks" (sic.), two cases of consumption and four cases of "itch" were recorded. Queensland laborers as well suffered from tuberculosis, dysentery, influenza and forms of venereal disease.

Very little can be said about the effect of introduced disease from 1870 to c.1900 because of few existing records. However, patterns elsewhere in the Pacific show that populations declined sharply, though not uniformly, under the initial impact of alien disease. The Weather Coast likewise must have suffered to some degree. Entire hamlets in the Bota Moli area were decimated by piro or illness c.1895 (see Figure 8: Primary Reasons, Illness). This area and Marau were the most susceptible to early and constant waves of introduced diseases as Marau itself was a center of outside contact. From the sixteenth century there had been migration by the 'Are 'Are of Malaita to and from Marau. After contact, Westerners considered Malaita to be


24 See Norma McArthur, Island Populations of the Pacific (Canberra, 1968), passim.

25 Berndito Ola.
very unhealthy. Thus, any diseases raging on south Malaita had a good chance of being brought into Marau—as was to be the case in the 1952 poliomyelitis outbreak. Moreover, Marau was exposed directly to diseases from foreigners. With its calm water anchorages, Marau was a watering place for early whaling and trading vessels. Resident traders came in the 1870's and continued into this century. The second commercial coconut plantation in the Solomon Islands was established in this area in the 1890's by Svensen and the Nerdrum brothers, one of whom died there from fever. Accompanied by their employees they were constantly visiting other islands thus exposing both local 'Are 'Are and Moli people from the Marau peak area to sickness which in turn could be transmitted to their home villages.

After the Protectorate was established, some control


28 The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and Its Dependencies, XXVI (July-Dec., 1828), 757-758. H.M.S. Curacao anchored at Marau on September 4, 1865 with 17 sick crew members. (Log of H.M.S. Curacao November 1, 1864-April 17, 1866, Admiralty Series 53/8748).

29 J. Svensen, The Early Development of the Solomon Islands: The First 'Kapitan Marau.' (Copy of manuscript in possession of R. A. Langdon, Australian National University); Woodford to Thurston, November 25, 1896, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 477 of 1896, p. 40.

30 Woodford to Thurston, June 6, 1896, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 199 of 1896.
over the quarantine of diseases was initiated. Yet Woodford was astounded to find that one of the most common and most dangerous of the introduced diseases, dysentery, was not considered by his superiors of the Western Pacific High Commission in Fiji to be contagious.

Although many contaminated ships did bring back diseases that were not easily recognized without medical tests in these early years, Woodford, with the co-operation of the Australian authorities, was able to quarantine vessels in Tulagi and Australian ports and so prevent the killers, smallpox, cholera, typhoid, and bubonic plague from reaching the Solomons.

Less detectable and more insidious was leprosy or Hansen's disease. Leprosy appears to have been unknown in the Solomons prior to Western contact and then seems not to have been introduced until 1904, via returning laborers allowed past health inspectors in Fiji. Woodford was annoyed at the suggestion that leprosy was present on the Solomons before that time and cited reputable medical

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31 King's Regulation, October, 1903, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 3 of 1903.

32 Woodford to O'Brien, December 26, 1899, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 217 of 1899.

33 "Information Relating to Various Islands in the Western Pacific," (London, June, 1911), WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1792 of 1913; Woodford to O'Brien, February 24, 1900, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 59 of 1900.

34 Woodford to Mayor, June 12, 1904, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 127 of 1904.
opinion in support.\textsuperscript{35} When the first leprosy survey was made in 1938 the incidence was found to be only .89 per cent for Guadalcanal, with half of the 4,841 people examined being from the Weather Coast.\textsuperscript{36}

Dysentery of the Shiga variety (\textit{Bacillus dysenteriae Shiga}) was a recurrent scourge on the Solomon Islands' population.\textsuperscript{37} On the west coast of Guadalcanal, the Catholic missionaries, in their search for potential converts, explored most of the mountainous hinterland. Dysentery in epidemic proportions was cited as one of the main causes of the depopulation of this region up to 1907.\textsuperscript{38} The Weather Coast did not escape. Dysentery raged at Ravu c.1903\textsuperscript{39} and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{35} Woodford to im Thurn, January 11, 1904, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 127 of 1904.
\item \textsuperscript{36} James Ross Innes, \textit{Report of Leprosy Survey of BSIP}, p. 46.
\item \textsuperscript{37} S. M. Lambert, "Medical Conditions in the South Pacific," \textit{Medical Journal of Australia} (September, 1928), 372. Lambert states that amoebic dysentery was not endemic. It was first recorded in 1925, fifteen years after the introduction of Chinese by Burns Philp to work as boat builders and carpenters. (Senior Medical Officer to Resident Commissioner, February 13, 1925, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 141 of 1925); T. Marriott, "Chronology of Events in The British Solomon Islands" (Unpublished Paper, Honiara).
\item \textsuperscript{38} The year 1907 saw a particularly severe epidemic which caused high infant mortality throughout Guadalcanal. (Pellion, "Lettre, Mai 10, 1907," \textit{Annales des Missions de L'Oceanie}, XII, no. 2 (1908), 271; \textit{Southern Cross Log}, April 10, 1907, 150.
\end{itemize}
PRIMARY REASONS
Movement of Village Populations 1850-1972

Figure 6
Figure 9
was one of the diseases responsible for the decline in size of the other big village in the area, Veuru. In December, 1914, a severe form of the disease afflicted children at the Marau Catholic mission school. The priest, Henri Bertheux, in caring for the sick, caught the disease and died. This period seems to have been a bad one for the central Weather Coast too. The Areata, Vatalena and Talise regions were affected by dysentery or "shit blood" which was introduced by a Fiji returnee, 'Harry' Undu (or Udu) of Makangere (see Figure 8: Primary Reasons, Illness). At least nine other men, identified by the informants and checked on the recruiting lists, returned to the same area with Undu on the vessel Moonta in August, 1914. These men also may have been infected or carriers. Many people died during the epidemic which at its height killed one to three people daily. At least nine settlements lost all their population

40 Patteson Nganga.


42 Jo Ongavi; see also, Acting Senior Medical Officer to Resident Commissioner, July 20, 1920, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 161 of 1920 and no. 270 of 1920. The graphic description of this disease indicates bacillus dysentery rather than Amobic dysentery.

43 Recruits of Clansman, December 14, 1909, General Register of Polynesian Laborers Introduced to Fiji, 1870-1911, 3 vols.; see also Journal of E. P. Mendoza, Moonta, August 23-31, 1914; late August is towards the end of the wet season which is the most ideal time for the spread of bacillus dysentery in tropical areas, particularly where the population is weakened by malaria. (P. Manson-Bahr, The Dysenteric Disorders (Baltimore, Maryland, 1943), p. 45).
through death, while the survivors abandoned infected sites and moved elsewhere, resulting in the area's "general wretchedness" (see Figures 6 and 8: Primary Reasons; Illness). Dysentery also affected villages east of Avu Avu. This particular outbreak occurred c.1912 and may have been fairly isolated.

Whooping cough, which over the years was to cause the deaths of hundreds of children in the Solomon Islands, was first noted on the Weather Coast in 1907. The outbreak was at Sughu in Wanderer Bay, which was constantly visited by recruiting ships.

Influenza outbreaks were also recorded on the west coast. As with the Melanesians in Queensland, it generally attacked adults and, without complications, was rarely fatal. However, coupled with malarial fevers and subsequent pneumonia, one particular form of influenza

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44 Jo Ongavi; Dominico Alebua.

45 Wilson to Resident Commissioner, September 20, 1923, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2600 of 1923.


48 F. Bowe, "Diseases of Polynesians, As seen in Queensland," Intercolonial Medical Congress of Australasia (Melbourne, 1889), 60.
ravaged the population of Malaita and the Visale area on Guadalcanal in 1919 where 4.4 per cent of those infected died.

The mortality rate from tuberculosis was high. There is little doubt that it was introduced, as the course of the sickness as seen by doctors in the 1930's and earlier was characterized by an acute infection with death in the early stages of the disease. This is a pattern characteristic of populations that have not lived with tubercule bacilli throughout much of their evolution. In the late 1910's and early 1920's, when the Catholic and Melanesian Mission representatives encouraged the bush people to leave their homes in the mountains and come to coast in north-west Guadalcanal, many quickly contracted tuberculosis. It was rife in 1928, as Paravicini noted:

49 'Not in Vain' . . . 1919-1920, pp. 2-7. Influenza, not always easy to diagnose in the initial stages, was brought in by the S.S. Marsina from Sydney to Tulagi. Before it was recognized the influenza was "disseminated throughout the group by means of vessels" (Acting Senior Medical Officer to Resident Commissioner, July 20, 1920, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 161 of 1920 and no. 270 of 1920). This outbreak was not thought to be the same kind of influenza as that of the pandemic of 1918 (S. M. Lambert, "Medical Conditions in the South Pacific," 372).

50 Raucaz, In the Savage South Solomons, p. 169; Acting Senior Medical Officer to Resident Commissioner, July 20, 1920, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 161 and no. 270 of 1920.

51 S. M. Lambert, "Medical Conditions in the South Pacific," 370.

"From many huts the hoarse, hollow coughing of the sick was to be heard, and upon entering, I often found huddled in a corner an emaciated being with no more desire to live. A few notes can describe the mortality in that area. The community of Veisali today has 450 Catholic inhabitants. During the last six years, all corpses have been buried in one cemetery. During my visit I counted the graves of 18 old men, 15 women, 12 boys and 10 girls."  

Venereal diseases were reported among returnees from Fiji in the 1870's and are known to have been contracted by Melanesians while still in Queensland. However, other diseases such as tuberculosis, leprosy, tropical ulcers and yaws exhibit some symptoms similar to those of venereal diseases. In the Solomon Islands, confusion by lay people was probable. Syphilis, the most destructive of venereal diseases to populations and their fertility, was absent from the Solomon Islands. Yaws provides strong resistance to infection from syphilis (Treponema pallidum), a fact

which, in the 1920's, Lambert,\textsuperscript{56} Herment and Cilento noted for Melanesian populations in general and the Solomon Islands in particular.\textsuperscript{57}

The incidence of gonorrhoea is far more problematic. Neither it nor other venereal diseases appears to have been noted among the population until the late 1920's and 1930's. After forty years of contact through the labor trade, Woodford was able to state: ". . . he (the government medical officer) informs me that during the whole time he has been in the Protectorate, now approaching four years, he has never had any cases of venereal disease under treatment. He further states that so far as he knows, syphilis is very rare among the natives of the Protectorate and that he has only seen one suspicious case, which he says may have been yaws.

I desire to state that the results of my observations entirely confirm Dr. Davies opinion.\textsuperscript{58}

The form of gonorrhoea diagnosed in the Solomon Islands in 1928 by the League of Nations' doctors, Hermant and

\textsuperscript{56} Lambert, \textit{A Yankee Doctor} . . ., p. 30.

\textsuperscript{57} P. Hermant and R. W. Cilento, \textit{Report of the Mission Entrusted with a Survey} . . ., p. 59. For a general review of the Pacific Islands see, Peter Pirie, "The Effects of Treponematosis . . ." In the New Hebrides there were cases of primary chancre among returns from Queensland who contracted the disease in Sydney brothels on the way home. All of these cases were among those born in Queensland--outside the yaws zone. (Lambert, \textit{Health Survey of the New Hebrides}, p. 10).

\textsuperscript{58} Woodford to Sweet-Escott and Secretary of State, July 7, 1914, \textit{WPHC Inward Correspondence}, no. 1912 of 1914.
Cilento, was not widespread and was "of a peculiar type seen in Melanesia which is not readily curable, but which seldom produces complications and never leads to stricture."  

A virulent form of the disease was introduced to the island of Munggaba or Rennell, south of Guadalcanal in 1926 by a Japanese fisherman. By 1936, the effects on the population were obvious. A decline had begun and no children had been born in the previous two years out of a population of 834. Regrettably, in 1930, two canoes from Rennell came ashore at Talise where the men stayed for some time. Of all places on the Weather Coast, Talise was the most vulnerable to the spread of this disease because its women were known for their promiscuity.

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62 Personal communication from Paul Wright, who interviewed J. A. McKenzie-Pollock, October, 1973.
early at 1917. 63 By 1937, gonorrhoea was noted in Talise. 64 Its effects on fertility are reflected in the 1970 census-based data (see Table 4, Appendix H).

When overseas recruiting ceased in 1910, men continued to leave the Weather Coast to work on copra plantations in other parts of the Solomon Islands. For some years the recruiting vessels and plantations were sources of disease and hence infection for the laborers' home areas. The most common causes of illness and mortality among plantation workers were dysentery and pulmonary diseases. 65 Dysentery had reached such epidemic proportions in late 1914 that the Acting Resident Commissioner, Barnett, suspended all recruiting for some months, 66 and then introduced compulsory inspection of vessels at Tulagi and more rigorous standards

63 Heffernan to Barnett, February 20, 1917, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 701 of 1917, p. 3.

64 James Ross Innes, Report of the Leprosy Survey of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, p. 35, p. 41. Innes attributes the prevalent blindness to gonorrhoea. However, people of the Talise district in 1923 were afflicted with a "peculiar eye trouble" that resulted in total blindness at an early age, with the males being more affected than the females. (Wilson to Resident Commissioner, September 20, 1923, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2600 of 1923.


66 Barnett to Sweet-Escott, September 22, 1914, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2499 of 1914. See also Davies to Barnett, September 23, 1914, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2707 of 1914.
of hygiene for vessels and plantations. 67

The government and the missions had unwittingly created conditions that assisted in the spread of infection from returning laborers and other outside sources. By the establishment of peace, mobility was greatly increased and therefore one traditional barrier to the spread of infection was brought down. The government's well-intentioned policy of village nucleation and relocation, supported by the SSEM and the Melanesian Mission and not opposed by the Catholic mission, was initially disastrous.

There is some evidence to suggest that it was the bush population that suffered more from these policies. As discussed previously, traditional settlement patterns of the bush populations favored ridge crests and hill tops. Woodford, in 1898, found settlements and gardens at 2,400 feet (731.5 meters) and 2,700 feet (823 meters) in the mountains behind Biti. 68 At an altitude above 1,500 feet (457 meters) the malaria vector, Anopheles koliensis, which favors riverine areas is rarely found, while the other vector of inland areas, A. punctulatus is not numerous. 69

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67 Barnett to Sweet-Escott, October 27, 1914, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2811 of 1914.

68 C. M. Woodford to O'Brien, Report of the British Solomon Islands, 1898-1899, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 133 of 1899.

69 British Solomon Islands: Report for the year 1970. (Honiara, BSIP, 1971), p. 56; see also Assistant Medical Officer Central to Chief Medical Officer, July-August, 1961, Tour Report on Guadalcanal, BSIP Medical Department, 12/4.
Yaws has an altitude variation, becoming less prevalent at about 1,600 feet (500 meters).\textsuperscript{70}

When the people came down to live in the river valleys and closer to the coast, they were certainly more susceptible to these endemic diseases as well as to the introduced ones. The establishment of permanent "Government" villages where people were ordered to live continuously cut across the old komuruka and scattered hamlet system which had provided a degree of protection from the spread of disease by contagion. What Hermant and Cilento call the "safeguards of savagery" were lost.\textsuperscript{71} Dysentery was one disease that thrived in the new residence conditions, particularly in the bush where people used a convenient spot near to their settlement for the disposal of personal waste matter. When only five or ten people had the surroundings of their hamlet to use, the risk of infection was slight. When the same area was occupied by 50 to 150 people--and their pigs and dogs--the precarious balance of sanitation was often upset, particularly during the wet season. In this weather, village rules regarding the use of specific areas by certain individuals were sometimes broken because people found walking far inconvenient. Flooding washed out these areas, increasing the danger of contaminated water supplies.

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\textsuperscript{70} Pirie, "The Effects of Treponematosis and Gonorrhoea . . .," p. 189.
\end{flushleft}

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\textsuperscript{71} Hermant and Cilento, \textit{Report of the Mission} . . ., p. 64.
\end{flushleft}
The villages of Valearanisi (see Figures 18 and 19: Koloula River Inset) and Inakaro, for example, which had expanded under government and mission pressure were afflicted with dysentery in the 1920's, and their inhabitants scattered from them when deaths occurred.

From c.1925 to c.1928, a serious form of influenza swept parts of the Weather Coast. The "government" village of Nakavoa was afflicted, but the people's fear of the government was such that they sought permission before leaving the site and reverting to hamlet living. An unidentified, but large village of 200 inhabitants, inland from Kolina was completely wiped out by influenza in c.1926.

Although their settlement patterns had not been as drastically altered as those of the bush villages, coastal villages also suffered under the consolidation and relocation policies of the government and missions. Paravicini, walking the coast in 1928, saw many dilapidated huts indicative of population decrease at the villages around Wanderer Bay and at Marasa, Ghorobau, Bolonda and Kolina. Villages near Sughu (Talise) suffered waves of both influenza and dysentery which carried off many people (see Figure 8: Primary Reasons, Illness and Figures 20

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72 Amule Kolima.
73 Charlie Churu.
75 Paravicini, Reisen in den Britischen Salomonen, p. 119.
and 21: Talise Longgu). In some cases, entire villages ceased to exist. As Talise was a popular passage it was here that many returning plantation workers from Malagheti, Areata, Vatalena and even Longgu landed, bringing with them new batches of pathogenic micro-organisms. Paravicini summed up the effects of relocation near Avu Avu:

"Tangiatta (sic.) is a new settlement, to which the inhabitants had moved from an inaccessible mountain village . . . Many of the huts are in ruins, their occupants dead. They fell victims of the unaccustomed coastal climate. Here the inconsiderate white official and missionary did a grave misdeed, although they believed [themselves] to be correctly applying hygiene and welfare as they had so superficially learned them from books." (Translation from German).

Further east at Nakili, the home of the sophisticated headman, Ari Aris, many died of sickness in the early 1920's. The entire population of the nearby village of Komunaughai died as did that of Namounawhai. The latter had been ordered down from their bush settlements to the coast by Ari Aris on his authority as government headman.

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76 Dominico Alebua; Timmy Seti.
77 Paravicini, Reisin . . ., p. 106.
78 Reme Ava.
79 Voho Laeni.
80 Reme Ava.
In 1928, along the coast at Purakiki, Paravicini and his
 guide, a labor recruiter, were almost attacked because they
unwittingly attempted to visit that village where a few
days earlier eight young men had died from illness.81

It is quite impossible to calculate how many people
died from disease in the years preceding the first head
counts82 and census. Hermant and Cilento's comments for
the whole of Melanesia are pertinent to the Weather Coast:
"In investigating the question of depopulation in Melanesia
the outstanding feature was the prevalence of opinions and
the paucity of authentic figures."83 With the risk of
adding to these opinions, some notion of the possible
scale of population decline in the first three decades of
this century can be gleaned from missionary sources and
labor records.

Away from the Weather Coast, in north-west Guadalcanal
at Visale, the priest Pellion spoke dolefully of the decline
of his Catholic population in 1909: "The children are thus
not very numerous. If any survive at all. Alas, the
mortality among them is terrible and I find in my baptismal
register whole pages where of fifteen names there are only


82 Headcounts were made by the headmen for the District
Officer. While they indicated the general number of people
in any area they had the disadvantage of being made at
different times in different areas. Occasionally not all
the population would be captured due to internal mobility.

a few surviving." (Translation from French).

Of more relevance to the Weather Coast was the situation at the Marau Catholic mission. Between 1904 and 1923, the slow conversion of the people was measured by the baptism of 203 adults and children. In 1923 only 40 of these 203 were still living, the remainder having been "decimated by all sorts of maladies." The total population, presumably 'Are 'Are, was about 200.85

Mortality data among plantation laborers (see Table 5, Appendix H) as compared by Paul Wright with the West model life tables indicate a high death rate in the 1910's and 1920's, declining in the 1930's. Weather Coast mortality patterns probably resembled this sample, as evidence from the Guadalcanal head counts of 1925, 1929 and the census of 1931 indicate. These counts gave totals of 18,434, 14,716 and 14,215. There is a sharp drop between 1925 and 1929 with a more gradual decline between 1929 and 1931. As Wright indicates head counts for the Weather Coast division are differentiated from the total only for 1929 and 1931, but these too indicate only a moderate drop (see Table 6

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85 Raucaz, In the Savage South Solomons, p. 179. By 1928, this population had jumped to 300. This was not necessarily due to a decrease in mortality as many 'Are 'Are people had fled there from Malaita following the murders of Bell and his staff at Sinerango in 1927. Marau was traditionally a refuge for Malaita outcasts. (Paravicini, Reisin . . ., p. 96).
Appendix H). By 1936, the population was up to 14,875, indicative of recovery from the decline in the late 1920's.86

Certainly the decade from 1930 to 1940 still saw much illness on the Weather Coast. In 1930, a whooping cough epidemic affected much of Guadalcanal and killed some adults as well as children.87 The following year, a mild epidemic of influenza struck,88 to be followed by a severe form in 1936 which carried off several adults in the susceptible Marau area.89 Tuberculosis continued to be a major cause of death.90 It killed the population of Vungatina in the Duidui bush area91 and Vosenaga (see Figures 20 and 21: Talise Longgu) in the Vatalena region c.1935.92 In the bush village of Vatubarani (population 66 in 1931),93 so many died or were ill in 1935 that the

86 Chapman and Wright, Report on Guadalcanal . . .
87 Wilson to Secretary of the Government, January 23, 1931, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1103 of 1931; At Tangarare Catholic Mission, of the 88 people who died as a result of whooping cough, 68 were babies. (L. L. Dubois, Lettre aux Missionnaires, June 5, 1931).
88 Wilson to Secretary of Government, 1933, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1522 of 1933.
91 John Mbumbuparumbau.
92 John Koti.
93 Census of the BSIP for 1931, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 274 of 1932.
government and SDA missionaries urged the dispersal of the people into smaller villages.\textsuperscript{94} Isolated dysentery outbreaks occurred in the early 1930's and were especially severe in Inaghue (see Figures 20 and 21) and Koipilua (see Figures 22 and 23: Veuru Moli) causing the villagers to relocate at Sughulonga\textsuperscript{95} and Old Natita.\textsuperscript{96}

However, the 1930's saw a halt in the population decline, a decline certainly at work in the first three decades of this century and which may have commenced in the early 1870's. The alien institutions which unknowingly aided the spread of disease in the late 1910's and in the 1920's were also responsible for introducing measures which contributed to the halt in depopulation. During the first year of the imposition of native taxation, 1922, the Resident Commissioner, R. Kane, recorded that the only benefit that people received from the government was "the blessings of settled government."\textsuperscript{97} He then initiated action by which local men from each district were trained as dressers at Tulagi Hospital. This training scheme, small scale though it was, commenced in 1924 with some of the graduates presumably returning later to Guadalcanal.

\textsuperscript{94} Cho Ranga.

\textsuperscript{95} Charlie Lambou.

\textsuperscript{96} Maria Vura.

\textsuperscript{97} Kane to High Commissioner, May 22, 1922, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1690 of 1922.
In 1926, the District Officer conducted a hospital for the local people at Aola. During the mid 'twenties, too, the government supplied drugs to all the missions and, by 1928, was actively subsidizing the work of the Methodist and Melanesian Missions on Guadalcanal. This same year, the government, in co-operation with the Rockefeller Institute, sent medical teams to Guadalcanal, which had, by 1931, covered the Weather Coast area. These teams treated both yaws using neoarsbenamine injections, and hookworm, using carbon tetrachloride and tetrachlorethylene. In 1930, 8,965 people were treated for yaws with 15,255 injections being given, the infection rate being 47.88 per cent. Of these 8,965 people, 8,485 were found to have hookworm and were treated. The rapid improvement in general health of those treated—particularly those with the open and visible disease of yaws—was very educative. Many people later voluntarily sought treatment at government and mission stations, having realized something could be done about their condition. It was obvious to the administrators

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98 Kane to High Commissioner, July 16, 1928, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 730 of 1928.
100 Wilson to Secretary of Government, 1933, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1522 of 1933.
102 Lambert, A Yankee Doctor in Paradise, p. 142.
that the yaws and hookworm campaign was having an enormous and beneficial effect on the people. \(^{103}\) Although these campaigns were intermittent during the 1930's, the general health of the population was raised, thus giving it a higher resistance to other diseases. In 1936, Eroni T. Leauli, Native Medical Practitioner, a graduate of Suva Medical College, commenced duties on Guadalcanal and spent much of his time touring outlying areas. \(^{104}\)

By the 1930's, the government was better staffed and organized and therefore better able to supervise the implementation of its policies. \(^{105}\) Such rules as fencing off pigs from the village, the regular spacing of houses to prevent the spread of fire and for better hygiene, the banning of refuse disposal near houses, the sweeping and cleaning of villages, the encouragement of cooking areas outside the main houses, and an emphasis on bathing, were all better able to be policed either by government patrols or district headmen. \(^{106}\) These policies were reinforced by missionaries, particularly those of the SDA mission at Kopiu and Veramogho, where stations were established in the

\(^{103}\) Wilson to Secretary of Government, January 23, 1931, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1103 of 1931.
\(^{105}\) See BSIP, no. 14/9, passim.
\(^{106}\) J. Ross Innes, Report of Leprosy Survey of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (Suva, 1938), p. 35; Voho Laeni; Berndito Ola.
early 1930's. The SDA placed special value on personal and village hygiene.\textsuperscript{107} Some medical training was given in the 1930's by the Melanesian Mission. Mission-trained Patteson Nganga (now living at Sameria) was in charge of medical first aid in the Marasa area in the late 1930's.\textsuperscript{108} Although it was said of the Catholic mission that "their converts seldom appear to go near water," general first aid was provided at all mission stations while at Tangarare the priest, de Klerk, saved many lives.\textsuperscript{109}

As early as 1927, it was becoming apparent to the Guadalcanal district officer, Colin Wilson, that the bush people were suffering both hardship and malnutrition because of village consolidation. With everyone living in the big villages, there were cases where the "tolerable distance" constraint had been exceeded. Gardens were sometimes as far away from the villages as two to three hours' walk,\textsuperscript{110} or 10 to 15 km. Not enough gardens were being made and therefore not enough food was being produced. In addition to Wilson, the Catholic missionaries noticed these adverse effects. The missionaries at Avu Avu cultivated rice to try

\textsuperscript{107} Luvusia Willy.

\textsuperscript{108} Patteson Nganga; see also Sughu District Report, May 29-30, 1951 (?), BSIP no. 3/9/1/1.


\textsuperscript{110} Wilson to Secretary of Government, January 6, 1934, Enclosure 5a, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1522 of 1933.
to supplement the diet of their boarding school students. Yams were in short supply in 1928 because gardens were too small for the needs of all the people. Malnutrition obviously weakened the population and contributed to the depredations of disease. This scarcity had started in c.1923 after many of the bush villages had been consolidated.\textsuperscript{111} It is probable too that the effects were extended in that the survivors of those villages severely afflicted by disease were weakened and unable to make extensive gardens.

By the early 1930's, Wilson had convinced both his superiors and the native people themselves that reversion to the old style of settlement was permissible where hardship or ill health threatened. Understandably, the villagers took advantage of this only where necessary because some saw it as yet another example of the apparent arbitrariness of the government administrators. The overall effect, however, was to sanction increased residential mobility of the population which benefitted nutrition and health.\textsuperscript{112} The contrast in the process of village nucleation and relocation from c.1914 to 1929 and c.1930 to 1941 can be seen most clearly by comparing the two section maps covering each period in "Movement of Village Populations, 1850-1972"

\textsuperscript{111} Paravicini, Reisin . . ., p. 107.
\textsuperscript{112} Wilson to Secretary of Government, January 6, 1934, Enclosure 5a, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1522 of 1933.
(see Figure 5). Reflecting the change in government and mission policy, the second, c.1930-1941, shows almost no nucleation and, indeed, some fragmentation of larger settlements. The most significant moves occur in the east where Tetekanji and other Birao people moved to the coast in the mid 1930's. In some ways, this is an example of acculturation lag, since the majority of the Tetekanji people were not contacted by the government until 1927--and then only after the people themselves had sought out the government in order to pay their taxes! Not only did they wish to pay taxes, but they expressed the intention in 1927 of forming permanent settlements as opposed to living in garden houses.\footnote{113} These isolated bush folk had no way of earning money except by selling their labor to the coastal people and to expatriate planters.\footnote{114} This and access to some mission education seem to have been the main motivation behind the moves by small groups of these people to the coast. The relatively empty lands of Bota Moli, plus apparent old ties through marriage and strategic

\footnote{113} Wilson to Secretary of Government, July 18, 1927 and October 7, 1927, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 22 of 1928. In many ways the initial reaction of these people and other Guadalcanal groups to the government was couched in the "big man"-follower idiom which, of course, represents a continuity in social and political organization and an attempt to incorporate the alien into the Melanesian community.

\footnote{114} Kneen to Secretary of Government, October 12, 1938, Quarterly Reports, Guadalcanal, Part I, BSIP, Secretariat no. 17/6.
allegiances, facilitated such moves south. 115

By the 1930's the overall population appears to have
developed, or was developing, a resistance to some of the
killers among the introduced diseases; only in 1934 was a
severe outbreak of dysentery recorded. 116 Some resistance
was developing to tuberculosis after sixty years of exposure,
although many still died from it. 117 Gonorrhoea became
entrenched in Talise in the 1930's, its main effect being
to limit the potential population growth. Leprosy was
never such a widespread killer as dysentery and tuber­
culosis. The Guadalcanal rate for leprosy infection was
only .89 per cent in 1938. 118

Thus the 1930's were years when a new equilibrium
between diseases and the human and physical environment
was being established. The population had stabilized in
number. Just as a healthy increase was being noted,
World War II intervened. Though the war never actually
touched the Weather Coast, the people and their villages
felt the repercussions and suffered under the dislocation
induced by yet another set of alien contacts.

115 Augustine Vara; Vantihe Koimakana; Reme Ava.
116 British Solomon Islands Protectorate: Annual
117 S. M. Lambert, Health Survey of British Solomon
Islands Protectorate, 1933 (Suva, Fiji, 1934), 18.
CHAPTER VII

ALIEN CONFLICT:
WORLD WAR II AND ITS AFTERMATH

"The outbreak of war on the third of September led to
the spreading of many foolish theories and stories among
the natives. These have largely been discredited with the
assistance of European residents, who have pointed out to
the natives that no enemy is likely to waste a lot of
money on shelling . . . their villages. The blame for these
beliefs must fall on the more sophisticated natives . . . ."¹

Such smug complacency on the part of the Assistant
District Officer, Guadalcanal, was shattered with the
Japanese invasion of the Solomon Islands in May, 1942.
Guadalcanal was bombed by both sets of protagonists and
experienced some of the bloodiest and most decisive battles

¹ Assistant District Officer to Secretary to Government,
October 1, 1939, Guadalcanal Quarterly Report no. 44/39,
Central District (Old Files), Part II, BSIP, no. 17/6.
in the Pacific campaign. ²

The Weather Coast, however, saw little actual combat. Squadrons of fighter planes with the odd dogfight overhead, the sight of warships out to sea and the brief occupancy of Marau by a Japanese unit were the sum total of the direct conflict. ³ These harbingers, followed by the news of the terrible battles on the north coast at Red Beach, Hell's Point and Bloody Ridge, provoked a familiar response among the people of the Weather Coast. They acted as their ancestors had when threatened by warfare--they headed for the hills. Coastal villages were abandoned in August, 1942. Almost the entire population of the coast moved inland to form small, scattered settlements in the bush. Because people did not know how long they would be forced to reside in these settlements, shelters were flimsy and of a temporary nature. ⁴

The British Administration of the Solomon Islands, unlike that of Papua New Guinea, did not abandon the islands in the face of the Japanese invasion. The government, too, "went bush" on Malaita and attempted to administer its

³ Luvusia Willy: Donasiano Pororasu; 'Not in Vain . . .,' December, 1944.
⁴ 'Not in Vain . . .,' Sept. 1943; Luvusia Willy; Sesario Fende; Chapman, unpublished field notes, 1966. These temporary moves are not shown on the maps.
circumscribed territory with a token staff.\textsuperscript{5} Needless to say, until the Allies were in a more secure position, the government's administrative efforts were virtually ineffective, but provided a continuous presence that was able to greatly mitigate the actions of the Allied military authorities when the Japanese were on the defensive.

With enemy invasion and the interruption of government, all medical services provided by the government and the missions broken down.\textsuperscript{6} This, plus the unhealthy conditions of living in the temporary bush shelters, severely affected the population of Guadalcanal. This process was intensified initially from August, 1942 to February, 1943 and subsequently in late 1943 to 1944 when there was a call by the Allies for scouts and laborers to work at the military bases and camps. Although men were not forced to sign on for the Solomon Islands Labor Corps, the absence of large numbers of the able-bodied male population is known to have caused

\textsuperscript{5} Great Britain Colonial Office, \textit{Among Those Present} (London, 1946), pp. 11-21.

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., p. 32.
hardship and cases of near starvation in late 1943. The village work force available for the making of new gardens decreased and nutrition suffered.

Even before large scale recruiting for the Labor Corps commenced late in 1943, the devastating effects of the upheaval caused by the war were obvious. In December of that year, a government recruiting officer toured south from Aola, along the Weather Coast and westwards as far as Veuru. The agent was exasperated with the reluctance of men to join the Corps, but finally recruited 250 after his patriotic speeches "awakened the natives from their ignorant

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7 Had the American military authorities had their way in 1943, the situation would have been much worse. They wanted to conscript native men to work as carriers, stevedores, guards, etc. However, the British civilian authorities stood out strongly against this because they believed such a move would violate the trust they had with the people and lead to large-scale disaffection and desertion. The British insisted that the villagers would suffer if more than a certain proportion of the male population left the villages. A policy of volunteerism was maintained by the British. Needless to say, this debate among the Allies was not made public. (High Commissioner to Acting Resident Commissioner, September 21, 1943, Telegram no. 51, F9/44, Part I, Papers relating to the Solomon Island Labor Corps). British policy in part was formulated on the basis of the advice of the Australian anthropologist, Ian Hogbin, who had worked in Malaita, Florida and Longgu in north-west Guadalcanal in the 1930's. (I. Hogbin, Secret Memo of October, 1943, Papers relating to the Solomon Islands Labor Corps).

8 District Officer to Resident Commissioner, Annual Report for Guadalcanal, 1944, BSIP, no. 14/9.

9 The Labor Corps was founded in the first half of 1943. At its maximum strength, it had 2,500 members (Among Those Present, p.34).
lethargy." Such a remark was both insensitive and unjust in the light of the officer's own description of the general health of the people; 25 per cent were "robust," 65 per cent "emaciated" and 10 per cent "sick or maimed."\textsuperscript{11}

Those who were recruited frequently fell ill at the Labor camps. At Lungga, on the north coast, one such camp was sited on a former Japanese cemetery in which bodies were only shallowly buried. Over-crowded, malarious, and with poor latrines because of the high water table, this camp was ultimately re-sited.\textsuperscript{12} Occasionally, the laborers' supply of rations failed. Deaths occurred from beri-beri due to the ration of polished rice—a fact which caused the Guadalcanal men to be reluctant to sign on for the Corps.\textsuperscript{13} Despite the fact that the total number of deaths from illness among the Corps was low,\textsuperscript{14} many laborers returned home with the diseases of the army camps, introducing them to an already weakened village population. Epidemics swept

\textsuperscript{10} Name unreadable, Report on Recruiting Natives on Guadalcanal, December 10, 1943, Papers Relating to the Solomon Islands Labor Corps.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{12} Leslie Poole, Senior Medical Officer to Resident Commissioner, September 13, 1943, Papers Relating to the Solomon Islands Labor Corps.

\textsuperscript{13} Ian Hogbin, Secret Memo, October, 1943, Papers Relating to Solomon Islands Labor Corps.

\textsuperscript{14} For the period April 1, 1944 to May, 1945, the death rate (due only to illness) was 4.4 men per month. The major causes of death were pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, meningitis, influenza and malaria. (Extracted from Corps Orders nos. 16 to 29, Solomon Island Labor Corps, Papers Relating to SILC).
Guadalcanal from 1942 to 1944 resulting in many deaths, particularly of children. In 1941, prior to the invasion, the population was 15,620, the highest number recorded since 1925. In 1944, it was only 13,787, the lowest recorded in any head count or census since contact. This represented a decline of 11 per cent for the whole of Guadalcanal. The decline was severest on the Weather Coast where the population fell by 14.4 per cent.

By the close of 1944, living conditions on the Weather Coast were beginning to return to normal. Urged by government patrols, the people abandoned their scattered bush shelters, returned to the coastal areas, repaired their dilapidated villages and cleared the paths between settlements.

Political and economic conditions, however, had altered

15 Southern Cross Log, July 1944.
16 District Officer to Resident Commissioner, Annual Report, Guadalcanal District, 1941, BSIP no. 14/21c.
17 M. Chapman and P. Wright, "Population 1931-1972" (draft chapter) Report on the Guadalcanal Weather Coast (M. Chapman and P. Pirie, editors). It should be noted, however, that when the census of 1944 was taken, some Weather Coast men were still absent from their homes either on the north coast of Guadalcanal or on other islands working in the SILC. In addition, some coastal people may have still been sheltering in the bush. Unfortunately, no records have been found to show how this census was taken. It is possible the de jure Weather Coast population was underenumerated.
18 Assistant District Officer, Report of Guadalcanal Tour, the first taken since the Japanese landing (page 1 missing, n. date [c.1944], Central District, BSIP, no. 43/3; 'Not in Vain' . . ., December, 1944).
markedly from pre-war days. The war experiences of the Solomon Islanders had caused this change.

The generosity of the Americans surprised many Islanders, who profited by the sale of curios and services to the troops. Everywhere the American presence overshadowed the British. One result of exposure to such an impressive new set of ideas and systems was discontent by many Solomon Islanders with the British, whom they perceived as continuing to treat them as inferiors while, under the conditions of war, the Americans had been more egalitarian. This was most marked in areas where actual combat had been minimal and the populace peripherally involved.

A movement called the Marching Rule started in 1944 on Malaita and soon spread via the 'Are 'Are people in Marau to eastern Guadalcanal. Marching Rule was anti-government insofar as it reasserted the Solomon Islander

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19 'Not in Vain' . . ., December, 1944.

20 The name derives from the 'Are 'Are word Masina meaning "brotherhood" or "brother." For a study of Marching Rule, see Colin H. Allan, "Marching Rule, a Nativistic Cult of the British Solomon Islands," Corona 3, 3 (1951), 93-100. For a study of its relationship with the Moro Movement, see William Davenport and Gulbun Coker, "The Moro Movement of Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands Protectorate," Journal of the Polynesian Society 76 (June 1967), 123-175. Although marred by historical inaccuracies, Glynn Cochrane's Big Men and Cargo Cults (Oxford, 1970), provides an illuminating study of the links between the institution of "big men," the antecedents of Marching Rule, and Marching Rule itself.
identity. In addition, its members refused to pay taxes to the central government. After two years, a confrontation occurred with the British, resulting in the arrest and imprisonment of leaders of the movement. Among the teachings of Marching Rule was an emphasis on village nucleation and the relocation of bush people along the coast. On the Weather Coast, such nucleation was most marked in the Hautahe-Su'u area and the Moli villages of Matekolokolo and Naho (see Figure 7: Primary Reasons; "Big man" components). Naomane, the leader of the 'Are 'Are people in Marau, stated this was in order to create a large community. Gardens were also to be made and worked on a community basis. This stress on the visible signs of new unity and solidarity has characterized other Melanesian social movements. The form of the new villages, which resembled that of an army camp, may well have been a reflection of SILC experiences, while the congregating of

21 Davenport and Coker, "The Moro Movement . . . .", p.128. The Marching Rule movement was by no means a failure. It did achieve real change, but within the context of the British Administration rather than outside it. Re-adjusting its goals to the then political situation, it legitimized its activities within the Malaita council achieving a parity with the British and a recognition of the worth of Malaita "big men" and thus, Malaita society. (See Cochrane, Big Men and Cargo Cults, pp. 88-96).


23 Vitorino Komana.
large numbers seems to have been but a continuation of the traditional massing of followers around the settlement of a "big man." Of course, government intervention weakened the movement in its Marching Rule manifestations\(^{24}\) and the people who had relocated in the large villages of Hautahe-Su'u, Matekolokolo and Naho gradually filtered back to their original homes\(^{25}\) (see Figures 24 and 25: Bota Moli-Marau).

There were other social movements on the Weather Coast in the immediate post-war period which were also a result of discontent with the old order and an attempt to change existing conditions, particularly in relation to economic development. The need of Western manufactured goods for utility and prestige resulting from the nineteenth century

\(^{24}\) Following the imprisonment of Marching Rule leaders, some of the "big men" of the 'Are 'Are and Moli peoples in 1953 called for the formation of a separate council, apart from the Guadalcanal council favored by the government. However, the Guadalcanal element, personified in Moro, became disaffected and the new Marau-Hauba council split. In many ways, the Moro Movement is an assertion of the Guadalcanal identity vis-à-vis the 'Are 'Are whose encroachment on eastern Guadalcanal has never been approved by the Guadalcanal people of this region. (See for example, Rannie to Governor of Queensland (?), December 19, 1893, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 31 of 1893). This continuity with the past has overcome the ephemeral unity of Marching Rule. The 'Are 'Are, now achieving a comparatively high level of economic development and political recognition, appear to have identified to some extent with their oppressors. They tend to denigrate the Moro Movement, particularly in its tangential cultist manifestations which the more sophisticated 'Are 'Are regard as backward and foolish. Should the council-government road from Marau to Balo finally reach the Makaruka area these inappropriate cultist actions and beliefs will probably be transmuted in the face of economic opportunity.

\(^{25}\) Vitorino Komana; Eric Witt, personal communication.
labor trade and maintained through wage labor in the inter-
war period, was greatly extended by the intercultural
contacts of the war years. These same contacts intensified
the discrepancies perceived to exist by the Solomon
Islanders between them and the alien Westerners. In the
immediate post-war period the disruption of the copra
industry which was the primary means by which Solomon Islanders obtained money, added greatly to their frustration. Movements such as the Freedom Movement, centered at Marasa (led in part by Patteson Nganga who served in the SILC), and Marching Rule itself sprang from the same source as the desire for local councils in the Talise area and the Marau-Moli bush peoples' impulse to engage in self-directed economic enterprise. Supporters of the last two mentioned, however, believed that they could attain their ends through

26 The wars referred to are World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945).


28 This movement was aimed at achieving the four freedoms: freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of religion, freedom of speech. Government disfavor of this movement curtailed its development as did the development of local councils. (Neven Spence, Tour Report Guadalcanal, October 10 to November 11, 1947, Central District, BSIP, no. 2/1).

29 Patteson Nganga.

30 Establishment of local government councils started in 1945 and was almost completed in 1950. The Guadalcanal council was established in 1953. (Davenport and Coker, "The Moro Movement . . .", pp. 128, 131.)
co-operation with the central government while the former wanted apparent political independence. All these movements shared the common desire for indigenous control or fuller participation in the political and economic processes.

Tetekanji and Birao people of the Marau and Moli bush area had always in pre-war years been forced to leave their homes for labor on plantations to get money for their wants as well as the government tax. The experiences of the war led to greater dissatisfaction with the apparent return to pre-war conditions and increased discontent. The government officer touring the area in November 1947, commented that the people "have an entirely reasonable and understandable objection to working on plantations for the gain of people not of their own race, working on land which was originally theirs, and which they lost through the unscrupulous guile of the white man and their simplicity." 31 Positive action to relieve this situation was attempted by John Sulu 32 and Javan Bambaua, who sought permission from the government to develop the neglected expatriate-owned plantations in

31 Neven Spence, Tour Report Guadalcanal, October 10 to November 11, 1947, Native Administration, Central District, BSIP, no. 2/1.

32 Although Sulu was gaol ed in 1929 for sexual offences, by the 1950's his loyalty to the government was marked. Like many of his early predecessors as headman, Sulu had had overseas experience. He had visited Australia several times while he worked on a ship. (District Officer to District Commissioner, May 1951, Political Report of the Guadalcanal Weather Coast, Administration Touring Reports Central, BSIP, no. 3/9/1/13).
and near Marau in 1947.\textsuperscript{33} Unfortunately, reoccupation of these prevented this indigenous enterprise. However, Sulu channeled his efforts into developing three small plantations at Veramakuru in Bota Moli in 1948 working on a semi-co-operative basis.\textsuperscript{34}

As government headmen,\textsuperscript{35} Sulu (of Tetekanji) and Bambaua (of Marau bush) both devised co-operative schemes in their respective districts in the early 1950's by which their people could participate in the limited cash cropping resources of the Weather Coast and adjacent areas in the east.\textsuperscript{36} In these enterprises, too, can be seen opposition to attempts by Marching Rule followers to absorb or purchase all the available commercial land on the eastern Weather Coast. As Sulu and Bambaua, in the perception of the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{33} Ibid.; Sulu to District Commissioner, n. date [c. October, 1947] and Javan Bambaua to District Commissioner, October 26, 1947, BSIP, no. 2/67/1.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Bentley to District Commissioner, September 22, 1948 Native Administration Central District, Guadalcanal, BSIP, no. 2/1.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Deputy District Commissioner to Secretary for Government, July 4, 1950, District Headmen Central, Secretariat, BSIP, no. 14/8/3; Deputy District Commissioner to Secretary for Government, April 22, 1949, District Headmen Central, Secretariat, BSIP, no. 14/8/3.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Neven Spence, Tour Report Guadalcanal, October 10 to November 11, 1947, Native Administration, Central District, BSIP, no. 2/1; Wrightson to Deputy District Commissioner, November, 1952, A Report on the Political Situation in South and East Guadalcanal, Administration Touring Reports, Central District, BSIP, no. 3/9/5.
\end{itemize}
British, were pro-government and the Marching Rule was anti-government, it is not surprising that no official encouragement was given to the latter's activities. Both men were present at the preliminary meetings of the embryonic Guadalcanal Council in July, 1951, and September, 1952. At the latter meeting, the subject of village concentration was considered. Subsequent to this, village leaders in the bush areas of Moli were urged by John Sulu to move their people closer to areas where cash cropping was a feasible economic proposition. Such a move was doubtless reinforced by talk of the possibility of the government's building a tractor road along the coast whereby produce could be taken to Marau and then shipped to Honiara. The fear that the dynamic 'Are 'Are might encroach on the coastal Bota Moli

37 District Officer to District Commissioner, May, 1951, Political Report of Guadalcanal Weather Coast, Administration Touring Reports Central, BSIP, no. 3/9/1/13.

38 President to Resident Commissioner, July 16-21, 1951, Proceedings of a Meeting of Delegates to consider the Formation of a Council for the Central District, Administrative Guadalcanal Council, Central District File, BSIP, no. 3/2/2, vol. 1.

39 Minutes of a meeting of delegates from the sub-district of Guadalcanal held at Honiara, September, 18-20, 1952, Administration, Guadalcanal Council, Central District, BSIP, no. 3/2/2, Vol. 1.

40 The time sequence is not completely clear. Sulu may have urged village relocation prior to the Guadalcanal council meeting (Murray Chapman, unpublished field notes, 1966).

41 Grass to District Commissioner, Tour of Avu Avu, August 20, 1947, Old Tour Reports, Central District File, BSIP, no. 42/3.
lands may also have been a motivating factor for Sulu and his followers.

John Sulu conducted meetings throughout villages in the Moli bush, indicating the desirability of nucleated settlement near or on the coast. He said that produce could be shipped more easily as little carrying to the coast would need to be done. Larger settlements were of practical value in that women and children would be better cared for in such villages, when their men were away for wage labor. Sulu's proposals were widely discussed and finally accepted c.1952-53. 42 Within Bota Moli, (see Figures 24 and 25: Bota Moli-Marau) large numbers of Tetekanji moved to the coast at Tavala and Vatulava. 43 Some Tetekanji people also joined the villagers from Sesadou in the upper reaches of the Manauvo river, who moved to the coast at old Sanggasere 44 and Oa. 45 What might be called the "Tetekanji corridor," the valley of the Tanahecha river, saw the gradual filtering of people from Osanakaro to Navasa, a coastwards movement which still continues today. 46 The bush people of the Sabahalava (See Figures 22 and 23: Veuru Moli), moved further south to Nakonga

43 Evo Tanisivachi.
44 Serando Hamahama.
45 Augustine Vara.
46 Vanetihe Koimakana.
while a new and bigger village, Pichahila, was built on the east bank of the Alu Alu river where people from Namuri, old Pichahila, Ngasughulonga, Makanakolo and Kolovatu amalgamated.\textsuperscript{47} Further west near Lauvi lagoon, most of the Naravu people moved south to the coast at Ngaliachelu while some joined their relatives at Nakonga.\textsuperscript{48}

Elsewhere on the Weather Coast, the councils, backed by the central government and the missions, urged coastwards relocation (see Figure 10: Primary Reasons, Government, components).\textsuperscript{49} Although not on the distance scale of the Tetekanji moves, this process can be seen in the Tina river valley, one of the few inland areas which is both suitable for cash cropping and relatively less disturbed by periodic catastrophic destruction of floods. In the Ghari area (see Figures 14 and 15: Wanderer Bay), on the west bank, amalgamation occurred at Ghauvalisi. On the east bank, the isolated villagers from Tovosine, Vatuvisa, Takoka and Kochitoa moved to Poisughu. Some of the people from Takoka chose to go to Vunusa to join

\textsuperscript{47} Chapman, unpublished field notes, 1966.

\textsuperscript{48} Casimero Cheniporo.

\textsuperscript{49} Census data in 1931 indicate that coastal villages contained 61.3 per cent of the population, although this may have included peripheral bush populations which were counted in with coastal settlements. In 1963 70.4 per cent of the whole population was in coastal settlements with 74.4 per cent there in 1972. (M. Chapman and P. Wright, Report on Guadalcanal Weather Coast); see also Figure 11.
relatives in 1952, while some of the Biti people moved inland to Vatukapicha where the chances of successful cash cropping were greater than on the rugged coast. Following council recommendations, the headman, Dominico Alebuia, persuaded the people of Lame to move to Old Haimatua (see Figures 22 and 23: Veuru Moli).

While the climate of administrative opinion was favorable to relocation, the initial impetus to such moves often came from perceptive "big men" who saw, in addition to the potential for greater participation in a money economy, the value of access to educational and health facilities which were located on the coast. (Clearly, too, "big men" who mediated the participation of their followers in such benefits accrued greater personal prestige). Marcus Pipisi was one such "big man." While in Duidui in 1966, Murray Chapman recorded that after the war, Pipisi wished to move his family and followers from the inland village of Malisa to the coastal site of Ngalilapina. He decided on such a plan while he was a member of the SILC and when

50 John Mbumbuparumbau.
51 Gaius and elders of Poisughu.
52 Ben Toughavera.
he subsequently worked for Jacob Vouza. Pipisi decided to move because "bush no good for me, must go down to beach and do some farming, plant some more coconuts. I think stay in bush but no change, no good living or schooling or church." At first, some resisted his ideas because in Pipisi's words, "they not know what about the future. They live to eat and sleep and die." By 1953, in a series of typical "big man" economic and political maneuvers, Pipisi gradually broke down this opposition and attracted not only the Malisa folk, but people from Kolina and Bubuleleoa.

53 Jacob Vouza (also spelled Voutha, Vuza) was an outstanding personality. At the beginning of his career as a policeman in the early 1920's his service was of such a high standard as to merit his promotion to corporal. Sadly, Vouza was one of the two policemen who were partially to blame for the Guadalcanal murders of 1927, inciting one of the murderers by misleading him about the meaning of the Adultery Ordinance. Vouza appears to have attempted to persuade Billy Viti to relinquish two of his three legal wives and to give them to policemen. For this fault and its repercussions Vouza apparently felt guilty. His conspicuous bravery during World War II he explained as follows, "I remember my training in the Police and how they tell me always to be faithful to my King. I think about how naughty I was when I first joined the Police and how much trouble I cause Government. So I tell myself this time I do something good for my King to pay him back for all that trouble." Following the war, Vouza was for a time a Marching Rule leader. Later, as headman, he was responsible for introducing economic development programs in Tadhimboko in north-east Guadalcanal. (Wilson to Resident Commissioner, September 20, 1923, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 2600 of 1923; Kane to High Commissioner, November 4, 1927, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 3434 of 1927; Barley to High Commissioner, March 2, 1928, WPHC Inward Correspondence, no. 1051 of 1928; Among Those Present, pp. 28-29; I. Q. Lasaga, Melanesians Choice; A geographical study of Tadhimboko participation in the cash economy, Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands (Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1968), passim).
(See Figures 15 and 16: Duidui-Malagheti). 54

Similarly, Jo Ongavi in the Areata area led the people of Komu southwards to Choghiri where they were joined by the villagers from Makangere in c.1953. 55 Other dynamic leaders were able to persuade their communities to move closer to the coast when the opportunity afforded by the death of a "big man" or the destruction of their villages by natural disasters made such a task easier. 56 Examples of such relocation can be seen in the moves from the bush to Masi in Veuru Moli 57 and Bulukona to Ngaliachulu near Avu Avu. 58

Just as the Tetekanji and Birao people were moving south into Bota Moli to found settlements on land suitable for cash cropping, a series of lateral moves from the west to this area was also commencing. Workers at the SDA mission at Kopiu, who came from Vosenagha and Sukiki bought land at Kopiu Bay after having retired from mission

55 Jo Ongavi; Francis Imbi.
56 Not all moves occasioned by natural disasters since the war have been coastwards. (See Map 6: Natural Disasters) Many such relocations have been lateral or towards the bush, because of the constraint of availability of land. All land is claimed by some person or some clan. Kinship ties can open new areas to outsiders as can direct purchase of land. Recently, following the 1965 cyclone which caused flooding of the Koloula valley, a group of Koloula people purchased land at Aona from the Malagheti people (Charlie Churu, first interview).
57 Reme Ava.
58 Maria Vura.
employment during 1950 to 1953 (see Figure 12: Primary Reasons, Need for land, components). From the east, through marriage, the 'Are 'Are had infiltrated Waimaia and even Balo.

Moves coastwards were stimulated and maintained by the provision of services. Village schools reopened after the war, with some expansion at the main SDA school at Kopiu. As early as 1945, two medical dressers were installed at aid posts in the Moli area. In 1947, a dresser was working at the Avu Avu mission and by 1950, there were two more in coastal settlements west of the Koloula. Although such services were limited, they represented an enormous improvement on the pre-war situation and were an attraction for the people. Official government policy

59 Charlie Ghesi; John Koti.
60 Data from replies to questions contained in the 1972 field census of the Guadalcanal Weather Coast Project.
61 Andersen to District Officer, April, 1947, Tour Report Sub-District of Bota Moli, Guadalcanal, Old Tour Reports, Central District, BSIP, no. 42/3.
62 Grass to District Commissioner, August 20, 1945, Tour Report of Guadalcanal Districts, Bota Moli and Veuru Moli Council, Old Tour Reports, Central District, BSIP, no. 42/3.
63 Grass to District Officer, August 20, 1947, Tour Report of Guadalcanal Districts, Avu Avu, Old Tour Reports, Central District, BSIP, no. 42/3.
64 District Officer to District Commissioner, November-December, 1950, Tour Report Talise, Administration Touring Reports, Guadalcanal, BSIP, no. 3/9/1/13.
encouraged cash-cropping though, except for Marau and Moli and a few pockets on the rest of the Weather coast, the scale of this was, and will continue to be small. The biggest problem, however, was the provision of a transportation infrastructure to market such produce. Difficulties of weather and terrain continually militate against such efforts on the Weather Coast.\textsuperscript{65}

The war experience for the Weather Coast people initially created chaos and suffering. It also focused attention on the political and economic needs of the people as well as the discrepancies that existed between Westerners and Solomon Islanders. More money was needed to buy material goods and services introduced by these Westerners. Weather Coast people continued to seek wage labor beyond the Weather Coast, but many wanted to bring their own limited, yet generally unexploited, resources into production for cash cropping and thus achieve some measure of self-sufficiency in money earning. Such a desire, reinforced by the support given through governmental and mission agencies, was the major cause of the widespread coastwards movement of people and settlements since the war (see Figure 5: 1942-72).

\textsuperscript{65} See examples, District Commissioner to Secretary of Government, November 9, 1947, Tour Report Talise, Administration Tour Reports, Guadalcanal, BSIP, no. 3/9/1/13; Grass to District Commissioner, October, 1946, Tour note Bota Moli and Veuru Moli, Old Tour Reports, Central District, BSIP, no. 42/3; Wrightson to District Commissioner, January 2, 1953, Report on a Tour of Talise Sub-District, Administration Tour Reports, Guadalcanal, BSIP, no. 3/9/13.
CONCLUSION

While the initial thesis was to a large extent substantiated, the sum of cross-cultural influences was found to be greater and more inter-related than first thought. The central government emerges as a major influence on village relocation and nucleation; initiating such movement, reinforcing mission policies favoring consolidation, and mediating movement through pacification which facilitated the abandonment of defensible village sites.

That the Christian missions played an important role in the process of village relocation and nucleation was verified. However, in this area, the thesis as postulated did not distinguish among the missions themselves. Their policies and attitudes were not uniform: the SSEM actively encouraged the clustering of their converts into separate communities, the Melanesian Mission eschewed separation but urged consolidation for administrative convenience, the Roman Catholics (except in the east near
Tangarare) preferred to bring God "to the mountain" rather than vice versa, leaving traditional settlement patterns virtually intact, and the latest missionary group, the Seventh Day Adventists, called their followers into consolidated villages, providing them with a code of hygiene suited to such settlements.

The acceptance, admittedly not always willing, of mission and government policies concerning village relocation and nucleation was to a large extent due to the fact that village relocation was a relatively common occurrence in pre-contact times. It was found that prior to contact the people acted upon the social and ecological environment and responded quickly to perceived changes in it. From c.1906, the aliens were relatively successful in their policies because, while the scale and siting of villages were frequently different from the traditional, they were reinforcing an established mode of living. This supports in part Chapman's speculations that contemporary mobility of both individuals and village sites is an extension of customary behavior in pre-contact society. 1

Another reason the aliens met with so little opposition was the Weather Coast people's appreciation of the magnitude of their organizational and material resources—a magnitude

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greater than their own "big men" could provide. In fact, they appear to have perceived the Westerners as "big men" in their own right and were thus acting, to some degree, in a traditional manner by massing in the village designated as favored by the missionary and government officer.

The original thesis was not concerned with the cross-cultural factor of introduced disease, yet this proved to be a highly significant influence. While the overall health of the Weather Coast people was initially adversely affected by such disease, this situation was seriously aggravated by the early village relocation and nucleation policies of the government and some of the mission groups.

Although it was found that the government took but few positive steps to relieve disease and depopulation in the twenties, at least its officers modified relocation policies when they finally became cognizant of the deleterious effects, as did a few of the more perceptive missionaries.

In relation to the disease picture in later years, it was found that the onslaught of alien invaders during World War II caused the sudden abandonment of coastal village sites and the enlistment of many men in the SILC, both resulting in a dramatic increase in the death rate of the Guadalcanal population located beyond the actual combat zones.

The war also was a watershed in the aspiration level
of the Solomon Islanders. Its effects in some ways resemble those of the labor trade episode: exposure of many Solomon Islanders to a new technology and ideology. Unlike the labor trade, its time span was short and involved some thousands of men, intensively and simultaneously within their island environment. Following the war, as demonstrated on the Weather Coast, there was a marked desire on the part of "big men" and other leaders for fuller participation in the economy and government.

As part of the people's attempt to actualize their heightened aspirations, relocation of villages to the coastal periphery appears to have accelerated. Certainly, if available statistics for later years are used, the percentage of population on the coast increased from 61.3 in 1931 to 70.4 per cent in 1963.¹ There is considerable evidence—the de-emphasis by the government on nucleation and relocation in the thirties plus the stagnant state of the monetary economy in those years—for the contention that much of this increase is attributable to post-war influences (which is further substantiated by the 1972 figure of 74.4 per cent of the Weather Coast population being in coastal villages, even though the actual numbers resident in the bush areas has remained constant since 1931).²

² Ibid.
The attraction of better services, greater economic opportunity and accessibility have continued throughout the fifties and sixties to draw people into coastal areas. Yet this increase in both percentage of population on the coast, as well as overall population, began in the early fifties to put pressure on central coastal areas, as migration of people from Talise-Vatalena to Bota Moli attests. The central coast from Pite to Longgu appears unable to continue to absorb its own naturally increasing population, plus further migrants from the bush, on the scale of the pre- and immediate post-war years. Bota Moli and to some extent Veuru Moli can contain further settlements whereas the precipitous nature of the coast between Cape Austin and Cape Hunter forbids closer settlement. However, it is in the bush areas of the larger valleys of the Tina, Lamulaghi and Gholi rivers that further population growth in the west may have to be accommodated—reversing a trend introduced by an alien culture in the first decades of the century.

The cross-cultural factors that have influenced village relocation on the Weather Coast were, by definition, a product of the interaction between predominantly two groups, Westerners (mainly the British) and Solomon Islanders of the Guadalcanal Weather Coast. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the thesis is the verification of this very premise. The Weather Coast people and their
culture were not a *tabula rasa* on which Westerners could imprint copies of their own systems. As the major component of the cross-cultural situation on the Weather Coast, the people not only reacted to but also acted upon those attractive elements of the alien culture, as well as those forcibly introduced, to transform them into their own cultural idiom. With an expanding knowledge of the greater world beyond their own island, Weather Coast leaders have, particularly since World War II, actively sought the means by which they can with dignity meet the material and non-material needs of their people. As was exemplified in post-war village relocation to more accessible and commercially viable land, the people of the Weather Coast are increasingly the authors of such activities rather than the agents of the expatriate capitalist and administrator.
Index Map

CENSUS DIVISIONS 1972

Index Map

MOVEMENT OF VILLAGE POPULATIONS 1870-1972

Figure 13
TALISE-LONGGU

Figure 21

Original compilation by Judith A. Bennett
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Age in 1972</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>High Commissioner, Sir Robert Foster, left the Solomons for Fiji. Cyclone &quot;Becky&quot; in December hit East Guadalcanal—some damage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Avu Avu airstrip completed. Cyclone &quot;Angela&quot; brings big winds to Weather Coast. Introduction of Australian decimal currency (February 14).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1965  7  --Workers' strike in Honiara.
        Honiara census.
        Heavy rains on Weather Coast. 1500 people moved.
        Kochokocho and Valechomara destroyed. New
        settlements established at Boko, Aona and
        Ngaliturara.
        Gulbun Coker arrived at Mararuka to study Moro
        Movement.
        Rural Health Centres, including dispensary and
        maternity facilities, opened at Kuma and at
        Chocho.

1964  8  --First Guadalcanal Council elections.
        European style S.S.E. church completed at
        Duidui in May.

1963  9  --Work began on Karukaru Agricultural
        Demonstration station, and Resthouse built.
        (Aluala River).
        Yaws eradication team revisited East and West
        Talise, Avu Avu and Marau in March.
        Heavy rain flooded Avu Avu.
        Jim Tedder becomes District Commissioner,
        Central.
        Bishop Leonard Alufurai and Bishop Dudley Tuti
        consecrated in November.
        First South Pacific Games.
        Planting of cacao seedlings along Weather Coast.
        4000 seedlings planted near Pichahila
        (Petero Cheni)
        2500 seedlings near Haimarao (Dominic Alebua)
        1500 at Vatukulau (Ngalia)
        500 at Navasa—Tetekenji (Bili Mataseri).

1962  10 --New wooden wharf completed at Paruru, Marau
        Sound.
        European style church began at Duidui.
        Spraying on Weather Coast by W.H.O. Malaria
        eradication team.
        Francis Bugotu became Education Officer.
        Tedder appointed District Officer, Guadalcanal.
        New market at Honiara.
        Markina Mission built first permanent structures.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Age in 1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Avu Avu Rural Hospital opened to patients at R.C. Mission. Earthquake destroys buildings at Makina Mission Marau Sound. Rural Health Centre, with dispensary and maternity facilities, established at Marasa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Guadalcanal Road to Visale opened. Headman Petero Cheni takes over Veuru Moli sub-district. Water pipe installed in Sughu, Wanderer Bay.</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Dispensary built at Balo under direction of Sago, headman of Bota Moli. &quot;Arekamo&quot; drifted from Gilberts to Malagheti, and then wrecked on the Lauvi Reef (November).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Yaws eradication campaign began. Moro had his vision and began Movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Petero Cheni appointed Assistant District Headman, Tetekangi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Martin Manganese launched motorized dug-out canoe. Dresser arrives at Gnali Kobe Leper Station. Duidui ward to take charge of Leper village built by people of Talise District. (Sugu--Wanderer Bay--Talise). Gnalia appointed assistant District Headman, instead of Cheka (Viso) who retired, of Talise 11. R.C. Mission Station established at Malagheti. Lasted until 1956.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Guadalcanal Council started, composed of rural sub-district councils, Malango-Vulolo, Lengo, Birao, Sugu, Visale and Talise. Marcus Pipisi appointed District Headman, West Talise. Pichahila shifted to new site. High Commissioner tours Weather Coast for first time--visits Avu Avu, Longgu, Sugvu, Malagheti, Duidui and Sughu (Wanderer Bay).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Date | Age in 1972
--- | ---
1952 | 20
---Big wind destroyed Avu Avu mission. Fr. Aloisio Houte left Avu Avu for Marau, and re-established Marau Mission at Makina.
1951 | 21
--Lambina of Naho appointed Assistant District Headman, Veeru Moli sub-district. S.S.E.C. European missionary left Inakona. Joe Love, Headman, Talise, discharged from office. John Sulu, (Assistant District Headman, Tetekenji) has Bota Moli sub-district added to his area.
1950 | 22
--Emily Sprott left Santa Isabel. First Meeting of Talise Native Council at Taupada, Malagheti. Earthquake tremors--severe at Biti, Talise Bush Villages. Chaunarogha swept into sea, also food gardens at Duidui. Jack Chekecheke of Viso appointed Assistant District Headman, Talise District II. Gena--Malagheti appointed Assistant District Headman, Talise District I. John Sulu, Veramakuru, appointed Assistant District Headman, Tetekenji as successor to Headman Duniti. Death of Roka of Naho, Headman of Veeru Moli for 21 years.
1949 | 23
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1948 | 24
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1947 | 25
1946 | 26
--Edmund Kiva (Melanesian Mission) ordained Priest. American military builds radio towers at head of Koloula Valley.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Age in 1972</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Capital shifted from Tulagi to Honiara. Bota Moli Council begins with 8 members: President Headman Opa (Veramakuru).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--First beginnings of Marching Rule. Big wave destroyed part of Makaruka (Bilitania). That part of the village later re-located.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--O.C. Noel appointed Resident Commissioner.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--War with Japanese on Guadalcanal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Beginning of Pacific War with Japan. Native Courts and Councils established.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--W.S. Marchant appointed Resident Commissioner. World War II began in Europe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Brownlees, D.O. at Isabel.</td>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>1936</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Senior School opened at Makina. (Fr. Dennis Moore).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Mario Meke died at Marumbo.</td>
</tr>
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<td>1934</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--S.S.E.M. European Missionary arrived at Inakona. Tangarare Catholics boycotted Mission—lasted 3 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Hugo Toko and R. Fallowes, Melanesian Mission, arrived at Savo.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Strong earthquake felt on Weather Coast.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>1929</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Roka Raho appointed Headman, Veuru Moli District, F.N. Ashley appointed Resident Commissioner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Opa (Veramakuru) appointed Headman Bota Moli.</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Age in 1972</td>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Bell and Lillies murdered on Malaita--British Warships shelled villages as punishment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--First aircraft (a sea-plane) came to Solomons.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--R. Sprott, Melanesian Mission, died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Rua Sura abandoned as R.C. Mission site.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td></td>
<td>--</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Head Tax started on Guadalcanal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Ruavatu R.C. Mission established.</td>
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<td>1919</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--C. Workman appointed Resident Commissioner. Bishop Bertreux, died and was succeeded by Bishop Raucaz (in 1920)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--World War I in Europe ended.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>57</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--World War I in Europe began. Australians took Bougainville from Germans. R.C. Church leased land at Makina but did not use it until the 1920's. They had begun a mission in the area in 1914 at Poinikari, but it stayed open only one year. Aola Sub-district station opened late in the year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Hairo plantation land bought. Government Hospital established at Tulagi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--S.S.E.M. Missionary, Mr. Lees, came to Inakona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--First news-sheet &quot;Turupatu&quot; in Ghari language published by R.C. Mission at Rua Sura. Survey by HMS Sealark. Fr. Rinaldo Parese arrived at Tangarare Mission --stayed (except for 1922-28) until 1933. Well remembered and acknowledged as a Ghari expert and was associated with the Tangarare boycott (see 1933).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Age in 1972</td>
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<td>1910</td>
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<td>1896</td>
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<td>c 1890</td>
<td>82</td>
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<td>1885-6</td>
<td>87</td>
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<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>105</td>
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<td>1850-62</td>
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<td>1854</td>
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<td>1851</td>
<td>121</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

SITE CHECKLIST : VILLAGE RELOCATION

1. Has this village always been at this present site?
   If no, follow with questions 2A-12A:
   If yes, follow with questions 2B-6B.

2A. Where was it situated before? (Saltwater or bush? River bank or hill top? Get landmarks and area names).

3A. Why was the village moved from its other site to this one? (As well as reasons, try to find out if any individuals led this move and a little of their background, especially in terms of travel beyond the Weather Coast and education).

4A. About when did this move occur? (Use Guadalcanal Calendar of Events).

5A. In the past, did groups of people come from other villages to live with the people already here?

6A. If so, from what villages did they come?

7A. Why did they leave their own villages?

8A. About when?

9A. In the past, did groups of people leave this village to live elsewhere?

10A. To what villages did they go?

11A. Why did they leave?

12A. About when?

2B. What are the lines in your village? (Note: there should be three or four; for example, Garavu, Gaarauvatale, Manukiki, Manulava).

TO BE ASKED OF THE LEADERS OF EACH LINE:

3B. What is the story of your line's coming to this village? Mention each village/place the line stopped or lived at on its journey here. (Note: be sure to get the area each village is/was in and whether one still exists there).
4B. What were the reasons for the line's leaving each of these villages or places?

5B. Who were the leaders in each move? (Sex as well as name).

6B. Try to ascertain the approximate time of the most recent moves. (Use Guadalcanal Calendar of Events). For example: Was it before or after coming of the whiteman? Were guns and/or other Western artifacts in use at the time of the move? It is particularly important to do this for the last 1-3 moves).
When Mendaña and his party visited the north and east coast of Guadalcanal in 1568, they found the area well-populated.

Frequent mention is made by different narrators in the party of the numbers of people seen by the Spaniards. In the stretch between the Mbokokimbo river and the Aola Bay region, Gallego estimated 3,000 people lived, the largest concentration being around Aola itself.\(^1\)

More interesting, however, is the presence of a substantial inland and coastal population around Point Cruz on the Guadalcanal plains. Both Gómez Catoira\(^2\) and Mendaña\(^3\) note that between Point Cruz and a prominent hill (which could only be Mt. Austin), there were thirty villages or more. Catoria states that each of these villages had 10-20 houses. The villages were within a league and a half\(^4\) of the track the Spaniards had followed from Point Cruz and were located on the slopes: "And all the slope round the hills was full of huts, clearings and plantations, kept in very good order,

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2. Ibid., p. 309.
3. Ibid., pp. 175-176.
and the villages were surrounded by very tall palm trees; and it is certain that one of these clearings would grow food enough to sustain all that we saw, as far as we could judge."⁵

If 3-4 people per house is taken as a basis of calculation then the following minimum and maximum population estimates can be made for the area indicated in Figure 4.⁶

At 3 persons per house:

- 3 x 10 houses x 30 villages = 900
- 3 x 20 houses x 30 villages = 1,800

At 4 persons per house:

- 4 x 10 x 30 = 1,200
- 4 x 20 x 30 = 2,400

Thus the lowest estimate is 900 with the highest at 2,400 for the population in 1568. In the late 1880's, this area was completely depopulated.⁷

There was also a substantial population to the east of this area. From the summit of Mt. Austin, Mendaña states "... we saw towards the east and south east many thickly

---

⁵ Lord Amherst and B. Thomson eds., The Discovery of the Solomon Islands . . ., p. 309


⁷ Map of Guadalcanal North Coast, B2073 Shelf pe., H 363,1889.
populated plains and it is not surprising that the plains should be populated since the mountains are." 

In all, the population of the northern coastal plain and the region of Aola must have been at least 6,000 with about one-third of this around and inland from Point Cruz.

In 1568, as now, there were extensive grasslands on the coastal plain. The area was described as "full of savannahs and bare mountains." Catoira described the area around Mt. Austin as follows: "In some parts of it there were low hills, but no great altitude, the rest being savannah."

These grasslands appear to have been man-made, the result of extensive and intensive cultivation, as well as burning off (such a process is also seen in parts of the Highlands of Papua New Guinea). This kind of cultivation could be practised in this area (vis-à-vis much of the Weather Coast, for example), and still sustain a large population because the soil is rich.

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8 Lord Amherst and B. Thomson eds., The Discovery . . ., pp. 175-176.
9 Ibid., p. 291.
10 Ibid., p. 309.
APPENDIX D

The Fijian records contained in the "General Register of Polynesian Laborers Introduced into Fiji, 1870-1911" are incomplete for the first six years, having only one entry for 1870 when it is known that approximately 800 Solomon Islanders went to Fiji during that time. From 1877 on, the record is complete but the details relating to each laborer do not include his/her village or place of embarkation, although the island is noted. Of the log books of the government agents only 67 survive, thus no accurate calculation of numbers recruited from the Weather Coast can be made from this source.

The Queensland records, as Corris shows, are also deficient in data that are needed to calculate exact numbers from the Weather Coast. However, some estimate of the order of the number of people involved has been attempted based on information from the Queensland Immigration Department's "List of Island Laborers, 1865-1904". For this period a total of 872 people from Guadalcanal were recruited. As it is not until the 1880's that villages of embarkation or origin are noted in this record, the early years' totals must be discarded for the purposes of

1 P. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation . . ., p. 334.
2 Ibid.
ascertaining how many came from the Weather Coast. These totals plus another twenty individuals with no recorded village during the remainder of the period were added, resulting in a total of 205. Thus, there were left 687 people whose villages were noted. Some of these villages are now abandoned and their sites cannot be readily located. However, the writer was able to identify many of the abandoned Weather Coast villages from informants' data, (See Appendix F). The following totals were found from villages positively identified and, if anything, are the most conservative estimate.

**TABLE 1: NUMBER OF LABORERS IDENTIFIED AS FROM WEATHER COAST WHO WENT TO QUEENSLAND, 1880-1904.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Route</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay Area</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tina River to Viso</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viso to Koloula River</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koloula River to Kuma River</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuma River to Charilava River</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charilava to Lauvi lagoon</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veuru Moli</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bota Moli</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marau</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the percentage of people recruited from the Weather Coast was at least 37.5 percent of the Guadalcanal total.\(^3\)

While the total overall Guadalcanal score as a percentage of the total Solomon Islands figure is not known for those who went to Queensland, it is for Fiji from 1877 onwards. Thus, if the same general contribution was made by Guadalcanal to

\(^3\) This figure is of the same order of to-day's population residing on the Weather Coast.
the Fijian figures as was to the Queensland figures and if the Weather Coast contribution to this was of the same order as it was to the known statistics of Queensland, then approximately 37.5 percent of the Guadalcanal total of 1,580 came from the Weather Coast. This represents about 592 people or 37.5 percent of 18.2 percent of the Solomon Islands total.

If this basis for estimation is accepted and then applied to Corris' calculation of the total of Solomon Island labor migration to Queensland, Fiji, Samoa and New Caledonia for the period 1870-1911, which was 30,000, then the numbers recruited from the Weather Coast come to be about 2,047 for the 41 years.

Of course, the oral evidence on numbers recruited is much less complete. However, informants named 219 different individuals that were recruited for overseas. These people would have been the later recruits, those who were recruited in the late 1890's and the first eleven years of this century. For example, as a person born in 1899 would not have achieved an age of general comprehension until between five and ten, he/she would not have been able to know many of the original recruits of the 1870's, but only the survivors and the outstanding identities in his/her own area. Of those 219 most vividly remembered by informants, the 55 that the writer was

4 Ibid., p. 337
able to identify with existing records of Queensland and Fiji were recruited mainly in 1900-1911 with some in the late 1890's and only a few in the late 1880's. Had the records been more complete perhaps more of the 219 could be matched.

Some care was taken by the writer in interviewing informants to ascertain where a specific laborer went, the name of his home village and area and, if possible, the passage or place of embarkation. Care was also taken in writing down the names of the recruits. It seems obvious from this one area of inquiry regarding the Weather Coast alone that the potential information contained both in oral and documentary sources relating to the labor trade has not yet been fully exploited. Some of the barriers to finding this information can be illustrated by the following.

Three famous identities of the labor trade days were "David" Sango, "Jimmy" Vataloughu, and "Peter" Kimbo (See Appendix F). The first has been discussed in the text, while the other two are famous because of their longevity, being still alive in December, 1972. These men were recruited on December 23, 1886, July 5, 1899 and May 25, 1901. (See Appendix F). "Davey" Sango's name is quite obvious and its translation to "David" Sango does not warrant comment. However, the others seem difficult to match. Yet the process is relatively simple and is based on the linguistic patterns
of English and the Southern Guadalcanal dialects.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Queensland Register</th>
<th>P. Corris (1970) Present Writer (1972)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keboo</td>
<td>&quot;Peter&quot; Koloula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttaloo</td>
<td>&quot;Jimmy&quot; Whatalouhou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Peter&quot; Kimbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Jimmy&quot; Vataloughu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, in regard to "Peter" Kimbo's name, "Peter" is a nick-name acquired on the canefields. 'Koloula' is also a nick-name referring to Peter's area of origin and residence, the Koloula River valley, and is not his true name. Even to-day English speakers are debating whether the homo-organic nasals which regularly precede voiced plosives ([m] before [b], [n] before [d], [ŋ] before [ɡ]) are to be indicated in orthography of place names. Many English speakers do not hear them and therefore exclude them. Others, knowing that they always appear together, do not include them because no native speaker of the language would omit the conjunction. Thus, "Keboo" could be written for "Kembo." Additionally, the sound [i] (lax, high front vowel) can be represented as "i" or "e," while [o] can be represented as "o," "oo" or ever "on" in English speaker's writing.

Regarding "Jimmy"; again, this is a plantation-acquired nick-name. The given name and the three written

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5 These dialects belong to the Austronesian group. Except for Capell's "linguistics at a distance" analysis of 1930 of the Ko'o dialect, the other dialects await systematic linguistic description and analysis. (See A. Capell, "The Language of Inakona, Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands," Journal of the Polynesian Society, 39 (1930), 113-136).
representations of it show the problems confronting non-speakers of the southern Guadalcanal dialects. The voiced bilabial frictive \([\beta]\) is lacking in English and is alternatively perceived and represented as (1) a voiced bilabial semi-vowel \([w]\) ("wh" in Corris' rendering); (2) a voiced labiodental fricative \([v]\) (the "v" in the writer's rendering), or (3) a voiced bilabial plosive \([b]\), (the "B" in the Register's rendering), all of which do occur in English. Yet none of the three is technically correct, but merely an approximation of the sound as perceived by English speakers.

The final sound of Jimmy's name the writer has rendered as "ghu", but it is in fact \([\gamma u]\), a voiced velar fricative followed by a round high back vowel. In ordinary speech, this is frequently devoiced at the end of a word and it is when the speaker is asked to pronounce the word slowly or syllable by syllable that the \([\gamma u]\) is heard clearly. When devoiced, the sound is heard by English speakers as \([\gamma]\) or not at all. Thus, the writer's "ghu" approximating \([\gamma u]\), can be often perceived as Corris has, "hou"\([\gamma]\), or, as the government agent wrote for the Register, no sound.\(^6\)

\(^6\) James Tharp provided the linguistic description for the writer.
APPENDIX E

The following table summarized the demographic pattern of masculinity in recent censuses in parts of Melanesia.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enumerated Melanesian Component of Population</th>
<th>Sex Ratio (All Ages)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.S.I.P.</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>86,396</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>117,620</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>149,641</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hebrides</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>70,768</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua New</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>2,150,317</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Fiji, there were 523 males per thousand among 67,500 Fijian births over the period 1960-9.¹

While patterns of earlier years are not known accurately masculinity of the ratio of 3:1 (M:F) in the New Hebrides was noted during the labor trade days in 1882, when absenteeism should have been responsible for an imbalance in the other direction.² Censuses taken by missionaries in the early 1920's show that masculinity was still a characteristic of much of the New Hebrides.

¹ Ibid., p. 37.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>MALES</th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th>EXCESS OF MALES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambryn</td>
<td>3,153</td>
<td>2,433</td>
<td>715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi</td>
<td>1,745</td>
<td>1,535</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paama</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nguna</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pele</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emau</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataso</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makura</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emai</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erromanga</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aneityum</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aniwa</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanna (1919)</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>2,479</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanna (1924)</td>
<td>3,075</td>
<td>2,796</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various attempts to explain this pattern of masculinity observed in Melanesia have centered around cultural factors such as males being favored in upbringing and nutrition.³

APPENDIX F

Recruits from the Weather Coast to Queensland

Wanderer Bay to Tina River (Wanderer Bay)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage/Village</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Possible Match with Informant's Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sughu</td>
<td>Joannie</td>
<td>Lauvia</td>
<td>2/10/88</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Boro Bell</td>
<td>19/10/88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravu</td>
<td>Kalangie</td>
<td>Lauvie</td>
<td>3/4/90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Hunter</td>
<td>Kow</td>
<td>Roderick Dhu</td>
<td>26/11/94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Randy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sughu</td>
<td>Bolongoo</td>
<td>Sybil</td>
<td>28/8/98</td>
<td></td>
<td>Peter Kavoa of Marasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>Cavoh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Gamo</td>
<td>Coquette</td>
<td>15/7/00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Tayaudnah</td>
<td>Fearless</td>
<td>21/12/00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Hunter</td>
<td>Lon Wah</td>
<td>Roderick Dhu</td>
<td>26/11/94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Meesey</td>
<td>Flora</td>
<td>13/7/86</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Peeree</td>
<td>R. Dhu</td>
<td>4/8/96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mankeke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>View</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>Loupa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Joneewah</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kah Kah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Hunter</td>
<td>Walla</td>
<td>Helena</td>
<td>4/1/97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>Gwi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>26/6/96</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Manerae of Wanderer Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Manelay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Spelling of place names has been standardized according to that used on maps contained in this Thesis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage/Village</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Possible Match with Informant's Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>Lahven</td>
<td>Helena</td>
<td>26/6/96</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annalea</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Kaki</td>
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<td>Matitahuu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gahlah</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saboo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>Angala</td>
<td>R. Dhu</td>
<td>9/9/00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Hunter</td>
<td>Manena</td>
<td>Hector</td>
<td>23/10/88</td>
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<td>Angolotey</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>Chango</td>
<td>R. Dhu</td>
<td>7/7/94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Hunter</td>
<td>Pungahnee</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/8/96</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>Otta</td>
<td>Rio Loge</td>
<td>29/5/02</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bongola</td>
<td>May Queen</td>
<td>24/9/90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td></td>
<td>10/4/91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naboor</td>
<td></td>
<td>10/4/91</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lasee</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cape Hunter</td>
<td>Sow</td>
<td>Sibyl</td>
<td>27/1/99</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarcar</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>Tongaineer</td>
<td></td>
<td>13/11/01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Hunter</td>
<td>Tanglay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maiminer</td>
<td>Sydney Belle</td>
<td>19/10/03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vooah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lake</td>
<td>Lochiel</td>
<td>31/7/90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>Seleh Buoh</td>
<td>Helena</td>
<td>24/6/97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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*Sam Tambulo of Marasa*
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APPENDIX G

Officers stationed at Guadalcanal, 1914-1941
Compiled by the Acting Archivist, Patrick MacDonald,
from the archives of the Western Pacific High Commission,
Suva, Fiji

1914—Clifford Claude Francis, Passed Cadet; appointed provisionally District Officer, Aola, November 9

1915—Colin Eynstone James Wilson, Boarding Officer and Clerk; Acting District Officer, January 18 to May 14
Charles Gilbert Norris, Cadet; Acting District Officer, May 15, 1915 to September 9, 1919

1919—Henry Wilfred Prothero Newall, Acting District Officer, September 9, 1919 to March 31, 1920. (There is some doubt as to whether Newall did in fact act as District Officer. Originally, the Resident Commissioner proposed that Clifford Claude Francis assume these duties from October 13, 1919 to March, 1920).

1920—Ralph Brodhurst Hill, District Officer, April 1 to November 4

1921—Ralph Brodhurst Hill, District Officer, April 18, 1920 to July 14, 1923

1923—Colin Eynstone James Wilson, Accountant and First Clerk, Treasury and Customs Department; Acting District Officer, July 2 to December 9. Ralph Brodhurst Hill resumed duty December 21, 1923 and served as Acting Resident Commissioner until October 6, 1924, apparently at Tulagi.

1924—Ralph Brodhurst Hill, District Officer, October 6, 1924 to September 6, 1925

1925—Francis Bartholomew Filose, Clerk to the Resident Commissioner; Acting District Officer, September 3, 1925 to August 5, 1926

1926—Colin Eynstone James Wilson, District Officer, August 6, 1926 to October 12, 1927

1927—Robert Allen Crompton, Cadet; attached to District Officer, May 24 to October 6
1927—Arthur Middenway, District Officer, October 13, 1927 to January 29, 1928

1928—Colin Eynstone James Wilson, District Officer, January 23 to November 23

Leonard William Sidney Wright, Assistant District Officer, November 24, 1928 to April 30, 1930

1930—Colin Eynstone James Wilson, District Officer, May 1, 1930 to May 19, 1931

Anthony Denys Cooper Stephens, Cadet; attached to District Officer, September 29, 1930 to June 29, 1931

1931—Leonard William Sidney Wright, District Officer, May 20 to November 18, 1931

Colin Eynstone James Wilson, November 18, 1931 to January 5, 1932

1932—Leonard William Sidney Wright, January 6 to September 21, 1932

Colin Eynstone James Wilson, September 22, 1932 to February 5, 1934

1934—Leonard William Sidney Wright, February 6, 1934 to September 12, 1935

1935—Charles Norman Frederick Bengough, District Officer, September 13, 1935 to March 2, 1936

1936—Leonard William Sidney Wright, District Officer, March 3, 1936 to February 28, 1938

1938—Thomas Paul Kneen, March 1, 1938 until after the outbreak of World War II.
APPENDIX H


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Number of Women over 65</th>
<th>Average No. of children ever born</th>
<th>Average No. of children living, 1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wanderer Bay</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.31</td>
<td>3.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duidui</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatukulau</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talise</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avu Avu</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moli</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetekanji</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marau</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5.—ESTIMATES OF LABOR MORTALITY IN THE BSIP, 1915-1940


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Labor Employed at Beginning of Year</th>
<th>Recruits for Year</th>
<th>Total Labor Employed</th>
<th>Labor Mortality</th>
<th>Mortality rate per 1,000 plantation years worked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Groenewegen</td>
<td>Wright</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1,403</td>
<td>2,855</td>
<td>4,255</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>2,303</td>
<td>missing</td>
<td>4,270</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>2,898</td>
<td>1,888</td>
<td>4,786</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>3,462</td>
<td>2,028</td>
<td>5,490</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>4,182</td>
<td>missing</td>
<td>6,796</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>3,743</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>6,143</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>3,964</td>
<td>2,188</td>
<td>6,152</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>3,704</td>
<td>2,062</td>
<td>5,766</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3,509</td>
<td>2,232</td>
<td>5,741</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>3,703</td>
<td>2,665</td>
<td>6,368</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>3,755</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>6,115</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>3,840</td>
<td>2,176</td>
<td>6,016</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>3,166</td>
<td>2,005</td>
<td>5,171</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>3,454</td>
<td>1,909</td>
<td>5,363</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>3,189</td>
<td>1,112</td>
<td>4,301</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>2,187</td>
<td>1,726</td>
<td>3,913</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>2,430</td>
<td>1,103</td>
<td>3,583</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>3,410</td>
<td>1,163</td>
<td>3,578</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1,871</td>
<td>1,122</td>
<td>3,096</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5.—ESTIMATES OF LABOR MORTALITY IN THE BSIP, 1915-1940


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Mortality rate per 1,000 plantation Years Worked Groenewegen Wright</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>2,109</td>
<td>1,146</td>
<td>3,457</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12.7  21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>2,059</td>
<td>1,264</td>
<td>3,607</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11.1  17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>2,560</td>
<td>1,129</td>
<td>3,993</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.5   8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>2,478</td>
<td>1,015</td>
<td>3,796</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8.7   14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2,278</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>3,459</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.2   7.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Assumed that half of labor employed at beginning of year left by the end of the year and that recruits and departures were spaced evenly throughout the year. (Basic Data: R. D. Bedford, Population of the BSIP 1920-1952: Extracts from Archival Material Held at WPHC Suva, p. 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sughu (Wanderer Bay and area outside Weather Coast)</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talise (Duidui, Vatukulau, and Talise)</td>
<td>3052</td>
<td>2972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avu Avu (Avu Avu and partly outside of Weather Coast)</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moli (Moli, Tetekanji, and part of Marau)</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marau (part of Marau and partly outside Weather Coast)</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUMMARY

Prior to contact with the West, village relocation on the Weather Coast occurred because of traditional reasons—warfare, horticultural requirements, natural disasters, the rise and fall of "big men," and sorcery or illness. Cross-cultural contacts which modified traditional patterns on the Weather Coast were, as elsewhere in the Pacific, an outcome of European imperialism. Capitalist enterprise in Fiji, Queensland and Samoa required labor inured to tropical conditions. In this search for labor during the late nineteenth century originated the first series of extensive cross-cultural contacts which, after the first brutal introduction, were mutually sought by both recruiters and the recruited. Such contact ultimately affected settlement patterns on the Weather Coast. The intercolonial labor trade brought at least one group of missionaries, the Queensland Kanaka Mission (later, the South Seas Evangelical Mission) to the Solomons in order to consolidate and extend the conversions made in Queensland. Its emphasis on the
establishment of Christian villages brought some relocation and nucleation both before and after the advent of expatriate missionaries. In addition, the labor trade produced a group of men some of whom, because of their overseas experience, were prepared to capitalize on subsequent cross-cultural contact, acting as middlemen and innovators between their own people and representatives of Western society.

More significantly, the labor trade was partly responsible for the advent of British administration. Abuses in the trade threatened its continuance because the Christian-humanitarian conscience of the West decried such activities. For this reason and because of pressure by the Australian colonies generated by fears of French annexation of the Solomon Islands, the British government, albeit reluctantly, declared a Protectorate over the Islands in 1893, with Woodford as the first Resident Commissioner.

Woodford, knowing the Colonial Office's support of the Protectorate to be tenuous, was convinced that the development of expatriate-owned copra plantations was the most efficient way of making the Islands a viable unit of the British Empire, the demise of the Melanesian race being considered inevitable. To permit the successful economic exploitation of the Solomon Islands, Woodford's administration concentrated on pacification of the population.

Following pacification, the Protectorate government introduced a policy of village relocation and nucleation,
as other colonial governments had done in Fiji, Papua and the Mandated Territory of New Guinea in order to make easier penetration and control by the government itself and other commercial interests. On the Weather Coast, settlements moved from the mountain crests to the river valleys and to the coast. Between 1916 and 1924, nucleation of scattered bush hamlets in river valleys and of coastal and peripheral bush settlements into larger permanent villages was also actively encouraged by the government. While the people remained generally within their respective clan lands and moved relatively short distances, their life-style was considerably altered by such a policy.

The Christian missions provided an ideology that rationalized pacification and frequently emphasized Western values supportive of the government and planters' operations. Because of administrative convenience, the missions had encouraged village relocation as early as c.1906 and were thus favorable to official government policy. However, there were some differences among the various missionary groups as there were differences among individual stations affiliated with the one mission. The South Seas Evangelical Mission placed heavy emphasis on village relocation, its influence being visible in the movements that occurred along the coast near Inakona and in the Koloula valley. In this western end of the Weather
Coast too, the Melanesian Mission also encouraged village consolidation, but placed less emphasis on the establishment of new villages than the S.S.E.M. The Catholics, emanating from Tangarare, followed a similar policy between c.1900 and c.1910. In the eastern part of the Weather Coast, however, the Catholic priests at Avu Avu mission preferred not to actively interfere with traditional settlement patterns throughout the whole pre-war period. Some nucleation and coastward relocation occurred in the east because of the Melanesian Mission, but this was also in response to government influence.

Yet both the missions and government, in encouraging new settlement patterns, unwittingly created conditions for the people of heightened susceptibility to endemic and introduced diseases, which in turn caused some added decline in population. This situation was aggravated by the government's lax supervision of new rules of hygiene which would have helped the transition to the new settlements between c.1920 and c.1927. Such an untoward result was not desirable either from a humanitarian or economic viewpoint, since it decreased the labor supply in number and efficiency.

By the 1930's, therefore, far less emphasis on relocation and nucleation was evident in government and mission policy. As well, some attempts were made by these institutions to provide health services for the population.
For the first time, the administration offered something more than the "blessings of settled government" in return for the people's tax. However, the recovery in the numbers of the population due to these measures and the people's increased resistance to introduced diseases was substantially set back by the havoc caused by World War II.

Although the total impact of war on the Solomon Islanders has not yet been adequately studied, there is no doubt that among its many effects was a quickening of desire among the Islanders for increased participation in the economic and political sector of the larger Solomon Island society. Prior to the war the Protectorate government did nothing to encourage indigenous enterprise in the owning and management of large-scale agricultural ventures. Weather Coast people had to obtain money for their wants by selling their services as plantation laborers. With the imposition of the tax in 1921 there was added stimulus to the local people to sign on for plantation work.

In a world perspective, the war also heralded the passing of territorial colonialism and caused the war-impoverished government of Britain to initiate processes by which Solomon Islanders were prepared for political independence. On the Weather Coast, partly in response to Marching Rule, as well as to the more general trend

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1 Resident Commissioner to High Commissioner, May 22, 1922, WPHC, Inward Correspondence, no. 1690 of 1922.
of decolonization, greater participation in the economy was encouraged by the provision of agricultural advice and an improved transportation infrastructure; the latter, however, is continually hindered by the climatic and locational difficulties peculiar to the south coast. Political aspirations were in part met by the establishment of local government councils in the mid-1940's and district councils in the early 1950's.

On the Weather Coast, it was through these councils that much of the impetus to village relocation and consolidation on the coast and periphery and in other areas of potential was stimulated and mediated. Prompted by the need for money and services, villagers were attracted to areas where cash cropping was a feasible proposition. Often, as in Bota Moli, movement occurred across considerable distances into sparsely populated areas. The government, local council and the missions provided health, education and transport services which assisted village movements.
INFORMANTS

Wanderer Bay to Tina River (Wanderer Bay Ward)

Paul Chinogo of Kosipo (bush village)
Marao Chipatila of Koranga (coastal village)
Gafrial Dato of Belana (c.v.)
Elders of Melanesian Mission community of Ghuvalisi (b.v.), interviewed by Robert and Keri Freeman.
John Kenge of Mauvanina (b.v.)
Bernando Kombsesi of Tatilo, Malango (e.v.)
Maria Josefa Kuandi of Tirovisi (b.v.)
Michael Longoni of Karo (c.v.), interviewed by David McLure.
Martin Manganimate of Sughu (c.v.), first interviewed by David McLure and subsequently by the writer.
Bernando Mouri of Kauchupuchupu (b.v.)
Patteson Nganga of Sameria (c.v.)
Benigo Tiula of Sughu (c.v.), interviewed by David McLure.
Paul Toghobela and his brother, Aloisio Vilimi, of Veragachoha (c.v.)
Saniel Tova of Bengena (c.v.)
Joseph Tovalonga of Tirovisi (b.v.)
Nathnail Ulu of Veuru (c.v.)
Erimano Vei of Horova (c.v.)
Nelson Volanga of Kologona (b.v.)

Tina River to Koloula Point (Duidui Ward)

Timmy Chaku of Inakona (c.v.)
Gaius and elders of Poisughu (b.v.)
Pasigholu Kalae'a of Ghorabau (c.v.)
Ruth Kavele of Biti (c.v.)
Rutu Kivava of Bauchoa (c.v.)
Ben Mbelambua of Ghorabau (c.v.)
John Mbumbuparumbau of Isuna (c.v.)
Benjamin Pangetaua of Volabora (c.v.)
Samson Rasile of Komate (c.v.)
Susana Sekona of Bauchoa (c.v.)
Jimuel Singe of Tanabora (c.v.)
Alverti Tongoroovo of Ngalilabelabe (c.v.)

Koloula Valley to Kuma River (Vatukulau Ward)
Asaph Alo of Kuma (c.v.)
Jim Bana of Bulasaro (b.v.)
Benjamin, Jackson Gray and Thomas, spokesmen of the Garauvatale "line" of Vatukulau (c.v.)
Chele of Valevuru (b.v.)
Cheonikai of Valearanisi (b.v.)
Marasiliano Choki of Taupada (c.v.)
Charlie Churu of Ngaliturara (b.v.)
Johnny Ghila of Sughulonga (b.v.)
Evo Kapini of Kolovosu, Kuma (c.v.), near Koloula River
Elson Kavaro of Haliatu (c.v.)
Peter Kimbo of Veravolia (b.v.)
Amule Kolima of Valearanisi (b.v.)
Kanutou Lambangi of Kuma (c.v.), near Koloula River
John Lambi of Kologhalivei (c.v.)
Lucius Mai of Valevuru (b.v.), interviewed by Beth Mohr and subsequently by the writer.
Elders of Nakua (b.v.)
Pasesi Perolae of Veravolia (b.v.)
Charity Panda of Ngaliturara (b.v.)
Cho Ranga of Marao (b.v.)
Aloysio Sangu of Chocho (c.v.)
Malaghai Saniele of Raeavu (c.v.)
Tatakuva of Sughulonga (b.v.)
John Tovar of Ngalipapa (c.v.)
Luvusia Willy of Vatumanivo (c.v.)

Kuma River to Charilava River (Talise Ward)
Kalisto Desi'ea of Veraghalea (c.v.)
Francis Imbi of Ngutu (b.v.)
Hari Kala of Songulu (c.v.)
Ghesi Kimbo of Belabela (b.v.)
Heman Lambughai'a of Veramogho (c.v.)
Rikeena Matekiki of Raurebo (c.v.)
Jo Ongavi of Choghiri (c.v.)
Timmy Seti of Longuna (c.v.)
Mania Savino of Ghoroghor (b.v.)
Charlie Tave of Ghaisere (c.v.)
Jimmy Vataloughu of Choghiri (c.v.)
Ambraham Verembola of Mandakacho (c.v.)
Bereto Voliantoghu of Ngalitaghaverona (c.v.)

Charilava River to Lauvi Lagoon (Avu Avu Ward)
Dominico Alebua of Haimarao (c.v.)
Martia Alverti, Laurence Vungalaela, Ubi Anderiano of Lambeano, Longgu (c.v.)
Casimero Cheniporo of Veramatanga, Ngaliachulu (c.v.)
John Gila of Checheche (b.v.)
Jack Palau of Veralava (c.v.)
Sesario Pende of Ngalichulu (c.v.)
Ernisto Tala of Charanachi (b.v.)
Ben Tougha vera of Haimarao (b.v.)
Maria Vura of Natita (b.v.)
Kabutoulaka of Longgu bush

Lauvi Lagoon to Oa (coastal area) (Moli Ward)

Are Ania of Makaruka (c.v.)
Reme Ava of Komukonina, Masi (c.v.)
Bili of Makaruka (c.v.), interviewed by Thomas Foye.
Jack Bone of Kologhauba (c.v.)
Charlie Ghesi of Sougatali (c.v.)
Serando Hamahama of Sanggasere (c.v.)
Alice Mary Kaevingu of Balo (c.v.)
Hilda Ketala of Balo (c.v.)
Voho Laeni and Basilio Mangalu of Nakili (c.v.)
Camillo Lusu of Balo (c.v.)
Napthali Markia of Visunaru (c.v.)
Lonsdale Nachivi of Golungolu, Bokasughu (c.v.)
Berndito Ola of Rabore (c.v.)
Kombu Sapi of Sangginariki (c.v.)
Evo Tanisivachi of Sanggasere (c.v.)
George Unanisiva of Oa (c.v.)
Jocimo Ungsai of Berechoa (c.v.)
Augustine Vara of Oa (c.v.)
Luviovco Lambina of Naho (c.v.)

Lauvi Lagoon to Oa (bush area) (Tetekanji Ward)

Billy Erumania of Ulachari (b.v.)

Vanetihe Koimakana of Belanimanu (b.v.)

Sava to Hautahe (Marau Ward)

Samuel Kimate of Vaimaia (c.v.)

Vitorino Komana of Matekolokolo (c.v.)

John Koti of Kopiu (c.v.)

Charlie Lambou of Vaimaia (c.v.)

Naomane of Hautahe (c.v.), interviewed by Eric Witt and subsequently by writer.

Donasiano Pororasu of Hautahe (c.v.)

Aliki Popoi of Beso (c.v.)

Piro Tatau of Purakiki (c.v.)
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