

THE MARCHING RULE

A Christian Revolution in the Solomon Islands

by

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B.A., Reed College, 1974

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(Department of Anthropology)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

August, 1986

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Abstract

This thesis reconsiders, in the light of new evidence recently made available, the socio-political movements subsumed as 'Marching Rule' that occurred in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate during the period 1939-53. Part I, historical, considers the development of these movements. The need for an indigenous political institution by means of which the differences between governed and governors might be resolved was first articulated by an Anglican missionary, Rev. Fallowes. He taught a new model for self-rule, and his ideas and inspiration were widely propagated through the central Solomons. World War II introduced a period of liminality in which local rivalries were submerged in new unities. The American servicemen legitimated a model of representative government, and inspired new religious and organizational ideas. Islanders then elaborated new governmental institutions within a global model of third-world development, bounded by Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, the ideology of Social Gospelism and the ideal of reconciling pagan/Christian differences under 'Christian Kastom.'

Part II, ethnographical, considers Malaitan Christianity, traditional leadership and followership, and the impact

of new kinds of leadership growing out of mission organization or imposed by the colonial government. The South Sea Evangelical Mission policy of complete indigenization required converts to wholly abandon former ways. The mission provided literacy, a key to a variety of modernizations; the Bible, a complete 'handbook for living'; and the notion of an incipient social institution, a community of God that was expressed mystically but which was to be created on earth in advance of the millennium.

Part III draws together these themes, considering key indigenous Marching Rule documents in a semiotic analysis. The war was interpreted as the end of the old dispensation, the Americans as bringing a new world order. The social program is addressed as a logos, and the new image of a moral man, the Christian American serviceman, emerges as the ethos of the movement. Its emotional foundation, pathos, was based on ethnicity and masinga, brotherhood, which was also the weakness of the Marching Rule. Rather than the form of 'irrational' Cargoism imputed by the administration of the time, Marching Rule emerges as a Christian revolution aimed not to forcibly overthrow the colonial administration, but at the creation of a means of talking with it and converting it to something new.

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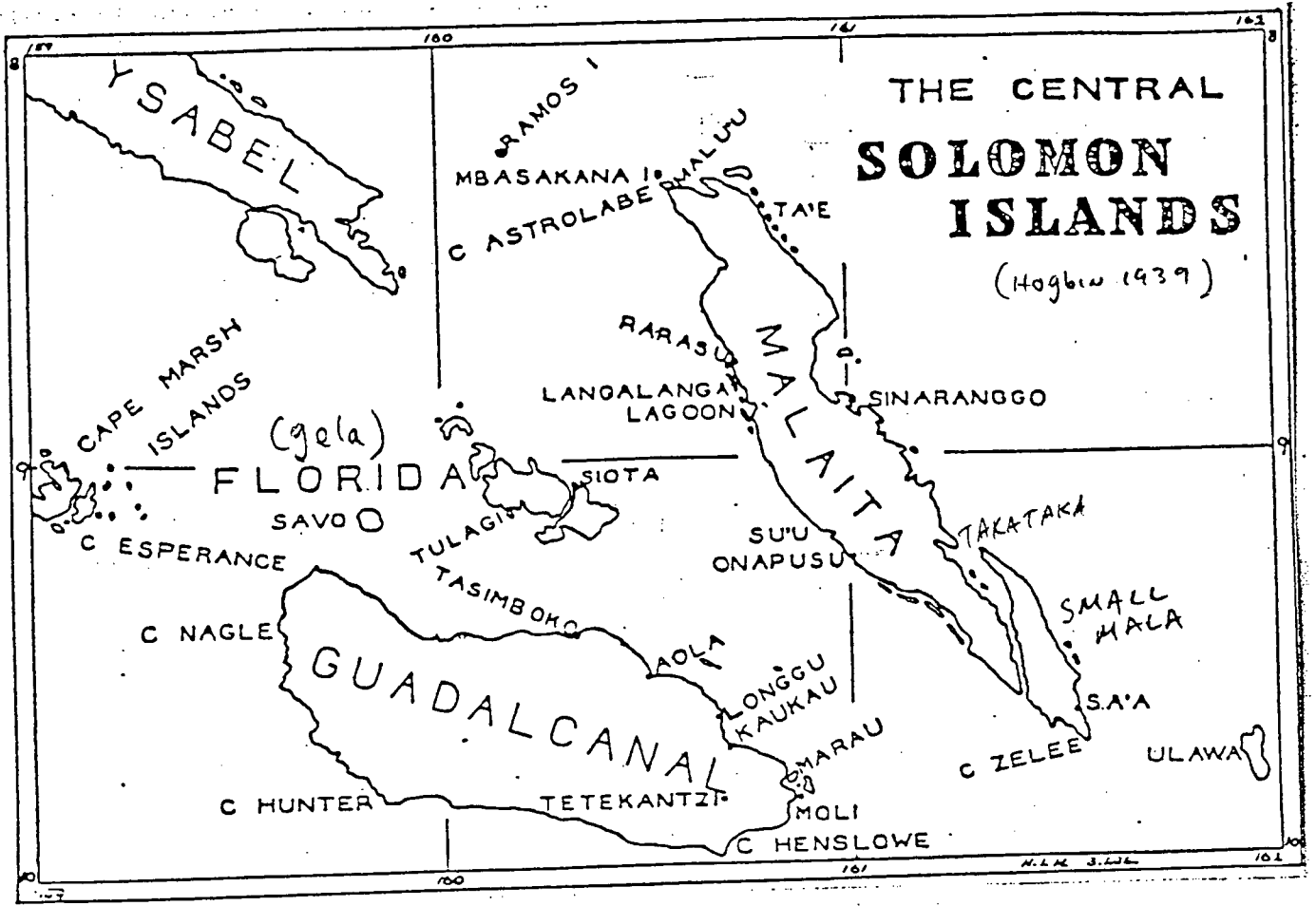
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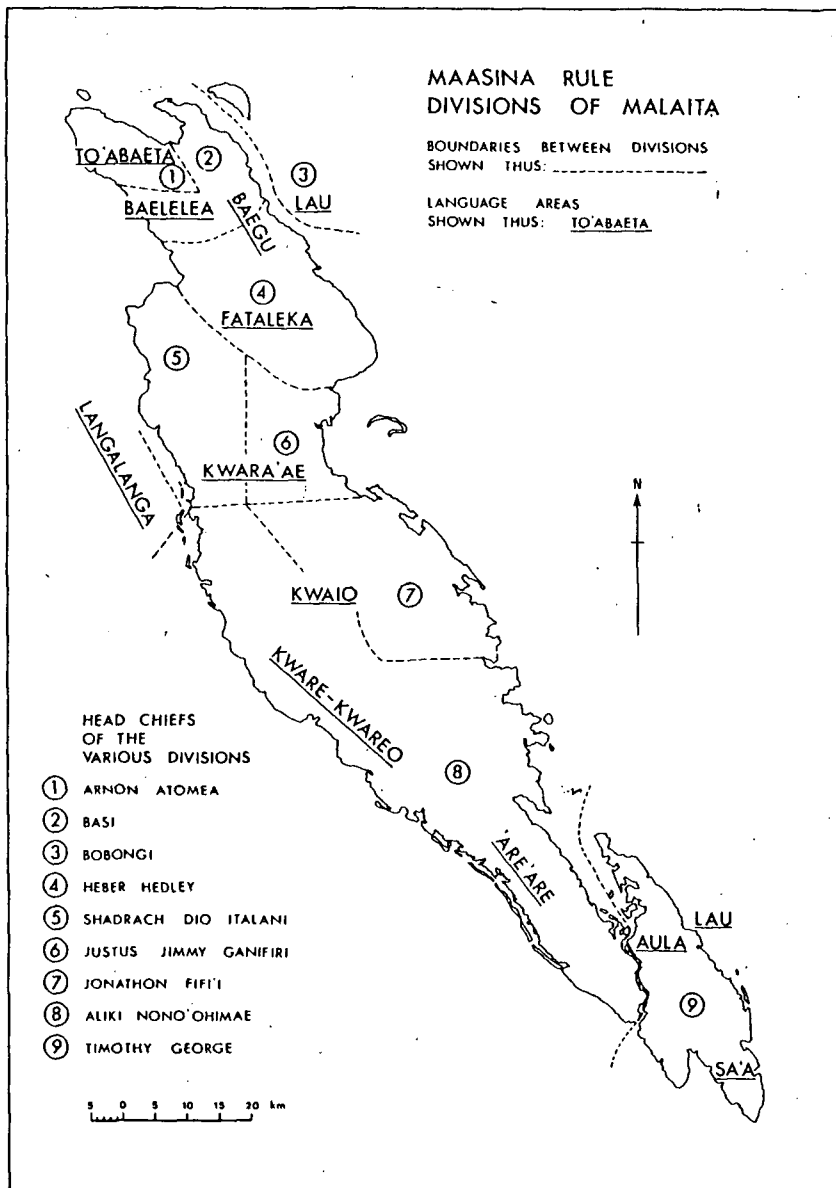
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Orthography

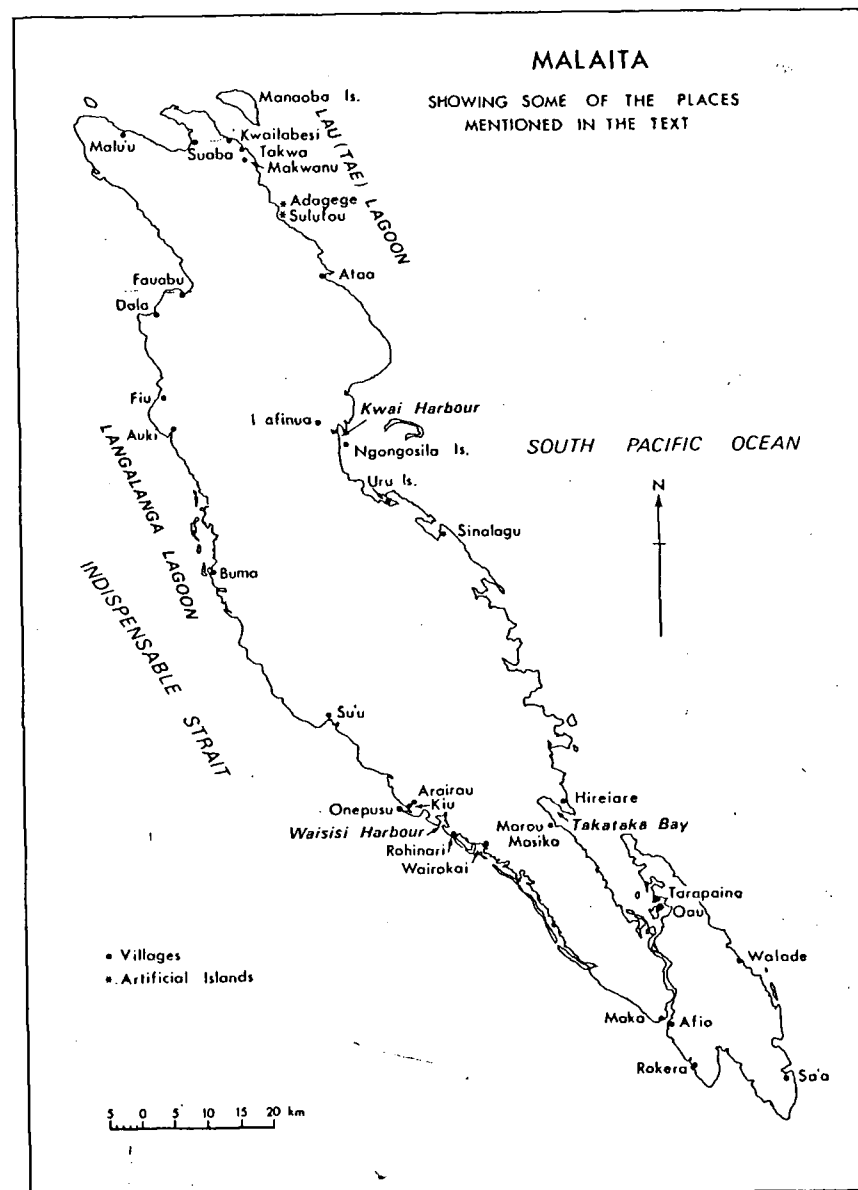
There is no standard orthography for Malaitan languages, hence there are differences in the spelling of various indigenous lexemes. Footnotes are provided at the bottom of pages for the convenience of the reader, to cite the most important references and subsidiary points. The following is a list of abbreviations used in the text:

BSIP	British Solomon Islands Protectorate
DC	District Commissioner
DO	District Officer
MM	Melanesian Mission (Anglican)
QKM	Queensland Kanaka Mission
RC	Resident Commissioner
RD	Religious Discourse
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SILC	Solomon Islanders Labor Corps (1942-44)
SSEM	South Sea Evangelical Mission.
WPHC	Western Pacific High Commission





Malaita — linguistic divisions and Maasina Rule districts.



Malaita — villages, missions and government posts.

The maps were produced in the Department of Geography, University of Auckland, by courtesy of Dr Roger McLean.

(Laracy 1983)

General Introduction

In this thesis I present a study of an indigenous popular movement for social reform and political development. Although prophetic cargoism has long been studied as though it constituted the typical Melanesian social movement, the existence of more clearly politically oriented movements, such as the Paliau movement of the Admiralties, the Tommy Kabu movement of Papua, and the Marching Rule of the central Solomon Islands, have likewise been noted. This thesis pursues the millenarian origin of the Marching Rule, finding it largely the product of the indigenization of Fundamentalist Christianity.

The Problem of the Marching Rule

From about the middle of 1946 to 1952 the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, economically weakened by the effects of World War II, was shaken by a series of non-violent native initiatives, centered on the island of Malaita, which challenged directly and indirectly the legitimacy and competency of its administration. The name 'Marching Rule' is taken from one of these initiatives.

The etymology of the name 'Marching Rule' is itself problematic. Keesing and Laracy both contend that the name was an anglicization of masinga ('Are'are for 'brotherhood')

and they term the movement 'Masinga Rule' or 'Maasina Rule,' respectively. The indigenes themselves used the terms 'Marching Rule', 'Mercy Rule' and 'Masinga Rule', each of which has different senses. 'Marching' reflects the militaristic ritual and hierarchical organization adopted by the movement, while 'Mercy' and 'Masinga' reflect the emotional complexion of the social relationships which sustained the movement's millenarian momentum. Each describes one facet of the events engendered during the Marching Rule period, and none are here elevated as being the 'emically' correct way in which the movement's adherent's viewed themselves. As names of a popular movement, each emerged along with all the other Marching Rule dogmas, beliefs and organizational practices.

I will use the term 'Marching Rule' to denote a historical period of widespread change marked by a new popular ideology, a pattern of public discussion, a configuration of ideas and theories into discourse and actions peculiar to the times. The Marching Rule period embraced not one movement, but several. These include the Chair and Rule movement (1939), the Native Council Movement otherwise known as the 'Marching Rule,' the 'Mercy Rule' or 'Masinga Lo' (1943-47), Belamataga's Freedom Movement (1948-49), and Sisili's Federal Council Movement (1949-51). Marching

Rule was also the generative factor in the Church Council of South Mala (1949-present?), the Remnant Church (1955-present?), the Moro Movement of Guadalcanal (1956-66?) and Doliassi's Custom Movement (1963-65), with which I will not deal.

Marching Rule also embraces the first organized industrial labour dispute of contemporary Melanesia, the first successful effort to institute representative government in the Solomons, the first indigenous plans for agricultural, social and urban development to be carried out by a routinized bureaucracy, and the first coming to terms between Christians and pagans on the basis of shared ethnicity. These several themes can come together under the head of the 'Marching Rule' not as the goals and objectives of a hypostatized social movement, but as largely independent separate derivations from a "primary process"¹⁾ that issued from the liminality of war, which the indigenous leadership eventually came to name the 'Marching Rule.'

The arguments of the thesis are founded on documentary evidence. I wish to distinguish three phases of Marching Rule materials. First there are a number of colonial officials who were more or less eye-witnesses and whose

1 Victor Turner (1974) Dramas, Fields and Metaphors
p. 110-111.

perspective was more or less consistent with that of the contemporary administrative analysis. This includes the contrasting accounts of Cyril Belshaw and Colin H. Allan, whose publications²⁾ were largely the sum total of the primary sources available to the second phase of comparative treatments, as well as a large body of unpublished papers, government reports and memoranda from various officers and cadets in the field, including a seldom referenced analysis by W.J. Marquand.³⁾ The second phase is marked by a wide collection of works which mention the Marching Rule relative to Melanesian cargo cults, and more broadly, to millenarianisms in general. Peter Worsley and I.C. Jarvie made broadly comparative efforts with sustained attention to the Marching Rule.⁴⁾ They were concerned with deriving reductive explanations of movement phenomena

- 2 Cyril Belshaw (1947) "Native Politics in the Solomon Islands." Pacific Affairs 20(2), pp 187-93. (April 21, 1948) "The Postwar Solomon Islands." Far Eastern Survey. pp. 95-98. (1950) Island Administration in the Southwest Pacific. Colin Allan (1951) "Marching Rule: a Nativistic Cult of the British Solomon Islands." Corona, 3(3):93-100
- 3 W.J. Marquand (1949-50). Community Development in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, with particular reference to the Marching Rule Movement on the island of Malaita. Unpublished papers delivered at the Second Devonshire Course, University of London. Vide CO 537, Western Pacific Registry of Supplementary Correspondence, Public Records Office, Kew. London.
- 4 Peter Worsley (1968) The Trumpet Shall Sound. A study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia. Schocken Books, N.Y. (second edition). I.C. Jarvie (1964) The Revolution in Anthropology. Humanities Press, N.Y.

in general and used ethnographic materials in a manner that sought deductive verification of their synoptic explanations. Also included in this phase is Glynn Cochrane's monograph, the first attempt to treat the Marching Rule in detail, the first to incorporate original fieldwork (conducted during an administrative tour of duty in north Malaita), and the last to adopt a comparative approach.⁵⁾ The third and on-going phase of research is distinguished by a turning away from comparative studies. This period is marked by a lengthy and welcome article by Roger Keesing,⁶⁾ and by the publication in at first a trickle, then a flood, of original Marching Rule documents, culminating in 1983 with Hugh Laracy's Pacific Protest, the principal source for my documentary evidence.

Today the Marching Rule stands as one of the most thoroughly documented indigenous movements of Melanesia, a situation which demands theoretical re-assessment, challenging as it does the understandings gleaned during the first

5 Glynn Cochrane (1970) Big Men and Cargo Cults. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

6 Roger M. Keesing, (1978-9) "Politico-Religious Movements and Anticolonialism on Malaita: Maasina Rule in Historical Perspective." Pt. I, Oceania 48:241-61; Pt. II, Oceania 49:46-73. Original typescript.

and second phases of anthropological inquiry.

Two points must be mentioned on the direction this scholarship has taken over a generation of work. Allan's contribution in the first phase reflected the official colonial analysis by providing logical coherence to a theory which originated with administrators' knowledge of cargo cult outbreaks in New Guinea. Belshaw, however, stresses the administration's limited anthropological background and the impossible logistic and communication field conditions which acted to blind the administration to the rapidity with which Solomon Islanders had psychologically prepared themselves for self-rule and hampered District Officers from responding as creatively as they might have wished. Generally, the literature has moved away from the 'irrational' or 'cargo cult' interpretation toward a fuller appreciation of the political aspects of the movement, the emphasis of Belshaw and Worsley. But cargo elements were undoubtedly present in the Marching Rule, and they have yet to be accounted for satisfactorily.

Second, with each new contribution on the Marching Rule, the role of Christianity becomes enlarged, and at the same time more complex. A great many of the Marching Rule leaders were drawn from the ranks of the South Sea

Evangelical Mission (SSEM), but this by itself explains nothing. Allan and Cochrane emphasize the fact that the white missionaries were rejected by the leadership; the movement in their view was conservative and aimed at revitalization of tradition. Similarly, Tippet has stated that religion was not a basic drive in this movement.⁷⁾ Keesing subsumes the issue of religion under a materialist theory of history.⁸⁾ The SSEM contributed certain important organizational capabilities, but Christianity was important mostly in lending part of the "mythico-religious symbolism and fantasy, with millenarian overtones" which "cloaked" the movement, which was at heart rationalistic and stemmed from growing "class consciousness" (idem:53). Laracy's familiarity with the documentary evidence causes him to direct us to examine the role of Christian doctrine which he states "led" to the Marching Rule. It "heightened the islanders' sense of their own worth, while the network of mission teachers who provided much of the leadership and means

7 Allan R. Tippet, 1967. Solomon Islands Christianity: a study in growth and obstruction. Lutterworth, London:204.

8 "I believe that religious ideologies deal with and derive from conflicts and contradictions in the objective circumstances of people's lives, as well as the existential paradoxes of death, ultimate origins and the like. And these circumstances are historically situated, rooted in class relationships and other cleavages in society. In this respect my perspective is essentially Marxist" (Keesing 1978/9 t.s. p.52).

of communication gave the movement staying power on Malaita". Analysis of the Marching Rule, he contends, "must take into account the Christian ideology that suffused the movement"⁹⁾

It is clear that Laracy calls for addressing the Christianity of the Marching Rule as an ideological realm worthy of independent study. However, Laracy himself does not give us a detailed account of (1) the doctrinal nature of Malaitan Christianity, nor does he comment on (2) how that doctrine may have evolved and developed since the early years of mission presence. While asserting that Christian ideology "led" to the Marching Rule, he does not pursue (3) by what path that may have occurred or why, or (4) why other missionized areas of the Solomons had little to do with Marching Rule. These are the problem areas for which I will undertake to develop some explanations. This direction of research into the ideological realm, examined in terms of structures of discourse, has been only recently possible to undertake thanks to the availability of new documentary evidence that gives us insight into the process of indigenous ratiocinations.

9 Hugh Laracy (1983) Pacific Protest. The MAASINA RULE Movement. Solomon Islands, 1944-1952. Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific. Suva. p.100, 107.

If the Marching Rule must be appreciated as an indigenously initiated period of social and political development, it must also be appreciated, Laracy states, "as a literary outburst in which Solomon Islanders spoke of and for themselves" (Laracy 1983:7). The publication of indigenous Marching Rule writings, and the availability of relevant Colonial Office records, together offer both an opportunity and a challenge to anthropological method, and I must address here the use which I propose to make of these newly available materials.

The writings of the indigenous intellectuals present a challenge to anthropological method. Traditionally concerned with describing and accounting for prehistoric or contemporary cultural arrangements of usually non-literate peoples, anthropological theory has not systematically addressed how to deal with original written materials. However, Smith's discussion of "documentary reality" from a sociology of knowledge perspective is a useful point for departure.¹⁰⁾ She examines the referential textuality of the bureaucratic mode of document production, stating that "the categories, coding procedures and conceptual

10 Dorothy Smith (1974), The Social Construction of Documentary Reality. Sociological Inquiry 44(4):257-267.

order sanctioned for use in the context of formal organization are a linguistic and methodological specification of organizational (or professional) structures of relevance" (idem:265).

Because documentary facts "are constructed in a context of telling," the production of documents must be understood as occurring within a speech act framework as well as that of the bureaucratized 'motive' of discourse. Her notion of "document time" refers not to 'time's arrow' but to the timeless authority of an institutional interpretation. Document time begins at "that crucial point at which much if not every trace of what has gone into the making of that account is obliterated and what remains is only the text" (idem:260). The discursive authority of the text constitutes what Smith terms "a kind of 'organizational consciousness'."

Smith develops a model of what I will term a 'statist discourse.' She generalizes from the bureaucratized mode of document production to the mediation of all experience by received institutional interpretive strategies. She concludes that "our 'knowledge' is thus ideological in the sense that this social organization preserves conceptions and means of description which represent the world as it is for those who rule it, rather than it is for those who are ruled" (idem:267).

Smith does not discuss the theoretical status of documents produced outside the statist context of referential textuality, the social production of 'facts.' The documents with which we must work include correspondence, memoranda, lists and rosters, court testimony, plans, and manifestos of indigenous intellectuals who had an entirely different motive, whose text production strategies aimed to produce new reality rather than the replication of "documentary reality." The Marching Rule discourse emerges from a motive of moral confrontation with the assumptions, legitimacy and ratiocinations of the statist discourse, deconstructing it and asserting in its place a new system of moral relationships, new identifications and new rules for living.

The opportunity afforded by the newly available documentary evidence is two-fold. There is a possibility of new insight into the specific structure of the indigenous ratiocinations which drove the political, social and religious initiatives of the Marching Rule period, and hence, insight into the discursive structure of millenarianism. Such an opportunity rarely presents itself to the analyst of millenarian movements in Melanesia, which have generally occurred among peoples unable to record their thoughts in writing and for whom literacy was sometimes part of the Cargo they hoped perhaps to attain through the enactment

of new ritual. The Marching Rule stemmed from an ethnographic situation in which widespread literacy was attained at an early date, because literacy was required of the converts of the SSEM in order that they might "feed themselves" on Holy Scripture. The impact of literacy on the Marching Rule period is an untreated and fundamental problem in light of the documentary evidence. Together with declassified administrative records, the writings also present the opportunity of a new, close historical reconstruction of key Marching Rule events and milestones, which is similarly difficult to attain for other Pacific social movements whose histories are necessarily reconstructed from informants' and administrators' recollections, and without the benefit of an extensive corpus of original documents. The relevance of such a close historical reconstruction to this essentially anthropological inquiry will soon be apparent, for one can observe the development of the statist discourse of the colonial officials and the indigenous, Marching Rule discourse as parallel processes which together determined the developing Marching Rule events.

The nature of the documentary evidence itself demands that a historical approach be undertaken, at least initially. My interest in reconstructing some features of the history of the Marching Rule in the first division of the thesis

is not purely idiographic but is presented toward a nomothetic end, and thus, is closer to the overall program of the professional anthropologist rather than historian. The millenarian movement shares with the generic social drama a quality of being a "fast process," in Victor Turner's phrase, whose comparative study is not amenable to statistical or atemporal models, but which requires many extended case studies (1967). My aim is to develop and extend some of Turner's ideas on diachronic structures and the generative properties of the encounter between institutional structure and liminality, the negation of institutional structure. I am interested in what is termed 'social diagnostics,' which I define as the process by which persons understand and seek to shape the course of their experience through the production of discourse according to culturally received semiotic codes and heuristic rules of interpretation. The Marching Rule discourse was dominated by a pattern of social diagnostics furnished by Evangelical Biblical literalism, the development and indigenization of which will receive special attention in the second division of the thesis.

A most important effect of the availability of original Marching Rule writings is that this study, although based on library and archival research, nonetheless makes use

of primary materials. As such, they are used in a manner appropriate to primary materials, with thick description and frequent quotation, and consequently, a very detailed overall treatment. Because of the "open-text" quality of the corpus of indigenous writings, that is, a quality of textuality unencumbered by what Clifford terms a "privileged authorial standpoint,"¹¹⁾ the "literary outburst" of the Marching Rule intellectuals provides a basis for perhaps continual new scholarly reinterpretations, which my own findings will hopefully provoke.

This thesis is organized into ten substantive chapters divided into three general divisions. In the first, I take a historical approach to the Marching Rule period, in which I advance a new political interpretation of the movement to make sense of the literature's themes of mass hysteria versus rationalism, Cargoism versus political revolution, Christianity versus class consciousness. The second division takes an ethnological approach which features the origins and nature of Malaitan Christianity and its evolution into the doctrines promulgated by the Marching Rule intellectuals. The third discusses how

11 James Clifford (1980), *Fieldwork, Reciprocity and the Making of Ethnographic Texts*. *Man* 17:518-533.

the movement was propagated and operationalized by the semiotic properties of its rhetoric, and concludes with some observations on the comparative value of the Marching Rule in the context of a Turner's and others' general theories on processual forms and redemptive religions.

INTRODUCTORY THEORETICAL ISSUES

This is not a thesis on the anthropology of religion, the semiotics of rhetorical analysis, or all possible sources of social change. In directing us to examine the role of religion in the Marching Rule, however, Laracy necessarily involves us in theoretical issues regarding the general role of religion in society, long a central problem of anthropology. The corpus of documentary evidence requires an explicit approach to rhetorical analysis that is consistent with anthropological rather than semiotical objectives. And, an identification of an issue with respect to social change, the general thrust of the study of millenarian movements, is also pertinent. Some comments which can only be presented as assumptions about this problematic are now in order.

Religion is a social phenomenon. Traditional religious cosmology involves the existence of non-human agencies and powers which are responsive to human communication and which act on the world order, and so extends the pattern of social relationships beyond those of its living members.

As Skorupski, a philosopher, states, religious rites are "social interactions with authoritative or powerful beings within the actor's social field, and their special characteristics are in large part due to the special characteristics

these beings are thought to have."¹²⁾ Beyond extending social relationships into the realm of the sacred, religion also provides a cosmology or world-view which makes sense to man's capacity and need for rational knowing; an image of the moral man which is a reference model for evaluating social comportment; and in its expressive and symbolic aspect, the forms in which emotions are experienced and affective support given to individuals under stress.¹³⁾ These correspond to some traditional categories of rhetorical analysis, logos, ethos and pathos which will frame the concluding discussion on the Marching Rule discourse.

When the members of a community engage in religious behavior, an outstanding characteristic is the use of particular language termed religious discourse.¹⁴⁾ Research into the ideological realm in the main requires research

- 12 John Skorupski, Symbol and Theory. A philosophical study of theories of religion in social anthropology. Cambridge Press, 1976:164-6.
- 13 Cf. Clifford Geertz (1963), Religion as a Cultural System. Chapter 1 in Max Gluckman and Fred Eggan (eds.), The Anthropology of Religion. ASAO Monograph series.
- 14 for a formalization of the logic of religion, see J.M. Bochenski, O.P. (1965) The Logic of Religion. New York University Press, NY.

into religious discourse.

Much religious discourse in the Christian tradition concerns communication with God. But much discourse also occurs as communication between men about their social relationship with respect to God and His institutions. It is this latter field of religious discourse which is of interest to us. My theoretical objective, relative to the ideological realm, is to grasp the use of that realm, including the production of religious discourse, in the context of actions.

Rhetoric and institutional structure

In Umberto Eco's theory of semiotics, labor is expended in sign production, an activity that falls under the heading of rhetoric.¹⁵⁾ Eco's theory informs the general attitude of my approach rather than a ready-made method of analysis.

Eco states that contemporary rhetorical theory "considers the persuasive discourse not as a subtle fraudulent procedure but as a technique of 'reasonable' human interaction, controlled by doubt and explicitly subject to many extra-logical conditions" (idem:278). In a similar vein, classical rhetoricians including Aristotle understood rhetoric to

15 Umberto Eco (1976), A Theory of Semiotics. Indiana University Press, Bloomington. p. 276.

be a "socially oriented form of reasoning" (idem:277). Rhetoric was understood a structured process of inquiry in which the relevant factors of a problem of practice are brought forth in order that a reasoned decision may be made. Rhetoric is thus distinctively moral in function, a framework for the production of discourse openly viewed as directed toward the perfection of human nature and political institutions, not toward persuasion 'at any cost'. The attitude or motive from which rhetoric issues is marked by its moral purpose.¹⁶⁾

The Marching Rule can be viewed as the product of an indigenous process of rhetoric. The methodological focus of the thesis must go beyond the dimensions of logos, ethos and pathos as coincident elements of persuasion, to consider their full dimensions in constraining the indigenous perception of moral problems, the judgements on which produced the Marching Rule doctrines.

Aristotle closely linked the process of rhetoric with deliberation in the polis. Deliberation in public furthers moral enquiry and "the exchange of moral perspectives, and thus to establish a common moral perspective upon

16 Christopher Ryle Johnstone (1980). "An Aristotelian Trilogy: Ethics, Rhetoric and Politics in the Search for Moral Truth." Philosophy and Rhetoric. 13(4):1-24.

which all cooperative behavior can be based" (Johnstone ibid.:16). Every moral community supports the existence of institutions that structure and regulate conflict through language. From a language-centered perspective, political institutions are important insofar as they structure and constrain the pattern of political utterances, i.e., utterances that refer to the application of moral understandings to problems of public conduct. The institution manages disputes by constraining them within formalized procedures in which social relationships are made explicit in an explicit organizing framework through which adjustments in power relations can occur.¹⁷⁾

Political institutions, whatever else they may be, are also discursive structures, and as such are among the linguistic prerequisites to moral community, for they stipulate how actors may legitimately engage themselves in political actions that are embedded in locally bounded norms of integrity.

In the colonial ambience of the BSIP, there was no discursive institution for managing inter-racial political discourse. There was no way in which native Melanesians

17 Some anthropologists who have discussed political institutions in like terms include: Kenelm Burridge (1957), "Disputing in Tangu". American Anthropologist. 59 (5). Maurice Bloch, "Introduction" and Raymond Firth, "Speech-making and Authority in Tikopia", in Maurice Bloch, (ed.) (1975), Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society. Academic Press, London. An alternative view is taken by Robert Paine (ed.), Politically Speaking. Cross-cultural studies of Rhetoric. Social and Economic Papers No. 10, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. Johns. 1981:5.

and Europeans could meet and deliberate on problems with amity, as existed in the traditional social arrangements of each separately. There were two moral communities, each with its own pattern of rhetoric. The relation between them of dominance and subjugation, a product if not the aim of pacification, was founded on force. Though sustained by codes of behavior such as saluting a district officer, such codes were not primary and normative but were the mere outward signs of a situation dominated by the norms of mastery and obedience.

Given the statement that every moral community supports a political institution for managing conflicts through language, the conflict between moral communities may take the form of creating or positing an institution through which moral equality may be actualized. If we rephrase our statement on moral communities and political institutions, we can derive the biconditional sentence, 'There is a moral community if and only if there is an institution that manages conflict through language.' A great deal is yet to be remarked on how an underlying drive for a new moral order resulted in the specific shape of events of the Marching Rule period, which was dominated by the issue of inventing and initiating just such an institution.

Structures of change

Like some other social anthropologists, Victor Turner emphasizes the role of formalization in managing conflict situations. He writes,¹⁸⁾

The gradient of formality may extend from the mere display of etiquette and propriety, through ceremonial action, to the full-blown ritualization of behavior. Even when situations develop spontaneously, out of quarrels or celebrations, they rapidly acquire a formalized or structural character. Most anthropologists have observed that, in the course of village quarrels, the contending factions draw apart, consolidate their ranks, and develop spokesmen who present their cases in terms of a rhetoric that is culturally standardized.

Turner's early work leaves us bereft of any theory of how conflicts are resolved in the absence of "culturally standardized" procedures in a situation of conflicting moral communities such as that which engendered the Marching Rule. In a later work,¹⁹⁾ Turner advanced a 'social drama' model of political crisis to explain how a political

18 in Schwartz, Turner and Tuden (1966), Political Anthropology:241.

19 Victor Turner (1974), Dramas, Fields and Metaphors.

field such as a colonial order may move into a new field marked by a revolutionary order, through the stages of (1) breach of norm-governed relationships, (2) mounting crisis, (3) redressive actions, (4) reintegration (idem:41). Turner notes that the capacity of the successive stages to have continuity is a function of the communitas released by a primary process. Communitas is not simply another term for the religious, although perhaps it is for the 'numinous' in Rudolf Otto's phenomenology. Communitas is defined as a consciousness of the "bonds which unite" which are of a higher order than those of "regulated social relations and organized social groups" including routinized religions (1974:45). The primary process is something which:

... arises from deep human needs for more direct and egalitarian ways of knowing and experiencing relationships, needs which have been frustrated or perverted by those secondary processes which constitute the homeostatic functioning of the institutionalized social structure (idem:111).

Turner invited cross-cultural comparison of his four-stage model. He exhorts the analyst of this type of movement to "not limit one's enquiry to a particular social structure, but to look for the grounds for action in generic communitas." In other words, Turner urges us to look for the factors of change which proceed not from the institutionalized properties of organizations, but which proceed from the

encounter between structure and anti-structure, out of which the secondary orderings of the social world are remade over the course of a social drama. "History repeats the deep myths of culture, generated in great social crises at turning points of change" (idem:122).

As Kenelm Burridge states, "what we know more familiarly as revolutions are in fact written or programmed into the instructions contained in the European cultural heritage. That is, millennialisms (and so, later, with development, revolutions) are an integral part of European civilization."²⁰ What we must be concerned with is the nature of such "instructions" and their method of propagation to non-European settings. Fundamentalist Christianity in Malaita introduced a new strategy of discourse production in which the Bible had ultimate authority, which was used by the SSEM and its converts to deconstruct the pagan order, and ultimately, the colonial order itself under the banner of the Marching Rule.

PART I.

HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE MARCHING RULE

Introduction

Eric Wolf states that the history of the European working classes and of primitive societies is one history.²¹⁾

"The trajectories of the 'people without history' on various continents of the globe dovetail and converge within the larger matrix created by European expansion and the capitalist mode of production" (idem:355). Much of the history of the nineteenth century, he states, can be explained by the great movements of labor and the economic relations which such movements made manifest. Three such migrations occurred over the century: a rapid growth of European urban centers, the movement of fifty million Europeans to other continents including thirty-two million to the United States, and finally, in a number of movements of non-European contract laborers in the colonial world.

The latter labor migration includes the movements of the west Africans to the cotton fields of the ante-bellum southern U.S., of Bantu into the mines of southern Africa,

20 K.O.L. Burridge (1985) "Millennialisms and the Recreation of History." In Bruce Lincoln (ed), Religion, Rebellion, Revolution, Macmillan: 222

21 Europe and the People Without History

of Chinese and Indians into fields and labor gangs throughout Africa, Southeast Asia and North America, of southern Europeans into South America, and of some 46,387 (Allan 1958) Melanesians predominantly from the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands into the cane fields of Queensland. Origins were irrelevant in the process of migration and foreign employment except insofar as they enabled the worker to enter into the requisite relations of the modes of production. There he unlearned and learned culture from people and their surroundings, which everywhere produced a wider cultural unity through the continual recapitulation of the characteristic capital-labor relationship. Although social scientists viewed the new laborers as the source of social problems because of their severance from cultural roots, it did not involve looking at them "as social actors in their own right, responding to new conditions" (Wolf ibid:354).

In this division of the thesis which I have headed "The Historical Approach to the Marching Rule" I aim to recover a moment of history of a 'people without history' by advancing an interpretation of the documentary literature of the Marching Rule period. The Melanesian people, who were viewed almost entirely as sources of labor for plantation agriculture, under the leadership of indigenous intellectuals,

indeed acted 'in their own right.' They made through their words and actions, a history whose full and complete accounting can only be an ideal toward which academic scholarship can strive.

From the beginning of the Marching Rule period in 1939 through to its restive conclusion in January 1953, a political movement was sustained by a single ideal principle held in the minds of its leaders with unusual tenacity and clarity -- the need for a new native institution of representative government. Over the course of the ensuing social dramas, this idea was used to derive different plans or algorithms defining and implementing such institutions in numerous forms. Each attempt shared two characteristics. It was a form of republican government, and it was clearly validated by religious authority. These incipient institutions mirrored and negated those of colonial government: the colonial order was not representative; it ruled against the wishes of the majority of people. And, because Government's supposed Christian nature was understood as a sham after the war, it was invalid from the standpoint of religious authority, that is, as interpreted by the indigenes of the South Sea Evangelical Mission.

Chapter 1. The British Solomon Islands Protectorate

This chapter provides some background material on the colonial situation prior to the Marching Rule period. I will discuss the historical development of the Protectorate government, its native policy, and its relationship with the Melanesian Mission and the SSEM.

The formation and administration of the Protectorate

The modern history of southern Melanesia begins between the years 1863 and 1891, the period of the labor traffic between the islands and the Queensland sugar plantations. Most recruits came from the New Hebrides, but they included some 15,000 Solomon Islanders, perhaps three-quarters from Malaita, of which over eighty percent were pagans (Hilliard 1974:41). W.G. Ivens states that "one is safe in estimating" that half of those who went abroad died there (Ivens 1930:42). The labor recruiting, in local circles commonly known as 'blackbirding,' occurred without supervision or control until 1872 when the the Pacific Islanders Protection Act was enacted. Despite the squalid circumstances which surrounded the labor traffic, which causes its literature to be listed under the heading of 'slavery' in Taylor's compendious Pacific Bibliography, the opportunity to go to Queensland was a great attraction

to the natives.

Administration over the group commenced in 1875 when a High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, headquartered in Fiji, was appointed with Magisterial powers over British subjects. Naval commanders were appointed deputy Commissioners and their sporadic patrols through the Solomons and New Hebrides to enforce the King's Law discouraged the most flagrant abuses. In 1885 the Queensland legislature, responding to public pressure, outlawed the labor traffic which however was resumed under stringent controls in 1891 during the depression. In 1901 the Commonwealth government decided that no further recruitment would occur after 1904, and four years later the last of the Melanesian laborers were repatriated to their home islands. The natives were not anxious to return. According to Allan, youths afterwards pleaded to be allowed to go back to Queensland (Allan 1950:Ch.1, n. 6). Jack Malayta, a Queensland laborer and student in an Anglican Queensland bible school, wrote the following appeal in 1901:

I write to you in the name of all my countrymen,
for we hear some news saying that the white people
want to send all the boys out of Queensland. Can
you tell me if this is really true? Because the
white people did bring us to their country: and that
was a good day for us, for here we did learn much

that was good. / We have worked well in this land
for the white people; then why do they want to turn

us out? I do not say all boys have always been good; but where is the land in which all men are good? / I am only a poor South Sea boy, and may be I do not know much; but if white people know the true God, as we have been taught by them, how can they think that right, to send us back into a land full of sin, where is always fighting, where life is never safe, where there can't be schools for many years yet, no church to praise God in, and more than all, where we shall be cut off from going -- like we do here -- to the Holy Communion? / There are many hundreds of us Christians, and to be sent back to our Island will mean death for us, because our Island is yet full of sin. /

... Are there no kind hearts among Christian white people who, for the love of our one God, will stand by us and help us in this our trouble, so that we may stay in peace where we can have our school and church and serve God ...? (Laracy 1983:44).

Both capital investment and Christian mission followed the labor force back to the Solomons. Peasant coconut cultivation was intensified in the New Georgia group. Levers, the largest commercial interest in the Solomons and one of the first multinational corporations, began plantations on the Russells and Guadalcanal. Other firms included Burns Philip and Company, planters and shippers, and the Young brothers of Queensland, who attempted to extend their Fairymead Sugar Company interests into Solomons coconut cultivation.

Labor conditions on the island plantations were much harsher than they had been in Queensland. Nor did the plantations offer urban attractions. They were the sites of no permanent European commitments. High bush families

and coastal middlemen drove harder bargains for recruits. Although planters had found that they could grow practically anything in the Solomons, including for example rubber, vanilla, sisal, and cocoa, there was a chronic shortage of adequate labor. Said a former planter, "we were forced back willy-nilly into copra production."²² Copra production is the least labor-intensive of the tropical agricultural products.

Allan summarizes the effects of the early labor trade in the following way. The guns brought to the islanders increased indigenous warfare and made it more lethal in character. Repatriates brought back contagious diseases to the islands. Culturally, there was new disrespect for the gerontocracy and deferred marriages. And "finally, most important for the future of Malaita," Florence Young brought her Queensland Kanaka Mission to Malaita in its new clothes, the South Sea Evangelical Mission.

Coconuts were said to grow better in the Solomons than anywhere else in the world (Keesing and Corris, 1980:30), although mountainous Malaita held little possibility of itself becoming a centre of copra production. However,

22 in Roger Keesing and Peter Corris (1980) *Lightning Meets the West Wind. The Malaita Massacre*. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

the fortunes that supposedly awaited assumed a place in a myth of the south Pacific which, to some extent, influenced every European who came to its shores. Aside from a promise of wealth founded on cheap labor, there was for government officers "the lure, enshrined in a hundred books, of ruling romantic tropical outposts," (idem:27) and it was due to this myth that they, perhaps, enacted "pretensions of higher social status than they enjoyed at home" (idem). There was an elaborate code of dress and comportment among the whites at Tulagi, the Protectorate capital of the 1920s, which Ian Hobgin recalled was "all very, very pukka" (idem:30). For the white missionaries, who formed one quarter of the Protectorate's European population in the 1920s, the myth of bringing the benefits of Christian community to the heathen constituted a romance of its own.

Government's primary duty was to bring about law and order. Arms, liquor and land disposal all came under its early control. Auki district station was established on Malaita in 1909 and District Officer Bell, who had an inflammable personality and who made pacification of Malaita a personal crusade, came on duty there in 1915. Government rule throughout this time into the twenties, according to Allan, was "severely direct."

The Protectorate's native policy

Allan states, "it was ... virtually inevitable that native administration should be patterned according to the requirements of large-scale interests producing a tropical agricultural product which probably more than any other has been subject to the vicissitudes of free-world price fluctuations" (Allan 1950:17).

Government's social policy was almost entirely concerned with three interlocking issues, pacification of indigenous warfare, stemming the depopulation of the islands, and building such infrastructure as was required to assure a continuing supply of plantation labor.

Like the colonial administrators in New Guinea, the protectorate government sought to tax the native people. The Protectorate's rationale behind this was not simply and starkly to create a demand for money and thereby stimulate labor recruiting,²³⁾ but stemmed from two purely bureaucratic incentives: first, demanding and receiving recognition of its power of compulsion, which was the evidence of pacification required of the colonials by their homeland

23 As Peter Lawrence asserts was the case for New Guinea, where headmen received 10% of the tax for themselves. Road Belong Cargo. Manchester University Press. (1964). p. 43.

superiors; and second, procuring revenue from the plantations, which was their only means of paying expenses. "The more the government manages to exist upon the revenues of the plantations, and the less upon charity from the United Kingdom, the more efficient it is considered" (Marquand 1949/50:40). The imposition of tax required both a census and a minimal administrative infrastructure.

The first Native Administration Regulation was enacted in 1922 and authorized the appointment by District Officers of constables, village headmen and district headmen, the purpose of which was to strengthen the chain of command between government and the widely dispersed populations. The inherent problems surrounding the appointment of 'government chiefs' in the Solomons was well known by contemporary administrators.

In most cases the extreme complexity of native society together with the fixity of meaning which colonial governments give to the term 'chief' caused many to be elevated to these posts not for their status in the community but rather for their capacity to speak English and to behave in a glib and confident manner in the presence of Europeans (Allan 1950:19).

However on Malaita, there were two outstanding District Headmen, Maekali at Malu'u in the north, and Hoasihau in east 'Are'Are to the south, whose leadership abilities extended beyond merely propagating government orders, informing on others and gathering the people at the coastal

tax houses on the occasion of the District Officers' yearly collection.

Prices of copra were high in the 1920s. Tax was applied to Malaita first in 1924. The D.O.'s had powers of leniency, and could grant wide exceptions. The tax collected was 5/- to £1 per male aged 16 through 60. The first tax was collected without problems, but difficulties were encountered the following year. Tax was collected without incident in 1926 but in 1927 there was resistance culminating in an incident in which D.O. Bell and his party were killed by the Kwaio. The ensuing events are recounted by Keesing and Corris (1980).

Tax was known to be a burden to the natives of Papua at this time, but there, said an anonymous writer in the Sydney papers following the incident, "all the head money is spent directly upon the people in education, medical service, etc." An Anglican missionary from the Auki area commented that "the crowning trouble was the tax. The natives said they received no benefit from it and could not see why they should be forced to pay it." The missionary-anthropologist W.G. Ivens concurred. He said that £12,000 had been collected in the Solomons, mostly from Malaitans, and the natives "considered they were entitled to some return" (Keesing and Corris, 1980:191).

Sir H.C. Moorhouse, who headed a commission to investigate the circumstances of the Bell incident, stated that the government headman system was "an artificial structure [that] had been superimposed on foundations ill-fitted to bear the weight" (in Allan 1950:19). Moorhouse was "appalled" at the problem of "grafting a form of indirect rule on the Melanesian authority system" and referred to the secular strength of the SSEM mission teachers in this connection (Allan 1950:22).

The English Committee of the Melanesian Mission, whose representatives were consulted by the Colonial Office following the Bell incident, advocated making the Protectorate a Crown Colony, a proposal long sought after by the planters. The Committee representatives argued that it would make for more efficient government and enable returning head tax revenues to the people in the form of improved social services. The total revenue was £17,500, of which £10,000 was collected from the islanders, and in light of this, "there should be 'more visible signs of improved conditions,' with development of medical and educational work for the islanders' benefit" (in Hilliard 1974:108). Bishop Steward was opposed to the Crown Colony idea, and it was thereafter dropped.

The world depression of the 1930s was acutely felt

in the Solomon Islands. Allan furnishes the following figures on the decline in value of copra (1950:22). In 1926-7, 22,316 tons was exported with a value of £411,597. By 1934-5, 18,093 tons fetched only £54,013. Plantation laborers had their wages reduced. Levers in 1933 sought to substitute maize for rice in their workers' diets, but the ensuing discontent "halted practically all operations" (Stauffer 1956:316). The natives experienced great difficulty in paying the head tax during these years.

Economic conditions on Malaita, whence eighty percent of the island plantation laborers were drawn, were generally better in the north than in the south. But in the north tension continued between the pagan communities and the new Christian settlements. As part of government's campaign against the 'depopulation' thought due to 'cultural fatigue' brought on by pacification and the Christian suppression of old customs, government there was giving greater recognition to custom law, which would bring it into conflict with the Christian village teachers. But the government's role in protecting native custom was hampered by limited anthropological theory. Among the 'Are'Are people in the south, there was an increase in mortuary feasting, at a time at which there was "serious starvation and illness", and "the government made efforts to persuade the people

to limit the size and number of the feasts to prevent the constant economic drain of resources" (Allan 1950:24).

It is obvious from the foregoing that there were many opportunities for developing conflicts between the Europeans and the natives. As early as 1907 and 1912, Christian Malaitans submitted petitions to King Edward VII and the Resident Commissioner, the naturalist C.M. Woodford, on a number of development issues. The writers urged government to "opent [sic] up Australian Queensland again" where they said "treatment there is a lot different from here," and requested better food and higher wages. They also advanced an imaginative plan whereby plantation workers were to contribute to a collection fund "for to helping thee and the bishops for the Poorer and the nakedness ... try to Bring up our nation into the civilisation states" (Laracy 1983:45-48). These early expressions of grievance were symptomatic of a developing crisis, but they fell largely on deaf ears. The missionary-linguist Charles Fox said that "members of the Government were never intimate with the people over whom they ruled and never won their confidence in the majority of cases" (in Hilliard 1974:110).

Equally obvious in the situation was the absence of any discursive institution for managing inter-racial

political discourse. There was no way in which native Melanesians and Europeans could meet and discuss problems with amity, as existed in the traditional social arrangements of each separately.

The South Pacific and particularly the BSIP was low on the list of desirable Colonial Service postings. Civil servants preferred assignment in India or Africa, where there was opportunity for hunting, a larger European contingent, and more possibility of being noticed for knighthoods and other honors.

Europeans' health in the BSIP was universally poor; nearly everyone had malarial fever, to the debilitating effects of which was added those of quinine, and the cumulative weakening of immunity brought on other other illnesses, including blackwater fever. Consequently the death rate among missionaries, planters and government personnel was high (Keesing and Corris 1980:29).

The Protectorate and the Missions

Among the earliest European influences on the islands was that of the Anglican Melanesian Mission, which was founded in 1850 and which by 1902 had centers on Nggela, Ysabel and Malaita at Ata'a and Sa'a. Both David Hilliard

and Hugh Laracy are historians who have written extensively on Solomons missions, and upon their work I must necessarily rely for information on the relationship between the missions and the Protectorate government. Hilliard states that relation between the Melanesian Mission and the colonial government was cemented by close personal and quasi-official ties. He finds that the Melanesian Mission played upon imperial themes in its homeland publicity literature, which urged the view that bringing Christian civilization to the islanders complemented the work of government, in which "we of the British race are, consciously or unconsciously, welding the scattered races into one...." ²⁴⁾ The early missionaries, who prior to pacification had found themselves forced into the role of arbiters of native disputes, welcomed relief from such duties by the new District Officers. ²⁵⁾

But if indeed the missionaries of the Church of England saw themselves at times as furthering state expansion, they also acted to meliorate some of the most obvious

24 David Hilliard (1974) "Colonialism and Christianity: the Melanesian Mission in the Solomon Islands." Journal of Pacific History. 9:93-116. p. 102.

25 "The law which the District Officer administered was in theory the legal code of England except for certain matters specifically covered by ordinances issued by the Pacific Order in Council of 1893 by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. The bulk of these latter referred to the prohibition of the supply of ammunition and intoxicating liquor to the natives and the regulation of their engaging in employment by Europeans." Ian Hogbin (1944) "Native Courts and Councils in the Solomon Islands" Oceania 14:260.

problems brought by colonial administration to local peoples. In the 1920s the leadership of the mission came to see itself as the 'conscience' of the protectorate (Hilliard 1974:102). The lack of a common basis for discussing joint concerns between the colonials and the natives is illustrated by its attempt to position itself as such an agency, as the mediator between the protectorate government and its subjects. As developed by Bishop John Steward and others during the 1920s, the mission came to view its duty as "to explain the one to the other 'whatever causes of friction are brought to our notice', translating the views of each party 'without any expression of opinion', and thereby retaining the trust and confidence of both" (Hilliard 1974:102). Steward criticized the taxation regulation of 1920 "for its forced labor implications and for its failure to apply the funds thus collected from the islanders 'to the betterment of their condition'" (Hilliard 1974:102), although the mission eventually acquiesced and urged its parisoners to accept the head tax 'with good cheer' (Hilliard 1974:103). Steward opposed the practice of charging natives higher prices than whites for "incentive trade goods", and in his capacity as a member of the protectorate Advisory Council (the only mission to be so honored), Steward "led the attack" on

a proposed Native Code which contained such SSEM-inspired regulations as prohibition of native use of tobacco and betel. This was an extension of Bishop Patteson's rather disingenuous policy that "when the people become Christians they will decide for themselves which customs are evil and must be given up."²⁶ However, major native policy conflicts between the Anglicans and government were rare; they mainly involved questions of divorce and marriage, and whether the government could legitimately keep the Polynesian outliers of Rennel and Bellona free from mission access (which it could not).

To Hilliard's question of whether the government saw itself as fulfilling a religious mission, there is perhaps a clearer answer than the imperialism of the Anglican Church. The protectorate sanctioned "not Christian dogma but Christian conduct as a social and moral basis for the institutions of British government" (Hilliard 1974:106). Although the 'spheres of influence' policy implemented by Woodford, which divided up the Protectorate among the five missions,²⁷ recognized no favorites among them,

26 Fox 1967:31 in Harold Ross, "Competition for Baegu Souls: Mission Rivalry on Malaita, S.I." James A. Boutilier et al, (eds.). Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania. ASAO Monograph No. 6. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1978:175.

27 Melanesian Mission, Marist Catholic, South Sea Evangelical Mission, Seventh Day Adventist and Methodist, the latter inactive in the central Solomons.

the Anglicans found themselves in a position of unofficial privilege over the other missions with regard to finance, naval transport, non-official representation on the Advisory Council, and for its English Committee, the capability of directly approaching the Colonial Office. Thus it was not an inaccurate judgement on the part of the islanders that Melanesian Mission and Government were closely identified relative to the other missions, that they "were merely different voices of the same mysterious white authority." Converts prayed for the king, the head of the Church of England, and everyone, missionaries included, turned out for a day of festivities, sport and fireworks on the occasion of a monarch's Jubilee or accession (Hilliard 1974:100; c.f. Zoleveke 1983).

The general relationship between the Melanesian Missionaries and government officials was close, as would be between any countrymen of common upper-middle class origins under harsh living conditions far from the homeland. When friction arose between the Anglicans and the government it was over their relative status in the eyes of the islanders. Christianity, particularly under the indigenous proselytizing of the SSEM teachers, became so popular during the 1920s and 1930s that by the time of the Japanese war "well over two-thirds of the population was either baptized or resident

in a Christian village" (Hilliard 1974:110). The missionaries, in contrast with the district officers, lived locally and may have obtained a smattering or better of native language. The islanders trusted them over other white men. "It is clear" Hilliard states, "that by the 1930s the missions were no longer seen by the government as a useful means of social control but as threats to its legitimate prestige" (1974:111). The prestige struggle between government officers and mission personnel was unfortunately responsible for both missions and government foregoing opportunities to engage in joint ventures. The missions feared loss of autonomy, the government feared that the missions would use financial or other backing for sectarian ends or their further aggrandizement. So social services, including distribution of free drugs, maternity and child welfare work and education, which were well underway in New Guinea, for example, were slow to make an impact on the Solomon Islanders. Total education expenditure in 1937-38 was only £54 (Hilliard 1974:111). Government were well aware of increasingly vocal demands for schools, mainly for technical and trade-oriented education, but actual programs never got beyond the planning stage until after the Marching Rule period.

With regard to government's relations with other

missions, non-Anglicans were "outsiders" according to Hilliard, particularly so with the SSEM. The annual report of the Melanesian Mission for 1908 refers to the evangelicals as "dissent in its barest and crudest form." A Catholic priest described the SSEM as "a strange cult, with hardly any religious principles, without a definite name" (Hilliard 1969:49). Their pious bearing, Biblical literalism and policy of requiring converts to make a total break with pagan culture were regarded as lunatic. If Hilliard can point to developing conflict between the Anglicans and the administration, the 'little theocracies' established by indigenous SSEM teachers must have constituted in their view a direct threat to government. This conflict had been simmering for decades. As Edge-Partington, the first Malaita D.O. wrote, long before Bell's regime,

If the S.S.E. Mission taught their boys to have a little more respect for the Government, instead of packing their heads full of trash which they do not understand, they would be doing some good (in Lichtenberk, unpublished t.s. p. 45).

The same sentiment is perhaps less trenchantly expressed by Colin Allan, who prepared a critical assessment of the SSEM in 1951:

The teachers were taught that they must have complete authority and independence when they went to their different stations. ... they were taught that all life was devoted to God; that nothing but God mattered. ... so they considered that it was their duty and

task to concern themselves and dictate in every respect of village and district life (in Lichtenberk, unpublished t.s. p.45)

Chapter 2. Precursors of the Marching Rule

The Fallowes Movement, 1939

The history of missions offers many instances in which field workers have come into conflict with mission boards and religious superiors over specific questions of native development and the Church's legitimate role in social and economic affairs. At least two such individuals in the Solomons identified so strongly with the islanders that they were to profoundly influence the Marching Rule. A Catholic priest at Guadalcanal, Rinaldo Pavase, came into dispute with his bishop in 1933 over native interests and was recalled to Europe. His catechist school, one of whose pupils was a young Matthew Belamataga, was closed. For the next three years the people of the district "boycotted the mission" (Laracy 1980:156). Richard Fallowes will also take a place in this roster as a missionary who stood for the development of the 'whole man,' and whose active commitment to this Christian interpretation made him as responsible as any other individual for instigating the Marching Rule period.

An Englishman educated at Cambridge, Fallowes was a priest in London before he joined the Melanesian Mission.

He was stationed on Santa Ysabel in 1929. Fallowes became convinced "that the Protectorate government was unjustly neglecting the welfare of its Melanesian subjects in favor of the white commercial community." ²⁸⁾ He also abhorred the lack of lay Christianity among the Colonial officials, such that exceptions were worth note. "It is so nice to have a District Officer who comes to church" Fallowes wrote in 1933 when a sympathetic officer arrived on Ysabel. ²⁹⁾

Fallowes showed an early attention to institution-building. In 1931 he instituted the office of "church chief," an individual elected by the people of a village and commissioned by local priests to superintend the social programs of the local churches, and as well, to report cases of "immorality" (Hilliard 1978:282). The church chiefs came into friction with government-appointed authorities. A government constable complained, "Some say mission headman is number one in the place and some say government headman is number one ... people are asking who is boss ... King George or Archbishop?"

28 David Hilliard (1978). God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942. University of Queensland Press. p. 203.

29 David Hilliard (1974). "Colonialism and Christianity: The Melanesian Mission in the Solomon Islands". Journal of Pacific History 9:93-116. There was no church in Tulagi until 1938, although C. of E. services were occasionally held in the court-house there (p. 106).

(Hilliard 1978:282). Fallowes exhausted himself and left the Mission in 1935. But he returned to Santa Ysabel in 1938, uncommissioned by the Bishop, where he inspired the native leadership to hold a meeting which he called a "parliament" to discuss issues of common concern. According to Hilliard, Fallowes "maintained that it was his duty as a priest to engage in political activities in the cause of a just society, the Kingdom of God on earth" (Hilliard 1978:283). It is no exaggeration to say that Fallowes had the complete confidence of the native leadership. Parliamentary rules were instituted to regulate debate at his suggestion, along with an elected Speaker and a Speaker's Chair. Fallowes's parliamentary movement became known as the Chair and Rule. At least three and possibly more native assemblies were held on Ysabel and Nggela, at which Anglican teachers, church chiefs, and native clergy took a prominent organizing role. At the Nggela meeting, participants came from as far as Ysabel, Malaita and Guadalcanal.

A detailed study of the Chair and Rule has never been published. Roger Keesing, noting that Fallowes's influence on the Marching Rule was "indeed considerable", published an eyewitness account by one of the last Marching Rule Chiefs, Anifelo, recorded in 1979. Anifelo recalls

Fallowes's words at the meeting in Tulagi:

Today, the work you are to do is to choose some people, choose some people to represent you as chiefs (alafa). Chiefs who will be in charge of your districts (fanua). They are to begin to set things up for you. / We white people will deceive you. We will put up people to represent you. But those people we put up will divert you away from a different [kind of] government, and you will grow up within the territorial government of Australia. That's no good! / The thing we are to do is put up people for you, to be in charge of you, for your customs and for your land. For your ways, your country, your living. God raised us up on earth, put us here on earth, and spread us around the world. / You people who are working with the government, who know the government's laws -- when you go back to your home places, its up to you to start this good work. The Europeans will take your land, and deceive you, if you don't organize yourselves. / If the government hears about what I am telling you, they'll send me back to England and won't let me come back -- but its something for you to do. I've done my part. You take it back with you, to Guadalcanal, and Malaita, and here at Gela, and work with it yourselves. I have given you the Key. You will have to build it yourselves."

30)

Fallowes was indeed deported after the Nggela meeting on the next available steamer. Hilliard states that none of the Melanesian Missionaries except for Charles Fox sympathized with his goal of creating a permanent native assembly. Fallowes's deportation by administration was accepted without comment by Bishop Baddeley. White missionaries of the Church of England had apparently forgotten Bishop

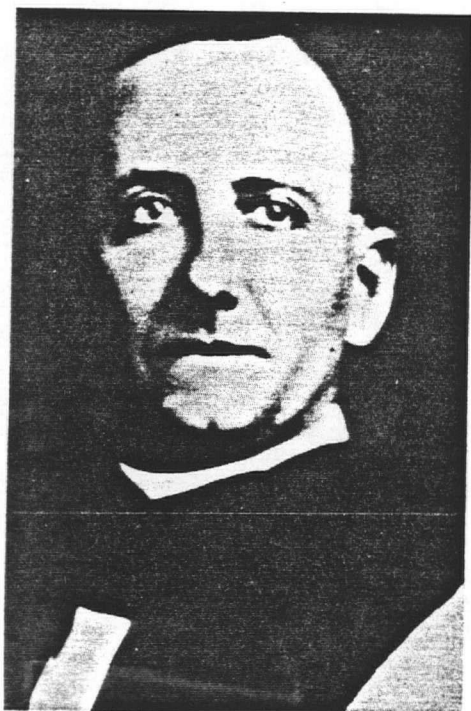
30 Roger M. Keesing (1980). "Antecedents of Maasina Rule: some further notes". Journal of Pacific History. 15 (2):102-107. (Keesing's paranthetical comments removed)



John Manwaring Steward (From the Melanesian Mission English Committee *Annual Report*, 1924)



Richard Prince Fallowes, c. 1929 (Permission the Reverend R.P. Fallowes)



Walter Hubert Baddeley
(Permission New Zealand Anglican Board of Missions)

Steward's actions in the 1920s on the natives' behalf.

Before deportation, Fallowes presented a native petition to the Resident Commissioner, along with a Statement and list of questions authored by John Palmer Pidocke, native Chief of Nggela, which Fallowes had translated. These documents included strong statements on economic matters, including a demand for a plantation wage of £12 per month. The government became alarmed when these demands spread to other islands, including San Cristoval, one hundred miles away.

Cyril Belshaw observed that the Chair and Rule was "a primitive, abortive manifestation, constituting no danger to the government, not warranting repressive measures, and even capable of beneficial results had it been handled by enlightened administrators" (Belshaw 1947:189-90). But the potential of the movement did not go totally unrecognized by colonial officials. The movement was responsible for accelerating the implementation of administration's plans for indirect rule by instituting experimental Native Courts and Councils on some islands, including Nggela and at Malu'u in north Malaita.

The Native Courts and Councils Experiment

The Moorhouse report of 1929 on the Bell incident had urged the Protectorate government, when appointing government

headmen, to give more attention to securing men with traditional backing and to "take greater pains to allow an indirect traditionally-founded element in administration" (Healy 1964:198). Experiments with indirect rule in East Africa during the 1930s involved restoring "tribal chiefs" to power. But on Malaita the local analog of the African chief was non-existent. Administration's understanding of traditional political arrangements prevented them from developing a clear response to this problem. It was understood that 'big man' politics characterized the northwestern islands including most of the island of Malaita, which held over half the native population of the BSIP. But it was also thought that surviving elements of hereditary chieftainship still obtained on the southeastern islands including San Cristoval, Ulawa, Small Malaita and in Lau Lagoon on north Malaita, which were held to be more similar to the Polynesian political arrangement than to those of Australian Melanesia. The presumed presence of hereditary chieftainship, even as a faint 'survival', rationalized applying the African Native Authority system to the native policy problems of the Protectorate.

When copra prices began returning to normal in the late 1930s, with the problems of pacification largely behind them, officials began thinking about more sophisticated

native government institutions. Ian Hogbin in 1939 came out strongly in favor of native councils and courts as "a return to the solid foundations of the past" (in Healy, 1964:199). District Officers including Marchant on Nggela, Trench on Guadalcanal and others elsewhere experimented with native court systems on a trial basis from 1940 through 1942. They were set into statute with the Special Regulation for Native Courts in 1942. Native Councils on the East African model were instituted in 1944. Both institutions, however, were under total boycott by the Marching Rule by 1947.

The 1942 enabling Regulation allowed the District Headman to sit as President of a native court, which consisted of community heads, "elders", selected by the District Officer on the advice of the District Headman, which were to "represent the administration and maintain order within their own groups." Government instructions were to be passed through the group of elders rather than simply through the headman as before. The village councils were to advise the District Headman "on all matters related to the running of the subdistrict" (Hogbin 1944:261). As of 1944, no written instructions were issued to guide these native officials apart from a document prepared by D.O. Major Trench for the use of the natives of Guadalcanal.

However, nothing is said about the selection of the elders except that they must be "men of standing in the community (for example, heads of lines)" (idem:272). The elders were to give advice to the District Headman, whose decision was final. In making decisions, however, the headman should "pay due regard to the advice of other members of the court." The native court was authorized to hear criminal, civil and custom cases, but major crimes such as murder, rape and incest were to be continued to be brought before the District Officer. The native court "is entrusted with all matters which can be adequately punished by a fine of up to £5 or imprisonment of up to one month." Civil cases were limited to property disputes of value under £10. Otherwise, the District Officer had jurisdiction. There was no appeal for decisions made by the native court on native custom, but any person found guilty of a crime or civil offense could appeal to the District Officer for a new trial. District Headmen were authorized to establish their own gaols, although none had as of Hogbin's writing.

In north Malaita, the first government council and native court elders were appointed in 1940. There were problems from the beginning with appointing Christian 'elders,' for there was a strong disincentive for Christians

to participate in the government courts. As Hogbin writes, "the Christians express resentment ... at having someone picked out and set above them." Many of the new Christian 'elders' even asked to be relieved of their court duties.

Hogbin felt that one of the most important problems threatening the success of the native courts and councils experiment was freeing native administration from the undue influence of the SSEM. The school teachers objected to the courts because of the presence there of pagan elders. "It is wholly improper, they maintain, for a Christian to be tried by anything but a Christian tribunal" (idem:267). District Headman Maekali, who would remain a staunch opponent of Masinga Rule throughout the post-war years, stated:

Among the heathens each place possessed a leader with power, power which had nothing to do with the government. His people had obeyed him long before the thought of appointing elders occurred to anyone, and, as they were still obeying him, all I had to do was to tell out his name. But in the districts where the inhabitants were Christians nobody was obeyed. You know quite well without my saying it again that Christians don't hold feasts, and that without feasts we can't have leaders. So here on the coast near the mission stations there was no one to give orders. Why if anybody had tried to tell his neighbors what to do, they'd start laughing at him or told him to mind his own business (idem:262).

Both pagans and Christians knew that the courts were not intended to be representative bodies; "the court

doesn't [sic] belong to us: we never had courts before: its a government's affair" stated Maekali (idem:266). Moreover, the natives of north Malaita "regarded the whole legal system, with its magistrate, court room and advocates, as completely alien" (idem:261).

The sub-district council of elders of north Malaita in 1944 was evenly divided between pagan and Christian members, which numbered respectively thirty-three and thirty-two. After meeting to discuss government instructions and orders from Maekali, the native council resolved itself into the native court, conduct of which was orderly and based on the Magistrate's procedures. A striking feature of the native courts with regard to custom law infractions was that deliberation was governed by a written list of infractions and their corresponding penalties. As Hogbin writes, "to prevent argument in native customary cases the elders were some time ago persuaded to decide what were to be regarded as offenses and how much compensation should be allowed to each" (1944:263). The precedent established by native court elders to agree to codify custom law cannot go unnoticed in light of its vast extension during the Marching Rule. However, such "codification" was not without precedent of its own in unwritten native tradition. Traditionally, offenses not escalating to

blood retribution could be settled by paying tafuliae in compensation. Among the Fatalaka of north Malaita in 1950, "all knew to a nicety the fa'ambu or compensation to be paid for different transgressions."³¹⁾

The Malu'u Native Courts had four years of activity and Hogbin published a detailed account of its workings in June, 1944. His table of court case data over four years is summarized in Table 1. below.³²⁾

31 T. Russell (1950) "The Fataleka of Malaita". Oceania. 11(1):1-13. p.11. Russell would be High Commissioner for the Western Pacific in 1970. The ethnographer produces from his informants' testimony a detailed list in the same style as that for the Toabaita of the Malu'u area, but they differ on some points.

It is probable that Russell's list originated with Marching Rule.

32 Ian Hogbin (1944) "Native Councils and Native Courts in the Solomon Islands." Oceania 15(4):257-283. Time period I. is 12 months from 6. 1940 through 6. 1941; II. 11 months from 7. 1941 through 6. 1942; III. 8 months from 7. 1942 through 5. 1943 (no court was held August - October because of Japanese invasion); IV. 4 months from 7. 1943 through 10. 1943.

TABLE 1.

Native Court Cases, North Malaita 1940-44
(Hogbin 1944)

Time	Sittings	Elders	Cases dismissed	Cases brought by		Pagans (Christians)		TOTAL
		Present ave. (min/max)		CRIMES	CIVIL	CUSTOM	MISC.	
I.	8	30 (10/36)	7	2 (1)	1 (3)	13 (1)	0 (1)	16 (7)
II.	10	40 (32/42)	21	2 (8)	20 (8)	20 (4)	0 (2)	32 (22)
III.	8	46 (42/52)	12	7 (27)	9 (23)	11 (6)	1 (3)	28 (59)
IV.	3	41 n.a.	0	2 (5)	2 (6)	3 (0)	0 (0)	7 (11)
TOT.	29		40	13 (42)	32 (40)	47 (11)	1 (6)	93 (99)

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The population of the sub-district was about 2,500, and the ratio of pagans to Christians was approximately two to three (idem:262, 267). Most evident in the numbers of elders present at court sessions is the increasing level of participation in time periods I. through III. Pagans brought two-thirds of the cases in the first two years of the court's activities but were outstripped by almost two to one by Christian cases in the third year. Even though period IV. covers only a half-year of operations, the total number of cases was only about one-fifth of those heard in the previous period. This represents a

substantial drop in general court activity, although both pagans and Christians were apparently participating in roughly the same proportion as during the previous full period. The Marching Rule araha councils were not operating at this time, so one explanation for the declining cases in the summer of 1943 may be a general discontent with the settlements being brought by the experimental institution.

The four-year summary of court cases is given in Table 2. below. The pagan propensity to bring custom cases to court is evident, while the Christians had an equal preference to bring criminal charges.

TABLE 2.
Four-year Summary, Native Court Cases
(Hogbin 1944)

Cases brought by	CRIMES	CIVIL	CUSTOM	TOTAL
Pagans	13	32	47	92
Christians	42	40	11	93
Total	55	72	58	<u>185</u>

$$\chi^2 = 16.03 \quad p < .05$$

These data may be misleading, for they convey the idea that pagans and Christians had different political concerns which is reflected in their propensity to bring different types of dispute to court. Just over half the criminal

cases brought by Christians concerned "Disobeying Orders Issued by an Elder," while almost half the native custom cases brought by pagans were "Claims for Compensation on Account of Breaches of Ceremonial Restrictions." Such restrictions extended to mortuary observances, female pollution, and ritual seclusion, and reveal a concern for maintaining the traditional authoritative codes of pagan social comportment. The Christians were free from such codes, although the court data show that they had a crisis of authority of their own. This introduces an interesting question of whether the cases brought by Christians and pagans were substantively different or whether, because of the grafting of native customary law upon a system essentially English in complexion, the apparent differences between pagan and Christian court activity simply resulted from Government's system of classification and the Christian unwillingness to recognize the legality of custom law.

To begin to formulate an answer I want to re-order the data and see whether there are in fact substantive differences. I will go forward in time and extract from Allan's cursory discussion of the Marching Rule custom codification the substance of the (future) Marching Rule custom issues. Then I will re-group Hogbin's data into

the Marching Rule categories and formulate a hypothesis that that there was essentially no difference in the substance of cases brought by Christians and pagans.

Allan states (1950:42-3) that the custom codification addressed specific topics which I have grouped in three convenient general categories:

Sex and Marriage: single women, suitors, wives, sexual intercourse, menstruation, childbirth.

Authority of Ancestors: swearing and compensation, sacred objects and sites, respect for the dead, cemeteries, grave digging, priests.

Property: gardening, land ownership, land use, pig husbandry

The types of court cases (with English law classification in parentheses) are easily grouped in terms of the Marching Rule categories:

Sex and Marriage: attempted rape (crime), wife beating (crime), claims for debt mainly bride-price (civil), claims for compensation on account of seduction (custom), claims for compensation on account of a wife's failure to secure permission to go visiting from husband (custom), neglect of kinship obligations (custom).

Authority: theft (crime), breaches of health regulations (crime), disobeying an elder (crime), slander (civil), claims for compensation on account of breaches of ceremonial restrictions (custom), claims for compensation on account of ceremonial insults (custom).

Property: disputes about land or other property (civil),
claims for damages when a pig destroyed a garden
(civil).

The data is re-grouped in Table 3 below. Inspection shows that there was little difference in the types of issues on which pagans or Christians brought court cases. The χ^2 statistic for both Tables 2 and 3 bear out the hypothesis. The distribution of court cases in Table 3 does not differ significantly from the values one would expect if the data were randomly distributed. There was thus no association between being pagan or Christian and bringing a certain type of court case, except insofar as that case fell under the government's system of classification, in which the data do represent a significant departure from expected values.

TABLE 3.
Four-year Summary, Native Court Issues
(Hogbin's Data Grouped by
Marching Rule Custom Categories after Allan 1950)

Cases brought by	SEX & MARRIAGE	AUTHORITY	PROPERTY	TOTAL
Pagans	34	47	11	92
Christians	38	40	15	93
Total	72	87	26	<u>185</u>

$$\chi^2 = 1.31 \quad p > .10$$

None of the Marching Rule scholars has published an analysis of these native court data. This analysis suggests an interpretation supportive of my general thesis that the underlying motive of the Marching Rule was to build a new indigenous political institution. The analysis provides some basis for believing that the pagans and Christians had at least three broad problems in common: the management of disputes in the areas of sex, marriage and kinship; clarifying the basis of civil authority; and protection of property rights; which were not only to frame the issues addressed by the Marching Rule but actually framed the cases brought to the government's experimental native courts in the years prior to the Marching Rule emergency. These common concerns provided one ingredient for the unification of pagans and Christians that occurred over the Marching Rule period. With agreement on the framework of native policy problems, the only disagreement was with respect to the institutional basis for problem-solving.

Among the pagans, the native courts' respect for native custom in principle was welcomed, but the penalties under its jurisdiction were regarded as almost inconsequential. The crime of adultery, for example, was punished by a few months spent in gaol, whereas in traditional society it had meant death for both parties. Cases of murder

and rape which automatically went to the District Officer for adjudication as crimes could be viewed as civil under the traditional system, if the injured party or his family agreed to accept tafuliae compensation. Imprisonment or a fine in English money for such offenses thus left a dispute unsettled and encouraged feelings of dissatisfaction.

That the government did not enforce native custom judgements is also important in the developing dissatisfaction among the pagans.

Teachers did not serve as elders, and government effectively introduced a source of division into the Christian communities between secular and sacred authority. The elders were not representatives of the people, but were viewed as government agents who held their authority by virtue of government, not popular, backing. This Hogbin identified as the crucial problem, of "how to make the Christian Elders independent of external backing" (Hogbin 1944:269). The cases they brought for disobedience of their orders and Hogbin's testimony on the lack of respect for them among the Christian villagers attests to the crisis of authority within the Christian settlements.

Although the secular authority of the elders, both pagan and Christian, rested ultimately upon the King,

pagan elders (as Maekali testifies) also had traditional sacred backing, which means backing according to the terms of the agalo (ancestral spirits). The Christian elders had no such spiritual backing according to the radical biblical fundamentalism of the SSEM, where authority was vested in each individual's interpretation of the Holy Spirit. However the indigenous teachers, as interpretive specialists, claimed validation by God of their authority. Recalling Allan's words (quoted above), they "considered that it was their duty and task to concern themselves and dictate in every respect of village and district life." The mission's strength relative to government was its ability to make the claim of religious legitimation, which was seemingly validated by the decline of the power of the akalo in pagan districts evidenced by sickness and poor gardens. Part of the teachers' ability to draw pagans into the Marching Rule was due to the pagans' ability to identify with the notion of political autonomy founded upon spiritual power.

With regard to the native council institution, Hogbin provides no numerical data. But it is clear that the elders, limited as they were to rendering advice, had little executive power. All resolutions were subject to the veto power of first, the District Headman and second,

the Resident Commissioner through the District Officer. Marquand states that "It therefore became the custom in the Government local councils for the headman and his circle of friends to make a decision and to disregard any disagreement there may have been" (Marquand 1949/50:43-4).

As will be seen, the experimental government native courts and councils contained an institutional defect that brought about the Marching Rule boycott and the substitution in their stead of the Marching Rule courts and councils which were like them in every respect but two: the 'Marching Rule' institutions were representative of the islanders, and, as secular political institutions they enjoyed religious or custom validation.

Chapter 3. The Marching Rule Movements

Summer 1942 through Spring 1947

Six months after her dawn attack on Pearl Harbor, Japan brought her war for colonial territory to the central Solomons. By May 1942 the enemy had occupied Tulagi, the seat of the Protectorate government. As the Europeans evacuated, Belshaw (1947) recalls the celebratory attitude of the natives. Houses were looted and law books were burnt enthusiastically. British authority would not be firmly re-established for another ten years.

From the top of Malaita hill, native peoples witnessed six great naval and air battles between the U.S. Sixth Fleet and the Japanese, and numerous bloody landing operations, before U.S. forces took control of Guadalcanal and Florida in August. The Japanese sweep through the Pacific toward the New Hebrides and New Zealand was halted. From this time through 1944, the islands were used as a staging area for thousands of allied troops bound for the western Solomons and the Philippines.

A hastily-mustered Solomon Islands Defense Force, composed of Europeans, native police and 680 native recruits was engaged in combat, rescue and coast-watching duties.

The Solomon Islands Labour Corps (SILC) was constituted of about two thousand natives under British command on a contract labour basis. Natives received a pound sterling per month and a daily ration based on local standards determined by the British, who submitted their requirements to the U.S. quartermasters, who requisitioned U.S. supply depots. The ration was one pound of rice, a quarter-pound each of tinned corned beef and salmon, in addition to "C" biscuits, tea, sugar and tobacco. When the rice ration was reduced by a quarter in 1945, "the ensuing discontent speedily forced the restoration of the earlier allowance."³³ The SILC were engaged in the construction of warehouses and living quarters (some built in the native style), stevedoring ordnance and supplies, and cultivating the Corps' large farm at Ilu whose produce went to men in hospital. Among the American forces was the Second Battalion of the 24th Infantry, the Pacific's only Negro unit commanded by white officers, which was initially engaged in labor details, operating a truck company, wire communications and mosquito control operations before moving to Bougainville, where in January, 1944 American blacks first saw front line

33 Alvin D. Stauffer (1956). The Quartermaster Corps: Operations in the war against Japan. Vol 6, Pt. 2-3 of The U.S. Army in World War II. Department of the Army. p. 317.

action.³⁴⁾

Solomon Islanders had four types of opportunities for contact with the American servicemen. First, they distinguished themselves as scouts in combat and in rescue efforts. Jacob Vouza of the Tadhimboko people of Guadalcanal, long noted by the Europeans as an outstanding leader³⁵⁾ was a recognized war hero. He would become the Guadalcanal leader of the Marching Rule. British officials were not reserved in their praise for the islanders' military contribution. Cochrane states that the natives "knew that they were better soldiers than the Americans" (1971:95). On Malaita, downed flyers were rescued, given medical treatment and returned to their units by SSEM members, who were rewarded by airdrops of medicines, candy, magazines and boots.³⁶⁾ Colin Allan lists three other forms of contact, through

- 34 Ulysses Lee, 1956. The Employment of Negro Troops. Vol 8. Pt. 8 of The U.S. Army in World War II. Department of the Army. p. 497-8.
- 35 Hector MacQuarie, 1945. Vouza and the Solomon Islands. London: Victor Gollancz.
- 36 Alison Griffiths, 1977. Fire in the Islands. The Acts of the Holy Spirit in the Solomons. Harold Shaw Publishers, Wheaton Illinois. p. 133-4.

the SILC, in casual labor for American units for which the natives could earn as much as £12 per month, and finally, despite regulations against fraternization, in pervasive informal contacts and the friendships which ensued. Cochrane states that the natives "for the first time were able to establish satisfactory relationships with Europeans" (1971:84; cf. Laracy 1983:16). The Americans naturally expressed themselves in exchange idioms, as well as in common worship, guitar playing, sport, and showing the natives over airplanes and other equipment.³⁷⁾ Early in the war, the British had ordered the natives to plant more food, and large gardens were established at all the administrative centers (Cochrane 1971:84). But local procurement of tropical products including bananas, pineapples, coconuts, lemons and limes was never important as a source of military supply. Native produce and souvenir items such as plaited armbands, inlaid walking sticks and other handicrafts were exchanged for money and personal items including tobacco, pipes, twine, fishing equipment, pocket knives, soap, combs, mirrors, perfume and brightly colored calico rather than food, the primary Melanesian measure

37 On this relationship specifically in the western Solomons, see Gideon Zoleveke (1980). Zoleveke. A Man from Choiseul. Institute of Pacific Studies, The University of the South Pacific, Suva. p. 25.

of wealth.

Most commentators discuss the impact of the war in terms of psychological shock afforded by the scale of the hostilities and destruction, the enormous quantities of supplies, and the friendliness of the American servicemen. As the theater of battle advanced into the western islands of the group, the impacts of the staging area can most usefully be understood as giving the natives exposure to a new level of the complex economy. It was not so much the presence of material equipment and wealth as the evidence of organizational power which impressed the Melanesians. Warehousing facilities, machine shops, construction equipment, the PX, laundries, kitchens, movies, magazines, boxing rings, a highly complex division of labor -- virtually the entire infrastructure of American industrial life -- was present because of a sudden enormous organizational commitment which the natives interpreted as being for their own liberation. But almost as suddenly as it was created, the commitment was withdrawn and made redundant as the war progressed. The servicemen would soon be leaving. The British were still in charge.

The discontent suggested by the burning of legal books in Tulagi in 1942, which signified to the British an active resistance against their rule of the Protectorate,

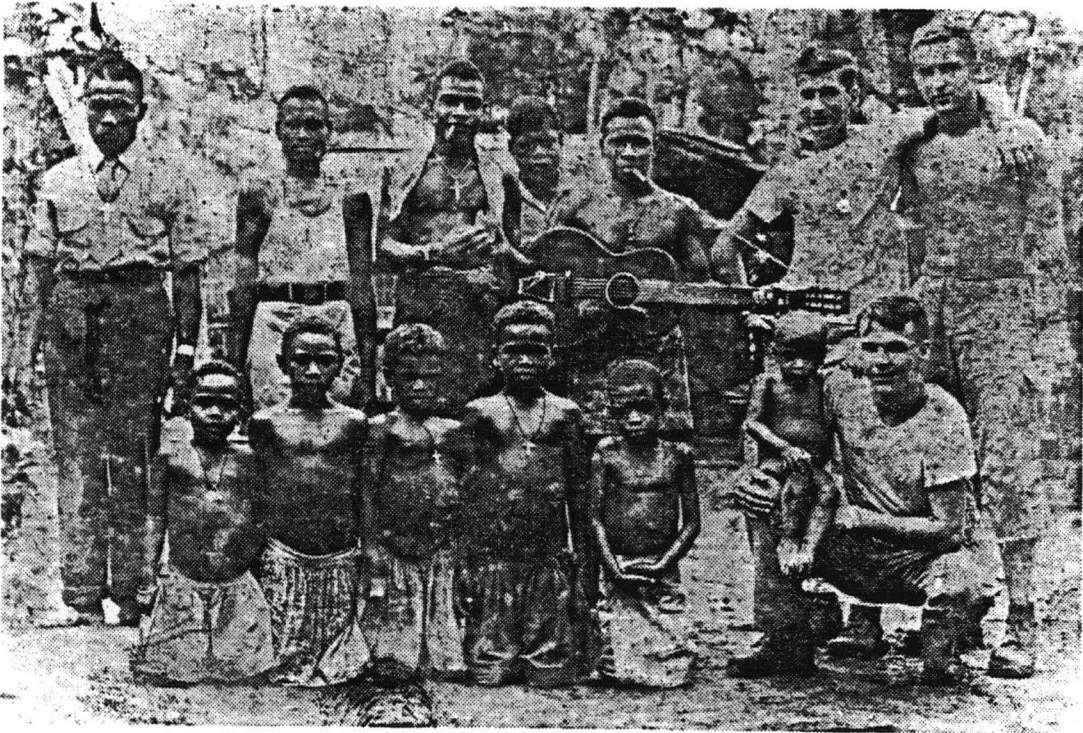
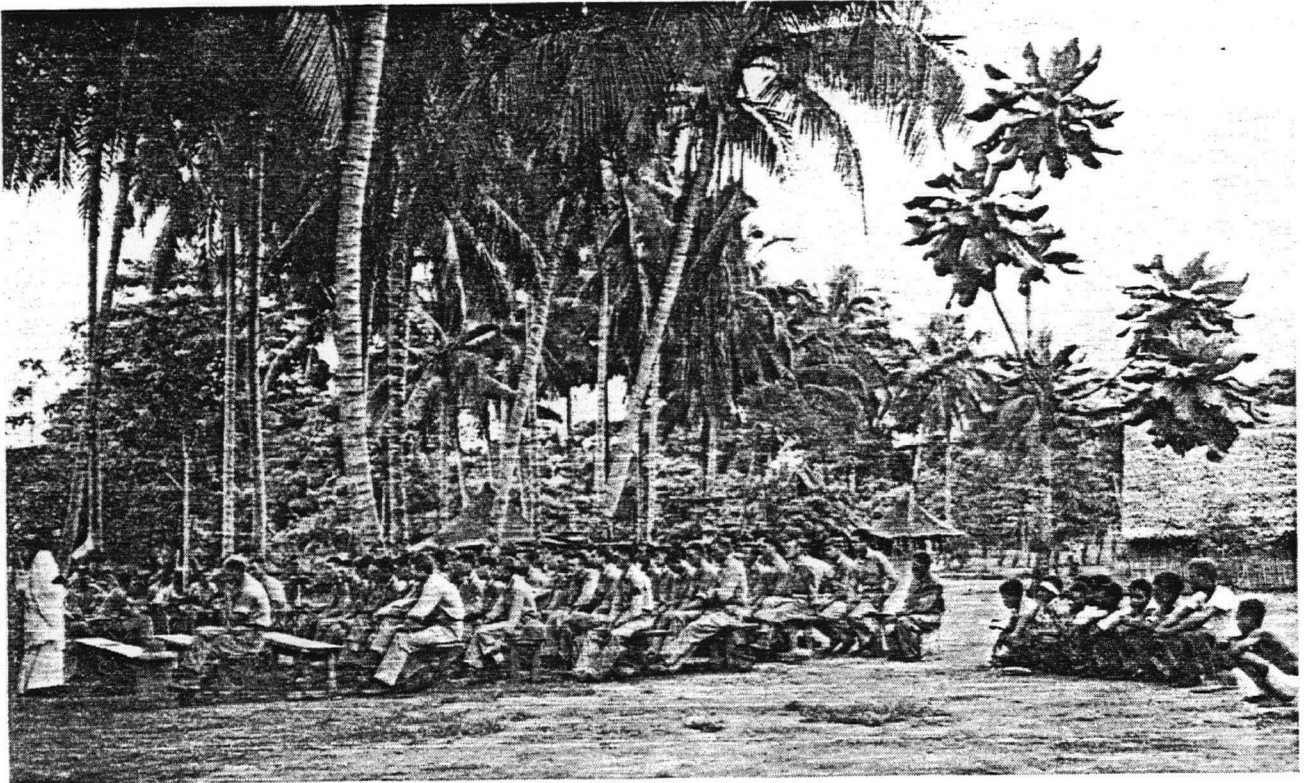


Photo: Bainivalu, Gorabau village



Sunday Services of U.S.A. Troops on Guadalcanal, 1943.

(Courtesy, U.S. Marine Corps)

became more evident during 1944 and 1945. Some natives refused to fight in British units. Vouza, somewhat of a labor boss on Guadalcanal, was dismissed from the SILC for threatening to withhold recruits unless wages were increased. Some public meetings were held at which it was demanded that the Americans must replace the British. And large sums of money, perhaps as much as \$5,000, were raised for the American Red Cross, sums which were turned over to the British. Twice the American Commander was called upon to assure native emissaries, one including a twenty-four year old Malaitan named Nori, that there was no possibility that Americans would assume control of the Protectorate after the war.

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One of the interesting features of the Marching Rule is the lengthy periods of 'incubation' that interleave the major events. It was three years after the Chair and Rule before war enveloped the Solomons, and it was not until two years later (February, 1944) that activists in west and east 'Are'are began to promote the Native Council Movement or NCM.

Alike Nono'ohimae, an influential pagan man from the 'Are'Are people in south Malaita, was among those

who attended Fallowes's Nggela meeting in 1939. At the outbreak of war, he was stranded along with many others on plantations in the western islands (CO 537/2450 p. 57). Alike made his way back from the Russells, and in September 1943 returned to his village at Arirau, where he did exactly as Fallowes had suggested. Among the earliest documents is this note:

This council started by Nono'ohimae on 9/10/43 at Arairau. He call out for that nine Araha of district of Arairau. And ask nine Alaha to get permission for let him to work this council meeting between them and the peoples (Laracy 1983:85).

The araha of 'Are'Are society were "people who by their acts bring peace and prosperity to their hamlet and the surrounding region." De Coppet translates araha as peace-master.³⁸⁾ Among 'Are'Are, and indeed throughout Malaita, subsistence activities and much of daily life was dependent upon mourning rituals and mortuary feasting. Two types of 'Are'Are leaders were recognized, 'murderers' and araha. "The peace-masters in many ways were locked into the structure of all ceremonial exchanges and at the same time tied to his counterpart, the murderer" (idem:191). The quotations above suggest a theme which runs consistently through

38 Daniel De Coppet (1981). "The Life-Giving Death." Mortality and Familiality. Academic Press.

the Marching Rule period, a legitimization of secular actions by religious, or as it would come to be understood, 'Custom' authority. Alike secured "permission" from the peace-masters for his work, which was to be "between them and the peoples."

The first council which documented its activities was held at Takataka Bay. This meeting of twelve Alaha in October, 1944 reported to Alike that they fully supported the "Mercy Rule" and that, with the concurrence of local government appointed officials, they had "put" Waiparo as "head over the custom, also the whole counsel of Takataka" (Laracy 1983:85). Waiparo would "be very willing to obey Alike in every thing because he listen for Alic to do what he said about the custom." The council of Takataka also expressed a strong desire to avoid violence, a theme also recurrent throughout the documentary literature. "We not enemy of any people or Doctor or Mission or anywhere country at all. We may been very brother." The issue of land alienation is similarly prominent. "But every alaha not allowing people to still their ground. They have to pay [sic] If any people wanted anything on our ground they will get permission from our head chief Alic over this whole place (hanua paina).". Finally there is a question about origins and custom. They urged every

alaha to record geneological information and invoked a new form of religious validation of their political ambition, the mission. "They all believe what the mission [said]. Every alaha find out from mission some lesson told them that God wanted everyone to be head for their own island and man must live to please him."

Elsewhere in the south, the government district headman Hoasihao, who had also attended Fallowes's meetings in 1939, joined with Nono'ohimae to promote the Native Council Movement. The first contingent of SILC veterans returned to Ataa in north Malaita in February, 1944, where they soon came into conflict with government headmen, refusing to carry out orders and boycotting the new government Native Council. Kabini, who earlier had collected money for the American Red Cross among the SILC, propagated the new ideas in the north. Now American flags were raised at Suaba and Alagege. More money was collected.

Laracy states that Alike joined the SILC sometime in 1944, but by October of that year, he was on "patrol" from Onepusu (the SSEM headquarters) down through Small Mala, conducting "Level Meetings" in churches and men's houses and promoting the "Council of the Marching Rule." The purpose of these meetings was "that the minds of the people were to be leveled and made the same as each other"

(prosecution's testimony; Laracy 1983:125). His ideas were embraced by the unusually literate and respected SSEM teacher Timoti Siosi (Timothy George) of Small Mala, born in Queensland in 1885, who would be elected Head Chief of 'Are'Are and Small Mala in February, 1945 (Prosecution's testimony, in Laracy 1983:126) and was thus the oldest of the Marching Rule leaders. Meanwhile, Nori, whose classificatory father had attended Fallowes's parliament in 1939, had also returned from the SILC. He quickly assumed an active organizing role. Throughout 1944 the movement spread throughout Malaita, and a circle of leadership developed around prominent SSEM and pagan leaders. A courier service was established by the ship owners of Ataa and Funafou between Tae and the Lau speakers at Walade in Small Mala, which may have furthered contacts with Ulawa and Marau Sound at Guadalcanal as well (D.O. Forster, 1946. in Laracy 1983:89-91).

By December 1945, what had been separate developments in the north and south of the island, Fallowes's instigation and common SILC experience notwithstanding, became rather loosely united by a bid for power by the southerners over the north. After Nori's patrol through the north, Timoti Siosi and Nori together issued a "first Order" forbidding islanders to recruit for the plantations. They said,

"We have plenty work yet on our District so this island must keep tapu from any company at all" (Laracy 1983:88-9).

An interesting feature of what has been termed this "strike order" is that apparently very little, if any, plantation recruiting was actually occurring. Almost a year later Hector MacQuarie would write for the PIM, "No attempt has been made to re-establish the BSI planting industry, and there are very few Europeans in the group now. There are no stores -- not even Chinese traders..."³⁹⁾ The situation is ambiguous with regard to non-plantation labor. The order had no apparent effect on recruitment for government projects. A year after the first order, in November, 1946, forty laborers from Malaita were working at Honiara, the new Protectorate capital, and fifty more recruited for government work in February, 1947 (C0537/2449 p. 49, 49A; and cf. Laracy 1983:25).

Malaitans were also working for the missions and the mission hospitals. A witness for the prosecution, however, asserts that Timothy George had extended the order to government and missions as well, saying that "it was forbidden for anyone to go to work for the Europeans"

39 Hector MacQuarie, 1946. "'Masinga Lo' Anti-British Native Movement in Sweeping Over Solomons." Pacific Islands Monthly. October, 1946. 17(3):7.

until the twelve-pound wage had been won (Laracy 1983:128). Yet throughout the movement during 1944, 1945 and 1946 the 'Mercy Rulers' stoutly maintained that they were not against, as they put it time and time again, the Government's Laws, the Doctor's Laws and the Mission's Laws (cf. documents C3, C8, C10, D3, E2, H1 in Laracy 1983). It was not until March 17, 1947 that the leadership used the word "strike"; although not "general strike" as Laracy states (1983:25) since it "would not include people working for hospitals and missions" (Resident Commissioner's Report on Political Developments in the Protectorate, CO 537/2449 p. 135-139).

The order of December, 1945, served its purpose of unifying the movement at least provisionally around Timothy George and Nori, and at the same time was politically safe from the standpoint that the Protectorate's economic stagnation rendered it practically moot. But a 'strike' has a dynamic of its own that would seem to lead inexorably to conflict in the absence of settlement. The first order had consequences that went beyond its being an assertion of interpretive control over the Marching Rule policies, the laying down of a tabu and building the public image that the Marching Rule had leaders who were acting imaginatively on the people's behalf. The first order asserts a general will for the re-allocation of labor resources from the

"company" to native social reconstruction. It represented a consensus opinion, perhaps the only one possible, except for the general notion of a new governmental institution to settle issues of custom, on which the people could easily agree. It was right that Malaitan labor, rather than being directed outward to the plantations and the tradestores, would be directed inward toward the needs of native development, which was consistently viewed as necessarily occurring alongside the work of Government, Mission and Doctor.

December 1945 through early 1947 must be regarded as an intensive developmental phase during which people activated the Marching Rule social agenda. From the beginning, they tried to grow more food and constructed new communal gardens as large as ten to fifteen acres, as well as coastal villages containing between twenty and a hundred houses (Allan 1950:44-47). They conducted both mass and in camera meetings, divided the island into nine ethnic districts, developed a hierarchy of chiefs and leaders with accompanying militaristic rituals, and enforced what seems to be a new division of labor, albeit one seemingly in which every woman was a private and everyone else a specialized noncom. In late December, 1946, the Marching Rule leaders called a meeting of 5,000 natives at the government station at

Auki, where they demanded a minimum wage of £12 per month. Government replied to a manifesto that the goals of the movement were not irreconcilable with its own.

This was the time between the tradewind seasons, and there was much native sea traffic. The movement quickly spread to adjacent islands. At Santa Ana, San Cristobal, where the SSEM was strong, a variant on the institution-building theme was expressed in the creation of formal assembly areas called "rings", with raised platforms where speakers addressed the crowd, or, alternatively, where a person being punished for his sin was made to sit in public humiliation (Laracy 1983:25).

The institution-building objective of the Marching Rule was not simply a general idea, but was always operationalized in detail. The captured native document titled "Conference of Araha" (Laracy 1983:140-143) is a detailed plan, even an algorithm, for implementing this institution. Each Araha was to have an advisor and alternate, selected by "the people." They were to work in friendship together. They were to build a meeting house in which to hold their deliberations.⁴⁰⁾

40 These houses, Colin Allan states, were like the beu or men's houses of traditional culture, but they were furnished like a government council house. They "became the center of Marching Rule culture."

Here were conducted ceremonials to welcome high Marching Rule Leaders, feasting and dancing, exchange of political views and the latest news, and where census was taken and the £1 Marching Rule head tax collected (Allan 1950:47).

Fallowes's influence is shown in the careful delineation of the role of the Council's Chairman, and rules regulating meetings including time limits on debate. The council also listed five subjects for discussion which outlined the body of doctrine which they felt was necessary for modernization and development, headed True Rules, Education, Health, Economy, Social. The advent of Christian Kastom as a unifying doctrine between pagans and Christians is for the first time clearly enunciated:

But most of all we must keep the ten Commandments of God which are well respect in our Customs by our ancestors, who although they may have broken them, have preserved them by words of mouth which is called Tradition. (Laracy 1983:141).

The Marching Rule had prominent native critics. As early as January, 1946, Timmy Kakaluae of Lau Lagoon split with his brother Englesi over the movement and quit his job as Head Marching Rule Chief for North Malaita. Laracy remarks that he found "the new leaders thrown up by Maasina Rule as upstarts, as well as finding their ambitions naive and the ceremonial of the movement distasteful" (1983:27). Hogbin's informant and government headman, Maekali of Malu'u, was a vigorous opponent. Most Church of England members also found themselves among the 'outs,' although there are outstanding variations and exceptions.

41) The primary element of dissent was not generated by the opposition, who for the most part had developed profitable relationships within the British order, but by radical elements who disputed the steady course which the leadership thought it was taking. The difficulties of the situation as it would develop concern the simultaneous presence of a general notion among some for a genuine "general strike" and a growing desire on the part of others to return to the plantations and earn money. The Marching Rule leadership was faced with balancing these conflicting interests, as well as many others.

Takataka Council's second documented report dated June 1946, was critical of the leadership and, as well, gives us some insight into the problems faced by men lower in the Marching Rule hierarchy of chiefs. They write,

"This time the whole council they been see the M.R. it seems to be under the District officer, now the nine wanted to get permission from the Leaders of this council, to show them any road spereadly from the British man. ... But just now every chiefs of these nine councils they say Government and Nori they block long M.R. they say feast is finished now they think this M.R. for Rule their people and their ground, so the been west loats of money for this meeting. If anyone spoil or block this meeting of M.R. they must change the money and the food we

41 cf. Nicholas Peterson (1965-6). "The Church Council of South Mala: A Legitimized form of Masinga Rule." Oceania. 36:214-30.

spent for this M.R. because you Nori you been say this meeting not going to cover anyone. But just now we just see Nori he turn it to Government. ... Because their own island not stand yet (Laracy 1983:93).

Much of the memoranda and correspondence published by Laracy contains reports on money raised and inventories of potatoes, taro and other food. The retinues accompanying the Marching Rule chiefs had to be fed. The large gatherings of thousands of people had to be fed. Now, traditional leadership gave feasts, and the pattern of Marching Rule feasting behavior is consistent with this tradition. The line chiefs went into debt to build their organizational authority upon this tradition, and counted on the greater efficiency of the communal gardens later to make up the difference. Two Native Councils active around Takataka Bay by December, 1946, had together spent over £3,000: "lots of money to buy foods such as taros, yams, pana, coconut fruits, pigs, canoes, gardens and houses" (Laracy 1983:101). By January 1947, Nelson Kefu, Full Chief under Head Chief of Kwara'Ae Shadrach Joe, was warning leaders in the north and south that at the next meeting of the Head Chiefs "there is not much food for the common people to come. ... That meeting is for those Head Chiefs and those Full Chiefs and those headmen only." He wrote to Nori, saying "Only you the Head Chief dont bring any of your boys, because no food. Food only for nine need"

(Laracy 1983:106, 109).

Leadership realized in early 1947 that it could no longer sustain the scale of meetings to which the people had grown accustomed, and decided to conduct a "last Marching Rule meeting" with the District Commissioner at Auki. The Marching Rule leadership met with the Resident Commissioner on March 17th. Resident Commissioner Noel was surprised when they expressed an intention to extend the 'strike' for a twelve-pound wage from plantation to government recruitment at a mass meeting at Auki to begin June 30.⁴²⁾ The leadership, and particularly Nori, were persuaded against direct confrontation at this time. However, when government later learned that Sargeant-Major Sipola together with his assistant in the Protectorate's Armed Constabulary supported the idea of a strike, they became alarmed that the leadership was no longer in control of the Marching Rule developments.

On June 30, seven thousand natives from Malaita, Ulawa, San Cristobal and Guadalcanal gathered at the District Headquarters at Auki. The amiable atmosphere which had prevailed at the December meeting darkened. Malaita D.C.

42 The leadership also suggested that "any funds found surplus from tax collections should be invested in some interest-bearing security, and that the interest should be paid to the Council and not to the Protectorate government." Resident Commissioner's Report on Political Developments in the Protectorate, CO 537/2449 p. 135-139

Major Sanders was told that the people intended to establish their own courts under the Alaha and would have nothing more to do with the government Native Courts and Councils. Sanders replied that this would be illegal. Marquand, a cadet officer, recalls the ensuing dramatic exchange: " 'The Marching Rule will finish now. That is my order.' The people stood up and openly defied him, saying 'The Marching Rule will not finish.' The government were flabbergasted" (Marquand, 1949/50). Nelson Kefu, perhaps the St. Juste of the Marching Rule, made a big show by addressing the crowds in an inflammatory manner. Sanders and his police left abruptly. Then Kefu said, "Hurrah! You me win government now!" (prosecution's testimony, in Laracy 1983:140).

Sanders, a seasoned officer with ten years' experience in the BSIP, most certainly did not deserve his superiors' opinion of having mishandled the June 30 meeting. It was the first wind any had of the gravity of what appeared to be an impending constitutional challenge. The 'Marching Rule' leadership's precarious position with respect to controlling the movement became evident. A classified memorandum by the Resident Commissioner dated July 26 1947 from the Colonial Office files at Downing Street, not previously discussed in the Marching Rule literature, casts light on the situation. It records a conversation

between Mr. Palmer⁴³⁾ of Levers (Levers Pacific Plantations) on a meeting held with Nori and Alike the previous day. Nori "had only 9 boys ready, and not 50 as promised." Palmer termed Alike "the real brain behind the Marching Rule movement. He told me that he could not possibly agree to boys leaving Malaita as they were urgently required there for the purpose of rehabilitating their villages and gardens." When Palmer began preparations to return to his vessel, Nori asked to come aboard and said that "he was afraid that if he remained on the beach, he would be killed."

Once aboard, Nori recounted serious trouble at the June 30 meeting. The Kwaio contingent, "having stayed on the outskirts of Auki for two days without food, became very critical of their leaders, whom they accused of mismanagement, neglect, and so on." Trouble was averted by the efforts of Timothy George and Alike. Later Alike came aboard also, and the parley continued. Palmer concluded that:

The ten Marching Rule leaders were afraid to let natives leave Malaita, because this was an admission of their failure as leaders, which would result in

43 Ernie Palmer had more experience with islanders than perhaps any of the officials. In his late teens when he began recruiting on Malaita in the 1920s, he was familiar with the early tax collection problems and knew D.O. Bell. Palmer was interviewed by Roger Keesing for a book co-authored with Peter Corris, 1980.

the people becoming angry, and might result in tribal strife.

"Appreciating, therefore, that the ten leaders of the Marching Rule were forced to hang together," Palmer struck an agreement, subject to the R.C.'s concurrence, that he would return to Malaita at the end of August, and reopen discussions, and then take the ten Marching Rule leaders around the island aboard the recruiting vessel. "A lot of the younger men ... I am convinced, want to leave the island and work." This action, of course, would have been tantamount to recognizing the legitimacy of the leadership. R.C. Noel wrote, "I fully approve of his proposal" but noted that it of necessity would be "a patient endeavor" (CO 537/2450 p. 56-7).

Events, however, were to overwhelm this rudimentary effort at collective bargaining, which Keesing claims characterizes the general aim of the Marching Rule movement (Keesing 1978/78). Government continued to be actively resisted. On Malaita and in other islands, the implementation of Marching Rule courts, consistent with the growing Marching Rule emphasis on Christian Kastom and with keeping court fines within the community, became the central issue.

A Reuters dispatch from late July, headlined "Malaitans attack Guadalcanal with war canoes and blowpipes [sic],"

is worth mentioning. The natives were said to have "declared war" on the British at Guadalcanal. Since the end of the war, the only transport to the island was the 200-ton Kurimaro out of Fiji, and planters were reported to be unable to obtain food to recruit labor. Although the natives on Guadalcanal had received flour and rice disbursements, the Malaitans were "still on coconuts and fish." Plantation owner L.F. Gill Cauffield was quoted, "the natives are very short of food and if anything happened the British government would be to blame." There is surely no basis to Cochrane's claim that "there is no evidence to suggest that they [the Marching Rulers] were suffering from food shortages" (1971:153).

In July 1947, Brown Julumana spread the word to Ysabel and Nggela for Vouza of Guadalcanal, where he said, as recalled in testimony for the prosecution (Laracy 1983:124):

This is the third world war. This world war is to free every country, island and everybody has to follow his own will and to get his own rules. From now on, do not think so much about the English money that has an image of the King on it, but look towards the American money which has on it, 'In God We Trust'."

July 1947 through January 1953

In a memorandum to the R.C. dated July 31 1947, Malaita D.C. Davies wrote, "It becomes increasingly clear that

June 30 was a milestone in the history of political developments on Malaita." Government's point on the illegality of the Marching Rule courts was being "deliberately misrepresented" and many such courts were in full swing. He wrote that both cadets Marquand and Cameron, back from tours in north Malaita, "stated that sufficient evidence had been secured to enable the prosecution of at least one illegal court of five members." On August 6, summons to attend a preliminary hearing on charges brought by Cameron were presented to six men on the north-west coast of the island.

Meanwhile the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific wrote to the Foreign Office stating that all wage rates were being reviewed. He also stated that the natives "have no clear idea of the true functions of a native administration or how it should develop" (30 August 1947, W.P.C.H, PRO). Government had had "a long talk with Vouza," who accepted an invitation to go to Fiji to inspect government operations, an invitation later extended to other leaders on the periphery of the Marching Rule.

When the six men summoned failed to appear, government initiated Phase II of Operation De-Louse, which rounded them up on August 31, 1947.

At the time of the first arrests, Timothy George was attending an SSEM teachers' conference at Radefasu,

near Auki. Here some opponents of Marching Rule allegedly mocked him, saying of the arrests, "This is the promised Cargo" (prosecution's testimony, in Laracy 1983:133).

In September, the key members of the Marching Rule leadership were taken into custody under the watchful guns of the destroyer HMS Contest and the submarine HMS Amphion.⁴⁴⁾

In a radio broadcast on the eve of the August 31 arrests, the Resident Commissioner stated, "those who have been or will be arrested have sought to establish an organized terrorism and robbery of the native people by a system of illegal police, spies and courts...." (Laracy 1983:178).

In December altogether 33 were tried and 26 found guilty of becoming "members of an Unlawful Society or Club Known as Marching Rule" Nori and the Head Chiefs were sentenced to the maximum six year sentence on Valentine's Day, 1948, and were imprisoned at Giza, in the western islands. Nelson Kefu drew a five year term for his part at the June 30 meeting.

W.J. Marquand, an eyewitness of the movement during this time, recounts that "after the chiefs were arrested the Marching Rule continued without them, and the people

44 PIM 18(3), October 1947. p. 71. The commander of the Amphion, H.C. Gowan, observed through his spyglass a banner on shore which read "Marxist Law"; his unguarded remarks to the Melbourne Daily Mail on 9/19/47, widely picked up in the British and American press, caused consternation in the Foreign Office. (Public Record Office)

demanding their release. This would not have happened if they had been unpopular bullies" (1949/50:38). But on one point Marquand gives an account that is inconsistent with (Malaita D.C.) Davies's understandings (see above) when he states that "when the question arose of obtaining evidence of the operation of these courts, in order to prove overt acts by some of the leaders, it was impossible to extract it from either witnesses or from persons who had been convicted in them, none of whom voluntarily complained" (1949/50:43).

In some parts of the island the movement lost visible steam. F. Phebe, wife of Heber Hedley the former Head Chief of Fatalaka wrote in 1948,

... our garden nobody working on them now on account that myself can't work on a big garden like this. At present no duty doing his duty. Now everything messed up nobody looks after the farm or work in the farm. There is no control of the village too. They'll wait when you comes back then they'll tell you all sorts of lies (in Laracy 1983:111).

People were leaving the communal villages and returning to their bush hamlets.

Alike Nono'ohimae continued to exercise some direction from prison. In an encouraging letter addressed to the Araha of 'Are'Are smuggled from Giza he tries to clarify the priorities. "It is profitable to us that our native customs and laws should be collected and I want the Araha

to inquire carefully into it going into all the ramifications of our customs and when they are right to put them in a book to be kept until this world is clear." The 'Marching Rule' must have two houses, "one for discussions and the second for court." They were to conduct a census, but only if they were well underway with the custom books, which were to be written both in native language and in English. They were also to continue the farms. He states, "this is time for work" (government translation, in Laracy 1983:112).

Matthew Belamataga, an early proponent of Marching Rule, was in jail on charges unrelated to the movement in 1947. He was released in 1948, whereupon he ascended to a position of leadership and initiated the "Freedom Movement." Belamataga's movement was consistent with the basic pattern of the Marching Rule, the development of a new problem-solving institution, which he termed the "Development Society for Native Races:"

The aim of this meeting is to try and help the natives of this island into a better way of living from now onwards. Also to revive the ways of our ancestors, who did not spend days idling. There are three main things to discuss in this meeting: - (1) the old customs (2) Money collection (3) Gardening.

The chiefs were to gather and choose a "Representative" to rule over a thousand or fifteen hundred people.

The Representative has nothing to do with holding courts. He leaves that to Government chiefs only. If someone commits an offense contrary to native customs. A Representative merely talked to offender properly. The Representative calls a meeting of the clever chiefs and the people to discuss things of the village...

Money collection is to be kept and to be spent on things for common use of all the people. ... tools and school fees....

The purpose of this garden is to help those who have no food or visitors and school children....

The leaders are to work in brotherly manner. They are to act together in all their works and with their knowledge. They must not hate anybody either black or anybody else. They must comfort anyone who are in need in danger in the meeting. They must know rules of their work and they must developed and show the new life forever. They must carry out this work Respectfully and mercifully. They must show respect with regard to Government Law and Mission... equal with teachers ... otherwise their work will be led astray and spoil their name. ... (in Laracy 1983:158-60).

Belamataga was profoundly influenced by Roosevelt's ideas for a new world order based on the Four Freedoms, Freedoms which also had been quoted to the judge by the Marching Rule (NCM) leaders on the occasion of their trial. Belamataga echoed Brown Julumana when he wrote,

"... the main object of the world war II is that all men should be free. Every bodies have the same right to make speeches and do his own religion ... This is the Promise The world war II has fought to free every bodies. Every body has the same wright to do according to his own free will (Laracy 1983:158-160).

Belamataga and four others were imprisoned in February,

1949.

Government were faced with a new problem in 1948. Fences and watch-towers had been erected around the prominent communal villages, and the movement's military aspects were apparently being intensified. The Protectorate legal advisor stated in August 1948, "the land on which the villages and enclosures are erected is private land and consequently any removal of the enclosures by government except as authorized by law amounts to a trespass." But the government went ahead in Operations Jericho and Orestes and removed the barricades. If the people did not do it themselves the District Officers, with their Choiseulese and Fijian police, razed the village before sullen onlookers.

In June, 1949, 250 were arrested on Ulawa. At Santa Ana, 144 were arrested out of a total population of 300. Altogether, over two thousand prisoners were in custody in the summer of 1949. At Auki station, a thousand prisoners were held. Marquand recalls,

The prison facilities being inadequate for such numbers, the overflow were often billeted in ordinary houses, and sometimes unguarded; and yet they made no attempt to escape. They worked, armed with picks and shovels, in gangs of up to fifty and sometimes more, guarded by one warder, generally insufficiently trained, armed with a truncheon. They worked hard and conscientiously without complaint.... When being arrested in large numbers in the villages, their discipline was faultless and the arrests were noticeable for the lack of, even verbal, resistance; and the

men went to gaol for political offenses with a clear conscience, believing that they had done nothing to justify this treatment by the Government and determined to show their disapproval with dignified passive resistance (Marquand ibid.:38).

The last of the American forces left the islands in October 1949. It was about this time that Ariel Sisili generated new momentum into the Marching Rule period under the banner of the Federal Council Movement. In December, 1949, 2,200 people met with District Commissioner Masterman at Auki, where they demanded the release of the nine Head Chiefs, restoration of the native courts, and recognition for a Head Chief over the whole island of Malaita. Government responded with demands of its own, for cooperating with census and resuming tax, and intensified a leaflet campaign (cf. Laracy 1983:187-190). Sisili helped build the resistance against cooperating with the census and tax.

Sisili's Federal Council, like its forerunners the Freedom Movement, the Native Council Movement and the Chair and Rule, was founded on the basic notion that a new native governmental institution was needed. Similar to Belamataga and the defense of the Head Chiefs, the Federal Council was inspired by "Four Freedoms was written by F.D. Roosibelt" and the "Peace aims was written by F.D. Roosibelt and W.S. Churchill." These "foundations"

set the context for formation of the "Federal Council held at Washington D.C. ... New York [and] Philadelphia in U.S.A." Now this constitutes a puzzle in the Marching Rule literature which can easily be cleared. Laracy states that "no 'Federal Council' is recorded in American history" (1983:172). However, the Federal Council that Sisili refers to was the popular name of the "Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America" founded at New York in 1905 and whose first general meeting was held at Philadelphia in 1908. The Washington meeting Sisili refers to may be one held in 1887 by the Evangelical Alliance under its new full-time general secretary, Josiah Strong, the first "general Christian conference" in America on the church's role in social service. The Alliance urged that, to all social problems, "applied Christianity" was the solution. The alliance established a new ecumenical movement which was the direct inspiration for the U.S. Federal Council, to be founded eighteen years later.⁴⁵⁾

The Federal Council was active on social issues throughout the first half of the twentieth century until it joined with the World Council of Churches following

45 John A. Hutchison (1941) We Are Not Divided. A Critical and Historical Study of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Round Table Press, Inc., New York. pp 17, 34-38.

World War II. Known generally as social gospelism, this long-lived ecumenical movement, at times millenarian in tone, has long been recognized by historians as the most potent modern influence on the Protestant church in North America.⁴⁶⁾ I will address the significance of Sisili's joining in this American tradition of liberal Protestantism in the final division of the thesis.

By April 1950, government's attempts to collect tax and conduct census was at a stalemate and the effort was abandoned (BSIP 1949-50 Annual Report, p. 39). Government released the nine former Head Chiefs in June on promise of their cooperation. In October government announced its intention of inaugurating District Native Councils to replace the local Sub-District Native Councils under boycott since 1947, and to give them more administrative power. Despite these actions, Sisili continued to press for a Malaita-wide council, saying that the "white government" has imposed "taxes to them without their consent." In December Sisili issued what is perhaps the most enigmatic of all the documents produced by the Marching Rule intellectuals, the Malaita Declaration of Independence which was an exact

46 c.f. Richard Hofstadter (1955) The Age of Reform. Knopf, New York.

copy of the American Declaration of Independence: "The unanimous declaration of the seven Chiefs, united district of Malaita. In congress, December 21, 1950" (Laracy 1983:172).

By January 1951, the labor question was moot. Wages had been raised, at least to £2 per month with an additional £3/6 worth of job benefits, and the BSIP reported that "labor was now freely recruiting" and that copra production had been doubled since 1948. The underlying purely political aspects of the movement were not ameliorated, however. Sisili was tried for treason in February and sentenced to twelve years, reduced to three years in September. The Federal Council continued to meet, now under the chairmanship of Anaefolo, Roger Keesing's informant quoted above with respect to Richard Fallows's words in 1939. Like the Marching Rule leaders of the Native Council Movement, the Federal Council members also met near the District Headquarters at Auki. The pressures they brought were so great that establishment of an island-wide council preceded its enabling legislation.

Ultimately it was agreed that a new council of 41 members would include only ten official nominees, that it would have its own flag for the island, and that any 'big man' it nominated would be recognized as President if he took a simple oath of allegiance, with the possibility⁴⁷ of his nomination to the Protectorate Advisory Council.

47 A.M. Healy (1964). "Administration in the British Solomon Islands." Journal of Administration Overseas. 5 (3):194-204. p. 202.

The Malaitans rejected the idea of their President sitting on the advisory council, "an indication of continuing separatism." The President was to be presented with tafuliae by all the 'lines' of the island, and the primary object of the council "would be to make 'good laws about custom' for the people" (Healy 1964:202). In January 1953, the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific "took over responsibility for the direct administration of the Protectorate from the Acting Resident Commissioner" and established his headquarters at Honiara (Colonial Office List, 1953). When the Malaita Council opened in January 1953, it was accompanied by elaborate peace-making ceremonies (Cochrane 1971). As Healy states, "it marked the conferring of official form and status on a unity which the Malaitans had achieved for themselves" (Healy 1964:202-3). Within twenty months the Council had submitted sixty-six resolutions and recommendations to the High Commissioner.

Chapter 4. The Development of Government's Analysis

No socio-political action of the scale of the Marching Rule can be analyzed in isolation from the official response which it engendered, for that response shares with the natives' initiatives responsibility for the events as they were to unfold. The Marching Rule resulted from a complex communicative interaction between Europeans and Melanesians, whose separate efforts toward developing a satisfying synoptic analysis of the social and political situation were influenced by each other. None of the Marching Rule scholars has given a sustained treatment of the government's problems, nor have they addressed the communicative phenomenon occurring between the Marching Rulers and the government.⁴⁸⁾

Administration's Analysis to July 1947

For the most part, the BSIP administrators were in the dark concerning the objectives of the Marching Rule except through their contact with native leadership, and relied on the assumption, which they had no grounds to question,

- 48 the subject/object complementarity in high-energy physics known as the observer effect (cf. Neils Bohr 1928. "The Quantum Postulate and the Recent Development of Atomic Theory". Supplement to "Nature", Vol 121, April 14, 1928.) has an analogue in all semiotic phenomena. It has been studied in several forms. Some ethologists term the phenomenon the "Clever Hans Effect" (cf. Thomas Sebeok 1979). Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson studied it in the mother-child communication dyad in Bali which led to the double-bind theory of schizophrenia (Bateson 1942).

that these men had the support of their people. Indeed, what would be more agreeable to government than the emergence of leaders with the backing of the islanders as a whole? Since the early 1920s government had been "consistently concerned to discover an authoritative structure on which could be built the delicate system of indirect rule" (Allan 1950:32). The dissatisfaction with the sub-district courts and councils had resulted from the fact that the elders could not sustain the support of the people. Nonetheless the government viewed the sub-district councils as a solid beginning in self-rule. In 1946, an Education Director was appointed for the first time, thus continuing government's pre-war plans while addressing a sensitive area of native concerns. But overshadowing the political issues were the developmental ones, the reconstruction of the Protectorate's war-ravaged plantation economy. Government was primarily concerned to resume copra production and received instructions to that effect from London (CO 856/6). As of 1948, coconut cultivation was only 1.5 percent of the pre-war acreage. Government budgeted for a deficit and called for a Grant in Aid of £701,953 in its estimates for 1947-8.⁴⁹⁾

49 For a full discussion of the Protectorate's economic situation, see Cyril Belshaw, "The Postwar Solomon Islands." Far Eastern Survey April 21, 1948:95-98.

However, Government officials were uneasy at the potential consequences of the demand for a £12 wage, the apparent lack of interest in purchasing western trade goods which sustained the 'strike', and at the "rather stern discipline" over the rank-and-file supporters of the movement. R.C. Noel reported to Fiji that "their claim for £12 a month is not serious as such -- I am inclined to read in to it a figure which they feel no employer of labour will pay, and as a result they can keep their people in their villages, planting all the food which they need. The weakness is that they cannot and do not plan for an export so as to earn money with which to pay for the imports which they require." Noel further reported that forty persons had been convicted on Malaita for illegal drilling, which "has sobered the leaders there on that score.... I shall not tolerate Storm Troopers in the Solomons!" (Noel to Sir Alexander Grantham (Fiji), 30 November 1946. CO 537/2449 p. 149-50).

The positive opportunity offered by the Marching Rulers did not go unnoticed. The Marching Rule leaders, wrote Sir Alexander Grantham (Fiji) to Sir Charles Jeffries (Colonial Office) in December, "seem to be genuinely interested in the welfare of the people, and believe in self-help. What the Administration has to do is to guide it along

the proper lines" (CO 537/2449 p. 148). In the Spring of 1947 government was prepared to work with the leadership toward a mutually accommodative solution through language. The only political problem seems to be their commitment to the existing sub-district courts and councils institution, and the maintenance there of firm government guidance through its District Headmen. The Protectorate's Annual Report for 1946 states that:

The formation of [Sub-District] village Councils in the Protectorate represents a progressive step. Councils of family groups and church Councils have existed for many years: in the light of experience gained therein, there should be available men with experience in dealing with matters that concern public interest, however limited that interest may be. The ability with which active Marching Rule Committees have been directed confirms this, and supports the view that the time has now come when the native rightly seeks some medium for the expression of his opinions, at least with regard to the public affairs of his "sub-district". ... At present delegates are appointed to the [Marching Rule] Councils by public acclamation, one or two to each village; but here and there we have instances where they elect a 'Leader' whose function it is to lead the delegates in their deliberations (CO 856/5).

The December Auki meeting of 5,000 islanders encouraged government to believe that the momentum of the movement was under the control of the leadership. The High Commissioner reported to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in January that "the meeting was an amicable one and the discussion throughout was friendly. The leaders at the

meeting informed the District Commissioner of their aims and objects ... in addition they stated that they were willing to assist the Government in its medical, educational and agricultural plans. They also expressed support for the missions. The District Commissioner told them that these were the aims of Government, that Government, by setting up Native Councils and Courts, was already doing that" The "fundamental aim is the development and welfare of the people, who, the leaders consider, should have a greater control over their own affairs, at any rate in minor matters. These are admirable aims, and are in fact the policy of Government" (CO 537/2449. p.1

At a Protectorate Advisory Council meeting early in 1947, R.C. Noel stated:

There is no evidence that this movement is subversive. It professes to be opposed to exploitation by the white man, and aims eventually at securing complete control by the natives of these islands of all forms of commercial enterprise and the Government of the country. There are extremists in this movement, but the present indications are that moderate counsels still hold the prevailing influence. For instance their next Committee meeting is to be called on 19th February, and is to be convened at Abu, near Auki, in order to suit the convenience of the District Commissioner as the representative of the Government (Minutes of the Advisory Council, CO 856/6).

Government tried to encourage a resumption of recruiting with the arguments that it would enable purchase of the incentive trade goods,⁵⁰⁾ and that it would be an outlet for marriageable men for whom, because of the predominately male sex ratio, there were no women, and that Malaitan labor was an asset "in assisting world as well as local recovery." The government were supportive of the Marching Rule communal farms projects, but expressed the reservation that the new villages should not be sited in areas unsuited to health or the cultivation of staples (taro is a high-bush product), but "so far this has not occurred." Government also considered the possibility of incorporating the Marching Rule araha system into its schemes for indirect rule along the lines of the African Clan Court. However, government's limited anthropological knowledge would interfere with thinking along these lines. As Malaita D.C. Davies wrote to Noel,

I feel that as far as the North is concerned there is not justification for believing that the Alaha system has any historical basis, nor any roots in the social structure. It is in effect an artificial

- 50 "... generally speaking, the people do not want money as they have everything they want for nothing. Tempting goods in the Government stores are shunned although a number of people have the money to buy. The willingness with which they all paid their pound to the Marching Rule funds and contributed to collections for the American Red Cross, shows that money is available. The Government Treasury is always complaining of the way that money disappears into Malaita. The Marching Rule even made it law that their people were not to trade in European goods, and all stores selling these goods were boycotted" (Marquand 1949/50:31).

grafting of a social system exclusive to Small Malaita and possibly Ariari (CO 537/2450, pp. 58-9).

Thus it is clear that up until July, 1947 government was prepared to consider changes in its native policy and also prepared to work with the Marching Rule leadership, as R.C. Noel's account of the Palmer meeting directly attests. All this changed in July. Government came to view the developing situation as out of leadership's control.

Thereafter as they withdrew their attempts to work with the leadership, the last opportunities for a mutually accommodative solution arrived at through language slipped away. Extremist elements had seized the momentum after the June 30 meeting. The Marching Rule had openly defied the British and set up its own shadow government. A general strike was perhaps imminent. Another mass meeting was rumored planned for September. By the actions of the radicals the colonials were excluded from participating in the developing Marching Rule discourse. By summer they were even more in the dark about the movement than when discussions were held with the Head Chiefs. Government had only one course remaining to it, that of force.

Allan's summary of the movement stresses a number of points, one of which is the secrecy which enveloped the Marching Rule. It was very difficult to gain intelligence. As the High Commissioner wrote to his superior in January,

"I was struck by the fact that missionaries and planters, with whom I spoke, had much less knowledge or appreciation of the movement than had the officers of the district administration" (CO 537/2449). The Marching Rule had operated underground for its first two years. As late as August 1950, the Bishop of Melanesia Rev. Caulton termed the movement "a sort of secret society, and outsiders know little of what is going on" (PIM August 1950:77,79). In this complex and highly uncertain environment a new analysis of events developed to which I will now turn.

Cargo

For the next five years the administration of the BSIP was dominated by the problem of how to explain and respond to the acute challenge of the Marching Rule to the legitimacy of its political authority. Faced with what appeared as an imminent constitutional crisis, the urgency of the situation as it appeared to government demanded an action-oriented analysis. From about Spring 1947, administration developed the notion that the Marching Rule was ultimately cast from the same mold as irrational cultic outbreaks experienced in the Western Solomons and New Guinea, understood as reactive and palliative mass phenomena responding to the psychological pressures and impacts of westernization.

The term "cargo cult" as a proper name for such movements was yet to be introduced into the vocabulary. I do not wish to reiterate why it was incorrect to view the Marching Rule as a cargo cult, a point addressed most forcefully by Roger Keesing (1978-9), but to uncover how that interpretation came to dominate the official analysis and official response, and consequently, to find its way into anthropological theory.

I hypothesize a new source for the Cargoist elements

that were undeniably present in the Marching Rule but for which Keesing is unable to give a satisfactory account. Keesing posits a diffusion of Cargoism through the south Pacific "plantation culture" as the explanation. But the diffusionist explicans cannot account for why Cargoism of all other supposals and stories occur in the Marching Rule, why the worldly Malaitans should have given any credence at all to the myth-dreams promulgated by peoples even further at the periphery than they, or why he views Cargoism as "unimportant and peripheral" to the main thrust of the movement and why Allan and others maintained that it was of central importance. The hypothesis that I advance, founded on the documentary evidence, is that this new source was the administration's own contemporary analysis which found its way into the Marching Rule dramas after July 1947.

This is perhaps a dramatic assertion, but it can be at least provisionally sustained by the documentary evidence which I have examined. There is a curious absence of any indigenous documentary evidence from 1909 through 1946 that Cargoism was present in the thoughts of Malaitans. At any extent, the government's new theory could not explain why the eventual outcome of the Marching Rule was a new political institution on Malaita -- the Malaita Council

-- whose structure was almost completely in accord, as I have shown in Chapter 3, with the earliest ambitions of the native Melanesians.

The mass hysteria explicans provided a convenient structure with which the Europeans thought themselves familiar enough to carry out a course of action: suppression of the leaders, division of the followers, and the dismissing of the 'rhetoric' of the movement on the basis of the supposed irrationality of its origins. The overtly political nature of the Marching Rule was sublimated by these actions. For the BSIP administration, what had been caused by "a loss of faith in us" became caused by an envy for the white man's wealth, power and position (Allan 1950). In the atmosphere of millenarian debate and ritual experimentation, administration's apparent concern for 'Cargo' was not unnoticed. My hypothesis is falsifiable if and only if positive evidence can be found which demonstrates that Cargoist doctrines were present before Spring 1947; consequently; it is 'provisional' to the extent that my access to documentary sources is obviously not complete.

Let us now trace the development of this new analysis in the statist discourse of the Marching Rule period. The understanding that the Marching Rule was an irrational cultic outbreak depended on a metaphor of psychological

disintegration. This was most apparent in the classic analysis of the Vailala Madness by the government anthropologist for New Guinea, F.E. Williams (1923). The mass hysteria theory and its application to the requirements of administration, demanded a strategy of semiotic interpretation that was governed by a search for relevant symptoms, such as irrational behavior, fantastic rumors, mystical associations or bizarre rituals, and most of all, the 'Cargo'. The term 'social diagnostics' refers to this interaction between the parties as they both tried to make sense of and direct the course of their experience.

In the Report on Political Developments in the Protectorate (March 1947, PRO 537/2449), Resident Commissioner Noel recounts his separate meetings with the Marching Rule "Managing Committee" and with 23 District Headmen at Auki. "The general impression which I gained from this meeting was that members were unwilling to listen to reason, merely seeking opportunity for interviewing me in order to make clear their intentions...." He says further that "they have preached their propaganda in such a manner that in accepting Marching Rule, the converts have almost adopted a new religion." At this time, Cadet Officer Colin Allan was stationed in the western islands of the group. He reported the spread there of the wage demand of £12 per

month. Noel continues, "Mr. Allan points out, however, that there are certain events occurring on Bougainville, the news of which is bound to travel, and is also likely to influence the course of events here." The Bougainville events surrounded the liberal distribution of war damage compensation. Natives received 10/- per coconut damaged. Quoting Allan, Noel states,

"Already questions about compensation are being asked in Vella Lavella, and with the increasing passage of mission vessels between this Protectorate and Papua, New Guinea, it will not be long before the glad tidings will be spreading east through the Protectorate, bringing with it promise of wealth such as was never imagined, even when the dollar was at the peak of its popularity."

Now, an expectation of war damage compensation is altogether absent in the indigenous Marching Rule documentary evidence, nor would one expect it to affect Malaitans, whose island had not suffered the effects of battle and where peasant coconut cultivation was not practiced to any commercial extent. It must also be observed how different classic cargoism and the events on Bougainville were from one another. It is safe to say, in consequence, that the only movement of these ideas east, judging by the documentary evidence, was with Colin Allan as he returned to administrative headquarters at Honiara.

Meanwhile, Malaita D.C. Davies was also reporting curious events to the Resident Commissioner. Malaita

was rife with rumors of Americans to come. An SSEM man envisioned that the end of the world would occur April 6th. There was considerable killing of pigs and pulling of gardens to prepare a big feast which, however, had been planned "for a long time" (Laracy 1983:150-51). Hard news was so rare that administrators seized upon every wild rumor as symptomatic of greater and more widespread developments. But still the notion of widespread cargoism was difficult to sustain.

At an Advisory Committee meeting in late 1947, Noel reported on the August arrests and subsequent developments in the Marching Rule, emphasizing the political aspects of the movement's takeover by extremists.

One would ask who are these extremist leaders? They include men who have astounded officials and missionaries -- who have known them for very many years -- by their recent extraordinary conduct. Some of them are, I understood, the last people one would have suspected of a determination to flout the law.

Noel at that time makes no mention of either mass hysteria or Cargoism (Minutes of the Advisory Council, 1947. PRO 856/6).

At a later Advisory Council meeting after the trial and sentencing of the Head Chiefs, Noel reported that the Marching Rule "continues to strive to wreck efforts towards the rehabilitation of the Protectorate ... passive resistance is the latest method of opposition as approved

by the Marching Rule leaders." For the first time classic Cargoism enters the official explanation: "they are buoyed up by fairy tales of free cargo coming to those who go to where Marching Rule advises them to live ..." (Minutes of the Advisory Council, 1948, CO 856/6). The chronology of government's analysis is also reflected in news media reports. Until printing Noel's remarks above in March 1949, the Pacific Island Monthly had reported no mass hysteria or Cargoism. The movement was consistently portrayed as political and opposed to British imperialism, sometimes linked to the "activities of Communist agents."

By 1950 the cargo cult explicans had been fully formulated. The sophisticated details of the constitutional crisis were submerged and the complexity of the situation flattened. The Protectorate Annual Report for 1949 and 1950 stated that Marching Rule "from the outset" coupled its cooperative developmental ideas with "a policy of fostering rumours of a paradise to come"

The most persistently believed myth was that on a given day large ships would arrive laden with material goods, which would be delivered to the people as free gifts by another world power, as a reward for being adherents of the Marching Rule (Colonial Reports, BSIP. 1949-1950 p. 37).

Old hands in the Solomons took up the cause. In a 1947 letter, extracts from which were printed by the PIM in June 1950, Santa Ana plantation owner Henry Kuper recalled,

"The movement became very anti-Government and assumed large dimensions, and the character of a true Cargo Cult. Mass hysteria set in. Things like that, with a primitive Melanesian, become dangerous, and might have led to bloodshed. It was a great relief to all of us, out in the outlying districts, when His Honour, the Resident Commissioner, ordered the arrest of all ring-leaders."

The Bishop of Melanesia, Rev. Caulton, was more guarded about the theory. He states, "it is possible that the agitation in the Solomons is linked up with similar and more serious disorders in other parts of the Pacific and the Far East. That is not easy to prove, but Marching rule is certainly symptomatic of the world-wide unrest of the present day" (PIM August 1950:77-79).

The channel of transmission of Cargoism from administration to the indigenes was through contemporary government informants who were closely questioned about what they knew of the movement. These men who came forward to collaborate with government were credited with more knowledge than perhaps

they in fact had, which was after all, a long-standing administrative problem with respect to working with native leadership. But the Marching Rule leadership may also have actively fed disinformation to the government, which was also a long-standing administrative problem. The presence of a new framework of millenarian rhetoric is strikingly attested to by Marquand's extraordinary statement that "the Marching Rule leaders 'came to an agreement' with the ancestor devils, that lies told, even on heathen oath, for the benefit of the Marching Rule, would be forgiven" (1949/50:43).

As government prepared its case against the Head Chiefs, the cargo cult explicans was in the background as prosecution based its case on alleged extortion and terrorism. None of the prosecution's case evidence published by Laracy mentions Cargoism. The only such evidence was a statement made a month after the trial, and added to the court records, by one Thomas Leo, an Anglican catechist. His remarks are noteworthy because of the extravagance of the Cargoism to which they attest. He states that some associates told him that "Nori and Nono'ohimae's big point was the 'Cargo' that would come. The money which had been collected was to be used to give to the Americans, so that the Americans would bring a good big

cargo for them" (emphasis supplied, Laracy 1983:127).

There is ample evidence that the islanders invited the Americans to rule over them, and the notion that the Americans would return to the islands was indeed widespread, although hardly millennial in itself. And to term the infrastructures and elements of the complex economy which would accompany them as in 1942, as elements of Cargoism is to conflate 'cargo' with 'Cargo' as Kenelm Burridge puts it, and it is 'Cargo' which is being claimed as the underlying goal of the Marching Rule at this time. Similar comments could be made about mass hysteria, fantasy and psychological disintegration, which under the colonials' social diagnostics could be easily confused with political passion.

I must also show that the evidence that Keesing and Allan have published to demonstrate the existence of pre-Marching Rule cargoism among Malaitans is insufficient to maintain the claim that Marching Rule was an extension and intensification of pre-war cultism, or, as Laracy states, "that 'cargo' expectations were present in the movement from its inception" (1983:33). A key piece of testimonial evidence on the existence of pre-Marching Rule Cargoism, published by Keesing, is a 1939 Kwaio cult surrounding an female ancestral ghost, which predicted the coming of Americans and the

destruction of Tulagi, but it is enigmatic on the issue of Cargo. The 1939 cult built meeting villages with palisades and flagpoles for the flags that the Americans would bring. In the transcript of the interview, recorded in 1978, Keesing probes twice whether the Americans were expected to bring anything with them except a flag, to which the informant states "we were told [by the ancestress, called a bulu] that 'they'll give you money and all sorts of good things.'⁵¹ In light of the predominant political emphasis of most of the transcript, the one perhaps reluctant reference to Cargo is rather pale evidence indeed for indigenous Malaitan Cargosim, and at any rate, is not documented prior to July 1947.

Keesing's informant's remarks are similar, with respect to the female ancestral spirit speaking with the voices of men, to another account of a bulu cult published by Allan, which also alleges the existence of pre-Marching Rule Cargoism. However despite their shortcomings individually, the two accounts do not even corroborate each other.

What sealed the reality of a Cargo myth lying at the heart of the movement for Colin Allan was a conversation

51 Roger M. Keesing (1980). "Antecedents of Maasina Rule: some further notes." Journal of Pacific History 15(2):102-107; p. 107.

held with David Dausabea, Government Headman of Kwara'ae, and stout Marching Rule opponent. Dausobeia was a "close adviser for the government" between 1950 and 1952, and would distinguish himself in helping to bring the Federal Council and the government to agreement in 1953. Allan states that "in the course of endless talks, discussions and conferences with Dausobeia, it one day emerged for him [sic] and indeed for Kwara'ae, there was nothing new in the essential character of the Marching Rule at grass roots. It had all happened before." Then Dausabea produced two stories about bulu cults, which as published are "word for word as Dausabea told it. The idiom is his. No one else was present when the tales were told"

The stories are reproduced in an appendix to the thesis. An event occurred sometime in the 1880's. There was a woman who sang all the time, who foretold that the dead would return. If anyone wished to see their loved ones they were to build four clear roads from each direction to her hut and bring taros for the ancestors to eat. The people obeyed her but the ancestors always postponed their coming. Then there was a great sickness and all the people of the area died out. Then an event occurred around 1917 when a bulu spirit began making revelations to a man who called himself Bulunoasa. The bulu enabled

sorcery diagnosis and Bulunoasa's followers soon worshiped it as a source of power. The bulu eventually promised "plenty of different moneys, rifles, cartridges, etc."⁵² The bulu cultists were instructed to build canoes and a long, stone wharf which still stands today at Naonaua, for the use of the dead. Lichtenberk, whose unpublished paper on early Kwara'ae Christianity discusses the bulu cults at length, states that the bulu was a source of power for economic pursuits such as fishing and negotiating the prices of foods purchased for feasts, but whether the ancestors "were expected to unload gifts for the living at the wharf is unclear" (Lichtenberk, ibid.:24). Eventually the people grew disillusioned. They became sick and began to die. The survivors joined the Anglican Church.

Now, these bulu stories are so prototypically New Guinean in their general appearance that their presence in the Malaitan interior during cultic outbreaks during the 1880s, 1920s and 1930s would indeed be a striking comparative datum if their Cargoist nature could be corroborated by other evidence. Although the return of the ancestors is a key element of Cargoism, these stories do not establish

52 Colin Allan (1974). "XI Some Marching Rule Stories." Journal of Pacific History 9(2):182-6.

without doubt that the cultists believed Cargo would come upon their enactment of new ritual. The bulu cults are most properly described as new syncretic Christian 'schools', and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9. But here it must be noted that Northcote Deck, who experienced first hand bulu cultism in the 1920s makes no mention whatever of any Cargoist element in either their doctrine or ritual.

One other feature of Dausabea's bulu stories cannot escape our inspection, and that is their discursive 'fullness.' After all, it was the establishment of a Cargoist rationalization of the Marching Rule which was the exegesis toward which Allan, if not Government's discourse in general, was striving. Nor is it easy to see just what in these stories permits the conclusion that "It had all happened before," without having a theory of Cargoism already in mind with respect to the Marching Rule. It must be made emphatically clear that I do not conclude that Allan consciously guided his informant's interpretation of the bulu. Allan and Dausabea were both working toward the same problem as a communicative dyad. The situation is well-known in semiotic studies as the 'Clever Hans' phenomenon, and fallacies of interpretation often result from seeking in the destination of a message (Dausabea) what should be looked for in the source (Allan).

The nature of this situation in which a social inferior repeats the unconsciously transmitted rationalizations of a social superior back to that superior, hence mutually validating the relationship basis of the interlocutors' discourse is an almost untouched problem in social anthropology.⁵³⁾

Three additional points on this topic must be made. Cyril Belshaw, who as a District Officer was an observer of developing events on Nggela and Ulawa, reported first on the movement in June, 1947,⁵⁴⁾ in which he made reasoned and sympathetic judgements about both the Chair and Rule, as quoted above in Chapter 2, and about the Marching Rule.

At this time the movement appeared to Belshaw as basically economic. Politically, it sought a concentration of power in leadership who were mostly "either former employees of the government or religious leaders" (1947:191). He also makes reference to his personal experiences with "the most fantastic rumours" and "envy and hatred for the white man," but makes no mention of Cargoism among

53 This is not the chestnut of an informant misleading the anthropologist, but is closer to the phenomenon discussed by Bateson (1958) in terms of learning theory.

54 "Native Politics in the Solomon Islands." Pacific Affairs 20(2): 187-193.

the natives. While the movement "appears to be highly emotional, it rests on a foundation of sound reasoning and most welcome ambitions for a higher economic and political status" (1947:192). Glynn Cochrane (1971) who analyzes Marching Rule Cargoism on the New Guinea model, and who uses myth data with respect to the Elema peoples there, makes no mention of pre-Marching Rule Cargoism on Malaita. Such a conclusion, if it rested on anything more substantive than the contemporary action-oriented analysis and the testimony furnished later by Keesing and Allan discussed above, would surely have been included in his argument.

And third, even if the bulu cults did have elements of Cargoism, there is no indigenous documentary evidence which links them directly to the Marching Rule. None of the other published indigenous documents contains any reference to anything like a bulu.

In conclusion, I have shown how government's analysis evolved through the Marching Rule period in response not only to the events initiated by the indigenes, but out of bureaucratic incentives of its own, and how this analysis helped influence how the Marching Rule was perceived by even the native Melanesians. My hypothesis that Government was responsible for the Cargoism of the Marching Rule is provisionally sustained by the documentary evidence

to which I have referred, and I have shown that the evidence published to date on pre-Marching Rule cultism cannot be accepted as conclusive support for the notion that Cargoism was indigenous on Malaita. Cargoism in Marching Rule was a product of uncertainty, a rationalization of events which were perplexing not in and of themselves, but with respect to a proper course of government response. In the following general conclusion to this first division of the thesis, I will summarize what the findings from these four chapters say about the history of the Marching Rule, which, thanks to the new documentary evidence, must be now seen as vastly more complex than that which sustained the comparative treatments of Worsley, Jarvie, Cochrane and Wilson, among others.

PART I.

HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE MARCHING RULE

Summary and Conclusion

In the Solomon Islands of the 1930s there were two moral communities whose relationship was that of superordination and subordination, and there was no common linguistic institution to form the basis for problem-solving. However, the two communities, necessarily bound together in a common future, strove to find some basis of achieving a greater harmony. Islanders petitioned for a voice in native policy, for technical education and improved industrial conditions, and appealed to the Christianity of the white people for understanding. The absence of an effective institutional format for the settlement of native policy issues and other problems of colonial development is illustrated by the Melanesian Mission's efforts under Bishop Steward in the 1920s to fill the institutional gap. Once forced pacification had been achieved, government strove to lessen its reliance on force by strengthening indigenous leadership. On the eve of the war, recognizing the weakness of the

government headman system and the islanders' receptivity to the Rev. Fallows's fresh ideas, government sought to implement its long-standing ambitions for indirect rule by attempting to build a native courts and councils institution by which this could be effected.

Government's attitude toward the Christian missions at this time was supportive to the extent that Christian conversion supported a mode of social comportment that was conducive to its aims. These aims were three, to secure pacification, preserve inoffensive elements of culture in order to stem depopulation, and encourage those values which furthered bringing Malaitans into the requisite production relations of industrial agriculture. Government's interest was in the proper conduct of 'Sunday Christians,' rather than in the Christianity of deep belief and daily guidance as it was developing among the islanders, and which it strongly distrusted. The popularity of Christianity among the islanders brought the government into prestige competition with indigenous Christian village teachers. In its effort to build a new secular institution, government's appointment of elders from the Christian communities set in motion a division among the Christians, what I have termed a crisis of authority, which had to be resolved.

War initiated a period of liminality in the history of the Solomon Islands. War destroyed old social and economic relations and created new ones. Some remarks of Max Weber are here instructive:

War thereby makes for an unconditionally devoted and sacrificial community among the combatants and releases an active mass compassion and love for those who are in need. And, as a mass phenomenon, these feelings break down all the naturally given barriers of association (1946:335).

In this relaxation of structural relationships during combat, and in their warm relationships with the Americans, many of whom had experienced or were to experience hostilities for the first time, native Melanesians achieved a confirmation, the empirical proof required of a millenarian creed, of their moral worthiness for self-rule and for a share in the full benefits of the complex economy. The Melanesians passed from the liminality of war into the post-war era as new men, but the British did not.

The problems which confronted the colonial administration after the destruction of its economy were unprecedented and almost insurmountable. Britain's mood, having narrowly escaped military defeat, called for nothing further than a return to pre-war normality. We may list among the problems influencing government's analysis at the time the strong desire to achieve harmonious relations with

the islanders, which would enable them to stimulate rebuilding the copra industry, its source of head tax revenue and its only chance of reducing its enormous grants-in-aid requests; its officials' general desire to appear to Fiji and London as being in control of the situation or to furnish an explicans as to why they were not in control; the continual bureaucratic pressures for law and order and individual promotion and advancement; and finally, the bare imperialism of maintaining British presence in the production of tropical products. "'I have not' Winston Churchill told the American President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1942, 'become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire'" (in Laracy 1983:1).

The purpose of the new Marching Rule governmental institutions from the beginning was to address general issues of custom, issues which I showed in Chapter 2 as being identical between the Christians and pagans, that is, the management of disputes over sex, marriage and kinship; clarifying the basis of civil authority; and protection of property rights. But there is no question as to the disagreement between pagans and Christians on the letter of the new customs. For instance, the maintenance of strict menstrual and childbirth taboos was absolutely

necessary to the pagans' concept of the sacred. The Christian communities were marked by a general relaxation of such taboos. Pagan worship of the ancestor "devils" was an abomination among the Christians.

A key issue seems to have been on what basis the Christians and pagans might confederate. We would be vastly mistaken, I believe, if we were to say that the Christians and pagans resolved their differences on substantive issues, such as ancestral shrine desecration, menstrual seclusion or bride-wealth payments. It would be erroneous to claim that pagans and Christians had actually joined into moral community on any basis other than being islanders as opposed to Europeans. However, such a community was held out to them by the Marching Rule doctrine as an ideal possibility. As such, it was responsible for a general relaxation of traditionally felt tensions and a strengthening of new moral identifications discussed below in Part III. in terms of "ethnicity." Through many of the Marching Rule dominions, such as at Ulawa among the Catholics and Makwanu among the pagans, local custom documents were drawn up and set in writing. There was no sense that there was -- yet -- a unified Custom. The custom movement may at first glance be the formation of a legal code to this purpose, but one cannot simply assume that the indigenes

had in mind anything approximating the common law which underlies the English tradition of jurisprudence. Let us examine three Marching Rule communities and see what their notions of 'Custom' entailed, in order to highlight the persistence of division within the covering millenarian political unity, (a) the north Malaitans of Makwanu, (b) the Catholics at Ulawa, and (c) the people of Oau at Mara Masike:

a) the north Malaitan authors of 'Makwanu Custom'

(Laracy 1983:137) ruled that:

... An ancestral feast and dancing ceremony is strictly tapu. No unauthorised ordinary man or woman is allowed to eat at this ceremony, for that would be to defile it. If they ignore this tapu, they have to give money or go to prison

... Swearing at another person by using his ancestors' names is forbidden. The result of it will be the payment of compensation by the swearer...

b) the authors of the Catholic Masinga "Teaching" of Ulawa, according to which parishioners incurred a fine of one pound for "worshipping other gods", five shillings for "making someone sacred or not taking certain food after someone has died", and forbade taking money for a swear (in Laracy 1983:144-5).

- c) The people of Dau who had an entirely different understanding of 'custom', who recorded in lengthy Old Testament-style genealogies the ancestor who was responsible for bringing them an item of new technology or new institution (Laracy 1983:53).

Thus the agreement that confederated the Christians and pagans under the banner of the Marching Rule was not a fundamental first-level agreement on substantive issues, on the letter of 'Custom,' but a second-level agreement, of agreeing to disagree on such issues. The Marching Rule addressed no issues of custom directly except insofar as custom (specifically the araha tradition) helped legitimate the solution they arrived at: the invention of a new institution independent of the BSIP in which such differences as remained could be worked out by the indigenes themselves. The function of the araha councils was less that of a "gestapo" as Allan once termed it, than that of a local deliberative body.

With regard to the movement's relationship with the government, using the social drama approach, we must enquire what norm-governed relationship was breached that initiated the social dramas of the Marching Rule? Two such breaches

may be noted. The governance of the BSIP was based on a hierarchy of authority in which decisions flowed downward to the District Headmen. This relationship the government attempted to preserve, though spread more widely, in its appointment of native court and council elders in the early 1940s. Although the SSEM teachers had long taken it upon themselves to assume the position of native spokesmen, Rev. Fallows was the first Englishman recorded to have advocated formalizing and institutionalizing a bottom-up approach to indigenous governance, by which representatives elected by the people would be: "in charge of you, for your customs and for your land. For your ways, your country, your living" Turner's insight that social dramas, as in the case of Thomas Beckett or the Hidalgo Rebellion with respect to martyrdom, involve the enactment of a root paradigm is reflected also in this missionary's perhaps unconscious personal identification with Jesus Christ, an important but overlooked feature of the the Chair and Rule.

Fallows, charismatic and authoritative, brings a new institution to the people. He fortells his expulsion from the islands. He is deported, as if by Pilate; his followers are suppressed. Before taking his leave, he charges them to continue the work in his absence, saying,

"I have given you the key. You will have to build it yourselves." Surely this dramatization broke the religious legitimacy of the colonial pattern of governance by its promise of fresh possibilities for living. Fallowes initiated a semiotic process that was far deeper in cultural resonances than that to which Fox alludes, when he states that "Richard Fallowes was the patron saint of the Marching Rule." Fallowes invented a meta-language, an institutionalized rhetorical format of representative government which took root in the political aspirations of the native Melanesians.

The second breach of a norm-governed relationship occurred when both the Marching Rule radicals and soon afterwards the government itself abandoned the moderate course of action sought by the Marching Rule leadership. Subsequently the 'Marching Rule' had no recognized leaders, no interpretive spokesmen. Until June 30 1947, the government recognized if it did not welcome the possibility of new native leadership, and sought to work with the Head Chiefs toward a mutually accommodative solution. This relation was contingent only upon continued moderation with respect to the Marching Rule attitude toward direct confrontation. Thus government was more than "generally sympathetic and tolerant toward the movement" (Laracy 1983:21, 177); they

did not sit by and simply watch Marching Rule develop, but were involved in the discourse, in informal parleys and in attendance at the Managing Committee meetings. The causes of the breach are difficult to determine. There may be no explanation other than that based on the conflicting personalities of the men involved. There were several potential theoretical points of fracture, 'ins' vs. those marginally attached to the movement, northerners vs. southerners, Christians vs. pagans, each of which was probably involved. I, however, prefer the explanation based on personality, for the Marching Rule was able to recover its momentum after the arrests and after the episode of cargoism with the Freedom Movement and, after its suppression, the Federal Council before winning its representative institution.

The Kwaio dissidents were pagan. But was Nelson Kefu a pagan or a Christian? Kefu's boss, Shadrach Joe, was a senior SSEM teacher, as were most Marching Rule chiefs from north Malaita with the exception of the Lau and the Baelelea (Laracy 1983:20). Shadrach Joe was a man "of very cautious temperament" and was outshadowed by Kefu, his "more aggressive subordinate" (Laracy 1983:28).

After July 1947, the movement's momentum in the north was influenced by government's unwitting injection of

cargoism into the Marching Rule discourse. Because Cargoism does not occur before this time, I conclude that Kefu and others mainly in the north diagnosed that government appeared to be concerned about 'Cargo,' of which they learned from information passed down the grapevine as it were and, perhaps, directly through the Marching Rule spies. Perhaps this concern concealed substantive truth. In its leaflet, "'Gammon-Talk of the Marching Rule", government had written in Toabaita and English that rumors of cargo to come "were lies" just as was the Marching Rule's claim that it "would help the Malaita people." The apparent logical inconsistency of two propositions being declared false, when obviously one was true, gave credence to the potential truth of the other proposition: Cargo was possible. On the subject of Cargoism in the Marching Rule, Laracy is careful to note that "while the expectation of the arrival of 'cargo' was never a major influence on Marching Rule thinking or behavior, this does not mean that many people did not accept the possibility of its coming It was possible to believe that cargo could come without believing that, in fact, it would or had to come" (Laracy 1983:150).

A key point to which I have drawn attention in this thesis is that government's cargo cult rationalization

and the appearance of Cargoism on Malaita occurred, so far as the documents attest, at the same time. The rigid adherence to the testimony of this evidence enabled formulation of a provisional hypothesis, which only future scholarship can address, that government's explicans was suggested to the indigenes, and in turn, became for some Malaitans a new root paradigm (Turner 1974) by which subsequent ratiocinations and actions were carried on. The Cargoism of the Marching Rule was a reciprocal social production.

The reification of the statist discourse is observable occurring in other instances as well, for which Commander Gowan of H.M.S. Amphion perhaps may stand as a tragic metaphor. His particular effort at social diagnostics, interpreting the distantly seen lettered banner as proclaiming 'Marxist Law', produced discursive consequences in which Marching Rule was linked to the actions of communist agents, having further consequences in the Foreign Office and perhaps in Washington as well⁵⁵⁾ -- a small drop perhaps in the coming tidal wave of right-wing hysteria of the 1950s.

55 "Martin Lo". Time Magazine, September 29, 1947.

* * *

Allan, as I will show in the following division, had a genuinely anthropological appreciation for many aspects of the Marching Rule. But what is evident in his thesis, written for Reo Fortune, does not come forward in his widely-quoted article on the movement, first published in the foreign service gazette Corona in 1950 and later in South Pacific, July 1951. Smith's "documentary reality" begins with this article, in which the cargo cult theme reaches almost allegorical perfection. The complexity of the situation was flattened and events rendered into what Kenelm Burridge has termed an "overly coherent" explanation. For future Marching Rule theorists, the details of the constitutional challenge lost resolution, and the underlying Christian nature of the movement was pushed further into the realm of the irrational and the mystical.

The documentary reality created by the colonial explicans was reinforced by labeling the Marching Rule files as 'secret' and restricting access to them under the 30-year rule. Keesing remarks that his access to archival materials was "severely limited" (1978-9:5). The official documentary reality thus found its way into the anthropological literature. Until about the mid-1970s the Marching Rule was understood as either a type of cargo cult along a supposed developmental

continuum ranging from the mystical to the proto-nationalist (Worsley 1957) or one cast thoroughly in the New Guinean mold (Cochrane 1971), viewpoints which influenced comparative treatments such as by Jarvie (1963) and Brian Wilson (1971), although neither is tenable in the light of the recently available Marching Rule documentary and testimonial evidence.

The contemporaneity of the cargo explicans and the cargo movement has also caused curious inconsistencies to appear in the subsequent anthropological analyses. Worsley states, for example, that "side by side with these orthodox political developments, millenarian elements were present, though they became less and less important as time went on" (Worsley 1967:178). But Keesing and Laracy, unable to rid themselves of the residual credibility of the contemporary administrative analysis, suggest in contrast that such elements become more important with time; Cargoism does not appear until after the islanders were discouraged by the movement's suppression, as a sort of outlet for dashed political ambitions.

What meaning does the history of the Marching Rule have for the wider context of capitalist expansion and the greater global cultural unity that ensued through the replication, among Wolf's "diverse proletarian diasporas,"

of its characteristic modes of industrial production? Roger Keesing provides the best extension of Eric Wolf's thesis in his historical materialist approach to the Marching Rule, in which he says the basic theme of the movement was "to resolve the contradictions of colonial subjugation and Christianization." But by this, Keesing does not mean a contradiction between the experience of the colonial order and the experience of being Christian, which I think is closer to the mark, but the contradiction between political autonomy and imposed stratification, between Christian doctrine and valued ancestral religion. These contradictions were resolved "by the emergence of a 'class' consciousness whereby 'Kastomu' was externalized as a symbol and anti-colonialism came into focus." But establishing a unified Malaitan 'Kastom' was never more than a regulatory ideal of the the Marching Rule, whose major thrust was, as I have said, toward the building of a new indigenous institution of political rhetoric. Moreover, the rendering into documentary form of the 'Kastom' had a variety of ways of manifesting itself. It aimed not simply to preserve cultural traditions, but to reformulate them through the discovery that Malaitans were originally descended from Christians whose beliefs had been lost or forgotten by subsequent ancestors.

Marching Rule was not anti-colonial in the sense

that it rejected fully and entirely the government of the Europeans. To the contrary, Marching Rule from the beginning sustained a policy of turning over to the government for trial and judgement all incidents of violent crime, murder, rape, manslaughter and assault. In other words, they wished to keep government's monopoly on legitimate force intact, which to Weber as well as many others has always been a primary requisite of the political State.

If Malaitans could not be ruled by the Americans, they would be ruled by the British. They consistently opposed administration of the Protectorate by Australia, for example. Worsley's conclusion that the Marching Rule, in view of its political nature, was "proto-nationalist" does not go far enough in the light of my findings. Rather, the Marching Rule intellectuals came to a different interpretation altogether of the nature of the wider cultural unity brought on by the expansion of the European culture, and exposes the limitations of Wolf's thesis. It is far more likely that the Marching Rule was proto-internationalist rather than proto-nationalist. The indigenous social diagnostics as documented addressed a wider framework of experience than sentiments of mere nationalist aspiration. For example, in order to rationalize the meaning of the war, Brown Julumana, Matthew Belamataga and Ariel Sisili all identified

islanders within a political framework which embraced all ethnic peoples across the colonial world. It demonstrates, in fact, a world-wide ecumenicalism in which each ethnic group was responsible for its own rules of government within the framework of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms and the principles of Social Gospelism.

PART II.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO THE MARCHING RULE

Introduction

The differences between Malaita and the western islands of the group, where the government's native courts and councils experiment in fact succeeded in evolving into indigenous problem-solving institutions, and where the Marching Rule was not a strong political force, may be summarized in the following points: the absence on Malaita of peasant copra production; its colonial tradition of being a labor pool; its high population density; the mission dominance there of the SSEM, the boundaries of whose Solomons operations completely circumscribe the areas of Marching Rule activism; and as well, those social organizational and cultural elements which distinguished the Marching Rule adherents from the people of neighboring islands.

This division of the thesis will be concerned with the latter issues, foregrounding issues of ethnicity, ideology and social organization over those of material relationships. Consequently, the primary focus in this Division is on the ethnography of Malaitan Christianity.

The relevance of archaic structures such as genealogical systems or traditional patterns of leadership and followership

to culturally discontinuous events arising from the encounter of structured institutions with anti-structure, such as the Marching Rule, is always problematic. Anti-structure represents the temporary negation of specific moral propositions attendant to structural maintenance: it suspends them, and invokes 'axiomatically' in their stead the "higher bonds which unite" contained in *communitas*. However, social organization upholds the 'normality' of a basic quotidian pattern of social relationship; hence its study may yield a model of a synchronic "social field" (Turner 1967) which can be compared in its pre- and post-millennial manifestations. Hence, if Turner urges students to look in the direction of generic *communitas* for the sources of social change, it is to the stability of the armature of social organization that we must look for the sources of social continuity.

In the ethnographic domain, I must discuss a number of points. I will examine traditional social organizational arrangements, subsistence activities and the pagan concept of the sacred to the extent that these areas directly bear on the Marching Rule developments. Social organizational considerations are important because one of government's primary political arguments against the Marching Rule organization was that the alaha system had no historical

or social structural precedent in north Malaita. This division contributes toward the general analysis by formulating key elements of the indigenous social field that was encountered by the pioneer SSEM missionaries.

I will examine Malaitan Christianity in thematic terms under the notions of acculturation, continuities with pagan traditions, and syncretism. The latter will go beyond considering the adjustments in language and ritual that were supported by the SSEM missionaries, which fell under their conscious policy of indigenization and separation from the pagan society. I wish to focus more on the consequences of this policy in the realm of the Malaitan Christian's daily experience. Conceiving of himself as having broken totally with the pagan past, I am interested in what he created in its stead. This involves a focus much like that of John Barker; an ethnography of a Christian people must ground itself in the "more general adjustments and re-interpretations of Christianity that normally take place in the indigenous communities" (1985:27). In other words, it is not by studying the political-economy of the mission in its ethnographic context, but its generative properties through discourse and its re-ordering of pagan moralities in the course of daily life that is ethnologically significant.

Subsequently I will discuss the doctrinal origins of the Marching Rule by examining the millenarian roots of the SSEM, major features of Malaitan Christianity, and the doctrines of Social Gospelism in America and Melanesia, concluding with discussion of the 'social field' on the eve of the Marching Rule period.

The indigenous SSEM intellectuals in response to the crisis of authority within their communities, in the midst of the millennial expectations engendered by the liminality of war, turned from the doctrine that pagan society was the evil regime of Satan, to address what they came to see as the institutional evil of the white, colonial, industrial order. They developed a new interpretation of the sense of 'sin.' The Marching Rule resulted from the extension from pagan society to colonial society of key doctrinal elements. This was due to the indigenization of a process of reasoning wed to the innate millenarianism of the SSEM's historical origins. To develop the basis for detailing this notion is the theme central to this division. To this end I will outline the pre-Marching Rule social field and the sources of cultural innovation and continuity which lent their part to the historical shape of the Marching Rule.

Chapter 5. Social Organization⁵⁶⁾

There is virtually no difference in the subsistence cultivation pattern between the western and eastern islands. Taro and yam slash and burn horticulture, pig husbandry and fishing supply the people with abundant food. Everywhere relationships are expressed through the signification potentials of the medium of material transactions, and everywhere the feast is a focal social institution. Gardening is never undertaken with regard to increasing production beyond the minimum necessary to sustain the domestic group and its commensal and kinship exchange obligations, unless it is initiated by community leaders and their plans for specific feasting occasions for which food will be required (cf. Oliver 1955). Depending on a given community, feasts may occur on the occasion of either internal kinship life-crises in the solidary pattern, or in the competitive pattern on the occasion of a big man's assertion of his and his group's productive 'renown', which is closely tied to the management of inter-group conflict (Oliver 1955). However, the Kaoka of Guadalcanal as well as the Malaitans use the occasion of some life

56 I would like to thank Dr. Catherine Tyhurst for her comments and suggestions on an early draft of this chapter.

crises to engage in competitive giving (Hogbin 1965). Feasting behavior underwrites the deployment of community energies and activities beyond the minimum required for subsistence; it organizes groups by making explicit, in the 'language' of material transactions, both internal and external social relations.

Although matrifiliation obtains throughout greater Melanesia with the exception of the New Guinea highlands, matrilineality in the Solomons is generally geographically limited to the eastern islands, with the exceptions of Nggela, Santa Isabel, and parts of Guadalcanal and San Cristoval. Seaboard areas that emphasize patrifiliation have also been noted, for example the unilineal Rugara of southern Bougainville and the Alu Islanders (Thurnwald 1951; Oliver 1955), and the bilateral to patrilineal sea peoples of Malaita and Ulawa (Ivens 1927; Belshaw 1950:29; Roger Keesing 1966, 1967, 1971).

The high bush peoples of Malaita were universally ambilateral in descent and patri-virilocal in residence. Patrifiliation was expressed thus in residence and in religious sacrifice to ancestral aqalo which were conceived in terms of a segmentary lineage isomorphic in time to a geographic placement of sacred cemetery sites, beu abu, which traced the 'historical' migration from the high

bush downwards, and which marked the descendents' rights to residential land. Cognatic elements were important in establishing collateral rights of usufruct, 'secondary' jural rights in the ambilateral to patrilineal residence groups, and in establishing associate status with respect to sacrificing at the beu abu of ancestors in matrilineal standing. Cognatic descent systems with patrification similarly important in residence determination are noted as well for Choiseul (Schieffler 1965:103).

Everywhere in Melanesia kinship differs in emphasis as a socially organizing principle (cf. Oliver 1955) as compared to its commonly recognized regulative role in Africa (cf. Barnes 1962; Schwimmer 1973). In contrast to Guadalcanal (Hogbin) and Isabel (Bogesi) there are no sharply defined unilineal groupings on Malaita aside from the 'chiefly sections' or 'clans' that have been described both in the south (Ivens, Codrington) and in certain areas of the north (Lau - Ivens 1927, Kongas-Miranda; Fatalaka - Russell 1951). Codrington and Ivens among others also found survivals of the dual organization on Malaita.

The Melanesian political unit consisted of a group of co-residential males on friendly terms who were members of a men's clubhouse, and relations between units were

founded on either 'trade or raid.' Leadership status determination was generally negotiated on a case-by-case basis between two determining principles, prescription through descent group position and seniority, and/or achievement through success in production and redistribution of wealth in the local group, summarized in terms of the tension between rank in a kin group and power based on force. However, political leadership has long been an intricate problem for Melanesianists (cf. Bronwen Douglas 1979), since the 'and/or' relation is not possible to formulate in logical terms.

Some anthropologists (cf. Burridge, Schieffler) consider leadership in terms of management, which includes as its legitimation appeal to various norms and rules. As Schieffler writes of Choiseul, "the agnatic geneological qualification [to sucession of son to father's big-man status] derived its significance primarily by managerial status" (1965:185). Here, generalized rank is simply among those general "strategic rhetorical resources" pragmatically employed "in the process of social organization" (1965:294).

However, Melanesian leadership also involved an element of sacred legitimization that would go beyond the usual managerial qualifications. Malaitans, as I will show below, developed an organizational alternative to the

hypostatized big man complex by instituting two different offices based on genealogical and achieved emphases respectively, which ruled in the south, in Ivens's term, "in double harness" (Ivens 1927).

Generalizations about wider political groupings are difficult to draw. There is a long-recognized instability in Melanesian political institutions. The best description of the big man polity is given by Douglas Oliver (1955) for southern Bougainville, where the highest regional integration achieved was within some seven competing but internally peaceful big man dominions. Oliver hypothesized that the patrilineal Rugaran institutions were a "crystallization in dynastic form" of the ideological tendency for a son to succeed to his father's status within neighboring big man systems. But until the introduction of firearms, broader large scale integration was not possible in Melanesia. Chowning notes that "virtually the only constant is a negative one: the failure of Melanesian societies to develop complex, permanent forms of political organization that would weld together even those people who have a common language and culture" (1977:42).

Writing in 1927, Ivens in similar terms notes the isolation of the Malaitan hill peoples, toa 'i tolo, who before pacification "were not free to travel far afield,

their passage by land would be blocked, and each people could only visit its immediate neighbors" for purposes of trade and marriage (1927:30). But even after pacification, "the hill peoples mainly confine themselves to movements within their own borders."

Now Roger Keesing contends that, prior to the cultism of the 1930s (addressed in Chapter 9) which he claims influenced the Marching Rule, "the first responses to European intrusion and the threat of subjugation and religious invasion were political and 'military' attack" (1978/79; t.s.:25). But the suggestion that Malaitans were unified in a general anti-colonial sentiment is misplaced, as is the suggestion that the murder of DO Bell by the Kwaio in 1927 reflected a widespread smouldering resistance to colonial suppression. After the incident, shore people mounted "a procession of canoes ... all the way round the coast from as far south as Ataa to show their detestation of the crime." Other than the Kwaio, "the rest of the peoples, on receipt of the news, clamoured to be allowed to join in reprisals, and all expressed their indignation at what had happened."

Ivens states further, "nor could any concerted movement take place on Mala, owing to difficulties of communication," and also to the "effects of age-long separation," and

that "unity on Mala could only have been effected by a central rule, with its concomitant of free movement and the possibility of easy travel by land or sea" (Ivens 1927:28-30).

Governance of acephalous Melanesian communities from almost the beginning of anthropological comment depended upon the weight of "public opinion as to what is right" (Codrington 1891:30) rather than direct jural sanction. Even among the southern Sa'a peoples and the northern lagoon dwelling Lau, and others, with their hereditary chiefly 'sections' or 'clans,' the weight of tradition rather than imposed sanction was the basis of community order. Ivens agrees with Codrington with respect to the Lau, that "the behavior of the community is regulated by an intuited sense of what was right and proper", in other words by "group-sentiment" (Ivens ibid:128). This means that cases of theft or female pollution violations could be handled without consulting the 'chief' for a judgement. The Lauic chiefs "were not the dispensers of justice for their people. ... Everything was ruled by custom and convention, and all breaches of these were condemned by public opinion" (idem:84). In expression, this means that conflicts between individual persons became a conflict between groups. Nonetheless, for subsistence

activities, the communities were entirely dependent on leadership. Ivens states:

The people of Mala are easily discouraged from a proposed course of action which entails any departure from the accepted or the regular course of action common to all. Everyone does the same thing at all times and in all circumstances, and every man acts according to the voice of the crowd, advice and directing being freely volunteered by all those who happen to be near. It is practically impossible for a man (and no woman would ever dream of doing so) to steer an individual course, to set out to do something which is not customary. There is no individuality possible in their lives, and all actions are performed as it were in a body, everyone doing the same thing day by day and at all times. Thus, with the Lau people, one day all go fishing, the next day the greater number go to the gardens, the third day everyone goes collecting canarium nuts (idem:36).

Among the Lau, Ivens states, it is only the "chief" or "fighting-man" "who ever does anything at all out of the common. Such a one can afford to go his own way. No one will gainsay him, but in the end things will go on just as before" (idem).

The leadership pattern uncovered by Hogbin for the To'abaita people at the north end of the island, which holds for the interior peoples generally, is the ambilateral district group headed up by a big man whose status is derived, after the classic fashion, by achievement rather than prescription. The ngwane inoto, ambitious for recognition in the wider district beyond his own hamlet, begins by cultivating larger gardens, raising pigs and accumulating

tafuliae. He announces his intention of hosting an ancestral feast at a junior ancestral shrine, perhaps that of his own father. Assisted by his close relations with taro, pigs and artistic performances including the celebrated Malaitan panpipe orchestra and ballets, he invites as guests other branches of the family of the ancestor to be honored. The ngwane inoto gives such mortuary feasts every four to five years, or oftener depending on his productivity, according to an elaborate ritual cycle.⁵⁷⁾ Large-scale mortuary feasting involves a commitment to an organizational effort that entails some practical upward limit, imposed by such features as technical constraints on production, 'cognatic dissonance' from the women out of whose whose labor his renown is created, and the presence of competing ngwane inoto whose responses in terms of counter-feasts involve ever-escalating standards of largesse.

Thus did Malaitan leaders give orders and direct community subsistence efforts with complete authority. But this authority derived from their interpretation of the ancestors' desires, that is, upon a reputation for

57 For a description of the maoma feasting cycles, see Chapter 1 in Catherine Tyhurst (1986), Lau-Baelelea Semantic Dictionary. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver. (in press).

sagacity and speaking the truth (Lau/Baelelea: mamana; reduplicative of Oceanic mana), the proof of which was the community's productive success.

Malaitan traditions of leadership

Was administration correct in thinking that there was no tradition of the Marching Rule alaha system in the north? With the exception of Hogbin, most ethnographers, which includes Ivens (1927, 1929), Ross (1973), Keesing (1978/9) and Tyhurst (in press), recognized different types of northern leader, for which ngwane inoto (lit.: "center man") was a generic term. Malaitan political organization is interesting mainly in that it divided authority among what Roger Keesing has termed a "triumvirate of powers" (1978/9:7), which I will term, since they are ideal types, 'Feast-Maker', 'War-Maker' and 'Peace-Master'. As we have seen in Chapter 3, De Coppet has termed the leaders of the 'Are'are people the araha or peace-masters. However, it is not clear to what extent the other two personages are present in 'Are'are. The peace-masters were givers of feasts, but their counterpart, the "murderer," is insufficiently developed to identify as the 'War-Maker'. 'Are'are relative to populations elsewhere on Malaita, because of their presence at Maramisike passage between Mala and Small Mala, were influenced by the system as

described by Ivens among the Sa'a people of Small Mala, themselves similar in social organization to the people of Ulawa. Although descent at Sa'a is patrilineal, the principle organizational unit was the komu, a bilateral kindred. In addition to the kindreds, the people of Sa'a were divided into eight sections for "purposes of public duties." The "sections of men," po'o ni mwane were each "associated with an ancestor and with birds or other creatures" (1927:68-9). Chiefs, alaha, could be drawn from only two sections, and these were the only sections to trace their geneologies beyond the second ascending generation (1927:109). The current chiefly line traced its descent back twelve generations and were originally immigrants or conquerors. It was a regular practice at Small Mala for commoners (apaloa) to present garden produce to the alaha. The 'chiefs' or 'chiefly lines' had the following powers. They did not confiscate garden lands, although they did lay claim to the boat harbor. The chief's power was also such that he could put a claim on pigs or women. These privileges of the chief were not extended during sea voyages where all persons were equal.

The dependence of secular upon religious authority is observable at Sa'a. Although it was the ruling alaha who sacrificed to ancestors, whose beneficence was extended

vicariously to the apaloa, the ritual was controlled by priests who were themselves also of the chiefly section. "If anything, the priest by virtue of his close association with spiritual things was the leader." "Together they stood for the whole life of the people, the name given to them ... signified 'the two who summed up everything.' The priest spoke for the dead, and the chief was the root of the land" (Ivens 1927). The principal social function of the chief was to organize feasts and sacrifice pigs in recognized public religious occasions. Two of the Sa'a sections were associated traditionally with war-making, and they were named para ni ramo.

The araha or peace-maker and priest of Sa'a were hereditary offices. That the priests of Sa'a came from the chiefly section reinforces the basic relation of dependence upon sacred legitimization of secular actions associated with Malaitan feasting. The priests had direct communion with the spirits of the ancestors. At Sa'a the office of priest and alaha were conceived of as separate and individual, although both personages were from the same 'section of men.' But, at 'Are'are, it appears that they were conflated in one person.

Turning now to the north end of the island, Hogbin's description of the nqwane inoto is that of the classic

'Feast-Maker,' the industrious Melanesian manager, power-broker, and bride-wealth financier, who, together with his wives, operated extensive gardens and piggeries. He strived to gain prestige for his district group by making lavish sacrifices at the ancestral shrines. Hogbin describes the 'War-Maker' office as ngwane-ramo (man of strength). This constabulary specialist had the reputation of being a fierce and undaunted killer skilled in tactics of ambush. He possessed knowledge of magic which rendered him invulnerable to arrows, bullets, and later, to escape court convictions (Tyhurst, in press). Hogbin depicts the ramo as carrying out the wishes of the ngwane inoto. He avenges murders and deaths by sorcery in exchange for tafuliae bounty put up by the relations of the deceased, who could not carry out the revenge killing themselves because of reprisals from the kin of the imputed malefactor. The orbit of ramo activities cannot be limited to that of avenging deaths. Blood feuding could be precipitated by swears, insults, thefts and violent confrontations (Keesing 1982:19). Whenever there was an infraction of custom the ramo stood ready to enforce compensation or to round up fugitives wanted by other ramo in other districts of the island. Among the Kwaio, the office was the lamo (Keesing 1983). Russell (1951) notes that there was a common bond between

the ramo of different districts and "they sat together as friends."

As an intermediary between sorcerers and relations of victims, and between 'Feast-Maker' and general offenders, the 'War-Maker' helped contain the scope of disputes. This cannot be interpreted as resting on a rule of 'custom law' however; the ramos, particularly in the early colonial period, easily assumed the place of gangsters, a factor in the movement of populations from bush to coast. Because of the introduction of firearms during the labor trade, their power was increased beyond measure and the result was a thirty-year war in which ramoki turned to bounty-hunting as a profit-making activity. The new weapons brought an increase in the emphasis on the importance of deadly force in the management of disputes, and this resulted in bringing compellance to relatively more social importance than perhaps in pre-colonial times. Hence a greater prestige accrued to ramo specialists who would lead punitive raids against recruiters, missionaries and government officers who made pacification, through prohibition of ammunition and surrender of rifles, a priority.

Hogbin gives comparatively little attention to the 'Peace-Maker' office among the To'abaita, but the description of his functions are consistent with the pattern recorded

elsewhere in the north. The priest, termed the aofia, had nothing to do with war enterprises, and his primary duty was maintaining communication with the ancestral spirits, the aqalo. Without his offices, "the people have no way of approaching their ancestors" and upon his death they "considered themselves to be in grave danger" (Hogbin 1939:74). The relationship of the people to the aqalo was described to Hogbin in an exchange idiom:

It is like the market. On the beach you have seen us exchange taro for fish. In the hills we carry out funeral rites, sacrifices and dances to please the akalo. We exchange weeping, pigs, and dancing for their good will. And they give us what we ask.

The 'Feast-Maker' and 'War-Maker' were achieved positions of leadership, but the 'Peace-Maker' because of his necessary relationship to the agnatic lineage of ancestors, was an inherited position.

Indigenous leadership & the Marching Rule

Some data summarized by Colin Allan lend credence to the notion that the administration's contemporary claim that there was no historical or social structural precedent in the north of the araha custom was erroneous. Allan says that in Hobgin's time, only 31 percent of the government's native council elders were descended from the three personages. But of the 100 full or leader chiefs of the 'Marching

Rule,' 71 percent were direct descendants of a functional indigenous authority, and 14 percent were SSEM teachers (1950:41). Allan says that the people "selected those whose fathers or grandfathers in the memory of living men had been distinguished in their clan as one of the three functional authorities" (1950:42). The only indigenous hereditary office was the aofia or araha, so Allan's data would suggest that most of these 'Marching Rule' (pagan) leaders were ritual experts, since there would be no traditional rationale in selecting new leaders whose fathers or grandfathers had been ramo or ngwane inoto.

Marquand supports this notion:

The Marching Rule Councils consisted of the village chiefs who were appointed to each village, the leader chiefs who were appointed to groups of three or four villages, the full chiefs consisting of two or three assistants to the Head Chief, and the Head Chief himself. Parallel with this organization was the traditional arrangement of 'heads of lines' [Peace-Masters]. These line heads were hereditary posts and were the senior men in direct descent from the ancestor worshipped in that line. In other words they were not necessarily the oldest men of the line. These line heads retained their powers over all family matters as they did traditionally. In actual fact they were usually but not necessarily appointed as leader or village chiefs as well. Above this point there was a complete break away from the traditional organization, in that the Head Chiefs and Full Chiefs were usually chosen from the ranks of the teachers of the SSEM for each district (Emphasis supplied; Marquand 1949/50:36-7).

Although Allan would maintain that the system was modeled after the U.S. and British administrative hierarchies,

however, in keeping with the basic principles established under the Chair and Rule, Marquand states that "in the case of the 'Marching Rule' the control was upwards and in the case of the government firmly downwards."

The chiefs of the 'Marching Rule' were always careful to ensure that a contemplated move was popular before submitting it to the council. The government headmen, on the other hand, with the district officer on his tail, forced any required move through the council without regard for popular opinion (1949/50:37).

Not only did traditional Malaitan political leadership rest on the religious legitimacy of the ancestral spirits, but when given the opportunity to select new leaders from among their number, the people selected (or simply reaffirmed the status of) men whom they were accustomed to regarding as being in a position of discursive authority. Although the alaha system as a deliberative council of custom experts, as it developed during the Marching Rule, had no precedent anywhere on the island, there was indeed a tradition of ritual authority based on descent group ranking in the north as well as in the south. A remark by Keesing also helps support this view. The office of alafa or custom chief was introduced during the Marching Rule to the Kwaio people from the south. But curiously, he says prior to the 'Marching Rule': "it seems probable that Kwaio seldom or never used this term; if they did, it designated ritual

-- not political -- importance (Keesing 1967:277).

In short, the Marching Rule middle-managers who were not SSEM teachers were highly likely to have been persons who were in the position to claim traditional 'Peace-Master' status.

Pagan concepts of the sacred

The 'Peace-Maker's rank-determined claim to office also helps support the view that the maintenance of peace and community prosperity in the social order rested upon his 'direct' relationship with the ancestral spirits, which were conceived of as organized into agnatic segmentary lineages, and with whom he communicated through language in a discourse production format termed foa.

The indigenous social organizational arrangements complicate the hypostatized notion of the traditional 'big-man' polity. Leadership on Malaita was divided between achieved secular authority among 'Feast-Maker' and 'War-Maker', and prescribed religious authority in the person of the 'Peace-Master', the aofia of the north, the araha of 'Are'are, and the priests of the chiefly sections of Sa'a. The religious authority legitimated secular actions including subsistence and mortuary feasting organized by the 'Feast-Maker'. The sanctions of governance rested in the main upon the force of convention and public opinion, but the 'War-Maker'

existed to enforce the codes of tafuliae compensation, to avenge deaths, and otherwise to employ legitimate force.

Leadership, finally, depended upon mamana which was truthful speech in the context of an indigenous social diagnostics. The speech of the 'Peace-Maker' had mamana because he communicated directly with the ancestors; that of the 'Feast-Maker' had mamana because he followed the ritual cycle directed by the priest and because the facts of secular achievement, the empirical test, justified belief in his mamana.

As Kenelm Burridge writes, Melanesian religion had a "positivist" orientation, and Melanesians had a "matter of fact appreciation of its features, events and relations in terms of which they have their being..." ("Melanesian Religion" t.s. p. 45). Leaders were interpretive exegetes, with discursive authority, who influenced and were influenced by the prevailing strategies of indigenous social diagnostics. Nearly every big man described in Melanesia can be counted on to manifest a certain 'eloquence with signs': in his strategic prowess with material exchanges, his capacity of oratory and harangue, or his skill in planning raids (Oliver 1955; Hobgin 1939).

Melanesian religion is generally marked by the absence

of a specialized priesthood (cf. Chowning 1977:63-5), so the ideal leadership type of the 'Peace-Master' of Malaita stands as an anomaly with respect to Melanesian social organization. The question arises as to whether the 'Peace-Master', the aofia and araha in its northern and southern manifestation, was a full or part-time specialization. The araha owned gardens and coconut trees as part of their feasting obligations (De Coppet 1977:189), but as noted, in the south generally the 'Feast-Maker' and 'Peace-Master' were associated, if not in the same person then in the same geneological 'section'. In the parts of the north where the differentiation of roles between 'Feast-Maker' and 'Peace-Master' was more complete, as among the Baelelea or Fataleka (Russell 1951), the aofia and associate ritual specialists variously termed the nqwanifoa, taniota, faatabu etc., had to observe long periods of ritual seclusion due to their need to 'de-sanctify' themselves from the dangers imposed by their communion with the agaloki, periods in which the rest of the community was busily engaged in subsistence activities. Thus there is some support for the notion that the 'Peace-Master' of the north was a full-time specialization, at least as much as that of the 'Feast-Maker' and perhaps to lesser extent, the 'War-Maker'. However, until the 'Marching Rule' (cf. "The Generation

of the People of Oau" in Laracy 1983:53-84) there was apparently nothing in indigenous notions of the sacred which corresponded to Polynesian influences such as auchthonous gods or culture-heroes.

The ancestral ghost of Melanesia was in most respects a being to be dreaded. It not only exacted heavy labor from its descendents, demanding ever larger gardens and ever more pigs for sacrificial feasts, but it killed with sickness any descendent who disobeyed or who broke pollution tabus. The Malaitan akalo, however, did not appear to have an openly malevolent and capricious aspect as did the ghosts of Dobu or Manus, but neither was it completely 'bound' by magico-linguistic illocutionary formats such as was the horomorum demon of the Siuai. The Malaitans had one such format however. This was the the fabua prayer or supplication for the ancestor's forgiveness should any accident, hitch or mis-execution (cf. Austin 1963), spoil the ritual sacrifice. Thus in exchange for rigid obedience to the codes of the sacred and to-the-letter ritual sacrifices (within the institutionalized 'proviso' of fabua), the ancestors withheld sickness. The cycle of ancestral mortuary feasting, by energizing the community in subsistence activities, assured abundant food. The ancestor's influence was localized in the territory of

the beu abu, consequently the "age-old" separation of the language communities discussed by Ivens was a function of the pagan religion. Outside this territory the ancestor's power diminished with distance, but was not altogether lost. Famine and epidemics were instigated by "foreign spirits", i.e., the ancestors of "unrelated" people (cf. De Coppet 1981:187).

Chapter 6. The Doctrinal Origins of the SSEM

Four mission organizations operated in the south-east Solomons: the Melanesian Mission, the Marists, the South Sea Evangelical Mission (SSEM) and the Seventh Day Adventists. One of the differences between Malaita and other islands in the group was the long dominance there of the SSEM.⁵⁸ It would seem prima facie obvious that an inquiry into the ideological elements of the Marching Rule must involve an inquiry into the influence of this mission in particular.

The SSEM represented the latest incursion into Melanesia, following the early nineteenth century coming to the western islands of the Methodists and London Missionary Society (LMS) to western Melanesia, of what can only be considered a fundamentalist, non-denominational Christianity. The SSEM may be traced in its dogmatic origins to the Awakening of 1859, the revivalism of Moody and Sankey of the 1860s, and the general impulse to non-denominational mission of the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Termed Victorian Evangelicalism to distinguish it from the earlier Evangelical work of the LMS, "the new movement was concerned with faith and social justice, and like the older revival

58 "In 1942 nearly half of Malaita with a total population possibly underestimated at 40,000, was Christian -- 9,000 SSEM, 5,000 Anglican and about 4,000 Catholic." Hugh Laracy, 1971. "Marching Rule and the Missions". Journal of Pacific History 6:96-114; p.104. The village breakdown for Malaita and San Cristoval was 295 SSEM, 39 Marist and 123 Melanesian Mission (Cochrane 1971:79).

appealed both to the poor and depressed, and the humanitarian upper and middle classes."⁵⁹ Following the spiritual lead of the mid-century Abolitionists, the Victorian Evangelicals made their mark in England, New Zealand and Australia in agitations against the Pacific labor trade.

The stance of the SSEM with respect to the general Victorian Evangelical movement, with respect to 'social justice,' however, has been questioned (cf. Hilliard 1969). Amongst the Islanders, the High Church Anglicans of the Melanesian Mission (MM) tended to support in their ritual and doctrines those native traditions which were inoffensive to their spiritual beliefs, but toward which the Victorian Evangelicals adopted strict prohibitory views.

Placing their faith totally in the Holy Spirit and in Holy Scripture, the "most positive value" of general Victorian Evangelism, states Gunn, was "its revival of the spirit of ecumenism and optimism." It is on this point that the SSEM most strongly falls into the Victorian Evangelical model.

The wider significance of the SSEM was recently noted by Barr, who states that it was the regional "prototype"

59 W.N. Gunson (1974-5), "Victorian Christianity in the South Seas. A Survey." Journal of Religious History. 8:189.

of the independent, ecstatic, Holy Spirit churches which today are found throughout greater Melanesia.⁶⁰

Doctrinal Elements of Evangelical Fundamentalism

Whatever else it does, Fundamentalism challenges the rationalizations of denominational churches and other social institutions based on an interpretive exegesis of Holy Scriptures. The Fundamentalists believed that the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars were the fulfillment of certain prophetic of Daniel and Revelations, as initiating the last sinful days of the earth; they viewed their own times as suffering under the "vials of wrath" (Rev. 16).

They rejected the Augustinian doctrine of the allegorical rather than literal fulfillment of prophecy. They taught that the instituted Church was corrupt, and projected Biblical prophetic events into actual, near-term, or as it was termed the "any-moment", future.

Their notion of the Pre-millennial Second Advent, that Christ would return before the beginning of the thousand-year reign of his Church on Earth, the Millennium, was a doctrine heretical to most Anglicans. According to the religious

60 John Barr (1983) "A Survey of Ecstatic Phenomena and 'Holy Spirit Movements' in Melanesia". Oceania 54(2):112. Bibliography. See also John Barr and Gary Trompf (1983) "Independent Churches and Recent Ecstatic Phenomena in Melanesia: a Survey of Materials" and Gary Trompf, "Independent Churches in Melanesia". Oceania 54(1):48-72. Another possible prototype is discussed by David Wetherell and Charlotte Carr-Greg (1984), "Moral-Rearmament in Papua, 1931-42. Oceania 54(3): 177-203.

historian Sandeen,⁶¹ the literal interpretation of Biblical prophecies was combined with a "pronounced sense of disillusionment with contemporary society and a kind of failure of nerve." The pre-millennialists who embraced the near Second Advent "abandoned confidence in man's ability to bring about significant and lasting social progress and the Church's ability to stem the tide of evil, convert mankind to Christianity, or even to prevent its own corruption" (idem:13).

Nineteenth century Fundamentalists were united on many viewpoints and identifications, such as Biblical inerrancy and the Pre-Millennial Second Advent, but internally the movement experienced a tension between two interpretive exegeses, termed Historicism and Futurism which framed respectively pessimistic and optimistic outlooks on the relation of the community of Christians to the wider society.

Henry Drummond, a prominent exegete, shared with Edward Irving the historicist views, believing that some Biblical prophecies had already been fulfilled, specifically, the first fifteen or so chapters of Revelations. The Historicists employed a system of Biblical exegesis which

61 Ernest R. Sandeen (1970). The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930, University of Chicago Press.

elaborated a '1 day = 1 year' interpretation of prophetic chronology. This was sustained as a heuristic rule by the mutually referential recapitulation of Daniel in Revelations. The historicists believed that Biblical prophecies were being fulfilled during their times.

After 1845, the Plymouth Brethren, under the leadership of John Nelson Darby, was the most important body of millenarian believers. These Futurists attacked the '1 year = 1 day' reckoning. They denied that fulfillment of Biblical prophecy was necessary prior to the Second Advent. They rejected the key heuristic rule of the Historicists that in the scriptural 'code' a day equals one year. That the Advent could be imminent, that the heuristic rule was not reliable, as demonstrated by man's failure to predict the date, placed the matter entirely in the hands of God.

Dispensationalism was an important new doctrinal element. The Futurists "believed that none of the events predicted in Revelations (following the first three chapters) had yet occurred, and that they would not occur until the end of this dispensation" (Sandeem ibid:14). Under the notion of dispensationalism, history was divided into distinct eras marked by different priesthoods, each with "a different economy of things"⁶² According to one exegesis,

62 Alexander Campbell, (1846). Millenial Harbinger, January, p. 2. In Sandeen 1970:68.

the great eras in mankind's history were marked by a different expression of God's will. Hence the Second Coming could be "any moment" coming. As Sandeen comments, "the expectation of the imminent Advent, with 'no obstacle in the way of Christ's return' as Darby puts it, proved to be one of the greatest attractions of dispensational theology" (1970:64).

Along with the older doctrine of the Premillennial Second Advent, Darby embraced a newer, and almost inaccessible, doctrine termed the "Secret Rapture". There would be two Advents, the first one public as in Matthew 24:27, and one secret, "an event sensible to those who participate in it". This doctrine is of the utmost importance in understanding the notions that the Plymouth Brethren held of themselves as a Christian community. According to Sandeen, the Brethren believed that the Church was "not any of the denominational or bureaucratic structures that historically and presently so claimed" (ibid.:62). Instead, the Church was viewed in terms of spiritual fellowship. In a metaphor often used by the SSEM, the true Church of fellowship is like a bride preparing herself for her marriage. As the literal historicists waned in the tide of futurism during the 1860s, a new heuristic rule for interpretive exegesis was introduced: being possessed by the Holy Spirit

was necessary to understand the Word. According to Sandeen, "one could, if taught by the Spirit, discover the truth and be ready for the coming Bridegroom" (idem:39).

The emphasis on spiritual fellowship, on the Church as it would be rather than was, would result in a general attitude of optimism and industrious preparation of "the Bride." The Church subsisted in a state of continual preparation, of circumspect morality, good cheer and vigorous Evangelism.

Futurism was accepted by most Millenarians from about the 1860s onwards, although it was always in a tension with Historicist tendencies. The Brethren contributed two organizational features to the millenarian and fundamentalist movement: Bible study groups were popularized if not originated in modern form by the Brethren worship. There was also new drive and impetus to foreign mission, and in America the Brethren were recognized as the inspiration for the ongoing Evangelical movement (idem:143). The ethos of the bride preparing for her husband-to-be combined with other elements to form a creed shared among all the latter nineteenth century millenarians, summarized by Sandeen (1970) as:

1. The literal and not simply spiritual fulfillment of prophecy

2. The gospel is not intended to save all the world, the world is increasingly corrupt and rushes to judgement
3. Jews to be restored to Palestine
4. Pre-millennial Second Advent
5. Scriptures prepare one to be ready for the Bridegroom.

The Victorian Evangelical emphasis on spreading Christian fellowship resulted in a number of undenominational Evangelical mission efforts. In the 1930s it was estimated that the 64 undenominational missions had staff which numbered well over 5,000, amounting to between one-fifth and one-fourth of the entire world missionary force, with commitments ranging in size from the China Inland Mission to many smaller efforts. In the Belgian Congo alone there were 44 missions, of which 24 were undenominational.⁶³⁾ There, the long tradition of millenarian movements are linked to this early Protestant mission presence.⁶⁴⁾

63 figures from G.K. Grubb (1938). "The Work of Undenominational Missions", International Review of Missions 27:497-505.

64 Particularly with respect to the Salvation Army. Cf. E. Andersson (1958). "Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo" Studia Ethnographica Upseliensia, XIV, Upsala.

An undenominational mission is one that corresponds to no defined denominational background, nor is it formed by the combined efforts of two or more denominations for the sake of joint effort. According to Grubb, the undenominational missions owed their existence to the "spontaneous flowering of an inspiration coming in the first instance to one individual, or at the most two or three, who have subsequently built up a body of supporters behind them without any reference to church affiliation" (ibid.:498). The writer states that

The greater flexibility of their methods of organization has allowed scope to the gifted and active evangelist, the man of marked natural talent and enthusiasm who does not always find a congenial place in the activities of more highly organized bodies. Their emphasis on vital spiritual principles, on the central truths of Christian experience, redemption, personal sacrifice and holiness of life has been of service to the whole mission cause. Their very undenominationalism has testified to the prior necessity of that background of mystical fellowship of Christian men in the experience of Christ from which all organizations must ultimately draw Christian significance, if they are to possess it at all (idem:499).

The problem of moving from the *communitas* of fellowship, to the community of institutional forms, is a central problem for the Christian faith. For Grubb, the lack of sustained theory of an indigenized Church among the undenominationals led to two expediences being applied "in situ, either a colorless congregationalism of the

mission hall type or a missionary dictatorship" (idem:501).

If these are structural flaws in the phenomenon of undenominational mission, we might find them present in the problem posed by the SSEM in the Marching Rule. The Marching Rule case demonstrates another possible outcome of indigenization: the formation of community around a core of Fundamentalist doctrine which was interpreted and promoted as the original, true Custom of the people, the origins of "Christian Kastom."

The undenominational missions had only precarious financial backing which limited the scope of their tactical commitment. The problem of sustaining a long-term presence involved securing adequately trained individuals and required commitments to hospital and educational overheads. In addition to technical knowledge, Grubb notes that a move into denominationalism also required knowledge of "the structure of primitive society and many other subjects" (idem:502).

Florence Young and the Queensland Kanaka Mission

The South Seas Evangelical Mission closely conforms to the pattern sketched by Grubb. Florence Young, its founder, was born into a prominent Plymouth Brethren family, the grand-daughter of Admiral Sir George Young. Her father, who had been the youngest judge in India, retired after

twelve years service, returned to England and converted to Christianity. He would not accept the pension, as he was convinced that he was "entirely dependant on God for his daily needs." Her family practiced simple Bible reading devotions in which there was no question as to the divine inspiration and authority of the Scriptures. Her family taught and believed in their separation from the world, and were "zealous of good works".⁶⁵⁾

Educated in England, Young grew up in New Zealand. She hated sewing and loved boys' games. By the age of eight she was the lady of the house because of an ailing mother. She gardened, kept hens, rode and read Walter Scott. In the mid-1870s she had doubts about being Christian which were dispelled when prayer averted a near-disaster at sea.

In 1882 Young's three brothers and two other gentlemen invested in plantation property in the rapidly expanding Queensland sugar industry. Fairymead plantation employed eighty laborers from the New Hebrides and the Solomons under three-year contracts. As Young recounts:

I am ashamed to say that I had never taken the smallest

65 Florence Young (1925). Pearls from the Pacific. Marshall Brothers, London: p. 14

interest in missions to the heathen. I thought the people in the Homelands were far more important. Yet, like many others who hold this view, I did nothing for the people at Home. But now God brought me for the first time into contact with men and women who had never heard of Christ, and for whom nothing was being done to teach them the way of salvation. And it seemed dreadful. I soon learned to love them. There is something very attractive about these South Sea Islanders. Merry, warm-hearted, and very responsive to kindness. Yet there was another and darker side. For they were men, not children. Men with fierce passions, who came from lands where savage murders and cannibalism were freely practiced. They acquired only too readily the white man's vices. Drinking, gambling, swearing and fighting were almost universal. (1925:39)

For four years, Florence Young conducted Sunday school on her plantation, beginning with "ten stalwart men" and the house-girl. It must be remembered that pidgin English had not yet developed into neo-Melanesian, and communication was difficult. She tacked to a wall a boldly printed John 3:16:

Pointing to the first word, the teacher said, "God"; the whole class repeated the word "God"; "So," "So"; "Loved," "Loved". Three words were enough to begin with. We would go over and over the same words til the scholars were quite sure of them. The first clause was read by the class. Then followed an attempt to explain this one clause in pigin English. Sentence by sentence the whole verse was thus taught. Each scholar was given a large-type New Testament, and the verse was underlined with red ink (1925:40).

Although the SSEM has often been criticised for limiting its educational effort to Bible reading,⁶⁶ the impact

66 cf. David Hilliard (1969). "The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands", Journal of Pacific History 4:43.

of literacy alone was later, in the Marching Rule, to have an immense effect on development. The following year Young extended her mission to other plantations and formed the Queensland Kanaka Mission with funds contributed by people, after the model of Hudson Taylor, responding to a circular letter covering the "facts and the need".

By the late 1890s the labourers were participating in mission services in droves. But numbers cannot tell the whole story. There can be no mistaking the deep and personal familiarity with Christian doctrines of the following sermon given by a Solomon Islander, on the text 2 Corinthians 5:17, and the atmosphere of fellowship which it conveys:

"Friends" said he, "Me want to speak today of what God say here. One time along Island we like bad things -- bows and arrows, spears and taku. We like fight, we like kill plenty. We plenty fright along devil-devil, but we no savee God. By-and-by we come along Queensland, we like all-same, fight, swear, drink grog; because heart belong us black, bad altogether -- these old things. / By-and-by we come to school. Master teach us God savee we poor sinners. God love us. He send Jesus to save us, to die along cross for us, and we must believe in Him. / Now, very good you come to Jesus. You take Him. You no good, but suppose you trust in Him, He wash heart belong you.

He forgive you because He die for you. He come, stop along your heart. He make you altogether new man by His Holy Spirit; then you no fight and drink and swear. You love one another. You like pray to God and read His word. 'All things are become

new'. / One thing more. You think suppose you come to school you all right? Suppose you savee about Jesus, that save you? No. Plenty white man savee Jesus along head, that no good -- We must believe in Jesus along heart, we must trust in Him and take Him for our Master. Jesus He good-fellow Master. We no strong, but Jesus, He plenty strong. He keep us. He no lose us -- we belong to Him. We ask Him teach us catch men, and bring them to Jesus. He love us plenty, and we love Him. / We no see Him now. By-and-by He come again, and then we see Him. Mrs Deck, she stop along Sidney. We no see her, but all same we savee she stop there. By-and-by she come here, we look along face belong her, we very glad. All-same Jesus. We no see Face belong Him yet, but we savee all-same He stop along Heaven-- by-and-by He come, we look along Face belong Him, and then we plenty glad!" (Young's emphases, idem:108).

From 1890 to 1900, Florence Young delegated the QKM responsibilities and, under the influence of Hudson Taylor, served with the China Inland Mission until the Boxer Rebellion. Her widespread contacts with other millenarians in the English-speaking world had important consequences in fund-raising and developing a practice of undenominational mission.

Meanwhile, in Queensland, the Melanesian plantation laborers were enthusiastic. Once, over a hundred were baptized in a large 'Bethesda' type service. Mr Southwick recalled,

Sitting in the North Bundaberg Hall, with over two hundred eager happy faces in front, one had a glimpse of what the joy and satisfaction of the Lord will be when His bride shall have made herself ready and shall be presented faultless before the presence

of His glory with exceeding joy (1925:108).

When at the turn of the century, the prominence of the island labour contingent and their integration into the society stirred a nativist political policy for a "White Australia", the mission responded to the need for ministration in the islands, poising itself to follow the islanders back to their homes as the South Sea Evangelical Mission.

Prior to the repatriation, some Queensland converts, notably Peter Ambuofa and Benjamin Footaboury of Malaita, had established Christian settlements there upon the expiry of their labour contracts, and they were eager for the missionaries to come.

Summing up the accomplishments of the GKM in Australia on the eve of the repatriation of the island labourers in 1907, Young wrote that 11 mission centers throughout Queensland had employed 19 European missionaries. Thousands of islanders attended Bible reading classes. Over 2,400 were converted and baptized, a quarter of whom were Malaitans. A hundred or so qualified as native teachers, and they held forth at classes held under missionary supervision. After operations transferred to the islands, an additional 3,700 baptisms would be conducted by 1924 (Young 1925:181;245).

The preceding material helps support the contention

that the motive to engage in Mission lay in the search for spiritual fellowship, the factor which united the nineteenth century millenarian impulse. It was only secondarily sanctioned by the commission of Matthew 23:18-20. The SSEM sprang from the Futurist orientation of preparing the Bride of Christ rather than a Historicist orientation of hastening the after-times.

One of the elements of Christian doctrine disseminated in Malaita by the millenarians of the QKM was the very idea of an incipient institution. The image of the Bride of Christ preparing herself, awaiting her Rapture into Heaven, is the very picture of a liminal state of social and moral being. Spiritual fellowship -- as it was projected into the "any-moment" future -- constituted a set of ideal social relations with which moral men engaged. The Evangelical dogmas centered critically on selected strategies of discourse production. These were employed in the individual's active justification through language of his acceptance of these relations, and through his conduct by living them and through his acknowledgement of the Basic Dogma (John 3:16), which was institutionalized in a unique illocutionary format: the "acceptance" of Christ's sacrifice for the atonement of man's sin.

The 'any-moment' coming of the Bridegroom maintained

the feelings of fellowship engendered by rhetorically identifying the community of believers as collectively the Bride, waiting in a state of suspension for the Secret Rapture. In this state of engaged *communitas*, the believer's relation to the world was carried forth in complete accord with the 'natural law' of Holy Scripture, and guided as to its correct interpretive exegesis, through direct communication with the Holy Spirit.

Chapter 7. Millenarian Futurism: the extension of the Social Gospel

The metaphor of preparing the Bride was a mystical expression of a general sentiment growing in acceptance across the Protestant world variously termed "Broad Churchmanship, muscular Christianity, Christian Socialism and Liberal Evangelicalism," otherwise known as the social gospel.⁶⁷⁾

Long recognized by historians as the most potent modern influence on the Protestant church in north America, social gospelism undergirt the mainstream impetus to social reform during the Progressive period,⁶⁸⁾ and was the spiritual forerunner of the desegregation struggles of the late 1950s⁶⁹⁾ as well as the social activism of both today's 'liberation theology' and the 'New Right.'⁷⁰⁾ The social

67 Ronald C. White Jr. and C. Howard Hopkins (1976) The Social Gospel. Religion and Reform in Changing America. Temple University Press, Philadelphia: 190.

68 c.f. Richard Hofstadter (1955) The Age of Reform. Knopf, New York.

69 Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., "Letter from the Birmingham Jail", Christian Century, June 12, 1963:768.

70 The ideological bifurcation of Social Gospelism cannot be treated here. For a 'liberal' view, cf. Stephen C. Mott (1982) Biblical Ethics and Social Change. Oxford University Press, NY. One spokesman for the 'New Right' ties religious involvement to politics in these dogmatic terms: "Separation of Church and State does not mean separation of God from society. Religious liberty does not mean bondage to secularism. Rather, the historic position of religious nonconformity is one of spiritual confrontation with society". Jerry Falwell (ed.) (1981) The Fundamentalist Phenomenon. Doubleday-Galilee, Garden City, New York: 55.

gospel was never an organized movement, rather it was "a network of movements operating in different contexts. Those individuals connected with its ideology worked through ongoing religious and secular organizations" (White & Hopkins 1976:xviii). Its unifying features came from shared attitudes about the nature of religious life. The social gospellers emphasized God's nature as loving father, that the evils of the day were not part of His divine plan and so in principle were correctable. The right relationship between men was brotherly love, the essence of the Christian belief.

Brotherly love was the principle upon which all the social activism of the gospellers was based. There was a new interpretation of the Kingdom of God. It was not to be the reward to come of a pious life, but was to be erected on Earth within historical time, a perfect human society reflecting God's love, justice and mercy. An example in British Columbia of this widespread millenarian attitude was that of Rev. A.E. Cook in 1909: "God's kingdom was the goal of all history and the chief duty of the modern Church was 'to bring men and women to God and then send them out to establish his kingdom in this City -- to make Vancouver a City of God.'" ⁷¹⁾

71 in Sheila Mosher (1975) "The Social Gospel in British Columbia", University of Victoria Masters Thesis: 11).

These religious doctrines led to a sociological analysis, the point of novelty with respect to the social gospel and the mainstream religions. The notion of sin was extended from being a condition of a fallen individual to its being a property of social institutions (cf. Hutchison 1941:85-6). God could not condemn personal theft without also condemning the corporate theft of trusts and combines. He could not condone temperance while also condoning "liquor interests" and the proliferation of saloons, gambling, cocaine and prostitution.

The social gospellers recognized that man's social environment was a factor in the formation or deformation of his character. They introduced an emphasis on sociology and principles of social work into the training of ministers, acting to alter the social environment on two fronts, relief work and advocacy of "remedial legislation". In British Columbia for example, the social gospellers established "church supported rescue homes, hostels, downtown missions, child-care centers, and the hiring of a social worker by the Methodist conference for the city of Vancouver" (Mosher 1975:52). On the legislative front, "blue laws" including sabbath anti-desecration and Prohibition were its most significant accomplishments during the Progressive period. After the decade of hiatus during the 1920's,

many gossellers found themselves allies of the interests of 'industrial democracy,' municipal health and safety, anti-trust, women's suffrage, improved race relations, and many other aspects of the social reform agenda, in a manner which transcends both theological labels and the liberal-conservative continuum (c.f. White and Hopkins, Pt. IV - V).

The Federal Council in America

Organization of the social gospelism in the United States was coordinated by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, founded in 1905, and which held its first general conference representing 33 denominations in 1908. Among the goals of a declaration which issued from this conference was:

To secure a larger combined influence for the Churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life (Hutchison 1941:36).

By 1940, 22 denominations whose nominal membership was almost 25 million were affiliated with the Federal Council. Its church membership was one of "amazing stability" (idem:57).⁷² During the 1920s its budget increased to almost a half

72 denominations included Northern Baptist Convention, Congregational and Christian Churches, Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Church, Evangelical Reformed Church, Friends, Methodist Church, African Methodist Episcopal Church, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Moravian Church, Presbyterian Church in the USA, Protestant Episcopal Church, Reformed Church in America, Reformed Episcopal Church, Seventh Day Baptist Churches, Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church of North America, United Church of Canada (affiliated body), United Brethren Church, United Presbyterian Church, United

million dollars, but this would be halved through the depression years.

As early as 1908, the Federal Council concerned itself with problems of immigration, Negro welfare and Oriental, Mexican and Native American problems. It carried out programs of social research, particularly into labor conditions which had resulted in industrial disputes. The churches' duty, "was to cast the searchlight of truth upon social institutions" (idem:125).

The Federal Council, associated with the International Missionary Council, promoted international ecumenicalism. In the 1920s this was primarily addressed to Europeans and post-war relief. International ecumenical efforts, however, remained an endeavor primarily influenced by English-speaking churchmen. At their world conference on "Church, Community and the State" in 1937, 300 of the 425 delegates were from American or British Empire denominations. The delegation from the German Evangelical Church was forbidden to attend by the Nazi government (1941:249).

In view of the Federal Council's broad denominational representation, doctrine was always a point of contention, and the Lutherans split with the Council over an alleged lack of interest in personal faith and salvation. The Federal Council viewed the problem in terms of "how to

make Jesus Christ the Lord of every human life and of all of life -- this was the primary concern of all and in that concern they found themselves no longer separated groups but like one family of Christ The sure way of getting together is to work together on the basis of such unity as we already have" (in Hutchison 1941:79). Generally, social gossellers assailed the modernist notion that religion was a purely individual matter and unconcerned with the social order and its problems.

The Council's effort has always been an attempt to mediate between these two ideas, to show that all worthy social service must be rooted and grounded in personal religion, and that conversely, any personal religion which is consistent with itself must issue in social judgement and action (idem:82).

In 1924, a Federal Council official addressed himself directly to social institutions, saying that they "might conceivably be converted They are not to be destroyed, they are not to be torn down, they are to be converted ... filled with a new spirit" (in Hutchison 1941:86). The Federal Council portrayed its role in social life as one of "Kingdom-building" (1941:86). The doctrines of social gospelism and its political arm, the Federal Council, were Calvinist in origin. The purpose of life was to realize the will of God on earth, beginning in America.

The Federal Council had a direct impact, through

the American servicemen, on Sisili's Federal Council movement. However, can any link be established with this general American development of social gospelism and the SSEM prior to the Marching Rule period? The following table summarizes the revenue data from those SSEM annual reports that are available to me (Yale University, School of Divinity Library).

TABLE 4.
Contributions to SSEM from USA and Canada
(SSEM annual reports)

<u>year</u>	<u>amount (£)</u>	<u>Total Collections (£)</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Total Revenues (£)</u>
1918-9	22	3114	< 1	3352
1919-20	158	2610	6	2750
1927-8	696	5394	13	6383
1937-8	n/a	6700	n/a	11,000
1939-40	n/a	4200	n/a	6750

It is evident that through the 1920s the SSEM's fundraising activities had a strong impact in the United States and Canada. Over the decade from 1919 to 1928, donations from North America went from less than 1 percent of revenues to 13 percent, which if not impressive in dollar terms, is at least impressive with respect to the rate of growth. Also noteworthy is the drop in offerings which was widely experienced by social gospellers in the movement's hiatus after World War I. Donations in 1920 were only 80% of those of 1919. Hilliard provides a footnote which shows that in the late 1930s, as the world depression set in, the mission's viability was sustained by legacies, £4,300

in 1937-8 and £2,500 in 1939-40 (Hilliard 1969:58). There was an even larger financial dependence on American Fundamentalist Christians on the part of another social gospel mission at work during this time in Papua New Guinea.⁷³⁾

Social Gospelism in the United States of America and Papua was in its origins, in some respects at least, convergent with that of the SSEM. A key element of the Social Gospel issued from an exegesis of Holy Scriptures, which extended the concept of sin from a condition of a fallen individual to a property of worldly institutions. In America, Social Gospellers found institutional sin in the exploitation of labor, in slums, saloons, crime, malnutrition, racism and the spiritual poverty of a society devoted exclusively to the achievement of material rather than ethical ends. In Melanesia, the Kwato Mission and, as I will show in the following chapter, the South Sea Evangelical Mission both sought similar aims of social reform in the context of the indigenous cultural framework.

What I have attempted to foreground in this chapter is the general nature of a widespread popular movement

73 David Wetherell and Charlotte Carr-Gregg (1984) "Moral Re-Armament in Papua, 1931-42". Oceania 54(3):177-203.

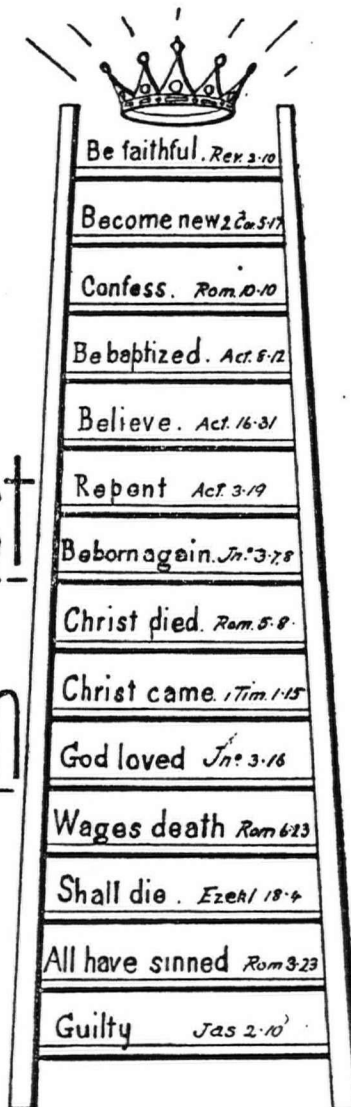
termed the Social Gospel. This was an intensification of religious consciousness, as well as the religious conscience. It sought to apply, to widespread secular problems, the organizational and ideological strength of the churches. The object of social gospelism was to create a better world by energizing secular and economic institutions through the active exercise of the Christian character. Fueling the social gospel was a new optimism generated by millenarian Futurist ambitions of creating the Kingdom of God on earth.

Although brotherly love proved to be too nebulous a basis, and the churches too poor an institutional locus, for building a comprehensive and achievable social program, the notion that the Christian church should be an activist institution as well as an exemplary one provided moral energies and a millenarian vision of a better life to come. The Social Gospel thus suffused the social and political climate of the entire twentieth century.

FROM A MISSION ALBUM

The following materials are selected from photographs published in Not in Vain, the SSEM periodical, the numbers of which appear in the bibliography, and from Young's autobiography, Pearls from the Pacific (1925).

Ye
must
Salvation
in



Yours in glad service
Florence P. H. Young.



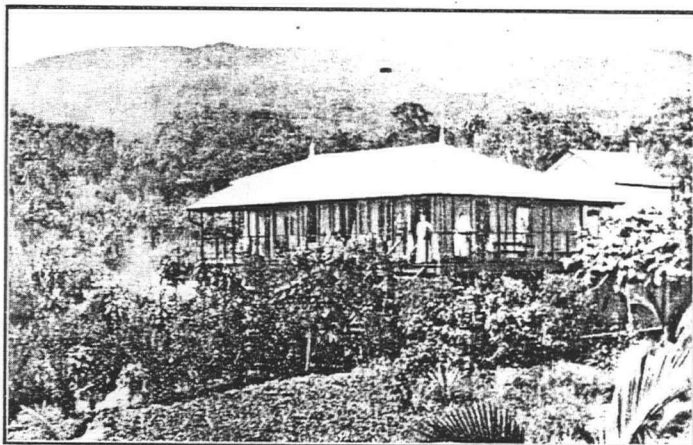
Group of Missionaries at One Pusu Convention.

Back Row (left to right): C. Deck, M. Ellem, N. C. Deck, L. Drewett, M. Grant, J. Deck, A. Neil, L. Humphreys, R. Humphreys, D. MacMillan.
 Middle: A. Macdonald, L. Waite, W. Mallis, K. Deck, R. McBride, M. McBride, J. Waite.
 Front: J. Wilson, V. Sullivan, L. Gordon, S. Brown.

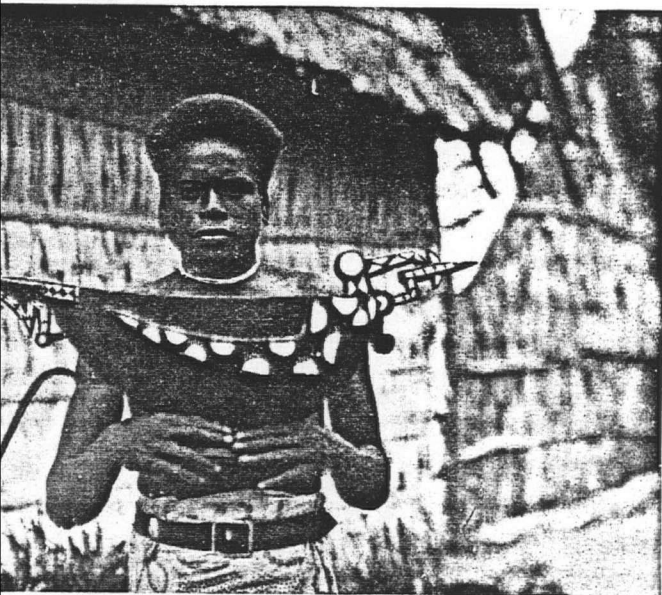


MISSIONARIES AT ONE PUSU, 1920.

Left to right: Mrs. N. Deck, Miss C. Deck, Mrs. Stewart (visitor), Miss K. Deck, Mr. McBride, Mrs. McBride, Mr. Macky, Miss McGregor, Miss Sullivan, Mr. Rutter, Mr. Peters.

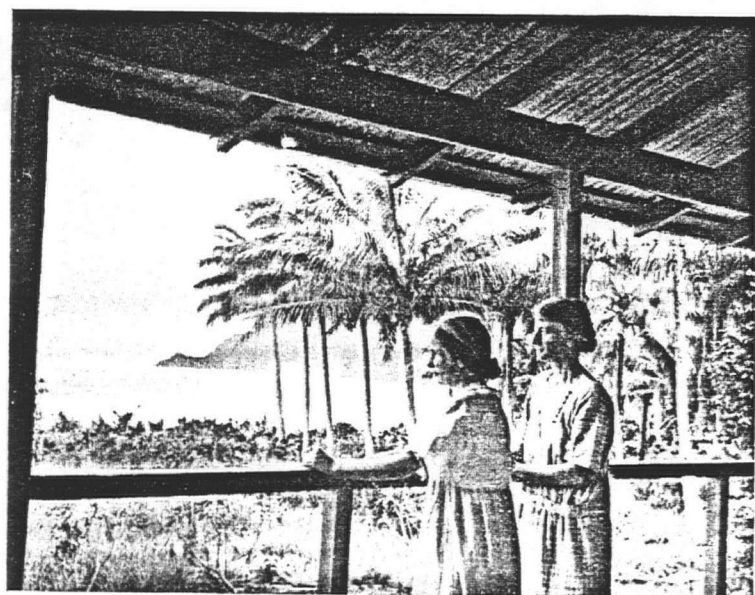


MISSION HOUSE, WANONI.



BOY WITH FOOD BOWL.

Carved out of solid block of wood. Note inlaid mother-of-pearl.

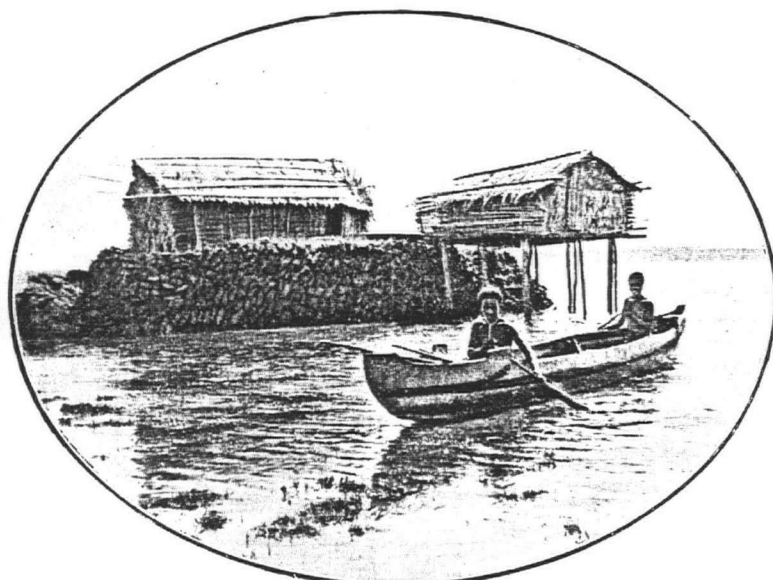


VIEW FROM VERANDAH.

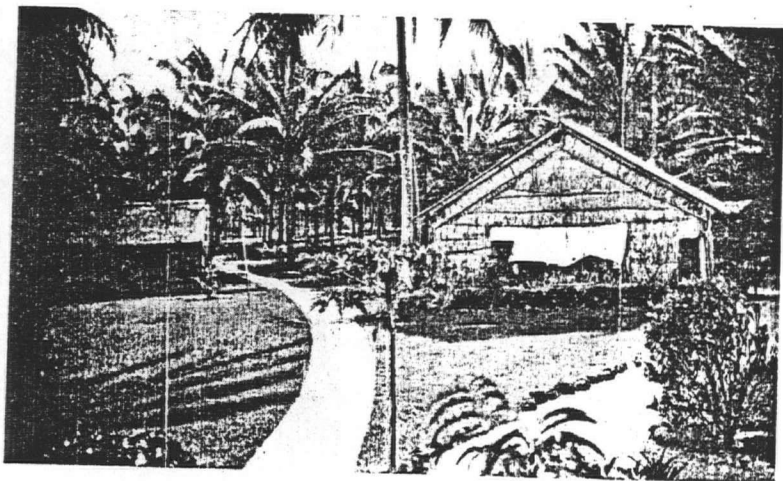
Nurse Clarke and Miss Spedding, who carried on the School after Mrs. McMillan's death.



PAUKI ISLAND IN LANGA-LANGA LAGOON.



AN ARTIFICIAL ISLAND IN LAGOON.



H. Young.

Baunani Church and Hospital.



PIRI and POLLY.

Rescued at Uhu from Cannibal Feast. See p. 185.



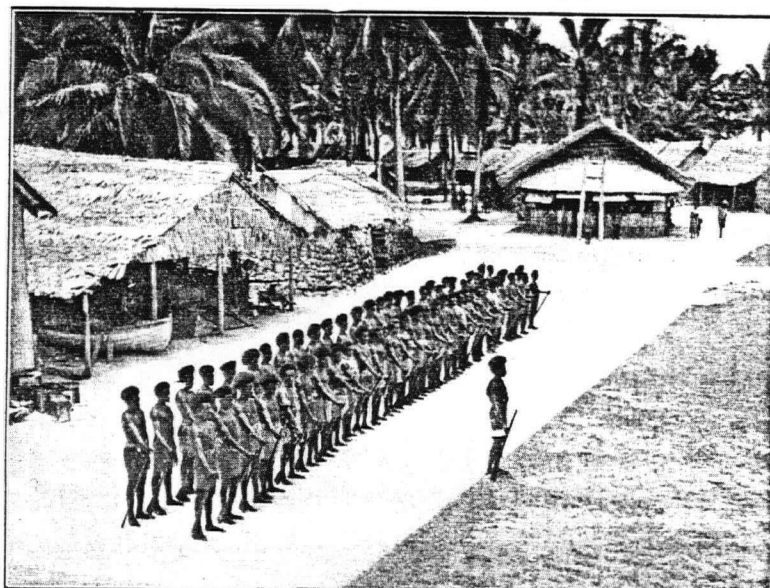
SCHOOL AT BINA, LANGA-LANGA LAGOON.



A SCHOOLROOM AT ONE PUSU.



BAPTISM AT INAKONA. See p. 202.



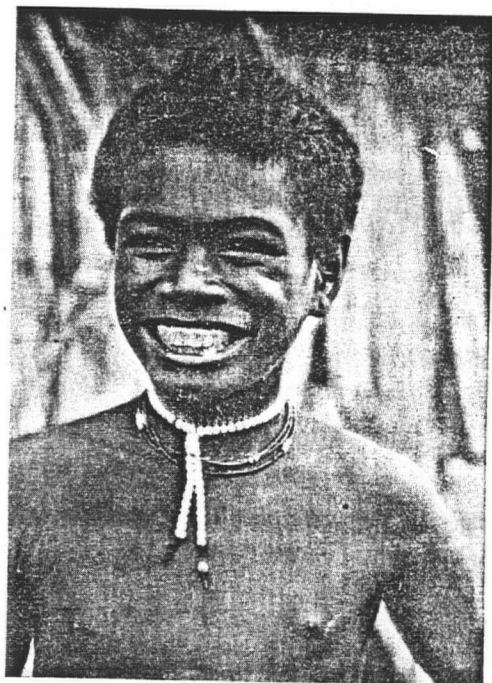
ROLL-CALL, ONE PUSU.



MARY, HOPE AND RUTH AT ONE PUSU.
Hope (Jessie) and Ruth are Rhoda's Children, pp. 189, 227.



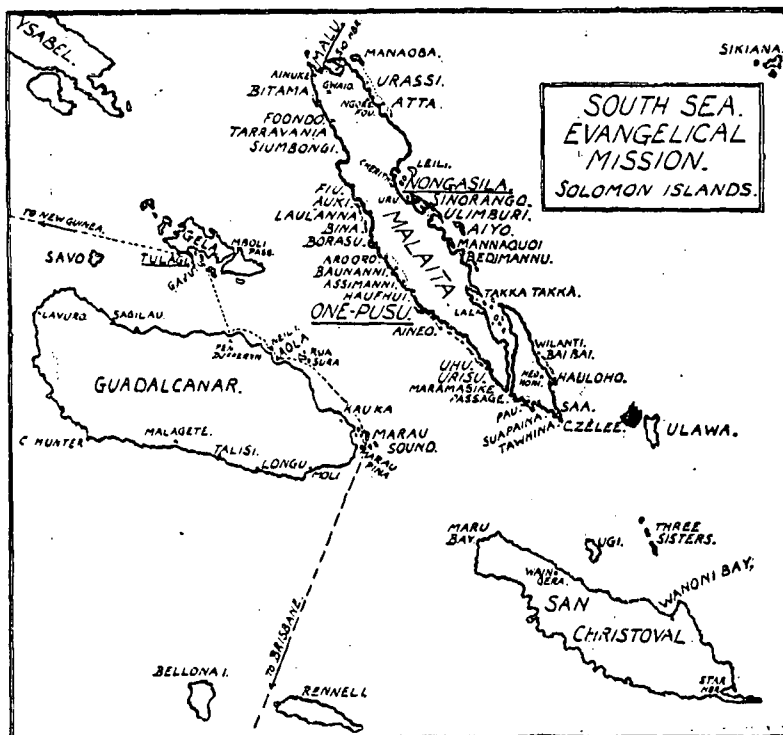
TWO TEACHERS.



A HAPPY SCHOOLBOY AT ONE PUSU.



WILD BUSHMEN, MALAITA.
Note old men on platform and notched stick ladder.



Scale 45 miles to the inch—The Solomons lie as far north as New Guinea, but 600 miles to the east.

Missionaries.

ONE PUSU:

Miss Deek (absent)
Miss Sullivan
Miss C. Deek
Miss C. Young
Miss L. Gordon
Mr. Peters
Mr. Rutter (pro tem)

MAJAT:

Miss Waterston

WAISUSU:

Mr. and Mrs. McBride

INAKONA:

Mr. Macky

WANONI:

Mr. and Mrs. McMillan.
Miss McGregor

STAR HARBOUR:

Mr. Norman Deek (absent)
Mr. Stewart (pro tem)

"EVANGEL":

Dr. Northcote Deek
Miss Joann Deek (pro tem)

Donations should be made payable to Hon. Secretary, S.S. Evangelical Mission, Gibbs' Chambers, 17 Martin Place, Sydney.

1921

Chapter 8. The South Sea Evangelical Mission on Malaita

In this chapter I will formulate the problem posed by the SSEM with respect to native development issues, previously discussed in Chapter 2 in terms of government's perspective. I will begin by addressing Hilliard's depiction of the "foundation years" of the SSEM, and show by examining the mission's social development policy, that his analysis is incomplete. It is said that the policy furthered by the mission was one in which acculturation was total and cultural continuities almost nil. However, the mission also furthered a policy of rapid indigenization of the church.

The Problem of SSEM Christianity

Most commentators on the SSEM have tended to share David Hilliard's view of it as deeply conservative in social outlook; the Evangelicals were exclusively concerned with individual salvation and applying a dogmatic, Biblical literalism. From the outset, Hilliard states, "no educational, medical or social work was permitted to overshadow the essential religious duty ... succinctly summed up in the dictum, 'salvation before education or civilization'."⁷⁴ Northcote

74 The 'dictum' is by Florence Young, the founder of the Queensland Kanaka Mission, which became the SSEM in 1904. In David Hilliard (1969). "The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands." Journal of Pacific History. 4:43.

Deck, an SSEM administrator and Scriptural exegete, as late as 1942 voiced a doctrine seemingly unchanged from that of the mission's inception: "Service, however exalted, is after all but a byproduct of Christian life. The main, the highest, function is fellowship."⁷⁵ Politically, the Evangelicals' alleged detachment from social concerns was reflected in an aloof stance toward the affairs of the Protectorate. Unlike the Anglicans, Hilliard states that the mission "was not interested in applying political pressure either locally or in the homelands." Further, "friction with government officials was rare, and Malaita saw none of the furious conflicts which embittered the western Solomons where the dominant Methodist mission saw itself as the protector of the whole society" (Hilliard 1969:59).

Now, the notion that the SSEM leadership was oblivious to political issues can be sustained only if their local activities are ignored and if 'politics' is restricted to the management of the BSIP. With regard to native affairs, at the village level, the SSEM furthered attitudes of aggressive social change, although in a direction according

75 Northcote Deck (1942). We Beheld His Glory. Loizeaux Brothers, New York. p. 26-7.

to a 'standard Anthropological' interpretation (cf. Williams, Rivers, Keesing) of culture-wrecking: it took the form of strict views on abstinence, tobacco, betel, dancing, musical instruments, feast-giving, ancestor worship, childbirth taboos and bride-price. In Keesing's opinion, it was "puritanical iconoclasm that made SSEM villages gloomy and lifeless" (ibid:14). Most likely Keesing is referring to the atmosphere of post-Marching Rule Christian communities within his ethnographic experience, rather than to that engendered by the Futurist orientation of the SSEM of the 1920s and 1930s, which was anything but lifeless.

Organizationally, the SSEM actively encouraged the indigenization of native churches which resulted in "a degree of autonomy at the local level which other missions in the Solomons found difficult or impossible to achieve" (Hilliard, 1969:60). The highly autonomous native village congregations throughout the twenties and thirties were entrusted with evangelical work in the island interior. Their evangelism was geared mainly towards demonstrating the greatness of Christian spiritual power over that of the akalo which were pidginized as 'devil-devils'. In the early decades, this included desecrating ancestral shrines and ceremonies -- provocations for which the pagans

had no remedy once pacification had removed the 'War-Maker' (ramo) option of force. The pidgin word for pagan was ukita - "wicked". Christians were taught that they must encourage making a complete break not only with a pagan life, but with all of pagan culture viewed as the regime of Satan. At the local level of activity, friction with the government and its agents, who were concerned to preserve native custom, was early and common. I have quoted Edge-Partington, the first District Officer to be stationed on Malaita with respect to this viewpoint on page 45 in Chapter 1.

What was the stance of the SSEM toward the social welfare and political development of Malaitans? Unless its redemptive doctrine of personal salvation and active emphasis on "quiet times" supportive of a detached, Christian fellowship must collide with its apparent practice of encouraging radical and provocative social change, that is, unless its doctrine and practice are together inconsistent, I submit that Hilliard's analysis of the mission's doctrine and social practice is incomplete. The total break with pagan culture sought by the Evangelicals stemmed from their belief that the Bible was "a most practical handbook for living"⁷⁶⁾ and could instill new habits of social

76 Alison Griffiths, Fire in the Islands. Harold Shaw, Wheaton, Illinois. 1977:71.

life that would assure community, not simply individual salvation.

The SSEM's social policy

We may categorize a mission's social service agenda in terms of its commitment to assisting those in need, by delivering primary education and medical care, furthering social justice, relieving hardship, and laying down the basis for a desirable degree of economic growth. At this point I will discuss a few of these, specifically the areas of literacy, health services, the elevation of women's status, and industrialisation.

Literacy

The SSEM social policy as it developed directly from the Fundamentalist doctrines of Biblical literalism, was founded upon literacy training. The sentences found in the Bible were the Basic Doctrine upon which could be built the Kingdom of God on Earth. The first social action of the SSEM was to enable the indigenes to "feed themselves" on Scripture, and the second, to induct believers, those who accepted the Basic Dogma of John 3:16, into the new social relations which were requisite to the ideal standing of the Bride of Christ relative to the Bridegroom. The Christians thus brought with them a new modality of social

diagnostics based on an indigenously new form of discourse. This strategy of interpretation consisted of deriving experimental sentences, i.e., propositions about the world and about human relationships, from the written sentences of Holy Scripture, sentences which functioned axiomatically as a Basic Doctrine of belief. Their notion of education was consistent with that of Social Gospelism in general: not simply intellectual development, but education of character was the principal means to social progress (cf. Hutchison 1941:51).

For example, Allison Griffiths describes how smoking and betel chewing was addressed at an SSEM Malu'u conference in 1936:

In a community based on sharing, the use of these drugs led to deceit, resentment, hoarding and stealing. The Malu'u Christians had a deep sense of guilt and condemnation that they were powerless to break the grip of these cravings. Behind these two drugs were spirit forces (as mentioned [sic] in Ephesians 6:12) binding them with this addiction. Seeing this quite clearly, the leaders bound the spirit forces in the name of Jesus Christ and in the power of His victory at Calvary. Alan then spoke, with the very presence of Christ radiant upon him. Everybody knew that God was speaking to them. The message was clear and the Spirit convinced them. The church experienced an amazing and lasting relief, far beyond what many thought possible....

Note that it is the church which experiences the relief, not its constituent members. That individuals gave up

tobacco and betel was the result of a collective moment of experience. And the significance of this, the 'relief', is to be found not in terms of the individual but collectively, in the preparation of the community, the Bride of Christ rather than its constituent members individually, for the coming Bridegroom.

The process of social diagnostics revealed is one in which a problem of living, the weakness of flesh and blood with respect to control of the passions, is submitted to the axiomatic workings of a sentence in the New Testament Book of Ephesians which acts as a premise. An explanatory sentence is deduced which posits that a successful struggle against tobacco and betel dependency is "not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the powers of this dark world" We may express this sentence as "All who smoke and chew betel are under the power of Satan".

New consequences of the explanatory sentence are deductively derived by the way of the following argument. Given the BD (John 3:16) as a further premise, one infers that using these drugs blocked the path to eternal life and must be eradicated to assure preparation for the Bridegroom. Now, there are instances in the Basic Doctrine (the body of inerrant sentences named the 'Bible') in which powers

and authorities are "bound" and cast out of the afflicted, by using a specific illocutionary format (cf. the Book of Acts, which Northcote Deck says may as well have been titled 'Acts of the Holy Spirit'). The final premise is that the Christians could invoke the Holy Spirit by using this format and drive out the powers of evil. The processes of reasoning detailed here result in the experimental sentence that driving out the powers will cure tobacco and betel dependency.

The experimental sentence so formulated is then subjected to empirical verification. So far, the process is identical to that which obtains in a typical natural science. But in the logic of religion, because of the moral referents of its premises and hypotheses and the isomorphy of these referents to actually lived social relationships, there is some mutual validation occurring between the action of assertion that something is true and the fact that it is. This challenges the assumptions of the "intellectualist approach" which would argue that actions are rooted in beliefs. The relevant 'beliefs' cannot be considered as contingent, "synthetic" assertions about the world, but exist as interpretive semiotic structures as presented above, which incorporate beliefs and actions as an irreducible unity in the context of religious discourse. However,

to press further on this point involves us deeper than we are prepared to go in the philosophy of language, and we must defer discussing the nature of such "illocutionary formats" as "binding" the evil spirits "in the name of Jesus Christ", and be satisfied here that they demonstrably exist and operate in the social process, and furthermore, were a mission product due to the emphasis on primary education and written language.

Health policy

Florence Young's admonitions against smoking, drinking, swearing and fighting demonstrate an awareness of the influence of social habit upon the individual in his struggle to live a Godly way of life. To aid the individual in his struggle against sin, the authority of the mission, as a generative source of experimental sentences, was brought to bear against these specific forms of conduct. Although 'sin' seems to be appreciated in terms of its presence in the form of collective habit, the term 'institutional sin' was not used by the SSEM as it was by Social Gospellers in America. All the ingredients are necessarily there, however, vested in the doctrine that the non-Christian social order was the regime of Satan, upon whose ruins the millenarians would build the Kingdom of God on earth. The SSEM should be considered as a Social Gospel mission

whose social policies issued as much from humanitarian concerns as from religious precepts.

A look at SSEM budget figures reveals something of the mission's social service priorities (Table 4), and raises the question of the scope of the mission's health care efforts. In the matter of health care services, Hilliard's negative portrayal of the SSEM cannot be sustained as an argument for the mission's alleged lack of humanitarian concern summed up in Young's comment, "Salvation before education or civilization," which in context, is an assertion of pedagogical technique. Hilliard, in fact, joins those theorists who may be stood upon their heads for arguing that the SSEM had an undeveloped concern on indigenous health issues. Hilliard's attitude emerges from the dogmas of centralized, technologically-oriented Western medicine, with its emphasis on spending and tertiary care facilities. But the SSEM, in keeping with its general policy of rapid indigenization and decentralization, followed a different path.

There is much year-to-year variation in the mission's expenditures in various cost categories, but we must at the outset deal with the data available on purchase of medicines. The SSEM may have made larger purchases of medicines in other years whose annual reports are unavailable

to me, nor do the reports include the mission's carry-over of inventory. So, I must work with the available figures -- that the SSEM expenditure for medicine was a miniscule 2 percent of discretionary expenditures through the 1920s.

TABLE 5.
Selected SSEM budget items
as percentage of yearly expenditures
(SSEM annual reports)

<u>item</u>	<u>1919</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1928</u>
Total Expenditures (£)	3,352	2,750	6,350
Discretionary ⁷⁷ as % of Total	40%	60%	49%
Items as % of all discretionary expenditures:			
Missionaries	63%	57%	63%
Native Teachers	13	6	2
Mission station wages	13	14	17
Bibles & text books	7	20	16
Medicines	4	2	2

Now the magnitude of the budget item is only an approximal measure of the mission's health care commitment. The SSEM actually spent more money on medicines than it did

77 excludes passages, overheads, repairs and plant

on Bibles in the year 1919. And, if it is true as Ivan Illich contends, that every dollar spent on tertiary care facilities in the third world at the expense of infrastructural development including water and sanitation facilities, and primary health education, condemns thousands to an early grave,⁷⁸⁾ then a much stronger alternative model of general social development which includes elevating conditions of general health, can be discerned in the actions of the SSEM. With their emphasis on building community came an emphasis on sanitation and cleanliness. All the missions furthered these elements of Christian 'conduct' which were consistent with government's developmental policy.

The SSEM operated clinics and dispensaries at its central stations, though not perhaps to the magnitude of other missions. However, Northcote Deck was a doctor, and for many years he and others traveled aboard the mission ketch 'Evangel,' calling at the many Christian enclaves that surrounded the island, to supervise mission teachers, officiate over baptisms and administer medicines and primary care services.

78 Ivan Illich (1978), Toward a History of Needs. Pantheon, NY.

There was a high incidence of morbidity and a frightful death rate in the coastal villages. "Their cemeteries are literally full of children" Ivens wrote in 1927, "there is no mother at Fou 'Ia who has not lost one child, while several told me they had lost three" (1927:47, 123). Traditionally, Malaitan populations lived in the high bush or on artificial islands in the lagoons, out of the range of the anopheles mosquito, but the coastal communities were located in well-known malarial zones and their people also suffered from yaws, hookworm and tropical skin ulcer. These latter may be held in check by periodic primary care using injections and inexpensive drugs. But, there was no remedy for the prevailing malaria, as missions and government well knew.

The indigenization of health care notions is generally instructive on Malaitan Christian syncretism. As introduced above in Chapter 5, the indigenous notion of the etiology of illness was directly linked to retribution from the agalo for moral infractions. The tenacity of these notions among the Christians was responsible for some outstanding examples of syncretism, and here there are some points common to the SSEM and the "Zionist" pattern of African independent churches, where "healing, speaking in tongues, purification rites and taboos are the major expressions of the faith" (Sundkler [1948] 1961:53-5). As among the

Zulu, there was a good deal of casting out of demons among SSEM Christians, in which "teams" of men empowered by the Holy Spirit prayed for and laid their hands upon the afflicted (cf. Griffiths 1977:114-15, 179-81, 196). The demons were experienced as an "evil inner voice" which was combatted by the fellowship of love and by repeating memorized verses of Scripture (Griffiths 1977:196). Griffiths is enthusiastic about these elements of practice, which were present in the fully indigenized South Sea Evangelical Church (formed from the SSEM in the 1950s) as late as 1970, when such teams were working among the last remaining southern pagan enclaves, at which time the pagans surrendered to them en masse leaf bundles of personally protective "fetishes" (Griffiths 1977:180), which is reminiscent of events in the lower Congo of the 1920s and 1930s (cf. Andersson 1958).

It may be, in terms of undenominational Fundamentalism, that such practices are not considered 'syncretic' at all. It is not clear to what extent the earlier SSEM missionaries endorsed such practices. SSEM activities in assisting the injured and the sick received prominence in Griffith's internal history of the mission. Thus it was not for lack of effort or humanitarian concern that the SSEM may not receive the highest marks in the field

of health according to a 'medical' model of adequate services. Their efforts were framed by their commitments to eradicating cultural habits which were degenerative of health, to addressing the emotional/spiritual causes of illness as experienced by the sufferer, and by their commitment to primary medical care delivered by periodic visits of a physician to population centers. So, there may be a larger commitment to health care that is not reflected in the budget figures, which in monetary terms is spread across upkeep and maintenance of the 'Evangel', Deck's expenses, and the wages of SSEM station health care workers as well as medicine expenditures. The total commitment of the mission to health issues could, therefore, be a considerable portion of expenditure, and might have been more evident had the SSEM accountants budgeted by function rather than cost category. Moreover, SSEM health policies, if lagging behind the other missions (an allegation which I have not attempted to verify) were at least ahead of the Protectorate. Ivens states, "Up til 1927 no attempt was made by the Government to institute a medical oversight of the natives in their islands" (1927:47). By 1934 there were only 5 Protectorate doctors, two engaged exclusively by commercial firms, one working at a mission hospital on Malaita, and one at the new government hospital at

Tulagi (Hogbin 1939:138).

The other, Hogbin states, was traveling around the islands but "his work is often seriously interrupted since he may be called upon to act as a relieving District Officer." Hogbin cannot be referring to Deck, whom he may not have viewed as a "qualified medical doctor;" the two disagreed strongly with one another on a number of points with respect to native social policy.⁷⁹⁾

Women and social justice

The SSEM was firmly entrenched as the dominant Christian sect on Malaita by the early 1930s, and this position had much to do with the receptivity to Christianity of island women. Most of the SSEM missionaries were women.

However, Peter Ambuofa's first new converts had been women prior to the coming of the white missionaries, so the role of the missionaries' sex in the patterns of conversion is ambiguous. The serious differential in status between men and women in pagan culture, marked by rigid childbirth and menstrual taboos as well as notions of women as disposable property, measured in value by strings of tafuliae, were key issues addressed continuously by the Christians.

79 see their correspondence on bride-price in Oceania V:242-5, 368-370, 488-9.

Much of what is known about the indigenous SSEM practices is contained in Allison Griffith's sometimes lurid descriptions (ibid.). An expectant mother was confined, in heathen custom, to solitary seclusion from the time of the first signs of labor to a month after parturition, and traditions such as this were the first to be addressed by the Christians. Victims of violence or accident, abandoned by the pagans, found their way to Christian centers where, after they were healed, they sometimes stayed on. The female pollution taboos were not only relaxed, but people actively worked to eradicate them. Men, for instance, would take care of newborns, which under pagan tradition would be under the most severe of pollution restrictions. And, "the fact that a Christian can eat food cooked by a menstruating woman without coming to any harm is sufficient proof" for even the pagans of the "authority of the Bible" (Hogbin 1939:181). Griffiths states,

The new outlook brought new customs of care for the sick and concern for others, and gradually the people learned too, how to build healthier homes, with floors and separate kitchens. To bring Christian teaching to the women and girls, however, was a difficult task; their life was full of drudgery and their horizons so limited (1977:123-4).

Woman's economic burden was great; "a man would never dream of carrying food, water or firewood; that was women's work" (1977:121).

The SSEM organized special groups for women, such as the Women's Band, which gave women an opportunity other than at weekly markets to meet; "it proved to be the seed of a 'grass-roots' Christianity which spread into the homes and lives of countless families" (idem:124). In contrast to men, most women in the Christian villages were not literate and hence could not "feed themselves on Scripture at all" (idem:124). Consequently they were taught Bible verses in their native language, these they eagerly memorized. The success of the Women's (singing) Bands in propagating the word among women assured the presence of continual candidates for the mission's girl's boarding school at Afio, where in addition to literacy and singing, they were taught elementary geography, arithmetic, health and sewing. The girl's school was patterned after a native village and included a native kitchen.

Joan [Deck] knew how important it was for her Afio girls to fit back easily into village life again, after training. All their food was cooked in island style, and each day the girls would work hard in the gardens, growing panna, yams, taro and sweet potatoes as they would at home (1977:127).

The mission's discouragement of bride-price practices was its principal weapon in bringing greater degrees of social justice to women, but with respect to woman's role in subsistence activities as opposed to her jural and religious standing, the SSEM can hardly be accused of

interfering with tradition. It is here that Malaitan Christianity perhaps achieves its greatest degree of cultural continuity.

Industrialisation

Like the Kwato mission in Papua, the SSEM was concerned about indigenous economic well-being, but financial resources led them to take very different approaches. Florence Young invited her brothers and others to invest in large coconut growing areas on the west coast of the island, stating:

... this would provide employment for Christian Boys and thus relieve the Mission of the burden of industrial work and set us free for the purely spiritual business of teaching (Young 1925:194).

The relations of the Malayta Company (1909 to 1912) with its workers was lax by general plantation standards. It developed a "reputation for inefficiency and extravagance" (Hilliard 1969:53) as it raised prices paid for native copra to the point of driving smaller European planters into bankruptcy. After suffering large losses, the Malayta Company ceased operations after three years. Although income from copra production would contribute to the operating expenses of the SSEM schools, they never became self-supporting, which was the apparent goal.

District Officer Bell, who had copra interests of

his own at Malu'u with Maekali's family, stated that the mission's attitude of superiority extended to its commercial venture, which alienated it from other planters and traders (Hilliard 1969:53).

It is clear that the requisite relations of industrial copra production were not in harmony with those of the Christian community being developed by the SSEM. The SSEM encouraged a minimal need for European money. In contrast to other missions it ran no trade stores, although some village teachers did set up stores of their own. So they passed up this potential source of revenue. The 'Evangel,' as it called around the passages of the island, carried no tempting trade goods. But as Deck states, they carried "a big cargo of Hope" (Mounting Up With Wings, p.78).

The SSEM had a concern for employment opportunities, and literacy training was perhaps viewed as also toward these ends, as their aim was to make the indigenous churches independent of SSEM support. But the mission could undertake no commitment to industrial education in the form of trades and crafts-shops, which was an emphasis at Kwato. These services, as Kwato's founder Charles Abel well knew, were a considerable expense, and the SSEM had apparently nowhere near the financial resources of Kwato. Nonetheless, there

was a high demand for such education among the islanders, which became vocal in the Marching Rule years. The first item in the Chair and Rule's petition calls for "the government to grant us a technical school to teach boys carpentry, boat-building, engineering, wireless, type-writing and timber cutting" (Laracy 1983:49).

Thus the SSEM's policy on economic development was ambiguous, and it is perhaps here that the mission takes on its most "other-worldly" aspects.

At this far remove from the south Pacific, a fuller history of the SSEM is impossible to construct. Nonetheless, the material presented here would tend to soften Hilliard's negative portrayal of the mission's social development program, which had many broad and progressive effects. The rapid indigenization of Christianity in Malaita indicates that the islanders were desirous of change, and it was literacy which showed them a way to effect change in their communities.

Chapter 9. Indigenization of the church

In this chapter I will discuss some additional impacts of the mission among the islanders in terms of the consequences of the SSEM's indigenization policy. The principal aim here is to develop an understanding of the SSEM teachers' role in the Marching Rule period, within the covering themes of acculturation, continuities and syncretism.

The Kwara'ae and Malu'u Evangelicals

In this section I will enlarge upon two aspects of Malaitan Christianity, patterns of conversion and ritual practices.

A detailed examination of the conversion pattern and early history of the SSEM among the Kwara'ae people, whose territory lies south of Hogbin's Toa'baita, is given in Lichtenberk's unpublished paper (1986), and I will use his data (bearing responsibility for errors of interpretation), along with material published by Hobgin to develop some additional points.

Upon the repatriation of the laborers, Christians found that they had to isolate themselves from the surrounding pagan neighbors. It was Peter Ambuofa who established the pattern of separation. As Northcote Deck of the SSEM

writes, "he discovered that a spiritual, as well as a natural garden, must be fenced" (in Lichtenberk, ibid.:3). The Christian settlements among the Kwara'ae of north Malaita were continually harassed by the surrounding bush populations. Until pacification, they were prey to pagan 'War-Makers' intent on avenging ancestral desecration. The Christian centers became known as "schools" in light of the major activity there. Effecting separation, the Christians were perhaps following an old practice of movement of bush populations toward the coast. By the 1920s, fear of the government was undermining the ramo power. As Lichtenberk states,

When a killing was required for ritual purification, it increasingly opened the ancestors to desecrations which removed their protective influence and challenged the authority of their priests. In some cases this led directly to conversion to Christianity and in general, as indigenous political authority was subverted by increasing government interference, the power of the ancestors was discredited in the eyes of more and more people. The Christians played their own part with routine ritual violations and cooperating with the government in the interests of their own security (idem:9-10).

The first converts came as individuals seeking refuge and sanctuary: women alienated from the system or perhaps ostracized and expected to commit suicide; former plantation laborers nostalgic for Queensland life; or district group leaders who grew disgusted with their ancestors for permitting

sickness to increase. During the influenza pandemic of 1919, Deck wrote that heathen areas were affected much worse than the Christian,

with the result that larger numbers of them have been coming down to school than for years past. This, too, is the repentence of fear, yet it is perhaps the most common cause of men joining the schools in all districts ... what is in their minds is ... the idea of having offended an unseen power who must be appeased. At present at Malu several of the villages have been rather overwhelmed with the influx of heathen... (Not in Vain, 1919-20, No. 2 p.6).

By the 1920s, whole district groups, which Deck called "families" were coming down to "school." The status of the agnatic lineage of ancestral spirits was in sharp decline, and people were "now depending on prayer merely to their dead fathers and grandfathers" (in Not in Vain, 1921:3-4). Although most people came to the Christian villages to escape the consequences of the failure of the indigenous social diagnostics, some made their way to another, syncretic, 'school' which made its appearance at about this time.

* * *

I will next address in outline form some of the known facts and speculations about new exegetical centres on Malaita which grew up alongside the burgeoning SSEM villages. The bulu cults of the 1920s today constitute a relatively

new area of ethno-historical attention, (cf. Keesing 1970; 1978; ts:25-32; Burt 1983:338; and Lichtenberk t.s. 1986) and little is conclusively known about them. According to Lichtenberk, their adherents adopted the "now tried and tested Christian school ritual," discarded the ancestral relics, relaxed female pollution restrictions thus increasing women's participation in ritual, and made promises about seeing the ancestors again.

Northcote Deck states that the cults originated in the interior of central Malaita around 1919-20. He had some first hand familiarity with the practices and beliefs of one or two of these cults, but he does not document how widespread they were beyond saying they were found both at the coast and in the high bush. Nor does he address in the published mission literature the details of their doctrines and practices. The basic pattern was to establish a new site, perhaps in imitation of the missions, called a 'school', in which practitioners turned their attention to a class of spiritual beings called aqalo-keni, literally the womens'-ghosts, who were claimed to be capable of neutralizing and mediating the aqalo power to cause sickness and misfortune. Deck states that "many of the old heathen 'abus' or prohibitions have been abolished" (May, 1921:4-5).

Traditionally, only a male who dies of certain causes

could attain the state of ancestor ghost which enjoined him after death to the sacred complex. Malaitan akalo could be continually present, and through the illocutionary format of swears (kwalo) were always potential participants in every interlocution and undertaking (Keesing 1979; Hogbin 1939). As well, akalo could manifest themselves in columns of smoke and in snakes, in addition to coming into a person through trance-possession, in techniques as I have noted which were under the control of lineage priests, the "Peace-Masters." In the north Malaitan arrangements, the immortal quotient of a woman in contrast to a man, did not become a ghost, but a rat (Tyhurst, personal communication).

Lichtenberk states that in the case of the bulu cults, "the rat was supposed to block the power of the akalo, protecting people from them and so relieving them from sacrifice like school". Citing a publication I have not reviewed, Lichtenberk states that, at Alasa'a, Deck witnessed a service in which Bulu enthusiasts prayed and cried out in a strange language, offering bits of taro and pork to a rat confined in an enclosure at the back of the house. The people were apparently attempting to interpret the rat's speech, according to new doctrinal strategies vaguely sketched out by the bulu priest.

Bulu cultism attempted to institute social changes but kept them within the control of traditional patterns of sacred experience. Driven inexorably by the need to change, the bulu cultists attempted to overthrow the agalo without accepting the European's interpretive authority. In affecting to free people from the agalo, only to substitute the agalo-keni, the cults, stated Deck "thus seek to counterfeit the liberty of the Gospel" (Not in Vain, May 1921:5).

By 1929 the bulu cults were in decline. The originator of one group started coming to school. The rest of the adherents were left in the bush "terrified by spirit voices called Akalo-geni." Deck states,

... they sent for the teacher from Bula, who found them all crowded into one house, in terror, from the voices. After praying for them he went into the house where the voices were heard, and prayed all night. There were no manifestations, thereupon the people all moved down to the school village (Not in Vain, April 1929:4).

The bulu cults would apparently not emerge again until 1939 among the Kwaio, and they may also have had a slight presence during the general millennial ambience of the Marching Rule period (cf. Keesing, Allan).

* * *

Lichtenberk traces the early conversion pattern of Kwara'ae clans and states that "the desecrations and conversions split Gwnunaongi [a Kwara'ae descent group] more or less

according to existing genealogical and ritual divisions" (idem:30). A group's decision to come to school followed that of an indigenous leader with ritual authority. By the 1930s, government believed that the Kwara'ae were all members of the missions and that it was "the most civilized district on Malaita."

Hogbin lists four reasons for conversion on Malaita in the early 1930s. Peter Ambuofa and a few others were the strong exceptions to a general pattern of apostasy among the repatriated Queensland laborers (1939:179). Much of the initial effort was an attempt to recover back-sliders. These efforts were addressed to the "lack of return" provided by the ancestral spirits in exchange for pagan labor and sacrifice.

Literacy was the first reason for conversion. Hogbin stresses both practical and "mystical" values of education. In addition to reading their Bibles, writing letters and keeping accounts of tafuli'ae and money loans and transactions, the Melanesians valued the fact that literacy increased employment opportunities with job responsibility. Hogbin discussed "mystical" values not in terms of literacy leading to increased depth of understanding of Christianity, but of securing access to material wealth. Because there were no government schools, literacy training was available

only at the mission. Although some attended simply to learn how to read and write, many stayed on and accepted Christianity.

The second reason for conversion was the promise of eternal life, a point often raised by pagans in their discussions with the SSEM teacher. Often the interest extends to whether converts will be able to see their children in the afterlife. The SSEM reply is to point simply at the promise of the Holy Scriptures; there is no exterior justification for acceptance of the Basic Dogma (John 3:16), which stands axiomatically in the Christian discursive system.

A third reason for conversion was due to the waning efficacy of the agalo to protect against sickness or other bad luck. Other pagans came to the Christian church out of loyalty to kin groups. One finds that the decision to convert by a "leading man" was followed by a similar decision among his co-residents, which is borne out by Lichtenberk's researches. There was a tendency for the Toa'mbaita district hamlets to be either exclusively Christian or exclusively heathen.

Having outlined the general features of early Christian conversion, I will now turn to Ian Hogbin's depiction of ritual elements among the Toa'mbaita Christians in

the north of the island during 1934.

Sometimes traditional enmities between district hamlets were expressed in a new idiom of religious competition. Christians "attacked" heathen worshipers and ceremonials, interrupting them with singing processions carrying banners and posters. Both the Anglicans and Evangelicals had missions at Malu'u, although they were located on the opposite sides of the harbor. The members of the two missions had no love for one another, Hogbin notes, but they did not quarrel "expressly" over doctrines. Relative to the pagans, the Christians of either denomination had so many points in common that if one or another mission suspended a member, after an interval he could join the other.

Although Hogbin "never once had the slightest response from the Sermon on the Mount, which appeared to be regarded as a passage of no particular relation to native concerns" (1939:183), he attests to long arguments being held over subtle points of doctrine, such as where Cain's wife came from, the natives often quoting chapter and verse of both New and Old Testaments with which they were familiar.

The Christian population of Malu'u exceeded the capacity of the early village at Irombule, and consequently there developed a pattern where the majority of Christians continued

to dwell in the district hamlets, where "each homestead has a little church of its own where the heads of households conduct prayers every evening" (Hogbin 1939:177). No European missionary for the MM resided at Malu'u; its focus was at Sa'a on small Mala. However, up until 1932 the SSEM maintained a contingent of Europeans residing at Malu'u who conducted services and superintended school classes (idem:175).

Hogbin notes the contrast in the style of worship between the two congregations. Most striking is the absence of decorative and ceremonial elements among the Evangelicals [but see the native school at Binal, and the importation of High Church ritual into the services of the Anglicans together with native decorative elements. Communion was celebrated more often by the Evangelicals; among the Anglicans the service required a priest to visit from Nggela. The doctrine of confession offers stark contrasts. The Anglicans practiced private confession on Saturday evenings. The Evangelicals incorporated emotionally intense public confession into their full Sunday services and practiced total immersion baptism for adults who passed an oral examination.

Both congregations conducted services and classes in vernacular language, the Anglicans using the Book of Common Prayer and the Evangelicals the New Testament,

translated into To'ambaita in 1923, and other teaching texts. The SSEM Christians made a point of coming down from the bush hamlets to attend the Sunday services at Irombule. At church, after lengthy Bible readings, different members of the Evangelical congregation then prayed aloud. As Hogbin recounts, "health, prosperity, and strength to carry on against the temptations of Satan are requested for all present, and I have heard a man pray that every member of the mission might have sufficient money to pay his tax." Public prayers were also offered for individuals who confessed before the congregation, upon whose public nature the Evangelicals placed much emphasis.

Hogbin provides evidence for healing practices in the 1930s as being based more on confession than demon exorcism as described by Griffiths (1977) above, so there is some evidence that emphasis on "Zionist" practices varied among the Christians. At Malu'u,

Although the Evangelical teachers visit the sick they do not ask on their own initiative what sins have been committed, since they believe that each man must examine his actions for himself and decide why God is angry (Hogbin 1939:194).

On the occasion of the quintennial visits of the Mission's Sydney personnel, "what can only be described as an orgy of confession" occurred at every station visited. "Persistence of good health is the only infallible sign of forgiveness"

(idem:191-2).

Organization of the Indigenized Church

The central problem of this area of theory is the community role of the indigenous SSEM teacher. He was not a clergyman; he could not officiate at baptisms. Nor was he appointed as a native court elder. Yet he was a powerful member of the community, and we must inquire as to the basis and nature of his authority.

Combined with the effects of government pacification, by the late 1930s the effort of the mission had resulted in massive changes in the human geography of north Malaita. Pagan areas included only those most difficult of access, the Baelelea, Baegu, and Fataleka, the Kwaio, and central 'Are'Are as well as parts of Small Mala. The majority of the population was concentrated in a new geographic zone all around the island between sea and bush, where there developed the new "urbanized" coastal mission villages which were forbidden to pagans.

Was the SSEM school teacher the leader over this new type of settlement, and if so, was he a new type of Malaitan leader, or was his leadership significance primarily derived from continuities with the indigenous system?

The teacher may be continuous with the traditional 'big-man' at a general level of analysis, (cf. Cochrane 1971), but

with respect to the triumvirate of powers, he is very difficult to position, as the following comparison with the 'Feast-Maker' and 'Peace-Master' ideal types reveals.

In some respects, the SSEM teachers resemble the 'Feast-Maker' indigenous type, for they organized church festivals, the building of churches, singing bands and so forth. However it is not clear to what extent the SSEM teachers organized subsistence cultivation efforts in the villages, which were probably a matter of family decision, and it is not clear that he earned prestige from whatever organizing prowess he manifested.

Maekali stated to Hogbin, as quoted on page 55 in Chapter 2, that the Christians recognized no secular leaders. The Christians had no, or at least a very much restricted, bride-wealth exchange, so the SSEM teacher could not have been a financier such as the 'Feast-Maker' and exercise that kind of leverage. The Christians paid no compensation for custom infractions, because such were not recognized, and peace was maintained by a reliance on fellowship rather than violence. The teachers lived at a subsistence level along with the congregations, upon whom they depended for offerings, and food. The teachers had some redistributive economic role in returning clothing, textbooks and assistance to new converts. However, this type of redistribution

was voluntary and egalitarian rather than coercive and stratified and competitive in nature (see Sahlins 1965).

They might also operate stores, which conflicted with the ideology of big-man largesse and manipulation of loans. Trade also conflicted with the colonial era status evaluations. Most traders were Chinese, and held in low esteem by even the islanders (cf. Laracy 1983:49).

The 'Feast-Maker' was always resident in the community, serving as an example of industry. But teachers were known to leave their communities to take jobs at plantations and to undertake itinerant evangelizing. And, in addition to the requirements of intellectual pursuits such as reading and preparing lessons, the teacher had other demands on his time. He had a wider social reference group than the villagers. He had high-placed contacts and chums at the mission centers, and he was required to attend important meetings and conferences. Thus, compared to the traditional 'Feast-Maker' standards, the SSEM teacher was a relative gad-about if not a 'rubbishman'.

The SSEM teacher was also like the 'Peace-Master'. He legitimated the strategies of the process of social diagnostics. The traditional 'Peace-Master' presided over an interpretive system, the social diagnostics of which were directed to the customary interpretations of

omens, tokens, dreams and spirit voices, and which upheld a rigid standard of collective behavior in which individuality was virtually impossible. However, the SSEM teachers, in contrast, were interpretive exegetes of a body of written text. Their authority did not uphold a catechized and truthful cultural 'encyclopedia' so much as the truth of the new 'handbook for living,' for a life which was yet to be realized among the community of believers acting in accordance with their own initiative. The 'Peace-Master' was a person whose corpus was sacrosanct (cf. Russell 1951), but the teacher was a fellow villager and had no special claim on holiness. The entire content of the type of leadership between the 'Peace-Master' and the teacher is thus different.

Lichtenberk addresses the problem of SSEM indigenous leadership in terms of the sacred legitimation of secular roles. "The authority of the teachers depended on their control of ritual knowledge rather than on the special personal control of spiritual power claimed by Kwara'ae visionaries of the bulu cults ..." (Lichtenberk, ibid:40). But the Christian ritual knowledge which was the ultimate basis of the teachers' authority was not employed in the secular sphere in the same way as it had been in the traditional system, Lichtenberk's error as it was for

Cochrane (1971). It was not that the government and mission had taken over the multi-purpose organizational framework (cf. Lawrence 1964:11; Cochrane 1971:83), but the apparent disappearance of that structure altogether, and the emergence of a new type of leadership and followership, based on the recognition of individuality, growing out of the mission organization.

Hogbin states on many occasions that SSEM Christianity, with its proscription of bride-wealth, feasting and compensation, undermined the authority of the nqwane inoto or 'Feast-Maker' office, as pacification had removed the powers of the 'War-Maker', and beu abu desecrations and the ensuing rain of epidemic sickness had the 'Peace-Master' or aofia. But all these impacts must be weighed against an additional one: the undermining of the authority of the elders over their children. No longer in their control by virtue of their being able to fund their marriages,

The children of Evangelical converts learn to challenge the authority of their elders when they attend school -- though not, it is true within the school walls -- and as they do not require assistance on marriage they have no need at a later date to submit (Hogbin 1939:224).

Most of the persons attending school were under the age of 16 and "within a year or two, in the Evangelical mission, parents were openly flouted" (idem:207). School was dismissed at noon, and the youths used the opportunity after school

instead of helping the family, to play games, sports and socialize, knowing that they could always depend on a meal from relatives in the area. There was also an increase in hooliganism. Petty theft, which was "still unknown among the heathens" was common in the Christian villages, along with a somewhat greater degree of sexual liberty. The mission attempted to deal with this problem by encouraging relatives to refuse food to teenagers who could not justify their presence in a neighborhood as being on business. However, the condition cannot be described, as Hogbin notes, as "anarchy" (idem:225). Whereas the boys used the new social environment as an opportunity to rampage, few of the girls did.

Thus there are some inconsistencies in the notion that the SSEM teacher was the leader over the new urban centers. For example, if the institution of bride-wealth undergirt much of the traditional 'Feast-Maker' power, the SSEM teachers were not altogether successful in eliminating it from their communities. They could not dictate to their people that there would be no more bride-price, and eventually a limit was agreed on of only 3 tafuliae.

The backgrounds of the SSEM teachers have not been addressed because they are not available, in keeping with

the total rejection of the past life contingent on conversion. By and large the career of mission teacher was one open to those with talents, drive and ambition, qualities of personality to which a son of a man with managerial status would naturally have greater exposure than one of lesser stature. Ambuofa may too often be cited as typical. Hilliard remarks that he was the son of a "bush chief" (1969:45). Said a resident missionary, "hundreds of men and women obeyed him implicitly." But given Hogbin's account and the court evidence, we cannot extend this relation of complete obedience to that which guided every Christian village and every native teacher some 40-odd years later.

I conclude that the SSEM teacher, rather than being a composite of traditional leadership types, was a new type, one based on his authority over the interpretation of the semantics of a symbolic structure, the Basic Doctrine, and thus he cross-cut the discursive authority of the triumvirate of powers. He resembles the traditional 'big-man' in large, but none of the types of 'big-man' considered individually. But if the SSEM mission teacher constitutes in many respects a new leadership type, one which was the product of the missions, then an element of cultural continuity can be traced to the mamana with which he and

all leaders stood in relation to exegetical guidance over the process of social diagnostics, however different those processes might be in Christian and pagan terms.

The one matter on which teachers had the strongest authority was the matter of sin. Lichtenberk quotes Colin Allan (unpublished, 1951), who stated, "before the war it was virtually the SSEM teachers and elders who ran the village and dealt with sin like crime. They were quite merciless. They enjoyed their power" Lichtenberk continues:

What Allan failed to observe was that sin really was like crime insofar as it affected the wellbeing of the community as a whole in its relations with God, just as breaches of abu could endanger everyone's wellbeing under the ancestors. This was the basis of the teachers' and elders' authority, as it had been for the ancestral priests. (Lichtenberk t.s. p. 43)

But in contrast to Lichtenberk I believe that this interpretive authority is insufficient on which to build a personal, secular leadership. The utility of 'sin' as a social control is not clear-cut in many areas. Where in the Basic Doctrine is bride-wealth addressed, or ear-piercing or betel for that matter?

In conclusion, we have enlarged on the crisis of authority in the Christian villages on the eve of the Marching Rule, which was so evident in the native courts and councils data presented in Chapter 2. If it is true

that part of the social diagnostics upheld by the SSEM, founded as it was on Biblical literalism with the interpretive strategies provided by the native teacher under the authority of the missionary, was legitimated by the Holy Spirit for each person, then we would expect to see emerging from the pagan background of conformity, from a realm of social 'persons', an increasing number of individuals making judgements for themselves about conduct and right living, who no longer accepted the imposition of secular authority over key areas of life.⁸⁰ They were 'divinely guided' by the Holy Spirit. As Deck states on the text John 20:21,

So before He went, He solemnly committed them to the Holy Ghost for whom each one of them would have to deal, the one who was to be the executive of the Godhead on earth, and who as such was to be honored and obeyed (1942:107).

The conviction produced by the Holy Spirit in the interpretive truth of the mission's discourse was evident in the aloof stance of the SSEM (and of the Kwato mission) vis-a-vis other Europeans and in terms of thorough-going social organizational impacts. Not only was the authority of the traditional triumvirate undermined, but the basic

80 cf. Kenelm Burridge (1979) Someone, No One. Princeton.

stability of the gerontocracy and of gender relations was also disturbed. If we cannot call the ensuing situation one of 'anarchy' perhaps it can be characterized as constituting at least the preconditions of a radical democracy.

The indigenization of the church came at a time when life for the Malaitans was not going well. Things weren't getting done. There was serious want and starvation in the south at 'Are'are. In the midst of economic depression, when the number engaged on the plantations in 1938 was only 19 percent of those working in 1927 (cf. Cochrane 1971:81), many days were "spent idling." No large gardening efforts were undertaken; there were no feasts and no 'Feast-Makers' to order people about. Consequently when war introduced unplanned-for demand, people found themselves short. Those who were working had wages cut. There was no revenue for capital improvements. Petty theft and vandalism, sexual liberty, and the other issues which would be addressed by the Native Courts in the early 1940s reveal a growing dissatisfaction and anomie. Indigenization had been achieved, but not the Kingdom of God. The church's relationship to secular institutions and social programs and the consequences of urbanization had not been regularized. There were some outstanding needs, such as for technical education. At about the time when compensation for native teachers

was cut in the financial belt-tightening of 1919-20 (see Table 5, p. 213), Peter Ambuofa publicly denounced the missionaries as "hypocrites and dishonest liars" (Hilliard 1969:57). But this was an early and isolated incident which stemmed from a personality conflict. He was subsequently ostracized from the mission. Later however, as Laracy states, there was a "growing political consciousness among the Solomon Islanders," a "widespread, non-violent, questioning of their subordination to European authority, which became a feature of the 1930s" (1983:13). And Ian Hogbin in 1934 believed that Christianity no longer had the prestige it had enjoyed a generation previously as the religion of the white man. "Now the natives know us better" he states, "I had the impression that some of the younger men had a feeling of revulsion from it and are building up a more tenacious loyalty to their old faith" (idem:183).

Both the SSEM villages and the teachers as leadership types present themselves as institutions cross-cutting traditional categories of experience (cf. Barker 1985:534). Once families had decided to make their move, traditional residential patterns were obliterated; the villages transcended traditional groupings based on descent. Consequently the number of potential social interactions any individual

could have were vastly broadened, and the communication potentials among SSEM villages and teachers represented a further extension of these relations, overcoming the old divisions and separations. Weekly teacher meetings and the council for senior teachers, centered on the SSEM mission schools at Onepusu and Nafinua, and other periodic conferences and prayer meetings, extended the teachers' range of contacts. By 1939 when the European missionaries visited the school villages, the mission school teachers proved themselves capable of assembling enthusiastic crowds of up to a thousand persons.

The indigenization of Christian social diagnostics

Northcote Deck may not yet have the stature of the great missionary-anthropologists of the Pacific, among whom are such as Codrington, Elkin, Fison, Fox, Howitt, Ivens, Leenhardt and Strehlow. In Deck's mission publications, he gives virtually no attention to matters of anthropological interest except insofar as they help portray, to the mission's contributors who subscribed to the SSEM periodical Not in Vain, the dimensions of "the need." But Deck's personal diaries have yet to be examined, and here and there in his spiritual essays, bearing such obscure titles as "'Toiling in Rowing' or, Triumphant" and "Spikenard, Very Costly," one may find points of anthropological appreciation, particularly concerning the process of conversion. Deck also provided a coherent and plausible explanation of the bulu cults of the 1920s, and he addressed directly what in this thesis has been termed the "indigenous social diagnostics."

He discussed, for instance, the problem of syncretism and of maintaining doctrinal authority over the widely scattered indigenous proselytizers in these terms:

This matter of guidance is most difficult in the mission field. Dealing with converts who have been accustomed in the past to be guided by externals, by signs and sicknesses and omens, it is most difficult to know how to advise them when they become Christians. One has known believers kept out of blessed service, or the pastoral care of whole villages of converts, merely through a passing attack of fever which was taken as a token, when considering the call, that God would not have them go. Yet in default, the village has remained untaught, the teacher unused, sometimes till he has been taken home. Ah, may we be "free indeed" to serve, yet ever closely bound to Himself, His side, His service! (Northcote Deck, Mounting Up With Wings p. 192).

The passage illustrates Deck's discourse production strategy, in which an observation is engaged as evidence in a (covertly financial) appeal aimed to reinforce fellowship, the relation in which Deck stands with respect to his Model Reader. Deck is commenting on the inner struggle between two interpretive systems, the first containing instructions for action based on what in Deck's semiotic are "externals", the other instructing action based on the internalisation of the symbolic complex termed the 'handbook for living'. No other passage so firmly attests to my notion that Malaitan Christianity, based as it was on the revolutionary 'natural law' of the Basic Doctrine, must be bracketed within the discourse-production frame of its conception and dissemination in order to realize its full measure of ethnological significance. With respect to rejecting as messages the traditional significations

attached to "tokens" and omens, Deck's semiotic appears to be consistent with that developed by St. Augustine in the morning of the Christian era.⁷⁶⁾ In order to combat the paganism of his day, vested in the speaking statuary and horoscopy of the Roman worship, Augustine maintained that the only true signs are those of Holy Scripture, and of these, not merely the verbum vocis, the sentence-forms made of sound or ink on pages bound together with glue, but the verbum cordis, or word of the heart. In other words, the only signs are those of a conventionalized semantic complex, the true Word of God. Although Deck, consistent with Fundamentalism, rejected the interpretive authority of the instituted Church, Origen, Ambrose and Augustine all emphasized that the interpretive authority of the Church was required to understand the deep allegorical meanings of Scripture.⁷⁷⁾ Consequently, they placed the millennialism of the New Testament as a whole in the background, foregrounding the less millennial Fourth Gospel. The parousia

- 76 cf. De Doctrina Christina Book II. Bobbs-Merril, Indianapolis. "On Christian Doctrine" (397-426 A.D., 1977); and De Magistro "On the Teacher" Book I. (389 A.D.). For commentary, see John Deely (1982) Introducing Semiotic. Indiana. p.17.
- 77 For a discussion on 'allegorical' versus 'symbolical' interpretive strategies, see Umberto Eco (1984), Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language, Indiana University Press, page 148-50.

would not be material but spiritual; Christ was continually coming in the person of the established Church. This was the beginning of the organic social ethic, to the deconstruction of which all western millennialism may be ultimately traced.

The infallibility of the Word was justified by faith alone, but its mamana resulted from justifying the experimental sentences derived from it. In the manner outlined in Chapter 9, the Basic Doctrine, the class of sentences of axiomatic value, together with sentences containing propositions of contingent truth arising from experience, were used to derive experimental sentences whose truth valuation, through the agency of the "executive of the Godhead on earth", the Holy Spirit, constituted the precepts of the new society. But the tenuous hold on the Holy Spirit as a social being collided, it would seem, with the continuities of the pagan social diagnostics, which furnished the interpretive strategies brought to bear upon non-symbolic, that is, iconic and indexical signifiers.

The dynamic introduced into the pagan communities extended the experience of individuality. Conversion to Christianity on Malaita meant divesting oneself of attaching any significations to those signs in the interpretive code of the system built on ancestral worship. These

codes were never erased. They existed, but were bracketed as evil and Satanic by a symbolic system consisting of written signs. They were the "old things"; now, "All things are become new."

Goody has discussed the culturally generative properties of literacy, of syntactical forms such as lists, accounts and recipes (algorithms),⁷⁸⁾ and my findings support his view that the introduction of such formats has consequences in the manner in which discourse is produced and the world, consequently, organized. If experience with ancestral beings provided a point of cultural innovation in the past, as Keesing claims, how much more powerful is an axiomatic system for this process, which, unlike the traditional, rested on no one individual's discursive authority. If the Kwato mission subscribed to a 'total ideology' in Mannheim's words, the SSEM introduction was not only 'total' but axiomatized, and hence was a powerful text production format of its own because of its ability to generate experimental sentences.

Now it is not possible, as ethnographers have found, to set forth in a body of sentences a complete semantic

78 Jack Goody (1977) The Domestication of the Savage Mind. Cambridge University Press.

representation of all of a culture's codes of signification, but this does not prima facie render it impossible that a complete system of cultural codes could be syntactically derived from a sufficiently complete and consistent body of sentences presented as a 'natural law' according to the process outlined under the heading of 'literacy' in Chapter 8. The sentences of Holy Scripture, the Basic Doctrine, were used to create new, experimental sentences about the world and about the social relations there.

Along with the introduction of literacy, we must also include as a product of the missions the institutional innovation of the 'school' itself. The distinction between it and the beu abu is the distinction between church and cemetery. However, it would seem that the pre-eminent innovation of Christianity was a linguistic one, which came along with the introduction of the new heuristic rule. The Holy Spirit comes upon those who pray, but the Christian text-production format of 'prayer' was missing from the indigenous discourse-production strategies. I would define prayer as community with the Diety which is conducted according to rules for engaging the spiritual encounter, rules which govern the linguistic, kinesthetic, proxemic and temporal happiness-conditions of an illocutionary

format, the bowed head, the closed eyes, the folded hands, the inner or whispered utterance; which occurs primarily in a group context or individually in periods of interstitial time, as when waking or retiring. The authenticity of prayer is so rooted in the basic experience of Christianity itself that further elaboration of this point is unnecessary.

Although there was no indigenous analogue of Christian prayer, there was a linguistic analogue of confession, however, in the magico-linguistic institution of fabua, the binding of an akalo from retribution should some mistake, hitch or misexecution spoil the happiness-conditions of the ritual sacrifice. The only other always legitimate means of conferring with the akalo was by the foa given by the 'Peace-Master' on the occasion of the ritual sacrifice, which while occurring only in the beu abu, is unlike prayer because to those who partake of the sacrificial pork and taro, it is more like communion. The akalo's will was interpreted into linguistic form by the 'Peace-Master.' The swear, kwala, was a means of communication that could be used by Everyman. It directly invoked the akalo's retribution should the assertion of some proposition be false, and was used in either a provocative or jural context, anywhere outside the beu abu. Beyond the strict illocutionary

parameters of these formats, fabua, foa, and kwala, there was no communication, in the sense of a two-way exchange of messages, between man and the akalo. It was the akalo who directed things through the one-way medium of the inner voice and external signs subjected to an allegorized 'encyclopedic' interpretation.

In the pagan order, direct communion with the voice of the ancestor was usually limited to the 'Peace-Master.' The ancestors in the large communicated with members of the general public not directly through language, but indirectly, through eidetic imagery and by causing them to 'notice' iconic or indexical signifiers whose culturally-correct reading required an invariant semantic interpretation, furnished by custom and justified by the exegetical authority of the 'Peace-Master.' If Christianity enabled more people to communicate with the sacred through the symbolic medium of words, what appears to be responsible for this in the first instance is the propagation of prayer as a new format for discourse production.

PART II.

ETHNOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE MARCHING RULE

Summary and Conclusion

The central task of this division of the thesis has been to outline the scope of the pre-Marching Rule social field and to account for sources of cultural innovation, which I discussed in terms of Malaitan Christianity, and cultural continuities, discussed in terms of traditional social organization and indigenization of the church.

At the outset I sketched the social organizational arrangements, where individuality was muted in favor of collective activities and valuations. Governance depended on the weight of public opinion rather than jural sanction. Community leadership, vested in the triumvirate of powers, was founded on the 'Peace-Master' interpretive authority over an indigenous system of social diagnostics. I gave prominence to Colin Allan's analysis of the pattern of social organization together with other data to show that the Marching Rule middle-managers were primarily either SSEM teachers or men selected from among Christians and pagans as leaders by applying the rank-determination principle. But in tradition, only one of the triumvirate clearly

had drawn his authority from rank, the 'Peace-Master:' the others were based on self-selection and the recognition of achievement. The majority of the Marching Rule middle managers were in a position to claim leadership based on inherited ritual or managerial status through the agnaticity of 'big-man' rank determination principles (cf. Oliver 1955). The presence of the hereditary priests in Malaitan society was an anomaly with respect to the general pattern of Melanesian social organization. The 'Peace-Master' had almost exclusive power to confer with the akalo conceived of in terms of an agnatic lineage attached to a network of sacred sites which traced a 'historical' migration, and hence genealogical relatedness among the language groups. Anyone else's episode of akalo possession was suspect. It might be held, for instance, that the akalo, ever malevolent in nature, had tried to deceive the one possessed. Malaitan religion, as Kongas-Maranda states, was "a religion as Durkheim would define it."⁸³

For several months during the height of the war, British colonial authority, including its monopoly on legitimate force, was withdrawn. But during this time

83 Elli Kongas-Maranda (1968?) "Lau, Malaita: 'A Woman is an Alien Spirit" p. 180.

the pagans did not fall on the Christians and massacre them as they had done in early days. There is not the slightest suggestion that relations between pagans and Christians worsened at this time. To the contrary, this was the very time in which pagans and Christians achieved their 'agreement to disagree' on matters of Christian versus pagan custom. The pagans moved down from the bush in large numbers and joined the new urban culture, becoming 'learners' in the village schools. In contrast to the pre-Marching Rule social field, the Marching Rule villages were not exclusively pagan or exclusively Christian. There is thus every reason to believe that the pagans and Christians were in a new relation and that they had joined in a new moral community where the government's former monopoly on force proved extraneous.

The Head Chiefs conceived of themselves as a managing committee, and the area of their personal jurisdiction was understood in terms of the island's language divisions. Indeed, it was not until after the Marching Rule that the island's 9 fundamental ethnological/linguistic divisions first became evident to government.⁸⁴⁾ This, plus the

84 Malaita Annual Report 1947, t.s. pp 3-5 (Healy 1964:201).

apparently new emphasis on generalizing the principle of rank-determination in the selection of the non-SSEM teacher Marching Rule chiefs, together with the programmatic emphasis on 'custom', suggests the importance of the concept of ethnicity in the subsequent developments.

Ultimately Malaitan leadership rested upon the distribution of mamana which rested on the interpretive authority of the 'Peace-Masters' diffused through the organization through the 'Feast-Maker' and 'War-Maker' and justified by the empirical test of success in production or in raids. The relation of the agalo to mankind was not one of conferring material blessing, but of withholding sickness and misfortune, and so a notion of 'mana' was developed in terms close to what appears to be the actual socio-linguistic experience of the islanders, that is, to mean success and truth in the exercise of the system of social diagnostics founded upon communion with the agalo.

I then contributed two chapters on the doctrinal origins of Malaitan Christianity. The millenarian Futurism of the SSEM and its consequences of developing the church of earthly fellowship ratified by the Holy Spirit, the "executive of the Godhead on earth"; the notion of the "any-moment" coming of the Bridegroom, founded upon the macrohistorical notions of dispensationalism; the sustained

and engaged communitas of preparing the Bride of Christ, an ethical model of the moral community; and the emphasis on Biblical literism, were all highlighted. The SSEM, which arose in the ambience of expectancy, cooperation, hope and social optimism of Victorian Evangelicalism, was further linked to a wider movement termed social gospelism occurring in America, in which churches actively involved themselves in the progress of the 'whole man' and his society, of inspiring a response to social problems of poverty and justice in addition to securing personal salvation.

I then contributed two chapters on the impact of the SSEM on Malaita. I discussed the social gospelism of the SSEM policies, the impact and derivational properties of the innovation of literacy, its commitment to health care and social justice, and its failed attempt to render the indigenous schools self-supporting through a copra production venture.

The Christianizing of the island except for remote pagan enclaves was effected by the 1930s, by which time the SSEM village schools were also well on the road toward full indigenization. The human geography of the island was completely altered, marked by a new urban zone along the coast, with attendant urban problems stemming from

the concentration of population, greater individuality and the destruction of the old system of leadership. I enlarged the scope of the crisis of authority within the Christian communities first introduced in Chapter 2, by showing it to have extended to the relations between parents and children, which in the context of the idleness and anomie of the later 1930s demonstrated the differential between the community as achieved and that held out to them, by the mission and by their own experience of Christianity, as the ideal possibility of achievement.

Acculturation, continuities and syncretism

Many of the data question the analytic utility of these concepts. Acculturation in Malaitan Christianity meant adopting a way of life in accordance with Biblical literalism stemming from a doctrine of millenarian Futurism. Acculturation was not into the ways of the Godly, but into the ways by which the Godly might be attained. The missionaries were themselves engaged in the same effort, to create the community of fellowship and prepare that community for the coming Bridegroom. They did not want to 'civilize' the islanders according to western standards, for that world was increasingly corrupt and rushing towards judgement. Darrel Whiteman, the Anglican ethno-historian and missionary, perhaps splits the issue too deftly when he remarks that

"conversion to Christianity in the SSEM meant not only a shift in religious allegiance, but involved turning one's back on one's own Melanesian culture and embracing the ways of the white man"⁸⁵ Does living a life guided by the letter of Holy Scripture really necessitate embracing the white man's ways? I have shown that in many instances the mission's reputation for cultural intolerance and being interested solely in personal salvation was unfounded. But nonetheless, we may take this question addressed by Whiteman as becoming of penultimate significance among the indigenes in the pre-Marching Rule social field.

How important was the evident differential in lifestyle between the teachers, the first echelon of the indigenized church, and the missionaries? The SSEM de-emphasized materialism and money; they were "laying up treasure in Heaven." Acculturation in the main amounted to the adoption of the new Basic Doctrine and the techniques of using that doctrine to generate experimental sentences about the world in order to reorder the world in accordance with God's will. However, acculturation to a western way of life was strongest with respect to the status of

85 Darrel L. Whiteman (1983) Melanesians and Missionaries. An Ethnohistorical study of social and religious change in the southwest pacific. William Carey Library, Pasadena. p. 315. n. 73.

women in Malaitan society which, because of the unchanged emphasis on subsistence cultivation, also constitutes its profoundest continuity.

With regard to other cultural continuities, a comparison of the experience of the Malaitans to the Maisin of Papua is instructive, for "many Maisin conceptualize the Christian divinities on the same lines as local spirits" (Barker 1985:525). We cannot say that this is the situation which obtained in the pre-Marching Rule social field. Most Malaitans had passed through a truly syncretic stage, the bulu cults, in which Christian divinity was conflated with spirit beings as traditionally experienced, but aside from this episode, there seems a strong tendency among the indigenous Christians to combat the experience of local spirits rather than experience Christianity in terms of them. Whether the experience of the Holy Spirit and possession by the akalo are in fact the same experience subjected to different interpretive strategies, a question which might emerge from a psychological frame of reference, is an irrelevant question ethnologically speaking, for the testimony of those who underwent the experience states that it was different.

Some of the most syncretic elements of Malaitan Christianity, the 'Zionist' elements discussed in Chapter 8, turn out

to be consistent with contemporary Evangelical Christianity and thus are not syncretic at all. But in the areas of conversion and ritual confession, some traditional patterns were followed. The indigenization of Malaitan Christianity constituted more than adjustments in language and ritual supported by the missionaries, which is discussed in the literature as 'indigenization' (cf. Barker 1985:27), for the SSEM's policy of indigenization was to introduce what Weber terms a new 'natural law,' a new 'handbook for living' for a way of life essentially open-ended in its possibilities for secular achievement.

The 'leadership' of the teachers is often theoretically conflated with traditional 'big-man' managership, which is the old problem, as Allan addressed it, of understanding the nature of Malaitan 'chiefs.' The leadership of the teacher was not secular but dealt with 'sin'. His leadership rested solely on his greater knowledge of Holy Scripture and his ability to convey doctrine and guide its interpretation within the community. Whatever political power he might have wielded relative to villagers' interests was 'granted' by them: the demise of feast, bride-wealth and ghost as traditional sources of leverage ended the old multi-purpose organizational framework, but the teachers and the community had yet to invent a secular alternative, which would be

of course, the Marching Rule itself.

Thus, at both the internal, ethnological level as in the external political-economic context of colonial relationships, the indigenous 'social field' was marked by the absence of an effective, routinized, problem-solving institution. The genius of the Marching Rule was that it addressed both the internal need for secular order and the external need to represent the interests of the indigenes as an ethnic unity to the colonial order. It was time for the church of fellowship, and the 'one Family' of the Malaitans relative to the Europeans, to come of age.

PART III.

RHETORIC OF THE MARCHING RULE

A word recurrent throughout the SSEM literature and the Marching Rule documents alike is the word 'Free'. The objective of the SSEM was to free the individual from bondage with Satan and to convert the institutions of his community to those ever more closely accord with God's will. Its motive to mission was based on the search for fellowship. Its motive was not that of either bringing an other-worldly detachment, or a this-worldly 'civilization' to the natives. Perhaps the SSEM missionary is best understood as harboring a desire to flee civilization as he experienced it, to begin anew in a context where mankind's innately fallen nature was manifest in the condition of utter savagery -- to meet the clearest test of the millenarian Futurist's drive to build on earth the Kingdom of God.

The SSEM relationship to the colonial establishment including the Anglicans was righteous and aloof, as the relationship of the truly saved could only be amidst a community of sinners. But the SSEM never consciously extended to their own social order the doctrine of institutional sin, for even if they must be located at the periphery

of the colonial order, they were of that order. The way of life of the SSEM missionaries, hermetically sealed within a certain pattern of western culture, was viewed as containing everything Godly. Western institutions were not to blame if man continued to sin. But it was different for the islanders, whose pagan order itself was the regime of Satan administered by his demon powers, the akalo. Consequently the notion of institutional sin, as it was latent in the SSEM, covered only the godless pagan order.

A community based on Christian fellowship, if it was not always realized, was nevertheless the consciously held ideal goal of the SSEM. I have discussed social diagnostics insofar as its political ramifications are concerned in terms of the statist discourse and the Marching Rule discourse in Part I; and in Part II, the development of the system of social diagnostics of Malaitan Christianity in its ethnographic context. Here I show how the Marching Rule intellectuals extended this process of social diagnostics further into the secular realm, coming to a new interpretation of their relations with the Europeans that involved a transference or redirection of the doctrine of social, institutional sin.

The ultimate role of American servicemen in 1942-44

was to legitimate the new view. Many of the Americans' religious backgrounds were undoubtedly also Bible Fundamentalist and nondenominational, but many also had denominational Protestant backgrounds influenced by Social Gospelism through the organizing effects in America of the Federal Council. The indigenous SSEM intellectuals in response to the crisis of authority within their communities, in the midst of millennial expectations engendered by the liminality of war, re-directed their evangelical zeal to building a new Malaitan community that defined itself in opposition to the newly perceived institutional evil order of the white, colonial, industrial society.

Warfare provides a needed point of ideological orientation between the social gospel of the Marching Rule and that of the North American experience. Here too we see the workings of that primary process unleashed by the liminality of war. With respect to the First World War, Mosher in her MA thesis notes that social gospellers applied an interpretation of it "as the last great battle against the forces of evil".

Social gospellers held the year 1919 as the beginning of a new era in the world's history. Only the expectation that society must emerge from the war purified and regenerated had reconciled them to the dreadful sacrifices of the war effort. With the end of the war they shared a sense of social crisis, urging that social

reconstruction proceed immediately (1975:83).

The second World War was interpreted by the people of Malaita in like fashion. The significance of this point ties both movements directly to the nineteenth century fundamentalist doctrine of dispensationalism, the cataclysmic passing of a great epoch of history. However in north America, after the initial enthusiasm after the First World War, the sense of crisis and urgency for reform petered out. The final crusade for peace and democracy "proved to be the beginning of the end of the climate that was favorable to the facile Progressivism that prevailed during the period of the social gospel" (Coleman Bennet in White and Hopkins, 1974-5:286). In the central Solomon Islands however, the Second World War, the end of the old dispensation, launched a wave of millenarian enthusiasm. As Ariel Sisili states, (in Laracy 1983:169), "at last a new dawn breaks upon the Solomon Islands."

The aim of the SSEM was to free the pagans from the grip of the devil, and the aim of the Marching Rule was to free Melanesians from subordination to colonial authority by using an identical strategy -- a denial of its religious legitimacy and the building of a new institution. If the events of the Marching Rule are to be primarily understood as resulting from a reversal of the notion of institutional

sin, then we should see reflected in its social agenda an intensification and new interest in applying the principles of social gospelism, as well as an articulation of the new analysis in the writings of the indigenous intellectuals. It is toward demonstrating these two points that I shall now turn.

Mott argues that "the heart of biblical thought mandates efforts to correct economic and social injustices in our communities" (1982:ix). The church, in Mott's view, can contribute toward social change in three ways, through social action and service, through the impact its non-conforming life has on the surrounding community, and through the support it gives to individuals involved in the stress of mission. All these dimensions of experience are organized by language, for the basic action of the church is the extension of its religious discourse to the secular realm. Mott's three dimensions of churchly involvement are reflected in the rhetoric of a movement, in its logos, ethos, and pathos.⁸⁴⁾

The logos of 'social gospelism'

Bateson and Geertz both partitioned the patterning effect

84 cf. Dan F. Hahn and Ruth M. Gonchar (1971). "Studying Social Movements: a rhetorical methodology". The Speech Teacher 20:44-5

of culture on the individual in terms of intellectual, cognitive aspects and moral and emotional aspects, termed respectively "eidos" or "world-view" and "ethos". In my formulation, logos, the application of culturally conditioned patterns of reasoning to problems of practice, is the manifestation in discourse of these elements in the premises, arguments and proposals advanced by a social movement. The Marching Rule logos provided a new world-view, a new cognitive understanding. This understanding was coincident with social gospelism as I have described it in Chapter 7. In Chapter 3, I showed how the Federal Council inspired Sisili's initiatives under the same name.

The Marching Rule objective of creating a new political institution was extended into the outline of a new bureaucratized, i.e., rationalized, structure by which social development could be effected. The Marching Rule spawned a proliferation of new institutions: 'duties', 'strife chiefs', 'farmer chiefs', and so on. However this outward organizational form, which most theorists have credited as a sophisticated achievement (cf. Whiteman 1983) was but the structure by which the Marching Rule social agenda was carried out in action. I discussed on page 81 in Chapter 3 the 'Council of Araha' document (Laracy 1983:141; circa 1946), and at this point I will enlarge upon its 'subjects for discussion'

which provides the covering context for the codification of custom, its first rule of business. Because it reveals the social gospelism of the Marching Rule in great clarity, I consider this collection of sentences part of the 'Basic Doctrine' of the Marching Rule although this is not to imply anything more than that it was by embracing these general matters that the pagans and Christians were able to confederate:

Subjects for discussion

1. The True Rules of Araha and their Laws, the Customs, and whatever good or bad in them. The good ones must be kept but the bad ones must be replaced by the good ones that had been in existence and have been lost or have never been found by our Ancestors.
2. Education All our children must be educated. We must remember that we are living in another age different from the times of our Ancestors. For better living, nothing is more necessary for us like education. We ourselves must help our children by our good examples, by our words, by our money, by food and by our been helpful to procure good teachers. But most of all we must let to the priests for the education of their souls and the formation of their good characters.
3. Health We must see that our houses are built properly, villages clean, people clean, houses clean, aid posts built, maternity built, pigs and fowls or other animals kept away from the villages, and plenty of water for washing and so on.
4. Economy We must learn how to make money by making copra, planting cocoa, making common store for the Araha and their peoples. We need money for many things such as the work of getting goods from other people to educate our children, to help us get many good things for our homes, for our villages and for so many other works we want to do.
5. Social We must show works of friendship among ourselves and show it to others as well. We must show works of charity, works of mercy and works of sympathy. We must show to other people. Whatever good we can do for ourselves and others as well. We must be hospitable to foreigners, kind to the poor and be honest in whatever we do or say. If we do that then we are sure that many other good people will respect us, our lands, our money, our children and whatever belongs to us. But most of all we must keep the ten Commandments of God which are well respect in our Customs by our ancestors, who although they may have broken them, have preserved them by words of mouth which

is called Tradition (Laracy 1983:141).

Pages are missing from the original document, but one can see how the axiomatic presentation of paragraph 4, economy, combined with the experience of organizational prowess during the SILC days, resulted in creating the 'Economy Chief' institution [original spelling]:

He sees that:-

1. Man know how to make money in the right way and the easiest way.
2. How to farm their land properly for both cash crop and their (sustenance crop) own crop for family usage.
3. What crop to grow, when to plant and harvest, how to fight insect etc.
4. Men have proper farming tools how to care for forms and tools and especially labourers.
5. Men know how to fish and how to breed fish in rivers and seas.
6. Men know how to drive for trochus shell, especially pearl shell and many other valuable shell etc.
7. Land tenure.

A matter of substantive disagreement between pagans and Christians, land tenure, is shoved to the bottom of the list. This is illustrative of the 'agreement to disagree' which I contend sustained the confederation of pagans with Christians. Land tenure, specifically establishing usufruct rights over garden land in the new urban areas, was, and is today, a prominent issue.

The role of money as a measure of worth⁸⁵⁾ deserves

85 cf. Kenelm Burridge, (1969) New Heaven, New Earth, Basil Blackwell, Oxford:142-144. And (1979) Someone, No One, Princeton:96-98; and cf. 'money' in index.

some additional comment. Money was apparently not viewed in terms of individual material gain, but as a vital community resource to be spent on community development. This view of money is consistent throughout the Marching Rule documents (cf. page 38 for early precedents). As Belamataga stated with regard to his Development Society for Native Races, "money collection is to be kept and to be spent on things for common use of all the people" including garden tools and school fees and the hiring of teachers and establishment of "higher schools." The Marching Rule also wanted to hire Europeans with technical knowledge to assist them in their development efforts. In respect to its interest in controlling their relationships with money in community terms, the Marching Rule evidences more interest in capitalization than the SSEM, which perhaps can be traced to their experience with the complex economy of the American staging base.

* * *

Ariel Sisili in 1949 prepared a manifesto which rallied the people to resist Government's resumption of the head tax. The manifesto is possibly the most literate and sophisticated of the indigenous Marching Rule documents, and indeed, may take a place among the world's great political statements. Apparently the only indigenous Marching Rule writing which found its way to the Colonial Office archives

in London, it occupies a central place in the corpus of indigenous writings, an important but unanalyzed bit of 'documentary reality'. It is reproduced in the Appendix of this thesis (Document H1, Laracy 1983:163-171; CO 537/6195 p. 29-33). At this point I will review Sisili's rhetoric within the analytical framework of logos, ethos and pathos. The manifesto, which was distributed throughout at least north Malaita, incorporates political, economic and moral arguments.

In part I, Sisili outlines the specific grievances held against the colonialists and the history of Marching Rule events through 1949. These, including the observation that during the war there was "No Provision for supply to families" together constituted "The reason why Malaita worked M.R. 1944-47 after war." Part I. concludes by citing Roosevelt's Four Freedoms and a Bible verse used axiomatically (AX1), "Rob not the poor because he is poor" [Proverbs 22:22].

Section II. outlines the new basis for political authority, "The articles Malaita strike for."

Section III. of the manifesto is an indictment of "the way they treat us in the Solomon Island". Moral relations are discussed first, and among them, the tight yoke of wage labor: "we have been used as beasts of burden

or engines for work" (paragraph III.6). At this point the author directly addresses his Model Reader in these words:

Let our cry mourning and groaning come openly before the world, and before the rulers and kings of the Earth, before wise counsels and before any people who knows our God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who with him is no respecter of persons (III.10).

Then the axiomatic status of the sentences of the Basic Doctrine is invoked (paragraph III.11). The section concludes with another Biblical quotation used axiomatically, (AX2): "Remove not the ancient landmark" [Proverbs 22:28].

Sisili proceeds to a discussion of law, land, taxation and labor conscription, and concludes, "they gather the best for the labouring -- our minds were made up as there was no use of working at these, so we left off" (paragraph III.15). The only appreciation extended to the old order, which is significant because it is mentioned in such a manner, was for "the Christian Religion", "that has educated us and taught us to know God, about him and His right ways"; for the civil authority vested in force for controlling violence; and for medical treatment -- "but no hospital built for treating persons in or near to our homes or villages or districts" (III.16).

The ethos of the Christian serviceman

If the logos is constituted of the underlying premises and arguments of the movement which determine the specific content of its derived sentences in building new organization, ethos refers to the movement's basic motive of rhetorical identification with an ideal model of social comportment (cf. Hahn & Gonchar ibid; Geertz 1963:3; Bateson 1958:118). The rhetorical identification of the movement's adherents to a new ideal moral man was exemplified in the person of the American Christian serviceman.

Section IV of the manifesto recounts the moment of the epiphany of the Marching Rule during the liminality of the War. It is here that the new moral ethos is invoked:

At last a new dawn breaks upon the Solomon Is. the U.S.A. Navy, Army, Air Force arrives and bravely plunges into war against the advancing enemy, eventually beat, and drives them back from the ground. Which as a result has freed us from our fears, our heartsburst forth every day, and gratitude in excess from men women and children both young and old, great and small to God and to that Country who with grace and mercy of God and their hearts of sympathy guided them to save us poor and helpless people of these islands.... We never known nor ever did we realize before they came here the true love and friendship mentioned in the bible and ignorant peoples to became better as one should say, that all men were created equal and that man is a trainty consisting of both spirit soul and body and that from common sense man can distinguish without being educated what was true[,] right ... [or] not right, fair ... [or] not fair (IV.2).

The ethos of the American Christian serviceman profoundly charged the primary process initiated in the suspension of political order, which I have termed the liminality of war. Not only was the energy of his character invoked but his organizational prowess underscored the new motive for social action.

Sisili then provides another axiomatic Biblical quotation (AX3): "Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends" [John 15:13]. The active exercise of love is detailed in the following paragraph:

- a) The first thing they said they gave their lives
- b) They share what they have
- c) They show their mind of sympathy to one and all
- d) They can satisfy any and every man and make a fair dealing with all side and the opposite
- e) They had the greatest heart for giving and when they saw the poorness or poverty of these islands, they were touched with feelings deep into the innermost of their hearts and they did do things that cost them etc. etc. [sic]

Then Sisili invokes another Biblical quotation, (AX4): "Not to love in thought nor in words but in deed and in truths. 'But the hireling seeth the wolf coming, leaveth the sheep and fleeth' because they are not his own" [John 10:12,13].

Axiom AX4 is the first sentence to metaphorically

identify the colonial order with the 'hireling', which in one Biblical context refers to the false prophets. 'Sin' is never directly mentioned, but the implication is plain. The section concludes with another direct address to the Model Reader and invokes a new axiomatic sentence (AX5). The pathos of Sisili's discourse is deepened, continuing the appeal to all the peoples of the world:

Dear Brothers 'We fear God' we natives of these islands are seeking after the truth, and to know and prove where the truth lies, and where shall we can be able to find the righteousness of God. As the blessed holy word of our Lord said, 'Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free' [John 8:32].

What renders Sisili's document a manifesto as opposed to a platform or statement of principles is first, the structure of the argument and, second, Sisili's Model Reader, who is not simply the one against whom the manifesto is directed. Sisili actively seeks to involve a wider moral community -- Christian people all over the world -- in the Marching Rule discourse, which is produced in accordance with a discursive strategy which seeks at once to make a declarative statement of historical facts and of political principles, to move people to action based on the content of that belief, and to assert, through moral confrontation a new identity and a new course for

redemption. As Griffin, a rhetorician influenced by Burke, writes, such moral confrontation is the consummatory form of a social movement:⁸⁶⁾

This symbolic rejection of the existing order is a purgative act of transformation and transcendence. It affirms the commitment of the converted to the movement -- to the new understanding -- ... and hence it endows them with a new condition 'substance' -- with a new identity, a new unity, a new motive (idem p. 465).

Sisili's argument proceeds as follows. Propositions of contingent truth arising from the experience of colonialism, and of fellowship with the servicemen, together with axioms AX1, AX2 and AX3, furnish explanatory sentences. If indeed they had removed the ancient landmark and robbed the poor of both land and money, then they were acting contrary to Holy Scripture. Now, if the hireling 'leaveth the sheep' to the wolf, and given the fact that the colonialists had apparently left the islanders to their fate at the hands of the Japanese, then Sisili's argument asserts an experimental sentence which found empirical proof in the conduct of the colonialists. The Americans, contrary to the British, were acting in accordance with Holy Scripture. Their actions during the War justified this interpretation.

86 Leland Griffin (1969), "A Dramatistic Theory of the Rhetoric of Movements" in William H. Rueckert, (ed.), Critical Responses to Kenneth Burke. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Moreover, the colonialists acted to undermine the new *communitas* of fellowship that the natives had developed with the Americans.

The fundamental Bible-rootedness of the social diagnostics instituted by the SSEM Marching Rule intellectuals in its new extension into the secular realm is represented well by Sisili's discourse. He put these inferences together with the Bible's guarantee of human knowledge of the truth and its freeing of the believer (AX4), in order to arrive at the concluding statement:

They tries to bound us from our FREEDOMS. But we must be FREE. Therefore we must FREE. (IV.10).

Now if institutional sin characterizes the entire colonial order as the 'hireling' then all its moral relations are negated as evil by the Christian order. But here a contradiction is experienced. In the SSEM dogmas the pagan regime was the regime of Satan, not its own. To resolve the discursive inconsistency, the SSEM assertion is negated. As the authors of "Council of Araha" state, the Mosaic Laws were "well respect in our Customs by our ancestors, who although they may have broken them, have preserved them by word of mouth which is called Tradition" (Laracy 1983:141). Here is the origin of "Christian Kastom," a term first used by Burt to describe the ideology of the post-Marching Rule Kwara'ae.⁸⁷⁾

87 Ben Burt (1983) "The Remnant Church: A Christian Sect of the Solomon Islands." Oceania 53:334-46.

The pathos of 'Masinga Lo'

In the production of discourse, emotion has an important, separable role apart from that of moral identifications, ethos. The third of Mott's influences of the church on social action consists in the emotional support rendered to the individual involved in mission. If the experience of the indigenes in common worship was that of communitas, then outside the context of worship, the emotional aspects of communitas had to be rendered into a linguistic form in order to uphold the structural moralities of the community of believers, the Bride. In the SSEM discourse, this ratiocination centered on the semantic properties of 'fellowship.'

Ethos and pathos interact to the extent that a powerfully motivating emotion, such as 'fellowship', enhances living in accord with the ethos of the Bride. Similarly, in the Marching Rule, 'brotherhood' -- masinga -- enhances living in accord with the moral ideal of the Christian serviceman. The pathos of the relationships experienced during the war was manifestly that of communitas, which the Marching Rulers rationalized into the semantic complex denoted by masinga. Why 'brotherhood,' rather than fellowship, filiation or affinity should constitute the emotional tenor of the Marching Rule social relationships, might represent a nostalgia for the close-knit community ties

of the ancient district group, of life before urbanization. Finding themselves living in larger groups than ever before, could the old relations of brotherhood be extended to embrace all men? Christianity also expresses the emotional tenor of its structured moralities in terms of 'brotherhood' as well as 'fellowship.' Christian 'brotherhood' was the emotional tie which embraced all men, not simply believers alone, and it was from the pathos of Christian 'brotherhood' as Hutchison states, that the American Federal Council derived its energy for social reform (ibid, Chapter V.).

SSEM Christian 'fellowship' was not supportive of social action directly. Service, "however exalted" according to Deck, was only a by-product of fellowship (see page 204). Masinga however, was a foundation of traditional social action. It was within the local group -- marked by patrification as an organizing principle -- that bridewealth was consolidated, gardening organized and resources pooled for common defence and feasting the agalo.

As anthropologists well know, there are problems with 'brotherhood' as a social ideal. Brothers quarrel and fight as well as cooperate, and although the 'structural' principle of sibling unity (cf. Radcliffe-Brown) represents an ideal relation of domestic harmony, the 'structural' abstraction and organizational reality may collide in

practice. Sibling identification must imply opposition. The structural abstraction becomes a rhetorical resource for persons, and as such, its impact as such a resource must be measured in situational contexts of conflict as well as solidarity, of competition as well as cooperation. As Firth states, "In the concept of the 'unity' of the sibling group, siblings are regarded as equivalent or united only for some social purposes, in defined conditions, and not in others. A problem is to show what these conditions are, where they obtain and do not obtain, and the implications in both eventualities"⁸⁸)

Masinga during the Marching Rule was the extension of an indigenous political ideal, for brothers should not fight, as it weakens the domestic group and threatens to fission the group's territory. Under the emotional support of traditional masinga, things got done. That Malaitans, now "one Family" (Nori, in Laracy 1983:92) should observe these ideals of brotherhood arises from an extension of these identifications. No longer the local group and its garden land, but the ethnic unity of all the people and by extension all the land of Malaita

88 Raymond Firth (1955), "Some Principles of Social Organization." The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 85:1-18; p.15

within the global community of man, becomes the emotional foundation for the Marching Rule.

I will discuss the dimension of pathos by referring to the autobiography of a Kwaio 'Feast-Maker', 'Elota.⁸⁹⁾ 'Elota and his people strongly supported the Marching Rule but 'Elota himself was not a Marching Rule chief, so his testimony stands as perhaps typical of the pagan local group leaders, the 'Feast-Makers,' the first level of interpretive control exercised by the Marching Rule proponents. He recounts how he attempted to avert fights during the Marching Rule period, arising from pig-thefts and seductions. "We had problems living in big villages" he states (1983:98).

In one instance, during a time in which most folks were working the communal gardens, some of 'Oibisi's people stole a consecrated pig belonging to 'Elota's grandmother. A meeting was scheduled.

89 Roger M. Keesing (ed.) (1983) 'Elota's Story. The Life and Times of a Solomon Islands Big Man. (Case studies in cultural anthropology), Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York.

The interrogation had been arranged for the next day. I went over to Tarifu, where the confrontation was to take place. I found all of 'Oibisi's men in their full fighting regalia. 'Oibisi had a bundle of spears; 'Abesis had a knife and his bow and arrow. I confronted them: 'Hey, what's come over you? This is a pig-theft interrogation, not a war. Are you going to kill someone? Have you got your eye on Bakua? Don't forget he's my brother-in-law. And you, 'Oibisi, you're my brother-in-law too. Why are you in a war party when we're supposed to all be living in peace as brothers? Take off your fighting belts. Put down your spears ...' (emphasis supplied. idem:98)

Another dispute occurred as a result of gossip about a sexual affair, and the women of the two sides eventually cursed each other.

The two sides met for a big confrontation ... each side was out for blood ... But I came and stopped the fight: 'You can't fight. We are brothers. We have to settle this by talking, not killing. This is a small dispute; let's just settle it calmly.' And they did, they quietened down (emphasis supplied. idem:99).

It is clear by these examples that the Marching Rule principle of brotherly conduct founded on an 'ethnic' awareness was a rhetorical resource for individuals. In each instance, 'brotherhood' as a distinctive product of the Marching Rule resulting from a semantic conflation of Christian and pagan 'brotherhood' enabled by the example of the American Christian serviceman, is invoked as a higher order relation, whose rules of comportment stress language as a medium of problem-solving. Having assented to be

supporters of the Marching Rule, the disputants had little choice but to surrender judgement of their actions to the linguistic format rather than to the outcome of force.

Age-old problems in Malaitan political relations surfaced in the big "towns". There was conflict of personality and of organizational management which raised up from the background the old disagreements which had been deferred by the initial Marching Rule enthusiasm. During early 1947 the *communitas* of wartime was attenuated, the masingwa of brotherhood required new jural sanction. Consequently, the Marching Rule courts were set up, threatening a tyranny of the majority, against which government prudently acted.

The bonds of ethnicity proved to be too weak to sustain the enthusiasm requisite to maintain a course of non-violent millenarian institutional innovation. It is the tragedy of the Marching Rule that a new sense of ethnicity had consequences that exacerbated the colonial relations and led directly to the second breach of norm-governed relations (see page 133). Ethnicity appears as a force which only initially unites the believers around elements whose origins are in collective feelings of nostalgia. Ethnicity ultimately divides. For example, consciousness of racial prejudice,

almost completely absent earlier on, was evident in Sisili's reference to the "white government." Both colonialists and the Marching Rulers were engaged in the same primary process up until the second breach, in June 1947. After that time the common rhetoric was broken as the radicals within the movement, finding themselves at the head of a powerful new organization, decided to go it alone. The ethnicity of masinga, the brotherhood of the old local group extended to the ethnicity of all the islanders, is reflected in the Marching Ruler's apparent concept of themselves as oppressed Jews (cf. Marquand ibid). This identification reached a fulfillment of sorts in the doctrines of the post-Marching Rule Remnant Church, founded in 1955 (cf Burt ibid). The Remnants trace the origins of the Kwara'ae people in the Holy Lands. Led by Moses (the 'Levite'), the Kwara'ae ancestors migrated on a ship called 'Sanctification' through the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, at last settling in the Kwara'ae mountains, where they established the first beu abu (ibid:344). Although the Remnants are a minority among Kwara'ae Christians, Historicism is also reflected in the predominance among north Malaitan communities today of the Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Thus it was a weakness of ethnicity, masinga, together with the revived assertion of personal 'big-man' status by junior leaders, that ended the old pathos of SSEM missionary 'fellowship,' as it did the 'brotherhood' of the American social gospellers, and as well, by the weakness of its bonds, the general millenarian course of actions. But if masinga was the price of pagan/Christian confederation, the political side of the movement as recounted in the first division lost no momentum, perhaps due to the simple presence of enough literate men of ability who could continue to articulate the objectives of representative government, who were honing their arguments and studying their Bibles and the literature left by the American servicemen.

The Marching Rule in comparative context

Max Weber has addressed the tension in the economic, political, intellectual and other spheres that exists between redemptive religion and the routinized social world, in terms of ideal-type ethical orientations.⁹⁰ The worldly tensions addressed by redemptive religions in practical effect have involved inevitable compromises and accommodations to power. An "organic social ethic" most strongly upholds

90 Max Weber, "Religious Rejections of the World and their Directions", in H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (eds.), From Max Weber. Oxford University Press, 1946:323-59; p. 338, 340. Also see The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. New York, Scribners', 1958. Chapter 4.

entrenched power interests. It attempts to synthesize the "inequality of charismatic qualifications with secular stratification by status, into a cosmos of God-ordained services which are specialized in function" (idem:338). The Melanesian Mission is a case in point. Although it once viewed itself as the conscience of the protectorate, it upheld the basic colonial interest, the adequacy of the supply of plantation labour and the legitimacy of the Melanesians' role as plantation laborers, and in its actions with respect to the Chair and Rule. The organic ethic, from the standpoint of the inner-world ascetic, "lacks the inward drive for an ethical and thorough rationalization of individual life" (idem:338). However, revolutionary change may result from inner-worldly asceticism when it "is capable of opposing an absolute and divine 'natural law' to the creaturally, wicked, and empirical orders of the world. It then becomes a religious duty to realize this divine natural law, according to the sentence that one must obey God rather than men ..." (idem:340).

The SSEM is clearly not a "Religion of the Status Quo" as Lincoln holds all colonial missions to be.⁹¹⁾

91 Bruce Lincoln (1985), Toward a Theory of Religion and Revolution. Pages 266-283 in Bruce Lincoln (ed.), Religion, Rebellion, Revolution. MacMillan Press, London.

The SSEM was not the tool of the ruling class of colonial masters. The SSEM found it difficult to enter into the relations of industrial agriculture because of its prior commitment to the welfare of laborers. Nor was its ideology "a selective Christianity consciously adopted for colonial consumption" (idem:271). To the contrary, its ideology rested directly upon Holy Scripture, the Basic Doctrine of Christianity, which it viewed as a handbook for living whose interpretation was unmediated by institutional authority. Vis-a-vis its stance toward the Protectorate and its closely associated Melanesian Mission, the SSEM may be seen more as a "Religion of Resistance," because it espoused "a set of values that differs in some measure from that of the religion of the status quo" (idem:273). The SSEM resisted the "organic social ethic" of the Melanesian Mission. And although united within the common traditions and precepts of Christianity, the MM and the SSEM adherents, however, had "no love for one another" (Hogbin 1939:184).

By Weber's theory, among islanders the SSEM must be viewed as promoting revolutionary social change. It required converts to free themselves wholly from the pagan order. The mission not only provided the literacy and "natural law" of Holy Scripture by which this could be effected, but as well, a notion of an incipient social

institution, the mystically expressed 'Bride of Christ' which was a new social order founded upon a perpetually engaged *communitas* of fellowship, to be created on earth in advance of the Millennium.

The revolutionary impacts of the SSEM on the pagan order, its directing ideology and program, is supported by every one of David Aberle's criteria,⁹² as constituting a "transformative social movement" which viewed "the process of change as cataclysmic, the time of change as imminent, the direction of change as teleologically guided...."

(*idem*:319). The mission's time perspective was one of furthering immediate and total change. The SSEM theory of history was teleological, founded in dispensationalism and the "any-moment" Second Coming, and (like Fallows) aimed at building on earth the Kingdom of God. The SSEM leadership was charismatic to the extent that the authority of the village teacher was due to his being "primarily an interpreter of what is happening" (*idem*:318). His discursive authority was granted by the white missionaries, new ritual experts, who were regarded as being "in touch with superior forces or as having superior knowledge of

92 David Aberle (1966), The Peyote Religion Among the Navajo. Aldine Press, Chicago:318-20. Second Edition, 1981.

the forces of destiny" (idem). Village secular leadership, however, was emergent, growing out of the indigenization of Christianity and individuality. The SSEM fostered a policy of disengagement as well. The Christian communities separated themselves physically from the pagan society by forming a new and increasingly 'urbanized' coastal demographic region, both to "avoid the contamination of the ungodly" and to build up the new, Christian, social order.

The means by which a complete transformation was to be effected cannot be understood as "predominantly magical or predominantly empirical," but predominantly through literacy and the application of the new "natural law." Ultimately, the SSEM model or desired end-state, which is a "model for" rather than a "model of" (Geertz 1963), was of the innovative sub-type. The indigenous SSEM converts were not engaged in imitative transformation, for both they and their European mentors were engaged in the same process of preparing the Bride.

The scope of the SSEM transformation, its expected beneficiaries, was primarily universalistic. All persons who accepted the teachings of Jesus Christ, as communicated through the earthly "executive of the Godhead," the Holy Spirit, were to share in the blessings. This was not

simply a remote ideology, as it is for the organic ethic not recognizant of the millennialism of the New Testament as a whole, but was operationalized in daily life. Although the SSEM relationship to the colonial order may be described as "reformatory", its relationship with the pagan order was to transform that order, not through supernatural intervention but through human initiative directed at the attainment of God's will.

Lincoln states,

Religions of resistance define themselves in opposition to the religion of the status quo, defending against the ideological domination of the latter. Religions of revolution, on the other hand, define themselves in opposition to the dominant social party itself, not its religious arm alone, promoting direct action against the dominant party's material control of society (emphasis supplied. Lincoln 1985:275).

Thus in terms discussed by Weber, Aberle and Lincoln, the SSEM promoted revolutionary, transformative changes in the pagan society. The problem this poses is how to categorize the manifestly different kinds of movement which constitute political/millennial rebellion against colonial power, such as among, for example, the Mau-Mau, the Marching Rulers, the Sanusiya of Cyrenaica, or, to follow Lincoln's extension, the Jacobin coalition of the French Revolution or the Puritan coalition of the English Civil War?

Returning to Aberle's formulation, if the SSEM itself

is viewed as transformative in goal, 'magical' and empirical in means, innovative in model, and universalist in scope, the Marching Rule is likewise transformative in goal, 'magical' and empirical in means, innovative in model, and universalist in scope. The points of distinction would fall on two of Aberle's variables, what is meant by "magical and empirical" on the one hand, and the concreteness of the modeled end-state envisioned by the movements' adherents on the other. Discussing the problems of magic and empiricism would take us too far afield, but I must here note that "binding" demons within illocutionary formulae and the derivation of experimental sentences from a semantic complex axiomatically conceived, were two uses of language which were not inconsistent, in terms of Malaitan Christianity.

The model propounded by the Marching Rule, conceived within the developmental possibilities of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms and the ideology of social gospelism, represents a concretization of the mystically expressed SSEM model. The restorative aspects of the Marching Rule, the return to a vision of the past characterized by masingqa, an "ethnic paradise" in Aberle's terms (ibid.:319), was experienced innovatively. The earliest ancestors were Christians, and hence, the rediscovery of 'Christian Kastom' constituted an innovative ideal basis for pagan/ Christian confederation.

Exactly in parallel with the American development, the Marching Rule doctrines resulted from extending religious discourse to the socio-political realm.

Aside from these points, the only feature which seems to separate the SSEM and the Marching Rule itself is the focus of its moral confrontation.

That conflict is a rhetorical medium and not simply a form of action is a well-developed concept in some contemporary rhetorical theory.⁹³ These theorists, along with the symbolic interactionist school of sociology typified by Goffman, owe a great deal to Kenneth Burke. Cathcart, for one, views social movements as being of two types only. The first are movements marked by their managerial rhetoric. Their language-use, while perhaps urging reform, identifies them with the institutions of the existing order and its basic moral rectitudes. The second type of movement, which embraces the SSEM vis-a-vis the pagan order and the Marching Rule vis-a-vis the colonial order, is marked by the rhetoric of moral confrontation. This "rejects the system, its hierarchy, its values" (Cathcart op cit.) and opposes a different moral order to that of

93 cf. Robert S. Cathcart (1980) "Movements: Confrontation as Rhetorical Form." In Bernard L. Brock and Robert Scott (eds.). Methods of Rhetorical Criticism. 2nd Edition, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, pp. 436-447; and, Harry A. Bailey, Jr. (1969) "Confrontation as an extension of communication" in Donn W. Parson and Will A. Linkugel (eds.), Militancy and anti-communication: Proceedings of the Second Annual Symposium on Issues in Public Communication. University of Kansas, Lawrence. pp 11-26.

structured power relationships.

All movements of revolutionary upheaval are marked by efforts to begin everything over again on a new basis of moral living. This occurs not only in the complete conversion demanded by such transformational missions as the SSEM, and Kwato for that matter, but is found in the general pattern of the millenarian movement. As Burridge states,

Symbols of the old order are destroyed, there is a period of anomie, rituals of rebirth are enacted, symbols of the new-order-to-be are displayed in specific contexts, the garments of the new man are laid out (1985:228).

At least with this much, Lincoln agrees:

The entire history of any revolutionary struggle -- demonstrations, agitations, debate, battles, purges and the like -- can be interpreted as a series of iconoclastic rituals intended to dismantle the symbolical and ideological constructs by which the dominant party in the past sought to perpetuate its rule (1985:280).

The encounter between institutional structure and anti-structure identified by Turner as generative of change is thus one which initiates processes of semantic deconstruction, through a diachronic millenarian pattern of old rules → no rules → new rules.⁹⁴ The liminal period appeared to be necessary, in the case of the Marching Rule, for the

94 cf. Kenelm Burridge (1985), "Millennialisms & the Recreation of History" in Bruce Lincoln (ed.) Religion, Rebellion, Revolution. Macmillan: London, p. 228-9; 296-7. And, (1979) Someone, No One. Princeton University Press. p.157,216-219.

initiation of the process of deconstruction, because in some very concrete sense, the mamana of every exegesis is sustained only until its empirical failure becomes evident. After the suspension of government authority during the months of warfare, followed by the establishment of the American staging base, the mamana of the statist discourse was firmly discredited. Fallowes's ideas were not immediately taken up, indeed, the Marching Rule laid in incubation for four years before a new indigenous leadership began meeting with government officers.

The inner-worldly ascetic, who dissents from the routinized Church because of the contradictions in its teachings with respect to his experience, seeks guidance from the fundamentals of belief and institutes the Holy Scriptures as the "natural law" according to which new moralities are envisioned as an alternative to the organic social ethic. The Bible is a textual machine destructive of every bureaucratized interpretation brought to explain its teachings.⁹⁵⁾

Now, confrontation as a discursive format had a definite role in the social diagnostics of Malaitan Christians.

95 cf. Paul Ricoeur (1978) "Listening to the Parables of Jesus." Chapter 15 in Charles E. Reagan and David Stewart, (eds.), The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur, an anthology of his work. Beacon, Boston.

It was directed solely to questions of sin. Disputes, disagreements and grievances within the community on every other point were dealt with through fellowship and confession. But the Christians directly confronted sin in the pagan order, and in their own communities, in no uncertain terms. This was not the confrontation of man with man, but of one system of institutional order with another.

The SSEM teachers could never confront the SSEM missionaries on the fundamental basis of doctrine, because they knew that both were involved in preparing the Bride, and any failure of one was a failure of all in terms of preserving the *communitas*, as ratiocinated into 'fellowship'. However, in the liminality of wartime, the experience of Christianity and the experience of colonialism which the SSEM upheld by "resisting" but perhaps not by "confronting" -- in light of the data presented in both divisions of the thesis -- was indeed a contradiction whose resolution was forged by identifying the SSEM missionaries as upholding, by not confronting, the worldly sinful order. Sisili's Manifesto constitutes the clearest evidence for this interpretation. When the missionaries returned from war-time absence to the island, the people refused their landing and would not even speak to them (Laracy 1983:114; and O'Reilly 1948).

Government advanced a cargo cult explicans for the millenarianism of the Marching Rule out of its bureaucratic mode of referential textuality, in order to render into the facticity of documentary reality the events which came to be interpreted as an 'irrational' if not hostile effort to disrupt its uncontradicted semantic organization, its own basic moral and political, hence developmental, rectitude. The Christian discourse had no place in the documentary reality because its millenial objectives rested in a totalistic critique of every statist discourse which rests upon an organic social ethic, demanding submission of bureaucratic 'rationality' to religious 'ideology'.

As Smith has noted, the codes of bureaucratic relevance are imposed from higher to lower echelons of the organization. Men at the lowest level, DOs and village missionaries, have more direct interaction with the "clients" of the bureaucracy and the opportunity to develop mutual identifications and the ability to ask new questions, which, in Smith's formulation, would tend to undermine the bureaucratic emphasis on referential textuality. Thus Revs. Pavase and Fallowes, cadet Marquand, and DOs Macquarie and Belshaw, are set off from other missionaries and government personnel for their willingness to question the relevancies of the hierarchy and in their recognition of the desirability

and real possibility of indigenously- generated change. But there are other men whose moral identifications strongly upheld the statist discourse, and for whom establishing the Kingdom on earth was as much fantastic rubbish as ships full of Cargo coming from the ancestors. Their views were shaped by the text production formats of a 'rational' bureaucratic practice, and perhaps as well, by a personal indifference to, or even active bias against, the Christian faith.

The discourse between the Marching Rule and the government was almost always conducted on secular issues. The statist model of discourse, controlled by codified interpretive traditions, is by necessity referential as it seeks to match events as experienced to received codes. The opposing model of discourse is one of semantic deconstruction, which occurs through a process of reasoning in which experience confronts the organic social ethic in accord with more or less reliable heuristic rules of inquiry.

Among the indigenous intellectuals' primary aims from the beginning of the Marching Rule period were to engage Europeans in a moral rhetoric oriented to the nature and obligations of a Christian life. It was not the absence of sophisticated political ambitions among the islanders that led to the 'documentary reality' of the cargo cult

explicans dominating contemporary and some subsequent anthropological discourse on the movement, but its very presence. Driven by the fundamentalist Biblical ratiocinations of the indigenous intellectuals, revealed through this examination of the indigenous 'documentary reality', their rhetoric generated a "fantastic political creed." It jarred the nerves of those of less fervent faith, as well as those, perhaps, whose memory of British history contained an old political anxiety over a previous constitutional challenge, wrought by a previous English generation of radical Protestants.

Appendices

A. Myths of the Bulu Cults. Colin Allan (1974). XI.
Some Marching Rule Stories. The Journal of Pacific History.
9:182-6.

XI SOME MARCHING RULE STORIES

BETWEEN 1945 and 1953 the Government of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate was almost entirely occupied with the Marching Rule movement which had its beginnings in Malaita during World War II. The character of the movement as well as similar cults has been extensively documented.¹

Between 1950 and 1952 a close adviser for the government in dealing with the seemingly intractable problem of the Marching Rule was David Dausabea of Angreba, Chief Headman of Kwara'ae. Dausabea, who had enjoyed a better education in mission schools than most Government headmen, was widely respected as a wise leader and patient negotiator. At that time he was a well-preserved man of about 50 who had extensive family connexions throughout Kwara'ae and North Malaita. He was widely respected by all sectors in Malaita. His contacts throughout Kwara'ae were extensive and he could—albeit with some difficulty—make contacts with members of the Federal Council, which by the end of 1950 had taken over the mantle of the Marching Rule 'Chiefs', whose influence had waned. For the Administration on Malaita this had become all but impossible.

In the course of endless talks, discussions and conferences with Dausabea, it one day emerged that for him, and indeed Kwara'ae, there was nothing new in the essential character of the Marching Rule at grass roots.² It had all happened before. David Dausabea told stories of certain events in Kwara'ae many years previously which involved his forebears. The account of the Bulu, set out below, is word for word as Dausabea told it. The idiom is his. No one else was present when the tales were told. However, the existence of these tales and the capacity of Dausabea to relate them was widely known among his colleagues. The stories were not checked since at the time they were simply incidental to the task of finding political solutions to the problems which the Marching Rule presented to the Government.

The Story of the Bulu (foolish spirit sent by Satan)

THIS story is a new thing that has come to Malaita. It was not here many years ago. It is a story which is very hard for most men in the Island to understand. I have two stories about the Bulu. The first one comes from the time when my father was a small boy. The second one is in the time when I was a grown man. The first one started in the middle bush of Kwara'ae at two places called Auki and Langa Langa. These are not

¹ See e.g. Colin H. Allan, 'The Marching Rule movement in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate: an analytical survey', Dip.Anth. thesis, University of Cambridge (Cambridge 1950); Hugh M. Laracy, 'Marching Rule and the missions', *The Journal of Pacific History*, VI (1971), 96-114.

² For comparative material on a New Guinea cult see Richard F. Salisbury, 'An "indigenous" New Guinea cult', *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, 18 (1958), 67-78.

the two places called by these names today on the saltwater. It was started by an old woman named Ko'ogiri. This woman during the night and day sang all the time. When she sang she talked of her husband who had died many years before. When she sang, she would say, 'When will I see the face of my husband, soon he will come but not like a man dead: he will come as a man alive. If he comes and talks with me in my house, some other men who have died before will come too. If anyone who wants his mother and father, daughter and son alive like my husband, they should build me a good house. They must make me a *Sisima* (walls of plaited bamboo).'

Now the news of this woman's song went to all the places in the bush. The people sent news far and wide that Ko'ogiri's song promised the people who had died would come back again, if those who lived built a good house. Soon it was known among the people that everyone who wanted to see their mother and father again need only build a good new house for this to happen. Plenty of people hearing this said, 'We must do this for Ko'ogiri and we will see our mothers and fathers and sons and daughters alive again. The work is nothing, we will see our loved ones.' Plenty of the people were happy to build the house—they were not frightened of the hard work that Ko'ogiri talked about.

So all the people gathered at Ko'ogiri's place at Langa Langa and started to build her new house. Soon the work was done because everyone was eager to hurry it along. Then when the house was finished Ko'ogiri started singing again telling the people that they must make the tracks in the bush into good, wide and clear roads. 'No root, and no log and no weeds must stay in the road' sang Ko'ogiri. She sang that one road must go to the west from the house they had built. The second must go to the east. The third to the south. The fourth should go to the north. These four roads must join at the house which Ko'ogiri was now living in. Ko'ogiri sang that the people of the dead would come along these four roads and walk into her house. So sang Ko'ogiri at night—'They come ashore now—this night now they will reach this house'.

The people were happy and certain that they would see their fathers and mothers that night. Then in the morning, they saw no one and Ko'ogiri started singing again. 'They will come tonight' she sang, 'but they came last night and the road was no good—there were too many roots in it and so they went back. You go and clean the road properly so that they will not turn back.' And the people went down and took the empty shells of coconuts and scratched the roads all the way to where they finished. They came home and Ko'ogiri sang 'Tonight they will come but last night the road was not clean and so they did not come. All of you must go to your gardens and get good taros. Takē them home and roast them on the fires. Then you must clean the taros and when they are cooked put them on the four places where the roads come out of the house. All your fathers from far place are hungry—they have come a long way—get plenty of taro and put it where the roads come out.' The people did all this.

Then in the morning the people came and saw their taros still there in the same place—none had been taken away or eaten and they went to Ko'ogiri and asked 'Why has my father not come and eaten a little of my taro?' And Ko'ogiri said 'You have got to wait'. Then the people went home.

Not long afterwards Ko'ogiri made a hole inside the room in her house where no one could go inside. She got some water and emptied it into the hole. The hole filled up with water. Ko'ogiri then sang 'Tell the people come back. Everyone who has died will come tonight. I am in this house now.' The people came and listened outside the house. Inside Ko'ogiri was moving the water with her hands. She sang 'Listen now—father has come now but you cannot see him. You cannot see him yet. All the fathers are in this room with me. You must go and get good taros and bring them come. Father does not like bad taro—bring ones he likes—bring Ainifato.' The people heard outside and

turned to every garden. Some were heard to say 'Oh, I have no Ainifato—it is better if you give me one for my father—you have plenty in your garden'. All the people went and got the taros and they cooked them and in the evening they came and gave them into the hands of Ko'ogiri. She received all the taros; she ate some and threw many away into the hole with the water inside.

Early in the morning, the people came and asked Ko'ogiri, 'Did father eat the taro?—did he say it was good or bad?' Ko'ogiri said that father was very pleased with the taro. The people asked Ko'ogiri if they could see the bodies of their fathers then. She said that they must not press this strongly or else the fathers would be cross and would go back and all the people would not see them.

Then at that time, a great sickness came to the people and they started to die out. Ko'ogiri went on singing but the people cried out that their children were dying and they could not go to listen to the words of Ko'ogiri. At that time the people at Langa Langa all died. The people at Auki died. Ko'ogiri died too. And now today no-one lives in these two places. Plenty of people asked themselves why the tribes were dying—they wondered what they had done. They thought they had been poisoned. Nothing was left. No one was left to believe in Ko'ogiri.

This is the story of what happened when my father was a small boy which must be over 80 years ago. This is the first Bulu story. All that came after was much the same.

THE second Bulu began at a place called Aisisale in the middle bush. The Bulu gave this name to the place. Aisisale means 'cranky tree'. The proper name of this place was Kilugnenga. The Bulu started in the form of sorcery and was started by one man Buluanoasa and another man Niusuri. These two names they got from the Bulu but their proper names were Arsōfai and Alabae. First of all one man brought some money (Island) to Buluanoasa to make some witchcraft. Buluanoasa took the money and divided in two—he kept one half and left it close to his bed and the other half he gave back to the man. Then Buluanoasa spoke his devil and asked him to tell in the night the reasons why this man's life was not happy. He said that the man had brought money and that the devil must tell Buluanoasa and he would tell the man. Buluanoasa lay down to sleep and the man sat down to listen. When all was quiet, the devil began to speak through the mouth of the Bulu. He spoke about the man's business. He said he must get some pigs and take them to the place where he worshipped his devils. The Bulu said that the man had not cared for his devils and that was why his affairs were going wrong. The man went and did what the Bulu told him.

After he did this all went well with him and he saw that his affairs were settled. The Bulu spoke to Buluanoasa 'Tonight cast away all the devils and I only will be your master'. In the morning Buluanoasa told the people 'We will go to the place where they worship the devil before'. They went. When they got to the devil's place, Buluanoasa ran behind the devil's house. He said to the people with him, 'All right, rouse him this devil and come into the house'. Niusuri and some people broke the door and came into the devil house. They saw the head of the devil on the centre post. They took it down. They upset water from a bamboo over the head of the devil. At the same time Buluanoasa broke through from the rear of the house and saw what had been done and said 'This devil is finished. It cannot do anything now.' They left the devil and went outside and set fire to the house. The house burnt and the devil was burnt. They went back to Aisisale. That night the Bulu came to Buluanoasa and Niusuri and said 'The power of the devil is finished. It can do nothing now. I will save you and look after you in trouble.' In the morning they thought of another devil at another place. It was the head devil of their line—Buluanoasa said 'Let us cast out this devil today'. They went to the place—it was not inside a house. It was a place of stones where they always worshipped. When they got to the place Buluanoasa talked to the Bulu. 'You

now can help me today. If you have no power, my head devil will kill me today.' He cried out and went inside the tambu place. When he came out he brought a large stone from the place of the fire where they sacrificed to the devil. He threw the stone away. Then he went and took another stone from the place where they cooked the pig for sacrifice and threw it away. He took a *Sango* (a red bush held in the hand in dancing). He gave a piece to each man. One was given to Idomea and one he held. Buluanoasa went first and Idomea behind. Then Buluanoasa hit one of the sacred stones with the bush and Idomea did the same after him. They went round every stone in the tambu place doing this. They tried to find a bone of the head devil but couldn't. The bones were under the ground. Buluanoasa called for water from Niusuri. Buluanoasa took the water and scattered it about in the tambu place. They turned for their village. As they left Niusuri lay on the ground and said he was close to death. Buluanoasa called to the Bulu to save Niusuri. As he spoke Niusuri got up and they went home. They did not reach their village—they stopped on the road. Buluanoasa fell down on the road and cried out, 'The Bulu has killed me—if you give me money I will live. If not I will die.' One man called Oinga brought money. When he got there Buluanoasa got up and said he lived. He took the money and put it on two sticks stuck in the ground with a cross stick. At the same time they sang a song to the Bulu telling him thanks for the money. The Bulu said to leave the money and go home. They put two *Sango* on either side of the sticks. The Bulu said, 'Don't worry about the money. It will be safe and I will know if anyone comes to steal it. We will go home and after five days we will come to see the money.' Five days later they returned. The money wasn't there. Some people said, 'All right Bulu who has stolen the money?' Buluanoasa and Niusuri smelt the air all about and looked on other roads. They covered their faces and eyes with lime and turned to another road and said, 'The man who took the money followed this road'. They followed it and went through the scrub and found nothing. The people asked where the money was. 'The Bulu will tell us soon' they said. The people said we will see whether the Bulu is true. Bulu said to Niusuri, 'Take a post from the bush'. They did and came to Aisisale village. Then Niusuri carved owl-bird from wood and put it on top of the post. Niusuri told the people to look to the bird for six days. On the sixth day they must take plenty of taro and cook it. A piece was placed at the entrance to all the roads. They covered the ground with leaves which had cooked the taro. Niusuri said, 'We will look to the bird all night and in the morning the Bulu will bring plenty of different moneys including English money, rifles, cartridges, etc. In the morning something like the bird will bring all the money. You will see that all our fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters will come along these roads where the food is laid out.' All night the people looked at the carved bird. Nothing was seen—the people asked 'Where are the dead. The taro is there. Where are the rifles and the English money and the island moneys?' The Bulu told them to build a house for all the things that were to come and for the dead. They did this. Then the Bulu told them to put the bones of two dead men in baskets and hang them in the house. The Bulu said that the dead would come out from these bones.

Buluanoasa and Niusuri went into the house which had been built for the things the Bulu promised. People cried out for the money, the dead and the rifles. They said nothing. Niusuri said, 'If you give me one girl then all your Head fathers will come—lots of money and rifles and this house will be full'. They gave him the girl. He paid the father money. The people looked and there was nothing.

The Bulu told Buluanoasa and Niusuri to tell the people to go to the sea coast and build lots of canoes. So they went to the coast and came to Fou'oo. First they made a feast for all the people to gather. They danced and sang. They sang, 'We have come to this place to do the work the Bulu tells us to do. We stop to help our people, and make a long wharf into the sea.' They built the long wharf into the sea. Then they

built the eight canoes. When they were finished after three months they cut lots of firewood and put in houses. The firewood was to cook the porpoises. The Bulu said when all was ready, tomorrow is the day for the fishing. In the morning four men were chosen for each canoe. Then Niusuri talked 'Today is the day to catch the fish to bring back to this place'. They went out in the eight canoes far behind Leili (Nona-sila) turned for Gwairago and found nothing. They turned to Fokunakafu but no fish. They were tired and turned for home. Niusuri said, 'Something is wrong we have not found the fish'. Niusuri said, 'We must take the coconut water and break it over the canoes' and sang out to Bulu, 'You hear us now today. What is wrong with you? Tell us why there are no fish.' The Bulu answered—'Tomorrow, you must go out and catch the fish'. Three days they tried and failed. They went back to Fou'oo, left the canoes and returned to Aisasale village. Then the people started to mock the Bulu. The people forsook the Bulu. The people said the Bulu is a liar. The people left the Bulu, and started to die out from sickness. Later Niusuri's wife bore a child and Niusuri took the placenta and made a hole in a stone and put it inside. He took it to his house. He said to the people, 'By and by another child will come from this thing I have put in the stone'. The stone was in the house and then Buluanoasa died. Not long after again Niusuri died. Then the people took the stone and threw it to the water. The people then became Christians and the Church of England teacher came to Aisasale.

COLIN H. ALLAN

B. The Marching Rule Manifesto. Ariel Sisili, 1949. (Public
Record Office: CO 537/6195 p. 29-33).

DELETE

C O P Y (With original spelling)

COPY OF DOCUMENT PRESENTED TO DISTRICT HEADMAN MAEKALI

IN VARICUS VILLAGES IN MALU'U AREA.

829

THE SETTLEMENT OF BRITISH GOVT PROTECTORATE IN SOLOMON ISLAND
52 YEARS AGO NO PLAN MADE FOR NATIVE BENEFIT.
AIMS- ALL WAS MADE FOR EXPLOITATION

EXPECTATION OF NATIVES WAS FOR A FAIR AND BETTER LIVING

Malaite Complaints

1. Our tax money for over 18 years
2. Compensation money
3. Court fines
4. Local Court money 1941-1946
5. Loyal to Govt. services - risk many.
6. Plantations - low wages - poor food - ill treatment.
7. No Govt. or medical schools - no native member in Government Council

Japs arrive - War in Solomon.

8. No British army etc, etc, defended - Government gave up Solomon Island war duties taken up and attended to be free country whom we expected not.
9. Laulasi and Foodo bombed without any guidance
10. Govt. called Malaite people to join war - low wages - killed - wound - and ill-treatment

No provision or supply for families

11. The reason why Malaite worked M.R. 1944-1947, after war

At Govt. Presence

1. Collected money for whatever the peoples concerns.
2. £12.0.0. strike as our wages
3. Nine chiefs chosen by people - to help our people
4. Our Alaha o'ous set up in their living
5. Freedom with fair and equality-without hindrance of any good thing
6. Heavy expenditure in foods-meats-money-, peoples properties
7. Anything that caused quarrelling or astired the people we hand before the Government

Malaite arrested 1947-1949

8. Nine men with assistance arrested and charged for seditious meetings. Unlawful Society
Sentenced to 6 years - no assessors in trials
9. People arrest - hard treatment, sentenced without trial in Court
10. Staying for our families,
11. Govt send army, warships, aircraft, submarine - terrify people
12. Govt claims Malaite guilty
13. Nine men ask for a legal "Adviser" to see into matters - offer £4000: Govt objects.
14. The sum was presented to the Govt for fair and peace - objected
15. Trial and arresting continued for two years
16. The natives Govt Headman pays money to Govt to punish our people.
17. Settlement on Malu'u, North Malaite was by force. Our aims are that our island, people, customs, living, properties, and Council be without disturbance.

Rob not the poor because he is poor

FREEDOM OF SPEECH
FREEDOM OF RELIGION
FREEDOM FROM WANT
FREEDOM FROM FEAR

Has been set up and was agreed on.

DELETE

MARCHING FILE DOCUMENT: (Cont)

(11)

30.

3. The Article Malaita strike for

1. Our island is our, ground, stone, minerals, trees, rivers, streams, beaches, and swamps, bird, beast, shells, reefs, fishes.

2. Our people our men, women, boys, girls, both young and old.

3. Our living native race-custom-language dialect etc

4. Our chiefs and our council of the people by the people for the people.

A. "During the ancient days of the past with all our forefathers there was always a man in position, a ruler, head of the tribes who held the authority of advisor and guide concerning the native local laws and customs.

B. At present we quite realised distinctly since the white man arrival

C. Our custom laws have been and are being disturbed and upset shattered and disobeyed very much

D. Therefore we are afraid of going too far in future by foreigners who may be brought in by the B.P. Govt. and result in losing all the above things which belongs to us.

E. As we have considered and discovered the state of things we decide to have that we must have our 'Head' replaced to be again in his position and to carry on his duty.

F. Anybody can be admitted by him and our 'council' with the people-land anything not fair must be avoided

G. Govt. Missionaries, doctors, plantation etc etc, we like-but must not grab land or take by force any of our possessions (belonging)

H. Whiteman many brought education - we own the land (ground) your own money (coin) we have the men. You brought medical treatment

I. We are the dependant and everything needs exchange or payment by whatever their work high or low.

J. Nothing in the world could be fair by self-benefit minded and careless, robbery towards the opposite side.

K. God has given to the people knowledge to share and pass it on to the poor and needy people-tilly they must have their local Heads.

L. Although these island are very small - this is what was in our native mind toward any country who with mercy and grateful hearts towards us and wish to advance us.

M. We bound to have our own 'Head' after people are good (Bul) still there are foreign. There thoughts are always to their peoples to enlarged the community of their country.

N. Our own freedoms and Equality, as in all the world strike for,

O. Thank God, whoever will be able to hear us and give not hold back

P. The way they treat us in the Solomon Island

Q. Since the white people and B.P. Govt arrived and settled in the S.I.

R. we've the native realised and have noticed in a great distinction between

S. them and us:-

T. They have never shown any sign of real friendships, love, love, not sympathy,

U. therefore it is quite obvious that there will never be any equality between

V. them and our coloured race, whatever in the future this is what we certainly

W. predict.

X. 1. They check, bushy, bluff, rob us and don't care - hard work as for

Y. their own benefits, treat us like dogs.

Z. 2. They gave us no time to clean ourselves every day

AA. 3. Bell rang during dark hours of morning to communicate work even on

AB. rainy days.

AC. Several overseers, a whiteman with a few natives included it has been

AD. known on many occasions for the white overseer to be mounted on a horse's

AE. back with loaded rifle or revolver including a stick whip and dog accompanying.

AF. 4. They can whip, kick, hit and send the dog to bite any native

AG. who may be weak or tired taking a little spell or even sick in his

AH. body and complaints that 'the natives had not done the work as he wished, with

AI. cursing and swearing or even if the native took shelter from rain during

AJ. working hours, No sympathy shown.

DELETE

MARCHING RULE DOCUMENT (Cont)

III

31

5. There was no proper house built for the native living and comfort, very poor and cheapest food possible, all were in the very limited way of earning for health; everything has always been hard going for the benefit of the exploiter.

6. We know for surety and we have quite realised as a matter of fact that there was no hope at all or ever for our benefit and advancement, we have been used as beasts of burden or engines for work. We groan and moan sigh and cry with many a tear as fatherless children so we have no father whatsoever.

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

8. If it happened a case was raised between Native and White it mostly fell on the native side to be the guilty party and punished with imprisonment.

9. We have never had the Whiteman's best or ever taught or shown anything above the ordinary. These has always been a holding back from the native in case he may see his position.

10. Let our cry mourning and groaning come openly before the world and before the rulers and kings of the Earth, before wise counsels and before any people who knows our God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who with him is no respecter of persons.

11. Dear peoples the Scriptures (God word) says man was created equal. There is only one true god, one Creator, one Father, one Lawgiver, one Son Jesus Christ our Saviour, one globe in which we all live upon. He shared His love toward all "mankind equally". Whatever the colour or race creed or religion. We had "all" our inheritance and rights from him. It is plainly written in His holy word "Remove" not the ancient landmark neither rob the poor of the earth.

12. The Law in the Solomon's islands seems to be two different kinds one for the white race, the other for the natives, also the treatment, they care for the work rather than for man.

13. In the past days if a white man wanted to settle or plant a plantation or any land, he never tried to find the rightful owner and his relations of the land to purchase from him. If he happened to find any who only claimed himself to be the owner then the agreement was made between the two for the payment made. But we have still in memory many stretches of land that was gained by the White from the natives, that has no fair or proper payment (viz) "Some gave the natives a case of "Twist" tobacco, and very faint quantity of European foods or cheap materials. etc.

Therefore now a days there is much disparting and division among natives on account of land and grounds because if one party of natives see some other party of the same encouraged by the white people to start business such as a trade store for money, copra, ivory nuts, shells then gramlings and dispartings arises which have caused many Court cases. One can safely say that even the Govt official found it very different to settle such cases more than once we heard the Govt mention that he must hold all grounds from the natives. This statement therefore has effected the natives of the whole island and we moved with the feeling of fear as to the coming future days.

14. Right round the Island the Govt was authorised his Headman to get houses built known as Tax houses. These were used for court purposes and for the collecting taxes. This has upset the peoples ground question the buildings the materials used, the labour the time spent. The price of land is never paid for in any way neither does belongs to any headman. If ever there is complaints about this the natives are threatened of imprisonment. Yet deep-deep down in the heart of the natives is the complaint of that the Govt has not been fair in their eyes.

15. The Headman force the people to build these houses, get their own materials and bring them for building and bring their own foods. Sometimes this job lasts for a whole week. If any person is sick or absent it must be reported, if not he is fined by the Headman.

As we saw that these was extremely very little to our benefit. They gathered the best for the labouring - our minds were made up as there was no use of working at these, so we left off.

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MARCHING RULE DOCUMENT (Cont)

APPLICABLE

IV

32

16. However, after all this we will not forget, and is to thank the Govt. for a few things we recommend that has been done for us.

1st. "The Christian Religion" which has been allowed for us and the Holy Bible Teachings. That has educated us and taught us to know God, About him and His right ways.

LEFT HAND

2nd. They has power authority to lesson the crimes committed murder and robbery etc in this island.

SPECIAL

INSTRUMENT The little bit of medical attendance and treatment (considering) we have had during the times we were working for them. But no hospital built for treating persons in or near to our homes or villages or districts.

(IV)

WAR ARRIVES IN SOLOMON ISLANDS.

1. When the U.S. arrived and landed in Sol. Is. in 1942 the Japs had already arrived previously and had settled in several parts on different islands. There was no strong army navy no air force prepared to resist the advancing enemy, saving a very feeble army known at the time as Defence Force training at Tulagi a composition of some Europeans Chinese and Solomon Island natives. Also at Tanaboko Gavutu we saw a few of the Australian army air force who were setting there. But when the enemy came they all evacuated. There was no British white walking or living openly. Almost all saving a few had been evacuated from the island. Previous to this we believed we would be safely protected and safe-guarded by them. But since we witnessed all these happenings all, the natives hopes utterly gone, and all what we expected was the fact of falling into the hands of the enemy to be the slaves to them. Much more we heard from the broadcast that the Sol. Is was given up on account of no help being available from them.

2. At last a new dawn breaks upon the Solomon Is. The U.S.A. Navy Army Air Force arrives and bravely plunges into war against the advancing enemy event Ually beat, and drives them back from the ground. Which as a result has freed us from our fears, our hearts burst forth every day, and gratitude in excess from men women and children both young and old great and small to God and to that Country who with grace and mercy of God, and their hearts of sympathy guided by them, to save us poor and helpless people of these islands. Ever before they came here true love we've never known or even had we any dealings one with the other. The Americans and us were quite strangers one to another, we even have never worked for these in the past but we can about three years American was in the Sol. Is during the war. We never known nor ever did we realized before they came here the true love and friendship mentioned in the bible and ignorant peoples to become better as one should say, that all men were created equal and that man is a trainity consisting of both spirit soul and body and that from common sense man can distinguish without being educated what was true right and not right and not right fair and not fair.

3. So as it has been mentioned a new light has dawned on us in the Sol. Is. We never recognized that this people came and manifested all sympathy and love as was referred to by our Lord is the Holy Scriptures saying.

Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends

- 4. a) The first thing they said they gave their lives
- b) They share what they have.
- c) They show their mind of sympathy to one and all
- d) They can satisfy any and every man and make a fair dealing with all side and the opposite
- e) They had the greatest heart for giving and when they saw the poorness or poverty of these islands, they were touched with feelings deep into the innermost of their hearts and they did do things that cost them etc etc.

Not to love in thought nor in words but in deed and in truth.

MARCHING RULE DOCUMENT (Cont)

v.

33.

But the hireling seeth the wolf coming, leaveth the sheep and fleeth because they are not his own"

5. The Natives are happy to hear the sounds of U.S. Even in war they are willing to share with them. Whatever happens 'A friend sticketh closer than a brother'

6. During the war the British used the natives to get supplies from the Americans for them and we were quite happy to help both sides.

7. Not long after the war many Britishers have returned and begin to settle down once more in the Solomon Is. Since then new laws has been set up and sent forth among us to break off a communionship of war days "No natives are to be in any friendship with Americans" Many boys (Natives) have been imprisoned for that reason. Since then natives have repeatedly been threatened not to be near them. Oh! What a sad sound story of friendship in the war times, of our last breath now to act as an enemy, to turn our backs toward them when ever we see them pass never to go near them or visit them any more at their camps. The man who saved our people and set us happily back to our possessions, restored us to our day and singing

8. Then the last sad thing we'd like to say before we conclude is that almost everything in materials the natives got from Americans during war times in exchange or payment for the things they worked or made as souvenirs as war clubs inlaid walking sticks or platted grass skirts etc etc either were burned up by British Officials or took away for themselves any good things as they pleased, cut down their boxes. (Used as trunks, in case they took too much away with them.

The wages paid by America for Natives labour during war-times the British Government held for themselves.

9. Dear Brothers "We fear God" we natives of these islands are seeking after the truth, and to know and prove where the Truth lies, and where shall we can be able to find the righteousness of God. As the blessed holy word of our Lord said. "Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free."

10. The Kind of Law the B.F. Govt set for Natives in the Solomon Is. we cant understand or even cleared in our minds. If natives wants to labour for the American, the British must pay the natives with their own money. No native must have American dollars, against law. So every labour America has been used down here always have their payment of British say a pound or two per month not more than this. And we sure that the money the American gives they hold back and hold for themselves.

They tries to bound us from our FREEDOMS. But we must to be FREE. Therefore we must FREE.

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