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Source Materials Related to Research in the Pacific Area

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CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION . . . v

ADDRESSES
- Pacific Documentation: an Introductory Survey *H. E. Maude* . . . 9
- The Collection of Oral Traditions in Tonga *Dr Sione Latukefu* . . . 23
- Oral History in the 1970's *Dr Ron Crocombe* . . . 28
- National and Local Collection of Pacific Manuscripts *Kevin Green* . . . 33
- The Pacific Manuscripts Bureau *Robert Langdon* . . . 41
- Preservation and Restoration of Documentary Material — including any special problems of concern to the Pacific *Dr H. J. Plenderleith* . . . 50
- Storage and Handling of Material — including microtexts and their physical use *Dr H. J. Plenderleith* . . . 60
- Bibliographic Control of Pacific Manuscripts *H. E. Maude* . . . 70
- The Use of Pacific Materials — the Problems of the Scholar and Librarian *Dr Francis J. West* . . . 84

RECOMMENDATIONS . . . 95

APPENDIX I
- Outline of Seminar Program . . . 101

APPENDIX II
- Members of the Planning Sub-Committee for the Seminar . . . 103

APPENDIX III
- List of Seminar Participants . . . 104

Introduction

It has for some time been a major concern of the Australian Unesco Committee for Libraries and Related Fields to devise ways and means of contributing to Unesco's international program directed to the establishment and strengthening of library documentation and archive services in developing countries. For geographical and historical reasons, the States and Territories of the Pacific area provide the most appropriate setting for such activity. Since World War II there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of research workers engaged in Pacific studies and a corresponding increase in the annual output of publications. A recent survey estimated that "the number of publications referring in whole or in part to the South Pacific produced in the brief space of twenty-two years since the end of the war exceeds the output of the entire period of over three centuries from the era of European discovery to Pearl Harbour".

Most of this work is dependent upon ready access to a great variety of source materials. The main Pacific research libraries have, since their foundation, been engaged in the systematic collection and conservation of this material and have taken measures to make it available for study and research.

During the past decade a number of institutions specifically concerned with Pacific documentation have been established and a number of scholars are now specialising in this field, whether in location, evaluation or bibliographical control. Universities have recently been established in the area, in New Guinea, Guam and Fiji, and archives and public libraries have been set up in a number of island centres. All these institutions are interested and actively engaged in the collection of local source material for research purposes.

With this increasing number of institutions and individuals engaged in the many aspects of work on Pacific source materials, the Committee felt that it was an opportune time for a seminar at which all concerned might meet and exchange ideas. A sub-committee (see p. 103) of the Committee for Libraries and Related Fields was appointed to plan and organise the seminar, under the chairmanship initially of Sir Harold White, then of Mr W. D. Richardson. The Australian Unesco Seminar on Source Materials related to Research in the Pacific Area was held at the National Library, Canberra, from 6 to 10 September 1971, and had a dual purpose — to determine ways in which systematic documentation services in the Pacific might be implemented and improved, and through this improvement, to facilitate Pacific studies ranging over a wide variety of disciplines. The seminar included in its coverage materials concerned with the Pacific Islands, defined as comprising Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia and Papua New Guinea, from the commencement of written or oral records.

The seminar was also seen as part of the Australian contribution to the five-year Unesco Oceanic Cultures Program which was adopted by the General Conference

of Unesco at its Sixteenth Session in October-November 1970. This program reflects the need for international action to save the cultural heritage of Oceania, rapidly being affected and modified by the accelerating pace of technological advance. Improved documentation services would play an important part in facilitating a program of this kind.

Some forty participants attended the seminar, including librarians and archivists from the main depository institutions with specialist Pacific holdings, scholars and bibliographers from universities, and field workers in the Pacific area including Fiji, Samoa, Solomon Islands and New Zealand. Dr H. J. Plenderleith, recently retired as Director of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, Rome, attended under the Director-General's Program of Participation in the Activities of Member States and was one of the leading speakers. The contribution made by Unesco under this Program was $US6,000 which was made available to assist with the costs of attendance of participants from the Pacific and of Dr Plenderleith.

Arising from seminar discussions, a number of resolutions were formulated which gave high priority to the preparation of a basic list of standard published source materials for the use of institutions in the Pacific area and to the reproduction of important source materials which are difficult to obtain. The seminar resolutions also suggest the urgent need to develop archives, libraries and museums in the Pacific and emphasised the importance of establishing appropriate training facilities.

The Australian National Commission for Unesco gratefully acknowledges the interest and assistance of the Australian National University and the National Library of Australia in making available facilities for the seminar.

ADDRESSES

Pacific Documentation: an Introductory Survey

H. E. MAUDE

As one who has been engrossed in the study of Pacific documentation since I was a teenager in the 1920's, I need hardly say that it is a real pleasure to have lived to see a conference of specialists on this subject gathered together from the four corners of the Pacific world to discuss, for the first time, matters of common concern to us all.

It is even more of a pleasure to have been invited to preface your more technical sessions with a few general remarks on the subject of our series of meetings — Source Materials related to Research in the Pacific Area — dealing with such questions as the geographical scope of our interests; the types and origins of the materials with which we are concerned; their location and deposit, and why and from whom we are anxious to obtain them.

In its broadest sense the Pacific area may be defined as conterminous with the Pacific Ocean itself, which comprises one-third of the earth's surface and more than all the land in the world added together. But for most practical purposes it may be held to be bounded by a line drawn from Easter Island round the Tuamotus and Marquesas to the east; Hawaii and the Marianas to the north; the Palaus, New Guinea and New Caledonia to the west; and finally round Norfolk Island, the Tonga Group and Rapa to the south, and so back to our base.

This is the region divided by Dumont D'Urville in 1830 into Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia, and contains some 40 million square miles, or say a fifth of the world, including several thousand islands (depending on one's definition of what constitutes an island) and over 300 atolls, more than three times the number in all the other oceans combined.[1]

As compared with other regions it is a well-defined geographical area: admittedly mostly sea, for if we exclude the 183,500 square miles of land in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, we are left with only 43,500 square miles for all the other islands, or an aggregate area about equal to that of Cuba. The population of approximately 4¼ millions is rather more evenly divided, with some 2½ millions in New Guinea and 1¾ on what may be termed the islands proper.

There was a time when we should have included the former Netherlands New Guinea (now called West Irian), the Bonins, and even Clipperton, the Kermadecs and Lord Howe Island, and when dealing with historical material we may still legitimately do so, for they were all once linked with the area by ethnic or other ties, but for political or other reasons they are now usually regarded as being no longer our concern.

Lest it be thought that a region so small in area and population can scarcely warrant the attention which has been, and is being, given to it, I would hasten to add that, in actual fact, its importance is in antithesis to these criteria since (if I may quote here from what I have written elsewhere): 'fragmentation, geographical in Polynesia and Micronesia and cultural in Melanesia, has provided as near a reproduction as one can find anywhere of a natural laboratory for the social scientist: a multiplicity of societies which, in varying degrees of isolation from each other through barriers of ocean, mountain or mutual distrust, have developed a heterogeneous assemblage of social, economic and political systems, of culture traits and complexes, beliefs, values and attitudes, which can be observed in detail and in time-depth owing to the smallness of the groups and the relatively brief length of their occupancy'.[2]

In addition, the very ocean itself, the largest single geographical feature in the world, provides an increasing proportion of our research documentation in the form of oceanographical data, which includes the work being done in marine biology and geology, the many aspects of marine geophysical research and meteorological observations. As we exhaust the resources of the terrestrial globe, the oceans become ever more important to the researcher. And we should add here the literature of the early explorers and charters, as well as the whalers whose business lay in the ocean rather than the land: the recent New England Microfilming Project under Dr John Cumpston, concerning which you will be hearing more from Mr Robert Langdon, has alone copied about a third of a million logbook pages, mostly concerned with whaling narratives, and purchased as much again of already microfilmed material.

But we are anticipating here our next point, which concerns the nature of the source materials related to research in the area as just defined. If we except the Easter Island tablets which, to quote Professor Metraux, appear to be written in a script which 'is more evolved than mere pictography and contains ideograms with fixed and variable meanings',[3] the Pacific Islanders possessed no form of writing prior to their contact with Europeans. The Caroline Islands script has been shown by Riesenberg and Kaneshiro to be post-contact.[4] Nor do the literate countries on its periphery provide us with any identifiable account of the island world from which perhaps no storm-driven seafarers ever returned.

Our first documentation concerning the region dates, accordingly, from Magellan's crossing in 1521, or exactly four and a half centuries before this meeting, and though oral tradition, which we shall hear more about in the next paper, may take our time-depth slightly further back in some groups, it is not long before it becomes enveloped in the fog of mythology.

We have, therefore, a shorter documentary time-span than any of the other major inhabited areas in the world; but, even so, it becomes increasingly difficult to make any worthwhile categorisation of our source materials as the processes of regional historical development become increasingly complex and move at an ever-faster pace. Some introductory observations, however, which is all that our time permits us, may help to provide an historical perspective to our later consideration of more practical problems.

There are varied means by which we may gain our knowledge of a particular culture or a particular piece of information required for research purposes: through site exploration, folklore and oral tradition, linguistics, interrogation and questionnaire, artifacts, maps and pictures in the case of the social scientist,[5] or by the experimental techniques of the natural scientist, but in literate areas documentation,

which is divided for purposes of convenience into two distinct types — publications and manuscripts — is the most important research tool used in all branches of knowledge. If, in the immediately following remarks, I concentrate on published works it is not, as we shall see, because they are necessarily the most important for the researcher, but because manuscript material is being dealt with in two papers this afternoon.

Ever since Magellan's voyage there has been a steadily mounting interest in the South Seas, for probably no part of the globe, and certainly no ocean, has so captured the imagination of mankind. 'This serene Pacific', wrote Herman Melville, 'once beheld, must ever be the sea of his adoption. It rolls the midmost waters of the globe, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic being but its arms'.[6]

Our first literature was, then, the published voyages of the discoverers, from Magellan to Wallis and Carteret in 1767, published separately or epitomised in the early collections by Hakluyt, Purchas, Harris and many others and avidly reviewed in the periodicals of the time. But for research purposes it is for the most part skimpy material, however handsome the leather-bound folios may look on the shelves of the rare-book sections of our larger libraries, and the very insubstantiality of information, the vast blank spaces on the map, made the ocean an ideal setting for imaginary voyages such as Defoe's *A New Voyage Round the World*; for Utopias such as *The History of the Sevarambians*, and for satires such as Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.[7]

The reason for this is that until the era of Bougainville and Cook, with their first interpreters — Ahutoru, Hitihiti, Ma'i, Tupaia, Banks and Burney — or well over half the time-span of Pacific documentation, not even the most rudimentary verbal communication was possible and therefore no real interchange of ideas. There are only three known exceptions to this generalisation: the scant information obtained by Quiros from his two captured boys in 1606 and that anomaly in Pacific history, the Mariana Islands, where Spanish missionaries landed in 1668. The first book on the Pacific Islands, as opposed to the visual impressions recorded by the explorers, was written by Francisco Garcia in 1683, on which was based Charles Le Gobien's better-known *Histoire des iles Marianes . . .*, printed in Paris in 1700, a remarkable ethnographic account of the Marianas people as well as a history of the Mission. The Spaniards were speaking to the Chamorros in their own language a full century before the efflorescence of interpretation at Tahiti.[8]

With the discovery and description of Tahiti by Wallis, Bougainville and Cook between 1767 and 1777 we find created overnight the prototype of the South Sea Island, the epitome of a thousand less flawless gems. Its importance to us lies in the fact that the Tahitians unwittingly became the exemplars of the Noble Savage of De Commercon, Diderot and Rousseau who, allegedly preoccupied with *l'amour*, created a stereotype for all time for the literary fiction of Paradise, until as the novelist Alec Waugh wrote in 1930, it became difficult to write 'other than conventionally' of the South Seas. 'Of all the lands of the Noble Savage', Fairchild points out, 'Tahiti is especially fated to stir the imaginations of civilised men who dream of "a neater, sweeter maiden, in a cleaner, greener land" '.[9]

From this period, too, we really begin a new chapter in our documentary history, with our sources starting to increase both in quantity and variety. The early explorers had conquest, conversion or commercial gain for their motive; for the first time, with the renaissance of empirical science exemplified in England by the foundation of the Royal Society, dedicated to careful observation and accurate description, we

find with Bougainville and Cook a new incentive: that of the increase of man's knowledge.[10]

The scientific world became interested in the Pacific because, as Bishop Douglas, the editor of Cook's narratives of the second and third voyages points out, only here was it possible to find man still unaffected by contact with more advanced societies: 'The expense of his three voyages', he argues, 'did not, perhaps, far exceed that of digging out the buried contents of Herculaneum. And we may add, that the novelties of the Society or Sandwich Islands, seem better calculated to engage the attention of the studious in our times, than the antiquities, which exhibit proofs of Roman magnificence'.[11]

The climax in multi-disciplinary scientific exploration came, however, with the United States Wilkes Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842, which carried a galaxy of scientists including the pioneers Pickering, a naturalist who specialised in anthropology; Dana, the geologist expert on corals; Horatio Hale, the gifted philologist and ethnographer, and Titian Ramsay Peale, the ornithologist and artist, whose names are household words in Pacific research. The major scientific publications resulting from the expedition's work fill more than 20 volumes, not counting numerous papers, subsidiary monographs and manuscript journals, and, of course, the five-volume narrative compiled by Wilkes himself, which constitutes our major source of information for most of the Central and Eastern Pacific during the first half of the 19th century.

A further sequel to Cook's voyages was the inception of commerce with the Pacific Islands, beginning at the turn of the century with the North-West Fur Trade, which used Hawaii as a stop-over, and the Tahiti Pork Trade with Port Jackson. Merchant shipping with these, and other routes, began to criss-cross the Pacific and added their detail to the charts which Dalrymple, Arrowsmith and others were compiling in London, and to the Sailing Directories published by Horsburgh, Stevens, Norie, and later Findlay and Cheyne, which contained valuable information on the islanders as well as the islands.

With commerce, and in the 1820's the extension of the whaling industry to the islands, there developed a whole new class of literature: the narratives of captains, officers and, of particular value, ships' surgeons. It is impossible to enumerate them all in a sketch such as this but perhaps the most important accounts are by Fanning, Turnbull, Benjamin Morrell, Peter Dillon, Bennett, and Coulter. And one must not forget their wives, for Abby Jane Morell's *Narrative of a Voyage* and Mary Wallis' *Life in Fiji; by a Lady* are among the most readable Pacific books of their day.

This commercial activity also resulted in the first Europeans living ashore in the islands, whether voluntarily as beachcombers or perforce as castaways — the result of shipwreck or being marooned. Most of them, of course, were illiterate, but a few wrote about their experiences, the best-known of the 21 'Beachcomber Books' being, apart from Melville's partly-fictional *Omoo* and *Typee,* those by Mariner, Keate, William Lockerby and Diapea. They constitute a distinctive branch of Pacific literature and as many of them were written by people who had 'spent months, and often years, among the islanders; people who were adopted into native families, usually married to native wives, who spoke the language of necessity and who wrote about customs and events in which they had participated and processes in which they had become proficient', they are among the most valuable ethnographic sources for our knowledge of life in the Pacific Islands societies in the early days of European contact.[12]

Trade, whether for sandalwood, bêche-de-mer, food-stuffs or other island produce, was at first conducted in the islands by itinerant ships, but a few merchants established themselves in Hawaii and Tahiti in the 1820's and the works of two of them, Moerenhout and Lucett, should perhaps be added to the above list.

The first Protestant Mission was established in Tahiti during 1797 and by the end of the 19th century the missionary, whether Protestant or Catholic, European or native, had penetrated to the remotest island from Easter to New Guinea. There was a bias inherent in their profession which makes much of the voluminous literature which they fathered somewhat unrewarding reading except for those interested in missionary apologetics. Still, the best of them rose above this handicap and in the works of Ellis, John Williams, and the ethnographic collections of William Wyatt Gill, one finds literature worthy of inclusion in any Pacific scholar's library.

It was from these books — written by visitors to the islands on exploring expeditions and later trading ventures, followed by the first residents, whether beachcombers or missionaries — that the early scientific synoptists or synthesisers in Europe prepared their compilations: Shobel's *World in Miniature* in 1824; Rienzi's three-volume *Oceanie* in 1836-1837; Russell's *Polynesia;* Meinicke's *Das Stillen Ocean,* and the like.

With the last of the exploring ships home in 1842 and the creation of the Pacific Station of the British Navy, based on South America, in 1837, and the Australian Station in 1859, naval vessels, encouraged by the dynamic Admiralty hydrographer Francis Beaufort, engaged in surveying as part of their routine duties while on Pacific cruises. Scientists were also carried on board from time to time, where on earlier voyages they went by the delightful name of 'experimental gentlemen'. Andrew Bloxam, the naturalist on H.M.S. *Blonde,* was I think the first; but the foremost was undoubtedly Charles Darwin on H.M.S. *Beagle* under Captain Fitzroy, whose observations made during the voyage, particularly in the Galapagos Islands, led to the development of his epoch-making biological theories in *The Origin of Species,* and (of particular importance to Pacific studies) his work on the formation of coral islands. J. D. Hooker was naturalist on Ross's expedition to the Antarctic on the *Erebus* in 1839-1843 and T. H. Huxley on the *Rattlesnake* survey in New Guinea and the Louisiade Archipelago during 1846-1850.

The most impressive oceanographic research expedition to visit the Pacific was that of the 'floating scientific laboratory', H.M.S. *Challenger* in the 1870's, which resulted in the publication of 42 volumes of specialist reports, not all however on the region, work which was followed up by a number of American, Swedish, Danish, Russian and other voyages devoted to oceanography in general.

About the middle of the 19th century we may perhaps discern a third phase in our documentary history, for as we have seen, up to then it was the natural sciences which largely held the fort in Pacific studies, while the social sciences were collecting their basic data, perfecting their methodology and consolidating their positions as recognised disciplines.[13] There were, however, exceptions. In 1818 the creative genius of Alexander Maconochie, for example, produced his *Summary of the statistics and existing commerce of the principal shores of the Pacific Ocean . . .,* a study in regional geography far in advance of his time; while missionaries and other residents — Lorimer Fison, Wyatt Gill, Whitmee, Fornander, Codrington, foreshadowing an ever-increasing flood — began to write studies for the ethnological journals which commenced publication in London, Paris and New York from the 1840's.

In 1860, however, Johann Caesar Godeffroy, head of the German South Seas firm of Godeffroy and Son, began to send the first scientific investigators actually to live in the islands: Andrew Garrett, Jan Kubary, Kleinschmidt, Damel and Hubner;[14] to be followed later by others, both individuals such as Miklouho-Maclay, Otto Finsch, Bastian and Kramer and teams such as the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait and New Guinea at the end of the 19th century and the Thilenius Sudsee Expedition at the commencement of the 20th.

From about the 1850's, furthermore, it becomes impossible even to mention the main non-fictional works on the Pacific, for by the turn of the century they numbered several thousands. The last of the 'Beachcomber Books', Lamont's *Wild Life Among the Pacific Islanders,* appeared in 1867, but their place was taken by the reminiscences of a new class of resident — the Government official — of which perhaps Pritchard's, Trood's and Romilly's reminiscences are the best, and the accounts of the first intrepid tourists, commencing with the Earl of Pembroke and George Kingsley in 1869. Although the South Seas were far from the beaten tourist tracks of the Victorian era, some of the most delightful travelogues of the time are again by women: Isabella Bird, Lady Brassey and Miss Gordon Cumming. Naval captains were also prolific in their literary output, producing some 25 books in as many years, those by Walpole, Erskine, Palmer, Brenchley, Markham, Moresby and Goodenough being of particular interest.

But in any case I have, I think, made my point that, whereas at the beginning of the last century a single shelf in a reference library would have sufficed to contain all that had been written on the Pacific, by its close a mere listing of the items published would have alone occupied that entire shelf. Since then the annual output of publications has proliferated to the extent that it is now estimated that at least three non-fictional books and some 30 articles and papers are being published each week on the area through commercial and university presses, in addition to children's books, school texts, vernacular works, the large volume of Government publications issued by the 21 territorial administrations, and the never-ceasing spate of South Seas fiction. Fourteen regionally-circulating scholarly periodicals endeavour to cope with the output of research and informational papers and articles. Whether on a population or an area reckoning, no people in the world have been so written about as the Polynesians, and of recent years the Micronesians and Melanesians are fast catching up.

A further factor of importance to our deliberations is that, largely since the end of World War II, the Pacific Islanders themselves are for the first time beginning to think in regional terms of the area as a whole: as a unity possessing common interests. This tendency has been largely caused by the establishment of the South Pacific Commission, and its growth is evidenced by the ever-increasing number of regional associations: the South Pacific Games, the Pacific Area Travel Association, the University of the South Pacific, the Pacific Islanders Producers Association, the Pacific Theological College, the South Pacific Islands Fisheries Association, to name only a few.[15]

This makes regional conferences and seminars such as ours possible, as they would not have been even a few years ago. It is true that the first Pan-Pacific Scientific Congress, now called the Pacific Science Congress, met in 1920, but it was essentially a conference of scientists from the metropolitan countries, and the first regional meeting of territorial representatives was the Seminar-Conference on Education in Pacific Countries, held in Honolulu in 1936, only 35 years ago. I remember it particularly for it was the first time that I had ever read a paper in

public, and I had thought that I was the last of those present still alive, until recently reminded that the grand old man of Pacific anthropology, Professor A. P. Elkin, was also there.

Equally important for our purposes is the fact that, since World War I, a radical change has taken place in Pacific studies in that its locale has moved slowly but surely from Europe to the peripheral countries bordering the Pacific itself, and especially the United States, Australia and New Zealand, together with that cross-roads of the Pacific (though not of the Pacific Islands): Hawaii. With the development of the island universities, the growth in the number of island graduates and the interest which many of them are taking in Pacific studies one can safely predict a further but limited transfer of research facilities to the islands themselves, though for reasons of size alone it would be difficult for them to develop the economic infra-structure necessary to support research on the scale of the larger countries which surround them, which may therefore expect to remain the principal depositories for research materials.

Be this as it may, Europe is now defunct as far as Pacific studies is concerned; the last course on the subject in England has now, I understand, closed down, and the position is only marginally better in France. Those Europeans who still wish to work on Pacific research have therefore perforce to live as expatriates in such countries as Australia or Hawaii.

It is fortunate indeed that the Pacific border countries, and now the larger island territories, have taken up the task of Pacific research abandoned by an increasingly introspective (or perhaps I should say introverted) Europe, and have developed its scope and scale to an extent undreamt of even twenty years ago.

Four major universities ring the region in Pacific research: in Australia, the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University; in New Zealand, the South Pacific Program of the University of Auckland; in Hawaii, the similar program of the East-West Center, in collaboration with the University of Hawaii, and in America, the South Pacific Institute of the University of California at Santa Cruz. In addition there are the many scientists attached to research institutions and museums such as the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, the Smithsonian Institution, the Bishop Museum in Honolulu and the Auckland Museum and Institute. The Tri-Institutional Pacific Program sponsored by the Universities of Yale and Hawaii and the Bishop Museum, and supported by the Carnegie Corporation, and the quarter-million dollar Displaced Populations Project of the University of Oregon, continue the team approach begun by Sollas and Haddon in the 1890's.

One could probably name fifty universities today at which Pacific studies, in some shape or form, are either being taught at the undergraduate level or studied at the postgraduate. The latest edition of *Pacific Anthropologists* lists over 600 names of active postgraduate workers in the social sciences (including history), while the actual total would certainly be more than 1,000, and the addition of natural scientists might well double or treble this figure. *The World Catalogue of Theses on the Pacific Islands* similarly lists some 1,150 mainly postgraduate dissertations, the great majority prepared within the past 20 years.

Interest in the island world today is, in fact, becoming more informed and research-oriented than at any time in the past, and the greater part of this research, even in anthropology and the applied studies, is now based on documentation, whether published or in manuscript.[16]

Here again we are fortunate in that we have four great Pacific research libraries — the Library of the University of Hawaii in Honolulu; the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington; the Mitchell Library in Sydney, and the Australian National Library in Canberra — in each case including subsidiary collections housed in the same building, such as the Dixon Library in Sydney, or within easy access, such as the Bishop Museum Library in Hawaii. It is essential, and I understand that it is the aim, of each of these libraries to achieve absolute completeness in their holdings, either in original or photocopy, of all published works, including articles, monographs and pamphlets, relating to Oceania (excluding ephemeral material of no conceivable importance), and secondly to maintain complete sets, again either in original or on film, of all newspapers and other serials published in or concerned with the area. This may sound like a difficult task: in my considered opinion it is not. The published items are all known or can be ascertained and with modern photographic processes the gaps can be filled in at a cost relatively small when compared with the prices involved in the acquisition of rarities which may add prestige to a library but little or nothing to the advancement of knowledge.

One should not for a moment exclude the possibilities of other libraries developing comprehensive specialist Pacific collections, for example one of the University of California library complex, when they can decide which one it should be and can emerge from their present political and financial difficulties, or the Public Library of Victoria, which has recently joined the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, but the factual position is that for the time being these four are the Pacific research libraries and, on the sound library principle of building on strength, they should have first call on government, institutional and private funds for augmenting their collections and developing their services. And in return, I submit, they owe a special duty to assist the development of Pacific research studies by every means within their power.

But perhaps our island participants at this seminar will agree that the published documentation on the Pacific area has a dual function. It forms, as we have seen, a large part of source material on which further research is based; but much of it also possesses an important educational function in the Pacific Islands territories themselves.

When attending the recent Unesco meeting on the Conservation of the Indigenous Cultural Heritage of the South Pacific I was most impressed by the way in which the delegates stressed the need for local museums containing local artifacts as the main means for educating the peoples of the islands in the nature and development of their cultural heritage, and thus assist in their rehabilitation, at the end of a long and traumatic period of European political, economic and technological ascendency, by renewing their cultural self-respect and inculcating a pride in their historical heritage.

There was only a small group of documentation-minded people present at this meeting, and we were quite outnumbered by the museum directors and their supporters, but we made the point then, and I should like to reiterate it now, that museums are not enough to overcome decades of sustained European cultural denigration and revive a pride in the island cultures. A library of the main published works on the territory or island group, complete as far as possible, together with a reasonably representative collection of the major works on the other Pacific areas is admittedly, for visitors from the villages and school children, second to museums in its educational importance; but for the increasing body of educated islanders it is the more important.

Every island territory, however small (such as Nauru or Niue), should have its territorial library as well as its territorial museum, though in the case of the smaller islands or groups there is probably neither staff nor finance for separate institutions and we must be content, at any rate for the time being, with combined libraries and museums in charge of a single librarian cum director, theoretically undesirable though the partnership may be.

In the hope that it is not your intention that this seminar series should be merely a talk feast, without being productive of any practical action to promote the cause for which we have met, I suggest that, at the discussion which is to follow our morning tea we might consider the possibility of framing a resolution or recommendation to the Unesco Committee for Libraries and Related Fields, as the convenors of this gathering (or to the Pacific research libraries, as the professional experts in this field), that they should prepare a basic list of standard works on the Pacific for issue to each territorial library, museum or other appropriate local cultural organisation, together with a supplementary list of standard works on the particular territory to which the main list is being sent, and that the metropolitan libraries interested in the furtherance of Pacific studies should be urged to assist the local organisations to obtain the works on both the general and local lists by such means as the release of library duplicates, by photocopy and by purchase. I have in mind something along the lines of Basic Hawaiiana or Pathways to Micronesia, without the latter's evaluative annotations, and merely in an unpublished and duplicated form. The major territories, such as New Guinea and Fiji, would not, of course, require any such aids, since their knowledge and facilities are already adequate.

Perhaps this is the appropriate place to raise another important matter, and that is the unfortunate fact that many Pacific classics essential to students of the area are by now long out of print and quoted on the second-hand market (when they are quoted at all), at prices which place them far beyond the reach of any but the more opulent public libraries. Peter Dillon's *Narrative* would now cost you $220, as against $10 only a few years ago; Rienzi's *Oceanie* is quoted at $300, and such rarities as Hale's *Ethnography and Philology of the U.S. Exploring Expedition* would probably fetch somewhere in the region of $1,000, if a copy ever came on the market.

Some of the photo-offset firms have been taking advantage of this position and making hay while the sun shines by reproducing small editions of these rarities, lavishly bound and at inordinate prices, for sale to the major reference libraries apparently able and willing to pay their prices. However, at $30 and more a copy they make no pretence to cater for the student or the smaller libraries such as we have in the Pacific Islands.

And yet it can be done: by Tuttle's, for instance, in their beautifully produced and illustrated reproduction of Anderson's *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians* at $10, or by the fine facsimile editions of the Libraries Board of South Australia. But it is submitted that what we need, if the demand from individual Pacific research scholars and the increasing number of island libraries and private students is to be met, is perhaps something even simpler: a paper-back photo-facsimile edition of our leading Pacific classics on the lines of say Savage's *Some Account of New Zealand*, produced by the Hocken Library and sold retail at $2.50.

Some time ago I approached the Libraries Board of South Australia with a proposal to publish a Pacific Classics Reprint Series of which the first ten titles, now being circulated to you, were selected by Pacific scholars working in the

Research School of Pacific Studies. The idea met with favour and it was estimated that a work of the size of Seeman's *Viti* or Pritchard's *Polynesian Researches* could be reproduced for about $3 and a similar quote was given by an offset firm in Canberra, where prices are above average.

Unfortunately for us a change in Adelaide library policies resulted in a curtailment of their well-known, and indeed world famous, publications reproduction program, and this superb opportunity to provide inexpensive reproductions of our classics was lost. Since then I have approached university presses and commercial publishers, who have invariably received the proposition with understanding and sympathy, but equally invariably stated that photographic facsimile work was a specialisation outside their line of business.

Would it be straining your patience too much, therefore, if I suggested another resolution or recommendation which you might feel disposed to consider for transmission to the authorities deemed to be most appropriate, to the effect that this meeting recommends that a list of Pacific classics should be drawn up on the basis of their value as source material and their scarcity, and that arrangements should be made for their reproduction by the cheapest means possible consonant with readability and a reasonably attractive appearance, for sale at wholesale rates to Pacific institutions and the retail trade for the use of students, research workers, the peoples of the Pacific Islands and the general public throughout the world.

After all, nine-tenths of the resolutions emanating from conferences such as this one are asking for money for some purpose or other. We would be asking for none, but merely bringing to the notice of those who have the influence, ability and means to carry it into practical effect an eminently viable project which would do more to assist education in the islands and at the same time inculcate a proper sense of racial pride in their peoples than any other proposal which we could make. I have had many years' experience of the Pacific Islands' publishing trade, and have been instrumental in arranging for the publication of some 15 books on the islands since 1950; and I say in all seriousness that, such is the romance and appeal of the South Seas throughout the world, these books would sell in their thousands, and in some instances in five figures, and that any institution which would undertake their publication (in particular I am thinking of one or two of our eminent public libraries) would find themselves with no loss on their hands, but rather an embarrassing profit.

Lest it be asked why the Pacific History Series of the Australian National University Press cannot publish these works, it should be explained that their Series, though it does republish an occasional very rare early printed book such as O'Connell's work on *Ponape,* Cary's *Wrecked on the Feejees,* and the *Shipwreck and Adventures* of John Twyning; it concentrates on the publication of key unpublished Pacific manuscripts. And as every book is carefully edited by an area and period specialist, with an introduction and full critical and reference apparatus, and reproduced in printed format with a hard cover, not more than one or two can be issued each year and these at a reasonable, but not cheap, price. It is not, therefore, the answer to our problem.

We should perhaps logically conclude this brief sketch of the nature of the published works which constitute our source materials related to research in the Pacific area with a summary of the important problem of their bibliographical control, now an urgent necessity owing to their immense growth in number and variety, but this is to be the subject of a separate seminar. However, it does seem desirable to say a few words on manuscript materials, as constituting the other main

documentary source for researchers in the Pacific, though I shall endeavour to confine my remarks, as far as possible, to one subject only: the collection of vernacular manuscripts from the islands.

I think that I am right in saying that manuscript material is, by and large, more important than published works to the research worker, as constituting his primary source material, but that until it has been processed and digested by him, and what is of value in it incorporated in one or more publications, it is of little except perhaps sentimental value to anyone else. Hence it is essential if we are, for example, to correct and extend our knowledge of the historical development of the Pacific Islands peoples, or indeed of any event that has taken place in the past — the weather on Fanning Island in 1863, the number of whales captured on 'the line' grounds in the 1840's or the nature of an epidemic on Tabiteuea Island in 1871 (to mention a few questions which one has been asked) — that every scrap of manuscript material extant must be located, examined, copied, catalogued and preserved for research use in the Pacific Research Libraries or one of the recognised Pacific archives. But, on the other hand, there is no particular need to deposit copies of manuscripts in island libraries, other than university libraries concerned with research, unless specifically requested for some particular purpose.

Admittedly there may be manuscripts of no conceivable research purpose, but this can only be decided by a trained specialist on archival practice and the area concerned, and even then we have had many doleful experiences — the copying of the London Missionary Society records is one — where changes in research trends and needs have demonstrated the inadequacies of selective copying. It seems rather arrogant on our part to think that we can foretell accurately the research interests of workers a century ahead, and I personally feel that it is preferable to copy everything on which there can be the slightest doubt on microfilm or microcard (where it takes up next to no storage space) even if the original is then destroyed.

The Pacific Manuscripts Bureau is believed to be the first joint attempt in the world by libraries, acting on an international scale, to commission a university to engage and operate specialist staff in order to locate manuscript documents concerning a defined geographical area and to make copies available for the use of scholars and everyone else interested. In case Robert Langdon forgets to tell you himself, it has been a great success — certainly beyond my most sanguine dreams — giving us new insight and new knowledge in so many branches of regional research. An appreciable portion of Pacific history, for example, will have to be re-written as a result of the Bureau's activities.

The recent New England Microfilming Project and the negotiations to deposit the immensely important records of the British Phosphate Commission and its predecessors in the Commonwealth National Archives in Melbourne are only two recent examples of the Bureau's value to regional research; but like most other examples which could be quoted they relate to European documentation, and the least developed part of the Bureau's program to date has been in its copying of vernacular documentation in the islands. These are of all kinds — old letters, genealogies, note-books, accounts, teachers' notes and reports, village pastors' records, stories, legends, family histories and other data, minutes of co-operative societies, diaries, taped recordings of oral data relating to the past or present — but particularly family letters: what would one give today for a few letters written by islanders during the last century?

All this documentation is of particular importance because of the ethnocentricity of so much of the published and manuscript sources on the islands and the difficulty

of gaining a balanced picture when the greater part of the canvas is obscured and the remainder distorted by conscious or unconscious racial bias. Hence I hope that in the discussion to follow this, or Mr Langdon's paper, participants may be able to suggest ways and means by which those who live in the islands can help in the location and notification of local manuscript material, perhaps by forming committees for the purpose.

There are countless vernacular manuscripts, particularly in Polynesia and Micronesia, but most of them are kept closely guarded within the family circle; partly because there are objections to their being seen by other islanders who are not members of the kindred, and partly because unscrupulous Europeans have, on occasion, borrowed some and not returned them. Today, however, these very natural reluctances can be overcome by the Bureau, since by means of its portable microfilming cameras, which I do hope Mr Langdon will demonstrate to you in action, any documents can be copied in the owner's house and returned to him without ever leaving his sight, and secondly the microfilms will be taken away unseen by others and deposited in the Pacific Research Libraries subject to any restrictions as to access which the owner may care to make.

As my time is now up may I conclude this introductory talk on the optimistic note used in speaking to the Library Association of Australia. Through co-operation between the main Pacific Research Libraries, the University Pacific Research Schools in Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii and the United States mainland, and the teaching universities with courses in Pacific studies, the problems connected with the location, copying and publicising of the documentary sources required for research in the various branches of Pacific studies are being surmounted to an extent that would have been thought impossible even a decade ago.

Our aim must surely be to have a copy of every published work and every manuscript of significance for research available in original or copy; and not only available, but made known to everyone who may require to consult it through the compilation and publication of adequate finders' aids.

Thanks to the ravages of tropical insects and humid climates, about which again we shall be hearing from a world expert, and partly to the ever-increasing pace of acculturation, the need for a co-ordinated attack on the problem of documentation collection and provision is particularly pressing and urgent in the case of the Pacific Islands, but at the same time the prospects of such an attack proving successful are especially favourable.

'If we have the courage to be the vanguard, there is every reason to anticipate that within a few years the Pacific Research Libraries, with their (as far as possible) complete regional collections and their central reporting and copying agency for new discoveries, sustained by a policy of mutual co-operation in the interests of regional research and scholarship, will be leaders in the movement for the rationalisation of library resources; a movement which can be predictably expected to spread to other regions with perhaps greater problems, but also greater financial resources'.[17]

At the same time, those of us who live outside the Pacific Islands area but are engaged in work connected with Pacific Islands documentation, recognise that we have a close and symbiotic relationship with those of you living in the islands who are interested in any aspect concerning published works or manuscript material on your particular area. I feel confident that I can speak for my colleagues, whether present here today or not, when I say that we are anxious to know about, and as far as we can to help you to overcome, your problems of providing published

materials on your own groups and the Pacific Islands generally, and that in return we solicit your help in locating unpublished material in your islands so that future research on all aspects of Pacific studies may be facilitated.

The General Conference of Unesco at its sixteenth session, held in 1970, decided that a study of Oceanic Cultures should be commenced in 1971 for a five-year period, and called for a major effort in order to preserve the cultures of the Pacific Islands, which are rapidly being affected and modified by the increased rate of technological advance.[18] I can think of no better way in which we can assist in the implementation of this project than by improving our means for the collection and dissemination of source materials related to research.

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Series 1 (suggested)

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The Collection of Oral Traditions in Tonga

DR SIONE LATUKEFU

I have been requested to speak on the collection of oral traditions in Tonga. I am particularly happy with the title because it takes for granted the importance of the role of oral traditions in historical research, and I hope that this means that it has become respectable for historians to consider these sources and that they no longer feel bound only to written documents as was until recently the case. In this paper I intend to confine myself simply to the problems associated with the collection of oral traditions in Tonga, and to ignore the more basic issue of their value to historical research. I have already discussed this question in a paper read at the ANZAAS Congress in Christchurch, New Zealand, in January 1968 and subsequently published in the *Journal of Pacific History,* Vol. 3, 1968.

One of the obviously important ingredients of successful collection of oral traditions is a good knowledge of the Tongan language. I mentioned in the paper referred to above that distortions can easily arise through the use of interpreters, and that at least a working knowledge of the language can avoid some unnecessary embarrassments, as happened in the work of an American researcher who worked in Tonga in the 1920's. In the monograph recording his archaeological work, it is stated of one of the royal tombs: 'Tradition says that a Tui Tonga Fefine (Female Tui Tonga) named Taemoemimi and the Tui Tonga Pau are buried here'. Had the author learnt enough Tongan he would have realised that Taemoemimi, while seemingly a respectable name as one word, was, in fact, made up of three separate words, which literally translated mean 'Excreta, and, urine' — a most unlikely name for a royal personage.

For the expatriate scholar a good knowledge of the language will definitely help to establish rapport. The people of the islands are always flattered by a foreigner who cares to learn their languages and it is taken as a sign of one's willingness to identify oneself with the people. Tongan is not an easy language particularly as there are special vocabularies used when talking to or about the King and Queen, another set for the chiefs and yet another for the commoners. A non-Tongan who can master these intricacies would be the darling of all Tongans, particularly the chiefs whose prestige and honour are normally perpetuated by these traditional usages.

Since it is the exceptional scholar who has such linguistic gifts that he can become fluent in a short period of time and competent to carry out research in the vernacular, and since the use of interpreters is fraught with the dangers already mentioned

as well as others yet to be discussed, one way out of this dilemma, I would venture to suggest, would be to encourage and assist more local scholars to carry out this task.

Competent interpreters are not easily available and sometimes there is a tendency among the able interpreters to show off their own knowledge by answering the questions himself without reporting what those being interviewed are saying. Even when precautions are taken to guard against this, such as using tape recorders to record the total discussion, there are still subtle difficulties in using an interpreter, such as whether or not he is of the right rank or religious denomination or from the right school, all of which may affect an informant's willingness to talk freely in front of him. Whereas a Tongan scholar who has proved himself or herself as a scholar would rise above most, though not all, these trivial problems which normally plague the use of interpreters.

Overseas research scholars can later make use of the recorded traditions collected by native scholars, and interpret them as they think proper, but it is important that what people remember of events should be recorded initially in the vernacular and translated as accurately as possible. It should be pointed out that there are already quite a number of younger Tongans with post-graduate training in social sciences. The same applies to other Pacific Territories such as Samoa, Fiji, Guam and the Trust Territory, Hawaii, New Zealand and even Papua New Guinea. When I received the first draft program of this seminar, together with the kind invitation for me to attend, one thing struck me in that program, and that was the absence of a single native Pacific Islander as either a chairman or a speaker, *in a seminar on Source Materials Related to Research in the Pacific.*

However, someone among my European colleagues must have been similarly struck by this and done something about it, for three months later I was invited to speak at this session. May I suggest, with all due respect, that the Eurocentricity which has been characteristic of some of these scientific meetings and seminars, *held on the Pacific area, can no longer be justified,* when a small but steadily growing body of island scholars is emerging. I am not suggesting for a moment that conferences such as this should be predominantly made up of Pacific Islanders — this would be absolutely ridiculous for obvious reasons — all I am pleading for, is for more active and meaningful participation by these indigenous scholars. They need to be encouraged as much as possible, for they obviously have some unique contribution to make towards scientific research by virtue of their experience of island life.

An additional reason why indigenous scholars are becoming so important for research work is connected with the fact that growing nationalism and strong anti-colonialist feelings are sweeping the Pacific, and there are already places in which it is becoming quite difficult for European scholars to establish rapport with people. However, Tonga is not one of these places, although the overseas scholar has to be tactful in handling some of the more delicate and touchy questions, particularly with the Government, otherwise things would be made difficult for them.

An Australian friend of mine who went to Tonga to carry out some research asked me whether it would be a good idea for him to wear a Vala or lap lap in Tonga as a way of identifying himself with the Tongans. I told him that it would be the worst thing he could do. If he did that, people would think he was making a fool of himself and would not respect him. It is far better to be oneself and be natural. The Tongan people accept Europeans as they are. They can tell a gentleman when they see one, and being an aristocratic society, courtesy, politeness,

whether in European or Tongan fashion or both, will go a long way to break down any barrier that may make things difficult in establishing rapport with the people.

An understanding of the culture and an appreciation of the tremendous feelings that the people have towards some of their solemn and important ceremonies, and a respect for their feelings would be a great help in establishing good rapport. To do otherwise is asking for trouble. Some of the journalists and newspaper photographers became very anti-Tongan after their experience in Tonga during the coronation of King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. They failed to realise that both the religious and traditional ceremonies connected with the installation of the King were sacred to the Tongans. When these foreigners appeared to have no respect for these ceremonies, in their eagerness to take photos and so on they really hurt the Tongans to the quick. Their actions were tantamount to sacrilege. Consequently a number of these journalists and photographers were roughly manhandled by the police and they could not leave Tonga quickly enough — and of course, you can imagine the kind of report that they made of Tonga and the Tongans. No doubt social scientists would later make use of some of these reports.

The Tongans are in general a very religious people. They take their religion and their church affiliation very seriously. Anyone who would arrive in Tonga and immediately begin to rubbish religion would face a list of problems in carrying on their research. One has also to take care not to become too closely identified with one or other of the several denominations or one may not be accepted by those outside one's own denomination. This does not mean that one cannot attend church or take part in church activities. The people admire anyone who does this. What has to be avoided is for the research worker to foolishly allow himself to be drawn into the denominational feuds which sometimes go on beneath the surface. People would be eager to find someone such as a scholar on their side, for it would add some extra prestige to their cause. The scholar who allows himself to be drawn into such situations may as well pack up and go home, for life will become intolerable for him and he will be unable to carry out his research properly. To show their disgust, people would probably tell him the sort of things which they told the unfortunate American archaeologist mentioned previously.

For the overseas scholar who has a good grasp of the language and has managed to establish good rapport, there are obviously certain advantages in being an outsider. The indigenous Tongan scholar has to wrestle with those problems which are in fact peculiar to him, such as his social status in a stratified and multi-denominational society, and the effects of these on the vitally important general question of objectivity.

In my earlier paper on oral traditions I mentioned that in Tonga they were kept mainly by the chiefs of the various social groups, or their *kau matapule* (attendants). This was particularly true with regard to oral traditions about events which happened before European contacts and up to the last quarter of the last century. The introduction of universal education in Tonga has changed a lot of this. Many commoners proved themselves as able scholars and intelligent observers. The number of these people has been growing all the time. In the beginning of this century, observers such as Basil Thomson and Gifford appeared to have gained most of their information from the chiefs only, and their interpretations of certain events in Tonga were coloured by this.

Thomson, for example, criticised the missionaries for the emancipation law contained in the 1862 Code of Laws in Tonga, arguing that there were no slaves in Tonga such as the Negro slaves in America and other places. He mentioned the fact

that slaves in Tonga were prisoners of war who became members of the household of their chiefly captors and because of this, enjoyed certain privileges which the commoners would never have enjoyed. Had Thomson been able to take a less partisan view of the situation, he would have found that the law was not to emancipate war captives from a chief's household only, but was aimed particularly at freeing commoners from the traditional absolute and arbitrary powers of the chiefs, who treated them as mere chattels.

Gifford recorded what the chief of my area had told him about the origin of a very minor and insignificant title in the community. The chief said that the original holder of this title was not a chief at all. He happened to be a good gardener who became prosperous. The chiefs then decided to adopt him into their ha'a. Gifford, being a scholar, then questioned the validity of this story arguing that traditionally the best of everything the commoners produced had to go to the chiefs, and there was no reason whatsoever to make this commoner a chief simply because he happened to be a good gardener. However, Gifford did not go beyond the casting of these scholarly doubts to seek for further evidence from the family of the petty title holder, who happened to be my grandfather. Had he done so he would have found evidence to support his argument, for within our family there was a tradition of chiefly origin, though it could, of course, be argued that such a tradition was suspect, but at least he would have been able to weigh the evidence without relying so heavily on his chiefly informant. I have tried in these two stories to illustrate some of the dangers for the research worker of moving among the upper classes *only,* of a stratified society such as Tonga, which can easily happen, especially when the scholar is given chiefly treatment.

Similar principles can be applied to the questions in which churches are concerned — particularly where religious disparities are involved.

The research which remains to be done in Tonga should not concern itself too greatly with the older traditions. Most of them have already been recorded by earlier workers such as Gifford and Collocott who were still able to hear of them from old people who were close to the events and were involved in them, but this generation has now passed away or is becoming too senile to remember anything. What is important now is to collect those stories which are locked up in the memories of those who have lived through the last decades of last century and the beginning of this one, while it is still possible to record them. Although there are written records available we know that many important events were unrecorded and even those which were can still be greatly amplified by obtaining oral accounts from those who figured in events or witnessed them.

I would include here that small community of European traders, officials and missionaries which has established itself in Tonga — their version of events would help the researcher to gain a somewhat different version from the one which Tongan informants will give and will provide a valuable cross-check.

Finally there is the important question of tact and patience. When I did my work in Tonga in 1964-65, I found that some of my informants, prompted perhaps partly by a desire to be regarded as 'tangata'ilo', or by the idea of being quoted and acknowledged in the 'book', or perhaps by their fondness of hearing their voices on the tape recorder, gave long tales most of which were not worth recording. However I maintained a show of interest and listened patiently, recording what they had to say. I did this for two reasons: firstly, because they sometimes came up

with something worthwhile; and secondly, if I had shown impatience or lack of interest, word might have spread and others who were perhaps better informants might become reluctant to offer information.

In this paper I have focussed on the problems which are likely to confront the historian or social scientist who collects oral traditions in Tonga. I have tried to offer suggestions which I believe would help to solve some of these problems, and to make a plea for more encouragement for and participation by native scholars. It is my sincere hope that what I have said may help to promote further research into the often ignored but extremely valuable sources of historical materials in the Pacific, namely the oral traditions.

Oral History in the 1970's

DR RON CROCOMBE

SINCE only the tiniest fraction of all that happens can be recorded in any form, and since all recording is selective, we need to assess the available resources, determine priorities and develop some notional plan as to the most fruitful course of action.

The sources of historical information on the Pacific include archaeological and other scientific analyses, especially for the era before documentation; pictorial and sound records, particularly since World War II; written documents, and the memories of living persons.

When we look around this magnificent building and its precious collections, and realise that another store of Pacific Islands treasures lies next door at the A.N.U., and another at the Mitchell and others elsewhere in Australia, New Zealand, Europe and the U.S.A., several obvious truths are illustrated:

- that the preservation of documentary history has gone vastly further than that of oral history;
- that the great bulk of the documentation has been made by, and from the perceptions of, European observers;
- that of the total resources of Pacific Islands history, only a tiny fraction is either held in the Pacific Islands, or is in practical terms readily available to Pacific Islanders;
- that the problem of 'knowledge capitalism' posed by Ivan Illich is relevant to Pacific history.

Each of these factors has both advantages and disadvantages for Pacific Islanders. Probably all are grateful for the existence of such vast documentation, and for its skilled and careful preservation, but many are now expressing concern that it is overwhelmingly one-sided in that so little of it records the perceptions of Islanders themselves. Oral history can make a contribution towards redressing this balance, for it draws on persons whose views have not found their way into the documentary record, and it gleans many facts and attitudes that are otherwise lost to view or under-represented.

The great majority of knowledge about Pacific history is held by European institutions and individuals. Facilities for the storage and dissemination of historical knowledge within the islands were, until very recently, minimal. During the 1960's, however, a number of very important steps were taken to provide more fully for the preservation of historical records within the islands — three new universities were established (University of Papua and New Guinea, University of Guam and University of the South Pacific); a number of additional museums were founded

and others planned; many new libraries were built or expanded, and departments of education in the independent and self-governing nations particularly, have taken a positive and productive interest in the preservation of Pacific history. For a long time at least, the greater volume of recorded Pacific history will remain outside the islands, but Pacific leaders are making it clear by their actions that they want to have a full historical record of their own nations, and some knowledge of their neighbours, readily available also within the islands. Oral history can make a contribution towards the achievement of this goal.

The problem of 'knowledge capitalism' is perhaps the most real and difficult of all. There are many more specialists in Pacific history outside the Pacific than within. Of the many specialists within, some would like to devote their full time to it, but do not have the finance or other resources to do so, as many of them are teachers, chiefs, politicians and other leading citizens who are fully engaged in other occupations and few have good recording facilities available to them. The major institutions outside the islands have relatively vast resources and thus, like some other forms of foreign investment in the islands, the foreign investor keeps getting richer and the Islander relatively poorer. This is a major problem, for an increasing number of Islanders are concerned about academic imperialism in the islands. One particular area in which a break-through can be made towards offsetting the gross imbalance, however, is that of oral history.

Oral history has not only an academic contribution to make, it can make a psychological and a political one also. Having all one's history recorded all the time by foreigners can be a very humiliating experience, as some of my students point out from time to time. They value the historical writings by Pacific Islanders not only for the enrichment that can come from reading the perspectives of members of the culture concerned as well as those of members of other cultures, but also for the confidence and satisfaction they derive from knowing that people with whom they identify can perform this art. And unless they do, and on a significant scale, people tend to get the uneasy feeling that perhaps they haven't the capacity.

That oral history is of interest to many Pacific Islanders is indicated by the fact that of the 15 undergraduate students now in their final year at the University of the South Pacific (this will be the first batch of graduates of the University) in all social sciences, eight are taking history as one of their two majors. Each B.A. student in the social sciences has to undertake a research paper in one of his two majors, on a topic of his own choosing. All eight chose to do theirs in history and entirely on their own initiative, all chose topics which are exclusively or substantially based on the oral histories of their own communities. A similar trend is apparent among those who expect to graduate next year.

Why the emphasis on oral history? In most cases they were quite specific. Any student of history or society naturally wants to read what has been written about him — about his people and culture. All of them had, at the university, read at least some such writings, and almost all had found both enjoyment and some degree of disappointment in the experience. They considered the existing record to reflect certain aspects of their history in a disadvantageous light because of incompleteness, inaccuracy or bias. Their intention in choosing these topics is to make the record more complete, more accurate and less biased. As with any recorder of history, they will inevitably introduce their own perspectives and biases, but a broader and more representative range of these than is now available is likely to leave the total record more mature, more meaningful and more precise.

I would like to touch briefly on the topics some of the U.S.P. students are working on. Similar work is being undertaken in other institutions throughout the islands.

Mr Asesela Ravuvu has often remarked that though the European records of Fijian involvement in World War II were interesting and provided valuable facts that were not available elsewhere, the perspective gained from reading them was different from what he had heard discussed by fellow Fijians in kava circles and social gatherings during the past twenty-five years. Not only were the facts recorded and the things considered important, generally different (usually complementary rather than contradictory), but also in some instances where the same events are recorded, some interpretations of causes and motivations were at variance. Mainly, however, Mr Ravuvu's interest is in the subsequent impact of the military experience on the individuals concerned, on Fijian rural communities and on Fijian leadership. These are aspects which no other writer has yet attempted, and which cannot be adequately assessed without including oral evidence.

Mr Nihi Vini is a Cook Islander from the atoll of Tongareva or Penrhyn. He had never read anything about his home island until he came to the University and was agreeably surprised to find that so much had been written about it. He has read avidly every reference he could locate during the past two years. His knowledge of the history of the atoll is now greatly expanded, and a great deal that is in the documents (particularly the earlier ones) is probably unknown in Tongareva. On the other hand, some of the events which in his view are the most important, are not recorded in writing (rather naturally as visits there by Europeans are few and far between) and some which are, do not accord fully with the oral traditions. This is not to suggest that the one or the other is necessarily correct, but that there is divergence which more data may help to resolve. Mr Vini has written some of the oral record which he knows i.e. as a Tongarevan who had acquired the knowledge informally in the normal process of growing up. Few of the things he has written about appear in other written records. He intends to return to Tongareva this Christmas to record oral traditions from others on the atoll. Obviously one man in a short time will not be able to make a comprehensive record, but he will make an important start.

Sister Mary Stella is a Roman Catholic nun who spent part of her life nursing lepers from all over the South Pacific at the central leper station on the island of Makogai. Leprosy is now substantially overcome in the Pacific and Makogai was closed down about a year ago. Working from mission and government records, from interviews with various staff, discussions with the remaining few patients (who are now at Tamavua hospital) and drawing on her own experience, the sister is writing a fascinating story of this very moving chapter in the history of the Pacific Islands.

Some high quality work has been written on the indenture of Indian workers to Fiji late last century and early this century, but relatively little has been done to record the personal experiences of the indentured workers themselves. The number still living is small, and diminishing day by day. Mr Shiu Prasad is collecting the remembered experiences of former indentured workers in his home area of Labasa.

There are many communities of racially mixed ancestry throughout the Pacific. Each of them is different according to the social and political context, the demography, the ancestral stocks and so on. Their history has not been well documented. Mr Sam Simpson, a member of a Fijian-English community near Suva Suva, is working on a history of a section of that very interesting group.

Very few Indians joined the army in Fiji during any of the three wars in which Fijians served (First and Second World Wars and the Malaysian anti-Communist campaign). Mr BrijBasi Singh feels that the existing written sources misrepresent important aspects of this case, and he is engaged in writing, on the basis of extensive oral material from Indians concerned, the perspective from which they viewed this period.

Mr Raymond Pillai is engaged in a study of the Sangam, a movement among South Indians in Fiji which has aimed, not always successfully, to better the lot of that minority group. Mr Pillai is a member of that community, which gives him the advantage of inside information. But he is also a very talented and humorous, and slightly cynical, observer, and this offsets the potential disadvantage of an insider who might otherwise see his task as justifying a cause.

Solomon Islanders were 'black-birded' as labour to Australia and many parts of the Pacific in the late 1800's and early 1900's. The last of the Solomon Island workers went to Fiji in 1911. There are about ten settlements of their descendants in Fiji today and one of those descendants, Mr Aduru Kuva, is making a study of one of these communities, as well as recording the experiences of the last of the living migrants. I say last advisedly, as when he began the study earlier this year he had contacted eleven. Today only eight of them remain alive. Just a few days before I left Suva he came with the sad news of the passing of an old man with whom he had been working.

On a different aspect of living tradition, a group comprising a Fijian, an Australian and two Indians recently completed a small study of rituals by ordeal — firewalking, piercing the body with steel, plunging the hands in boiling oil and dancing on upturned knife-blades.

There are others, but the above gives an indication of the trends. The studies are not being done by professionals, they are being done by undergraduate students (though some are particularly mature and experienced people — four of them for example, having been headmasters).

The studies are not nearly as deep, extensive or long-term as one would hope. The persons undertaking them have limited time and other study commitments. The University has virtually no finance to provide them with the equipment, typing facilities, travel or the expenses that could improve the scope and quality of their research, or to assist the publication of work that merits being made available to a wider audience.

The hope at this stage is to accumulate a series of small-scale studies rather than to generalise. It is much more important to obtain a reasonably accurate documentation of small cases than to make shallow generalisations of doubtful validity. The case studies cannot, in many cases, be made later, as the people whose experiences are being recorded will soon be dead. Once the data is collected, however, generalisation can take place at any time in the future.

Records of this kind are being collected in all the Pacific Islands universities and in some museums, education departments and teachers colleges. In this decade they will become a valuable body of collections. It is to be hoped, however, that Pacific Islanders will have the time and resources available to them to undertake a fair proportion of the further analysis and generalisation from these primary sources. We must recognise that historical records are, like minerals and the tourist trade, an exploitable resource. In fact, today, the institutions and scholars of the richer nations have the wherewithal to exploit those resources most effectively. But they already have the great bulk of all the written records on the islands. For them

to corner the market on one of the few fields in which indigenous scholars have a particular skill and advantage, would give the growing charges of academic imperialism a foundation that they are better without.

Oral history is a field which has a rich potential for filling important gaps in current historical knowledge, and for contributing to a more balanced perspective of the history of the Pacific. It is to be hoped that the great and established centres of Pacific research will give their fullest encouragement to aiding Pacific Islanders in the task on which they have embarked. It is a quest for knowledge, for legitimation, for the proving of talents and for the realisation of their own identity.

National and Local Collection of Pacific Manuscripts

KEVIN GREEN

THERE is a continuing process which must be undertaken to improve the collection of manuscripts held in various national archives and libraries. This process is affected, in the Pacific area particularly, by a number of factors including:

- that the documentary evidence represents only one of the sources available for research: oral and documentary sources complement each other;
- that with the development of "local" research it is necessary to consider what sorts of institutions should be involved in the collecting process, and what kinds of service they should provide;
- that there is a vast quantity of relevant material relating to the Pacific Area, and to individual countries within the Pacific, which is held elsewhere (only some in organised repositories);
- that the records of the Pacific Area have generally suffered through loss and destruction.

Whilst I hope that my remarks have a relevance to the area generally, my examples are drawn from Papua New Guinea. I must therefore detail the record situation as it exists in Papua New Guinea.

Official Records

(a) The Papua New Guinea Archives was established in 1958 to provide in the first place an effective records management service for (basically) the headquarters of various Government Departments. As a secondary consideration the Archives was established to provide research facilities for authorised persons making use of Government records.

(b) Some records of the headquarters of Government Departments of the Papuan Administration before the war have survived, but there are very significant gaps. On the other hand, almost nothing of the records of the New Guinea Administrations — German and Australian — have survived. Provision for the storage and preservation of records created after the war is generally good. The need for a records management program has been recognised since the mid 1950's and with continual problems of finding sufficient office space departments have been only too happy to co-operate and have material stored in Archives. The Archives itself has experienced problems in finding adequate accommodation and this has limited the effectiveness of the service provided. However, approval was given in 1970 for the construction of an Archives building and it is anticipated that this building will be ready for occupation early in 1972. Whilst this

building is not on a lavish scale it will provide adequate storage and protection for the records and also provide facilities for the increasing number of scholars seeking to make use of the records.

(c) *Statutory Bodies:* The Administrator's instructions setting up the Archives envisaged that the Archives should be responsible for the records of statutory bodies as well as the records of Government Departments. Only one statutory body makes use of the facilities offered at present and then only to a limited extent. I think that the provision to provide archival services for semi-government bodies is a very wise one. Mr Buick will no doubt be surprised to learn of this provision, which on the face of it gives me, as Chief Archivist, authority over all the records created by the University of Papua New Guinea. However, I would like to assure Mr Buick that the rules and regulations governing the Archives are at present being looked at very carefully and one provision which I intend to have inserted is that where a statutory body is prepared to look after its own records and is capable of providing such service itself to a satisfactory standard, then such a body should be exempted from the provisions of the Archives Instruction as it now stands.

(d) *Village Officials:* The village official system is the smallest unit of administration in Papua New Guinea and although the number of records held by each village may be very small, they are nevertheless significant in terms of the source materials. The village official system is being replaced gradually by Local Government Councils. The records of the village officials have been collected, some going back for 20 or 30 years or more. The records received so far have been collected by district field staff. In some areas, the local government councils have taken over the records of the village officials and these have then formed part of the records of the Local Government Council, frequently still in administrative use.

(e) *Local Government Council Records:* Nothing has been done so far to either collect or make facilities available for the preservation of Local Government Council records. The spread of Local Government control is still continuing, and in any case is only approximately twenty years old, in the areas where councils were first established.

(f) *Patrol Post and Sub-district Records:* Very little has survived from New Guinea 'outstations' prior to the Pacific war. A systematic approach was made shortly after the Archives was established to collect pre-war and war period records, no longer required in outstations, for transferral to the Archives. This approach has brought together a very valuable collection of records, but it should be remembered that very many records of the patrol post or sub-district are still required for current administrative use. Because of this factor also, very little has been done to collect records created since the war; in fact the only sub-district records that have been collected are those from Port Moresby and some from Rigo, a station approximately 30 miles from Port Moresby, which were transferred to the Archives when the station was moved to Kwikila (some 10 miles further from Port Moresby).

(g) *District Office Records:* A start has been made to institute a records management program covering district office records of all departments. The records of three (out of eighteen) district offices have now been examined, provision made for the destruction of some material and material from the Port Moresby district office and one other have been transferred to the Archives in Port Moresby.

Private Records

Whilst the Papua New Guinea Archives activities are not confined to the collection of official records, I must admit that activities in the field of collecting private records can be described only as 'passive'. Since the establishment of the University of Papua New Guinea, the University Library has pursued a policy of active collection of private records. The collection of private records is infinitely more difficult than the collection of official records, in that it depends upon the goodwill and co-operation that can be engendered between the collecting authority and the depositors. An offical archives establishment such as the Papua New Guinea Archives, of course, has a primary object of preserving the official records and cannot allow the collecting of private records to interfere with the proper treatment of the official records. Furthermore, it is important that there should not be competition between institutions in the matter of collection of private records. Some institutions in Papua New Guinea (and I am thinking of both missions and businesses in particular) have made good provision for the preservation of their records and in some instances have allowed extensive use of the material for research purposes.

(1) *The Documentary Evidence is only one of the Source Materials*

It is difficult to imagine very many research topics which could rely entirely upon documentary sources. Indeed I would strongly argue that, at the present stage of development of historical research, projects should be directed towards topics which involve the collection of oral sources and in this way build up the collection of new documentary source materials. But in order to get the most out of the oral sources it is necessary to have a good collection of documents easily and readily available. At present I do not feel that the most is being gained from the oral sources in Papua New Guinea because the documentation is deficient in many respects. The documentary sources, as well as providing definitive evidence on various points, will suggest lines of enquiry in approaching the oral sources and the reverse process is also likely to occur. Since much of the research making use of oral sources is essentially local in character, that is dealing with village and tribal groups etc., it would appear desirable from a research point of view that documents which are created locally remain in the area. There are also local historical and antiquarian interests of the area to be considered. This leads into the question of 'national' versus 'local' collection of records. It will be noticed that in my survey of the Papua New Guinea record situation, very little has been done to collect the records of village officials, local government councils, sub-district offices and patrol posts, or even district offices. Part of the reason for this is that in the majority of cases the records are comparatively recent, and that most of them are still required for the administrative use of district and other officials. But it must be admitted that the present facilities for storage of records at these levels are universally bad and that something must be done to safeguard these records for the future. As I have suggested, the removal of such records to a 'national' repository, situated at some far-off capital, as well as being undesirable from an administrative point of view, may further detract from the collection of oral sources. Already the question of local repositories to cope with the storage of official records at district level has been raised. The increasing demand for decentralisation in Papua New Guinea is likely to reinforce the need to provide branches of the Papua New Guinea Archives in the not too distant future. And despite the obvious difficulties of providing buildings and staff, I foresee the creation of branches of the Archives at district

level as a reasonable compromise which could provide for local research as well as provide for efficient records management.

I have argued that research topics should involve the collection of oral evidence as much as possible. This immediately raises the question of how, and where, should the oral material so collected be stored. Publication of accounts of various incidents or reminiscences are useful in certain circumstances (and there has been an increasing number of such accounts published lately particularly in journals) but this method does not go very far. I would suggest that every encouragement should be given to researchers to make transcripts of material that they have collected, and that such transcripts be deposited in an appropriate archive or library. It would be appropriate in the case of theses presented for the award of a degree, for example, that these transcripts should be deposited in the University Library along with the thesis itself.

(2) *What sorts of institutions should be involved in the collecting process, and what kinds of service should they provide?*

There are three main contenders for the collection of research material: national archives, public libraries and universities. There is much that can be said both for and against each contender, but in my experience the ideal situation is for any organisation (be it a government, a business, a club, a mission, etc.) to have its own archives section, despite the inherent dangers of untrained staff and lack of facilities. But clearly most organisations will not be in a position to do this, and it is therefore desirable to provide institutions that can offer an archival service; in effect the collection institutions should provide a records management program. This, of course, is a costly undertaking, but I see it as the only method of ensuring that anything like complete documentation is available. Secondly it is necessary to avoid the appearance of competition in collecting and for this it is necessary that there be constant liaison and flow of information between collecting institutions both within any particular country and within the area generally.

(3) *A considerable amount of material relating to the Pacific area is to be found elsewhere*

The provision of a national archival service (and by this I would include the facilities for the collection of manuscripts by libraries and universities) can apply only for those records that have survived, as well as making provision for the records that will be created in the future. But must we accept for ever the fact that a substantial part, indeed for some countries the majority of the historical documentation and ultimately cultural heritage, is not available in the country to which it refers. Should we accept as final such a statement as 'Some of the most valuable of all sources for documentary material relating to the history of the Pacific Islands are to be found in the major French Government Archives in Paris'. Or that if you want to study the history of Papua New Guinea important sources are to be found in England, Australia and Germany (and I could include Japan and America as well for the war period). This brings me back to the point that I made that, if we are to get the most out of the oral sources, we need much better documentation. It is a common feature of the colonising process that substantial quantities of records are to be found elsewhere. These records would include the official archives of the colonial power itself, the records of companies, missions and individuals (government officials, businessmen, missionaries and travellers). It would appear that a part of the de-colonising process is the establishment of organisations or institutions to seek out and describe various documents of interest available elsewhere. A

further step is the copying of relevant material so that it can be available more easily. I do not intend to go into the question of the location, description and copying of such documents as I would be trespassing on the subject of Mr Langdon's topic this afternoon. Except to say that the task of copying documents is obviously so immense that it is necessary to consider priorities in such a project. This I intend to link up with my fourth consideration: the depletion of the record sources by loss or destruction.

(4) *The depletion of record sources*

Whilst I am not in a position to state how the problem of destruction of records has affected various areas of the Pacific other than Papua New Guinea, I would expect that wholesale destruction of records has taken place in all areas occupied during the Pacific war, and the combined effects of lack of interest, humid climate and poor storage, not to mention the isolated instances of records being taken away improperly, are certain to have affected the records of the Pacific area generally. This destruction of documentary sources applies equally to private as well as official records.

The first essential is, of course, to protect as far as possible against further losses. But I want also to examine the feasibility of restoring, as far as is possible, the records that have been lost or destroyed. This once more gets back to the points that I mentioned previously (i.e. that the loss of records as well as being serious in itself has the additional effect of reducing the effectiveness of the oral sources; and records created locally should be available where they were created). The colonial-type relationship (whether official, business or mission), which is common to all areas of the Pacific, has meant that there has been a continual exchange of correspondence and information between the 'colony' and the 'colonial power'. If certain documents have been destroyed in the colony it is sometimes possible that another copy may be available elsewhere which could be re-copied and added (with appropriate notation of the source from which it came) to the original collection.

Whilst the English Archivist Sir Hilary Jenkinson has cast doubts as to the evidential value (in the legal sense) of such replacement documentation, I am encouraged in my belief that records should be replaced by the rule of the Dutch Archivists Muller, Feith and Fruin that 'it is desirable to complete the archival collection again with missing documents, for this purpose a list of those documents should be drawn up in order to make it easy to trace or if they do not exist to procure, as far as possible, transcripts of originals or copies deposited elsewhere'. Or consider the comment of the Acting Administrator of Papua New Guinea to the Department of External Territories after a fire destroyed many, in fact almost all, of the records of the Government Secretary's Department in 1949. He said the loss of the records was serious, but not great, nor irreparable. Under the present system of distribution of copies of correspondence to Departments, it is expected that new records can be rebuilt from local sources and from copies obtained from your Department. Thus, if a Government Department was able to rebuild its records to carry on its business after a fire, it should be surely possible for researchers to attempt the same thing. In the case of Papua New Guinea it is a most frightening but nevertheless important task.

I intend to test the feasibility of this approach by an examination of the official correspondence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua prior to the Pacific war (of which a substantial quantity of records remain) and then to consider the records

generally of the Australian Administration of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.

Records of the Papuan Administration

An examination of the outstation records of the Papuan Administration which have been collected indicates that it would be possible to reconstruct approximately half of the missing records of the Government Secretary's Office. I am able to make this claim because the Government Secretary very conveniently numbered all his letters and minutes in order. However, a project to reconstruct the records of the Government Secretary's Office would not be worth undertaking unless as I suggested earlier, district branches were established, in which case it would be necessary to consider the question of the return of the District Office records so far collected and stored in the 'national' Archives. But it is the records of the Lieutenant-Governor's Office that provide the best opportunity to recover documents no longer available in Port Moresby. The familiar inward and outward despatches of the 19th century British Colonial System were maintained in Papua until 1921, and these despatches have survived. In 1921 a file system replaced the series of despatches and only part of this file system has survived. During the war this series was taken to Australia and, although I have not been able to find any definite evidence to confirm this view, I consider that it is likely that these records were used in war planning and post-war reconstruction planning. The series of files of the Lieutenant-Governor's Office which are now held in Archives are far from complete and to me they appear to be a residue left after other files were removed for some purpose. From an examination of the files that remain it is apparent that the filing system revolved around the correspondence between the Lieutenant-Governor and the relevant Australian Government Department, and it is fairly obvious that records of various Commonwealth Departments would provide the same information in an alternative form. Of some 127 primary divisions in the file classification only 47 are extant. It is possible to find references to correspondence passing between the Papuan Administration and the Australian Government indicating the subject material of other files, but it is necessary at present to rely upon Commonwealth Government sources for any research in the period 1921 to 1942. Some people present here today may be aware of criticism that I made of one researcher who made extensive use of the records of the Lieutenant-Governor's Office without apparently realising the extent of the records that had been lost or of the availability of Commonwealth Government sources to rectify many of the gaps. But if, as I assert, scholars can make use of this alternative source, it should be a relatively simple exercise to copy relevant documents to replace those missing from the series now held in Port Moresby. The extant records of this series amount to approximately twenty feet of files, which I estimate would represent somewhat less than half of the original filing system; a selective copying project of documents from Commonwealth Government sources would be able to replace perhaps another quarter to one-third of the missing records.

But I wish to turn to what I consider to be the more vital and pressing question of the practicability of replacing records lost from the New Guinea Administration. My concern is that even at present the disparity between the amount of records that have survived from Papua as against New Guinea makes the selection of topics available for research in the territory extremely one sided. To improve the records from Papua without attempting to improve the records from New Guinea would only serve to increase this disparity. Virtually all records of the New Guinea

Administration have been destroyed by the war and other causes. In this case we must depend entirely upon alternative sources, and the most obvious for the period 1914 to 1942 are the records of the Australian Government Departments dealing with New Guinea during those years. Several years ago, the Commonwealth Archives compiled a reference guide entitled 'Records relating to the Mandated Territory of New Guinea to 1941'. In the forty pages of this guide records of a large number of Commonwealth Departments dealing with New Guinea are listed and this is a most valuable guide, but a guide to Commonwealth records held in Canberra. This guide could be used as a basis for a selective copying project designed to reproduce the records of New Guinea in the form originally held in Rabaul. In the first place it should be possible to find copies of all letters written from the Administrator of New Guinea to the Department of Territories (or whatever Departments were responsible for New Guinea matters) and the Canberra replies. This would provide some most useful information in itself, but it is the enclosures particularly from the Administrator that are likely to produce the most important information. Already through the co-operation of the Commonwealth Archives copies have been made of the Legislative Council Minutes and reports of the Mining Warden at Wau. Undoubtedly there are many other records which could be copied in this way. (The guide which I referred to earlier lists separately the various copies of Patrol Reports held in Canberra.)

I suggest this selective method of copying documents for the following reasons:

- but for the destruction caused by the war, these records would be available as part of the archives (and ultimately cultural heritage) of Papua New Guinea;
- extra information that might be contained in the files of the Department of Territories, whilst of considerable importance in their own right, would not have formed part of the records held in Rabaul;
- that these are records to which Papua New Guinea must have rights in that they are documents which they share with the Australian Government, and consequently such a project would not infringe upon any rights that Australia might need to safeguard;
- the Department of Territories files also contain records of other territories, and also documents of which, in the case of Papua, some copies already exist in the Papua New Guinea Archives;
- it will be possible to fit in records from other sources. For example the limited number of documents from the New Guinea Administration received from the Papuan Administration. Also some pre-war New Guinea Government officials have been approached and they have made available records or copies of records that were in their possession. Missions, businesses and individuals would undoubtedly have copies of other documents;
- the criteria for destroying or retaining records is likely to be different in Australia from that of Papua New Guinea, and it would be unreasonable to expect Australia to take into consideration Papua New Guinea's requirements, or rather this method would extinguish the need to take special note of Papua New Guinea's requirements;
- in some cases, duplicate copies must exist on file and these could be used in the same manner in which Britain returned to various Australian colonies, duplicate despatches, thus obviating the need to copy certain documents.

If such a project to restore the records of the Australian Administration of New Guinea is possible, it might be possible to attempt the same sort of thing for the German Administration of New Guinea (and the other areas that came under German colonial control).

It must be accepted that very many records are irretrievably lost, but I am convinced that a vast quantity can be restored and I would like to present the argument that every effort should be made to so restore these documents. Whilst I have concentrated upon official documents, I believe that similar projects might be possible for certain private records, and whilst my examples are all from Papua New Guinea, I imagine that the same principles would be applicable to other areas of the Pacific. It would appear to follow that if such a project to copy selective documents to restore the records that have been lost in the Pacific area is feasible, then this should be given a high priority in the overall copying project. Furthermore I would suggest that this would be a reasonable project for international co-operation; to restore in part some of the cultural heritage of the various countries of the Pacific.

The Pacific Manuscripts Bureau

ROBERT LANGDON

HALF a dozen libraries in Australia, New Zealand and the United States have added considerably to their holdings of reference material on the Pacific Islands during the past three years as a result of the work of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau at the Australian National University, Canberra. The Bureau is part of the University's Research School of Pacific Studies. It was established in July 1968 with the primary aim of locating unpublished documents of value on the Pacific Islands and making microfilm copies of them readily available to scholars. Originally, the Bureau had five sponsors: the University itself; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the National Library of Australia, Canberra; the National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, and the Library of the University of Hawaii, Honolulu. The State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, has also been a sponsor since July last year.

Each of the sponsoring libraries contributes an annual sum towards the running of the Bureau and the salary of its executive officer. In return, each receives a positive or duplicate negative copy of every reel of microfilm that the Bureau produces. Copies of the Bureau's microfilms are also available for purchase by non-member libraries and individuals — provided the owners of the manuscripts microfilmed have placed no restrictions on their use.

To the end of June 1971, the Bureau had produced nearly four hundred microfilm reels of manuscript material, plus fifty or sixty reels of rare printed or roneoed material. The documents covered a time span of almost four and a half centuries and a geographical area embracing all the islands of Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia, including Hawaii and New Guinea, but excluding New Zealand. The earliest documents microfilmed date back to 1525 and deal with the fitting out of the Pacific expedition of Garcia Jofre de Loaisa, the first European to enter the Pacific after Magellan. At the other end of the time scale is an account, written in 1965, of the first successful attempt — in that year — to climb the rugged Star Mountains of the Australian Trust Territory of New Guinea. In between those two extremes are a wide variety of documents of historical, scientific and literary value, such as letters to and from island residents; their diaries and notebooks; missionary, trading and shipping records (including ships' logbooks and account books); grammars, dictionaries and vocabularies; genealogies; and letters, stories and other papers written by Pacific Islanders in their own language. Most of these documents — the Loaisa expedition papers being notable exceptions — were located in private hands; and many of them would undoubtedly have been lost to posterity if the Bureau, or some other body with Pacific interests, had not taken positive steps to seek them out.

The genesis of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau dates back to December 1962. It grew out of an idea put forward by H. E. Maude, a former senior British administrator in the Pacific Islands, and until recently, Professorial Fellow in the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University. During a visit to Honolulu, Mr Maude discussed the possibility of inter-library co-operation in the photocopying of documents on the Pacific Islands with Dr Floyd Cammack, then Assistant Librarian at the Gregg M. Sinclair Library at the University of Hawaii. Following those discussions, Dr Cammack drew up a plan to form an association of Pacific research libraries and approached all the libraries which he thought might be interested. He also proposed that a conference of interested parties should be held on the subject in Honolulu. One of the most keenly interested parties proved to be the Mitchell Librarian, Mr G. D. Richardson, who told Dr Cammack in a letter that 'undoubtedly the main point of interest for us is the possibility that such an association may be able to undertake the central organisation and control of a joint copying project for research materials for the Pacific region'. However, before Dr Cammack's suggested conference could be held, Dr Cammack left Hawaii and nothing further was done about his proposed libraries association until November 1966. His idea was then revived at a meeting in Sydney between Dr Ralph Shaw, who had recently been appointed Dean of Library Services at the University of Hawaii, and Mr Richardson.

Following this meeting Mr Richardson sought the advice of Mr Maude on how the libraries interested in Pacific research could club together for their joint benefit. In response, Mr Maude prepared a paper of 66 quarto pages entitled *The Documentary Basis for Pacific Studies.* In this he discussed the pros (but no cons) of setting up what he called a Pacific Islands Manuscripts Clearing Centre to be sponsored by the libraries in question. Mr Maude's chief contribution to previous thoughts on this subject was that the Centre should be established at the Australian National University as the ANU was the only university in the world with a Department of Pacific History, and therefore could offer more expertise on Pacific documentation than any other body.

Mr Maude's paper was completed in March 1967 and was received with enthusiasm, first by Mr Richardson, then by Dr Shaw. The ANU authorities subsequently agreed to take on the role that Mr Maude had suggested, and the question then arose as to which libraries should be approached to join in. Dr Shaw took the view that his own library, the Mitchell Library and the National Library of Australia (jointly); and the National Library of New Zealand — representing three Pacific countries — would be enough to get the scheme started. 'It is a question of tactics in getting something necessary started with a minimum of red tape and conferring,' he said in a letter in June 1967. 'And since the job does not seem to be too big for the three of us to start, I am inclined to get on with it and get an organisation in being, rather than spend another six months, or a year or two years trying to bring in all of the people who might, or should, be interested before we start.'

Dr Shaw's view was accepted as a practical one by the ANU and Mitchell Library, and so the only other bodies invited to join the scheme at that time were the National Libraries of Australia and New Zealand. Although the two National Libraries soon promised to join the scheme, more than eight months passed before a broad agreement was hammered out among the five founder institutions on the establishment of what was then still called the Pacific Islands Manuscripts Clearing Centre. The agreement provided that the Centre would have a minimum staff of a secretary-manager, a part-time typist and clerical assistant, and a part-time consultant from the academic staff of the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University. The agreement came into effect on 1 January 1968. However, it was actually the end of February of that year before the agreement was signed by all members. For practical reasons, the National Library of Australia and the Mitchell Library became individual members, rather than a joint member, as Dr Shaw had suggested.

Meanwhile, a search had been made for a suitable person to run the Centre; and in January 1968, the author of this article — then Assistant Editor of the *Pacific Islands Monthly* — accepted an invitation to do so. The writer took up his post in mid-April 1968, and on 1 July following, the Centre (with its name shortened to Pacific Manuscripts Bureau and the secretary-manager's title changed to Executive Officer) was declared to be fully operational. Rules for the operation of the Bureau, its accounting procedures, and the admission of new members were drawn up in a document entitled *Operating Instructions for the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau.* The rules named Mr Maude as the Bureau's honorary consultant. They were agreed to by all the founder members.

The duties of the Bureau's Executive Officer, as set out in the *Operating Instructions,* give a precise idea of what it was hoped the Bureau would do and what, in fact, it does. The Executive Officer's duties are:

- to search for manuscripts and other unpublished material relating to the Pacific Islands by examining catalogues, guides, bibliographies, indexes, etc., as well as by correspondence with possible informants, and personally visiting possible informants;
- to examine the manuscript material located and, where this is deemed to be of value, to arrange for it to be copied by the most practical means;
- to search for and arrange for the copying of published items, particularly serials, which, owing to the rarity, may be considered to be in the category of manuscripts;
- to provide copies of manuscript and other material to members at cost price;
- to provide copies of manuscript and other material to non-members on request (at costs equivalent to those paid by the member libraries, after salaries and other overhead expenses have been taken into account);
- to be responsible for the cataloguing, in a form approved by the members of all the material discovered and copied;
- to provide copies of the catalogue entries free of charge to members;
- to prepare and publish catalogues and guides to Pacific Islands manuscripts;
- to prepare detailed and costed projects for the cataloguing and copying of manuscripts in particular countries, areas, libraries or archives for the consideration of members;
- to prepare similar projects authorised by members for the recording of oral information;
- to maintain a search for suitably qualified persons willing and available to engage in surveys of Pacific Islands manuscripts in particular countries, areas, libraries, or archives;
- to arrange, at the request or with the consent of the owner of any manuscript relating to the Pacific Islands, for its deposit in the most appropriate repository, having regard to the wishes of the owner, the subject matter of the material, and the existing holdings of the various repositories.

In searching for unpublished manuscript material to copy, it was quickly recognised that the Bureau should observe a scale of priorities. The first priority — because of the ravages of silverfish, white ants, mildew, floods, hurricanes and other paper-destroying agents of the tropics — was to locate and copy documents in the Pacific Islands themselves. Of almost equal urgency was the location and copying of documents in private hands outside the Islands. Next was the cataloguing and copying of documents in repositories most distant from the Bureau's member libraries, followed by the same plan for the closer ones. Finally, it was envisaged that when — if ever — the reservoir of documents in private hands and non-member institutions dried up, the Bureau would arrange for the interchange of copies of documents held by the member libraries themselves.

In practice, documents are sought and copied in all fields — except the member libraries — as opportunity offers. In seeking material in private hands in the Pacific Islands or elsewhere, the Bureau's technique is similar to that of a detective. Any promising clue gleaned from reading or from discussions with Pacific scholars, Islands residents, mission officials and so on is followed up by correspondence, by telephone or by personal contact. If a clue proves fruitful and leads to the discovery of a collection of documents, the executive officer seeks permission to borrow the documents for microfilming by a professional organisation. Most private owners of small collections of documents readily agree to lend their collections to the Bureau for copying. Sometimes they actually present them to the Bureau, in which case the executive officer deposits them in the most appropriate of the Bureau's member libraries after they have been copied on microfilm for all the members.

Some searches for documents have been extended over many months and through several countries, and have finally produced valuable material which was not sought, and never dreamed of when the search began. For example, in June 1968, the Bureau began an inquiry for a diary of the celebrated South Seas missionary John Williams, who was murdered in the New Hebrides in 1839. Acting on information obtained by a scholar in London in the 1950's, the Bureau wrote to descendants of Williams in England, South Africa and Canada. None of these people, in fact, owned any Williams material themselves, but each referred the Bureau to other members of their numerous and widely-scattered family, who were reputed to have material. Finally, after correspondence extending over sixteen months, the following manuscripts were brought to light and generously lent or given to the Bureau for microfilming:

- a journal of a voyage to Rarotonga and other islands in the Cook Group kept by John Williams and Robert Bourne in 1823. (Owned by a descendant in Surrey, England.);
- several letters from Williams dated from 1822 to 1834. (Owned by descendants in Surrey and London.);
- a journal kept in 1868-72 by the missionary's son, John Chauner Williams, during his term as British consul in Samoa. (Owned by a descendant in Johannesburg.);
- six journal-letters kept by John Chauner Williams and his wife Amy from 1864 to 1874, describing life in Samoa. (Owned by descendants in Cape Province, South Africa.).

Another search, which has occupied even more time than the Williams papers, concerns a serial publication entitled *Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides.* This publication, the earliest journal entirely devoted to the New Hebrides, was

first published in July 1893 — at Woodford, Essex. It was subsequently issued from Southend-on-Sea, Essex, then Kirkwall, Orkney Islands, and finally, Glasgow, Scotland. It was still going strong in the mid 1960's, but now seems to have folded — no one is quite sure. As far as is known, no complete set of *Quarterly Jottings* exists anywhere in the world, which makes it all the more desirable from the Bureau's point of view. For the past three years, the Bureau has been trying to put together a complete set on microfilm. By din of persistent inquiry, all but half a dozen of more than 270 copies have now been located in private and institutional hands in Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain, and it is hoped that the missing copies will also be run to earth in time.

To foster interest in its activities, the Bureau publishes a regular newsletter, *Pambu,* in which stories about the documents it discovers are published, current projects are described, and microfilm acquisitions are listed. The newsletter began publication in August 1968 and appeared monthly until the end of 1969. It is now published quarterly. Originally, the newsletter had a circulation of ten copies. Nowadays it goes to nearly 250 scholars and institutions throughout the world, and the mailing list is continually growing. As far as possible, the stories and other items in *Pambu* are designed to be newsworthy, entertaining and informative so that they will serve three purposes. These are: (a) to be suitable for republication in Islands newspapers and periodicals such as the *Pacific Islands Monthly, Cook Islands News, Australian Territories, Norfolk Island News,* &c. so that they will publicise the Bureau's work and aims; (b) to enable scholars and librarians to get an idea of the contents of each collection of documents without having to consult them personally; and (c) to demonstrate to owners of unpublished documents that their papers — such as grandfather's diary, which has reposed for years in the attic — may, after all, be of value to the historically-minded. Thanks to *Pambu,* quite a number of manuscripts have been sent to the Bureau unsolicited. The newsletter has also helped to open doors to collections of documents that might otherwise have remained locked.

Among the numerous manuscript items that have been located by the Bureau over the past three years are the private correspondence of Sir Hubert Murray, Lieutenant-Governor of Papua from 1908 to 1940; the private papers of two other Pacific administrators, Rupert C. Garsia and C. R. Pinney: the unpublished autobiography of Captain E. P. Tregurtha, a South Seas whaler; diaries kept in 1905 and 1911 by M. M. Witts, an observant Australian planter in the New Hebrides; two unpublished novels by Harry J. Moors, a friend of Robert Louis Stevenson in Samoa; a dictionary of the Mekeo language of Papua; a diary in Tahitian, kept by a workman at the guano deposits on Flint Island, Eastern Pacific, in 1889-91; the diaries, correspondence and other papers of the Rev. John R. Metcalfe, a Methodist missionary in the Solomons from 1920 to 1957; and the diaries and other papers of James Lyle Young, a remarkably literate planter, trading schooner skipper, trader and company director, who lived and travelled all over the Pacific for nearly sixty years, until his death in 1929.

All the foregoing documents were located by correspondence, by telephone or by personal visits within Australia, and, generally speaking, they were borrowed from their owners for microfilming in Australia. However, it is not always possible to borrow material for copying, particularly if that material represents the archives of a mission body, trading company, etc. Because of this, the Bureau has acquired a 35 mm portable microfilming camera, and from time to time the executive officer uses this to microfilm documents 'in the field'. In April-May 1969, for example,

there was a month-long expedition to the New Hebrides to film documents at out-of-the-way Presbyterian, Melanesian, Churches of Christ and Roman Catholic mission stations that could not be sent to Australia. This expedition produced many moments of adventure and subjected the portable camera to a variety of wild conditions and an amount of rough handling that would have brought grey hairs to the head of its Japanese manufacturer. There were jeep rides over formidable jungle tracks, sometimes bestrewn with volcanic boulders or knee-deep in treacly mud; flights in small aircraft in pouring rain to and from primitive, corrugated air strips; several short journeys in open boats; marches on foot with the camera case in one hand, a suitcase in the other, and an umbrella somehow held overhead; and a rolling voyage in a smelly, unkempt mission vessel at the end of a three-day cyclone.

Much of the New Hebrides microfilming work was done in almost hilariously difficult conditions. At the Tangoa Training Institution on Santo, the floor of the missionary's dining room, which doubled as a studio, was so ancient and decrepit that it sagged (and caused the camera to wobble) every time anyone walked across it. At the Melanesian Mission headquarters at Lolowai, Aoba Island, the weather was so humid and the mosquitoes and moths so numerous that it required canny timing to avoid photographing an insect each time the lens shutter was released. On one occasion at the same station, the film in the camera became jammed, and it was necessary to take a hair-raising jeep trip across the crater rim of an extinct volcano to borrow a pair of pliers from a neighbouring planter to fix it. There were other, lesser difficulties elsewhere. Yet despite everything, not a foot of film was lost; and the quality of the twenty reels obtained was almost unbelievably good. In the circumstances, only a clairvoyant scholar or librarian is likely to guess what pioneering qualities were needed to get those films into the Bureau's member libraries!

Other trips to microfilm documents 'on location' have not been quite so arduous, but have been equally rewarding. An expedition which the executive officer made to Tahiti produced, among many other things, copies of sixteen early historical documents on that island which the Territory of French Polynesia had bought for nearly $8,000 at an auction in Paris a short time previously. Other valuable material has been microfilmed in the Sydney office of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. In July this year, the executive officer spent a fortnight on Norfolk Island microfilming documents. The most exciting discovery on this occasion was an old diary, which was begun on the island on 8 June 1856, the day the Pitcairners arrived in the *Morayshire*. The diary was kept by John Buffett, the founder of Norfolk Island's Buffett family, who settled on Pitcairn in 1823. It spans a period of thirty-six years to 1892 and fills in many details of Norfolk Island history that are not easily found elsewhere. Other documents filmed on Norfolk Island included a variety of manuscripts gathered together by the Norfolk Island Historical Society, records of the Church of England, the Methodist and Seventh Day Adventist Churches, and some interesting papers held in private hands.

All original negatives of the films obtained are sent to Sydney for the making of copies for the Bureau's member libraries and others as no facilities exist in Canberra for this work. Most of the libraries prefer duplicate negatives, but the National Library of Australia and the Library of the Australian National University* require positives. After the copies are received in Canberra, typewritten labels briefly describing the contents of each film and indicating the film numbers are affixed to

*The ANU Library is not one of the Bureau's sponsoring institutions, but it purchases all the Bureau's microfilms under a special arrangement. The sponsoring institution is the University itself.

the boxes. The films are in two numerical series — one bearing the prefix PMB, the other PMB Doc. The PMB series is for manuscripts and other unique items such as collections of newspaper clippings. The PMB Doc. series is for serials, reports, books, pamphlets and other rare printed material. Items in the latter category that have been microfilmed include: a file of *Taumua Lelei,* a monthly Roman Catholic newspaper in Tongan for the period 1929-1939; proceedings of the Cook Islands Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly from 1947 to 1962; the New Caledonian newspaper *La Moniteur de la Nouvelle-Caledonie* 1859-1866; minutes of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Advisory Council, 1963-1967; and the Tahitian newspaper *Te Vea Maohi* for 1936-1944.

Roneoed catalogue entry sheets are prepared for each of the Bureau's films for distribution to the member libraries with the films. These sheets are foolscap, but otherwise in the same form as the sheets used in the *Guide to Collections of Manuscripts Relating to Australia.* The purpose of the sheets is to provide all the information necessary for the member libraries to accession and index the Bureau's films immediately upon receipt — without reference to the films themselves. The entry sheets can then be bound for reference in a springback folder. The Bureau issues an index to every 100 entry sheets in the PMB and PMB Doc. series. The entry sheets and indexes are also supplied gratis to non-member institutions which purchase the Bureau's films.

The sale of microfilms to non-member institutions has grown considerably since the early days and there are now several institutions which buy copies of the microfilms produced by the Bureau on the parts of the Pacific of particular interest to them. These institutions are the Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam, the University of Papua and New Guinea, the Church College of Hawaii, and the National Archives of Fiji. Several other institutions and scholars purchase individual microfilms from time to time.

Profits derived from the sale of microfilms to non-member institutions, plus the addition of the State Library of Victoria to the list of member-institutions, has enabled the Bureau to employ a secretary from its own funds since the beginning of 1971. In addition, the Bureau employs part-time assistance from time to time. The part-time helpers are mainly engaged in sorting and calendaring collections of documents for microfilming, and in indexing projects. The biggest sorting and calendaring job so far has been on two tea chests of records of the London Missionary Society from Apia, Western Samoa, covering the period c. 1870-1935. These were obtained on behalf of the Bureau in Samoa last year by Dr W. N. Gunson, of the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University. After microfilming, they will be sent to London for incorporation in the archives of the London Missionary Society (now the Congregational Council for World Mission).

Over the 1970-71 university vacation, the Bureau employed eight Pacific History students to index other Pacific Islands records of the London Missionary Society which are already held on some 200 reels of microfilm by several of the Bureau's member libraries. The aim of the index, which consists of thousands of index cards, is to provide a quick guide to all letters, journals and reports written by LMS missionaries in the field, and to all correspondence addressed to them; and to make it possible to discover at a glance all documents written from any island or mission station. The index will eventually be offset-printed, and copies will be provided gratis to the Bureau's member libraries. Others will be made available for purchase by interested scholars and institutions. Similar indexes have also been prepared to other important archival collections held on microfilm in the Bureau's member

libraries — e.g., the British Foreign Office correspondence with France and French possessions on the Pacific Islands, and the German Foreign Office papers on the Islands. These will also be published. The Bureau's ultimate aim is to produce an extensively cross-indexed guide to Pacific manuscripts (and manuscripts on microfilm) throughout the world, so that a research worker may discover in a few minutes the nature, extent and whereabouts of holdings on any subect and by any author.

Among the many classes of documents that will figure prominently in the Bureau's projected *World Guide to Pacific Manuscripts* will be logbooks, journals, account books and correspondence of the numerous American whalers, sealers, sandalwooders and traders who visited the Pacific Islands in the first three-quarters of last century. Pacific scholars had long been aware of the existence of important collections of these documents in the libraries and museums of New England, USA. But it was not until the latter part of 1969 that a project was initiated — by the Bureau — to obtain copies of these for the benefit of scholars in this part of the world. The project, which became known as the New England Microfilming Project, grew out of a suggestion made by Dr Nigel Wace, Lecturer in Geography at the University of Adelaide. Dr Wace had visited New England in 1968 in search of material on the Tristan da Cunha Islands, and in the course of his researches he was struck by the wealth of material of interest to Australian, New Zealand and Pacific scholars. In a report that he subsequently wrote for the Public Libraries Board of South Australia (which had partly sponsored his field trip), he suggested that a photocopying project should be launched that would benefit those scholars.

Dr Wace's suggestion was taken up by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, which — to cut a long story short — eventually persuaded its own member libraries, plus seven others around Australia, to put up $1,500 each to send a specialist to New England for six months to microfilm all the documents he could obtain permission to copy on American activities in the Pacific area. The man chosen for this job was Dr John Cumpston, an expert on Australia's early maritime history and an experienced 'hand' with a microfilm camera. Very conveniently, he had just retired as historian in the Commonwealth Department of External Affairs (now Foreign Affairs). Dr Cumpston took charge of the New England Microfilming Project in July 1970 and worked through to the following December. In that time, he copied 1,129 separate documents in the libraries and museums of such famous old seaports as Salem, Nantucket and New Bedford. He returned to Australia with more than 10,000 feet of film that he himself had exposed, plus an even larger quantity purchased from institutions where microfilming projects had already been carried out. Copies of all the films taken by Dr Cumpston have now been delivered to the twelve sponsoring libraries of the New England Project, together with detailed indexes to the films so that they can be readily used by research workers. Work is now in hand on the production of copies of the films bought by Dr Cumpston, as well as indexes to them. The libraries (other than the Bureau's member libraries) which sponsored the New England Project are: the Library of the Australian National University, Canberra; the Library of the University of Sydney; the Library of the University of Newcastle; the Public Library of Queensland, Brisbane; the State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, in association with the libraries of the University of Adelaide and the Flinders University of South Australia; the State Library of Tasmania, Hobart, and the Library Board of Western Australia, Perth.

So far the New England Microfilming Project is by far the largest single project undertaken by the Bureau in a metropolitan country overseas, but it is not the only one. Several smaller projects have been carried out by Pacific scholars while engaged in overseas field work. Thus, for example, Mr Norman Douglas, a Ph.D. student in the ANU's Department of Pacific History, arranged the microfilming of a large body of material on the work of the Latter-Day Saints in the Pacific Islands while in Salt Lake City and Independence, Missouri, last year. Another student, Mr Kerry Howe, made similar arrangements for documents in the Marist archives in Rome on New Caledonia, the New Hebrides and Tonga. And Dr Caroline Ralston, an Australian scholar currently working with the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies in Copenhagen, has been searching for Pacific documents in Scandinavia on the Bureau's behalf.

In the light of the foregoing, it might perhaps seem that the time will soon come when there will be no more relevant documents in the world for the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau to discover and copy. But that is not how things seem from the Bureau's own vantage point. As in any field of endeavour, the longer one is engaged in it the more one realises how much there is to achieve. And when it comes to Pacific manuscripts, the Bureau can think of an enormous volume of them that are known, or suspected, to exist not only in the Islands themselves, but in Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Russia, Italy, Canada, Peru, Chile, and even such unlikely places as Uruguay. However, as time passes the Bureau is undoubtedly getting nearer its long-term (if not entirely practicable) goal. This is to reach the situation where a scholar may go into any one of the Bureau's member libraries and there find a copy of every unpublished document of value on the Pacific Islands brought to light from every corner of the world.

Preservation and Restoration of Documentary Material — including any special problems of concern to the Pacific

H. J. PLENDERLEITH

THE preservation, restoration, handling and storage of documentary material are all part of one large subject. Handling and storage have, of course, much to do with preservation; conversely it is clear that for preservation and restoration we have to employ the safest and best methods of handling and storage having regard to the environment; and this involves a knowledge not only of the original materials but of the repair materials and of how to use them to best advantage.

I would ask you, therefore, to accept my two talks as the development of a single theme. And as it happens that most systematic work has been done on traditional documentary materials in the Northern Hemisphere, I propose to follow this trend, hoping thus to provide background information that will be useful in dealing with the more exotic materials which one would expect to be considered in the course of this Conference.

Let me begin by saying that, in London, there exist a few well-known practical 'operation rooms' working in the service of libraries and galleries on the preservation of documentary material. They are known by different names: laboratories, binderies, mounting rooms, repair rooms — and for many years I have had close association with their working staffs, a group of highly-responsible craftsmen, having expert knowledge of source materials and great experience in manipulative processes, which knowledge they apply, under the guidance of a librarian or archivist, for the preservation of books, manuscripts and documentary items of all kinds. The natural headquarters of this particular activity is the P.R.O. (Public Record Office) in Chancery Lane. And these are the people with the greatest practical experience that can help one when in trouble. Otherwise we can fall back on their publications. Let me say a word about Bibliography. As librarians may know, the Society of Archivists has a program for the publication of a series of handbooks; and particular attention should be drawn to Volume 1 of this series entitled *Document Repair* which has just appeared. It is written by a former member of the Record Office staff, D. B. Wardle, and being authoritative it should be of direct interest to this Conference, for it is packed full of practical information and obviously written by a craftsman. Another book of interest, due to appear in a few months, is the second edition, now in two volumes, of Cunha's *Conservation of Library Materials*, the proofs of which I have seen. His second volume is devoted entirely to Bibliography and it lists about 4500 titles. This manual comes from the Library of the Boston Athenaeum and should prove to be a most useful addition to our reference literature. These two books together with the Copenhagen Journal called *Restaurator* are the main sources of inspiration for my talks to you today.

We are faced at the outset, with two fundamental questions namely: What *can* we do and what *must* we do to preserve archives in the Pacific area?

From our general studies one can formulate certain basic principles or axioms that apply to all forms of preservation and not least to archival material, and they may be stated as follows:

- preservation is a vague and somewhat meaningless term, unless we first establish under what conditions an object is to be preserved. We can only proceed with confidence after the environmental conditions have been clearly defined, i.e., *environmental studies* are important to our theme;
- it is much too optimistic to hope that in one operation we will be able to preserve an object for all time. You may improve its condition, certainly, and its chances of survival, but as soon as the time factor is mentioned you bring in the concept of 'maintenance': good housekeeping, frequent inspection. The 'time' factor also emphasises the importance of employing, as far as possible, techniques that are *reversible*, because time may reveal unanticipated complications which will necessitate undoing what was done to the object with the best of intentions in the first instance, and hopefully it *should* always be possible to undo any damage with the minimum of strain. This, we may refer to as the 'principle of reversability'. Now if environment is of such importance, is it possible to correlate environments with the ills that are characteristic of and afflict documentary material? I think that, up to a point, this is possible.

For example, in the Library of the British Museum the main problem has been found to be that of *acidity* developing in paper, leather, buckram, etc. with consequent discoloration and embrittlement. This is insidious and unhappily it is the outstanding feature in all urban areas the world over; and where there is an industrial atmosphere the adverse effects of developing acidity will certainly be accentuated. You have sulphur dioxide SO_2 formed from burning coal or oil which oxidises to SO_3 and eventually to sulphuric acid H_2SO_4 and this acid is the major agent of destruction in the industrial environment.

An example of an entirely different environmental problem is presented by the flooding of Florence in 1966 when over 1 million surviving books and documents were stained by mud and oil and growths of mildew and bacteria and the sizing of paper destroyed. But in the undamaged books in Florence, no serious problem of acidity has been manifested, because the Florence atmosphere is still fortunately comparatively clean and unpolluted. The problem here in the exceptional flood environment, proved to be one of mud and mildew staining and the distortion of documentary material afflicting hundreds of thousands of items on a vast scale.

Then, again, and this is a third type, we have problems peculiar to environments that are really too dry and that cause desiccation and embrittlement to bindings and adhesives. Aridity, moreover, is accompanied by its own types of insect attack as in desert countries, and even on the North African border, in Morocco and Egypt, I have seen libraries riddled from end to end by anobiid beetles.

One need only mention at the other extreme, a fourth type, the monsoon climates and tropical conditions that bring so many ills in their train mostly due to biological attack under warm humid conditions..

Returning for a moment to Florence, we are all aware of the crusade of expert help that rallied to the aid of workers in this disaster area: and Australians were in

the lead as is so often the case. There exists still a nucleus of repairers working in Florence who are convinced that a permanent centre should be established on the spot for the training of operatives and for research in all problems related to the book and it is hoped that this will have the blessing of the Italian authorities. The idea is excellent. It would be a beginning: **but I feel that this is not enough.**

Mr Baynes Cope of the British Museum Laboratory has suggested that international laboratories on similar lines should be established in typical zones of the world such as those to which I have referred (each having its own problem), each laboratory having its own specialty and some day perhaps as funds become available, the value of this suggestion will be realised and typical regional training centres of international category will be regarded by librarians as an important necessity.

Locations could be for example, either in London (or for that matter at least in some town in Northern Europe), in Florence, in New Delhi perhaps and Tokyo, in North America and in Canberra, why not?

Some years ago I carried out a mission for Unesco in Honolulu which resulted in detailed planning for the establishment of a laboratory to be specifically for the study of problems of conservation in the Pacific area and for the training of museum men in maintenance and repair. It was most unfortunate that eventually this project had to be abandoned for reasons beyond our control. As far as I am aware, the door is still wide open for the realisation of an official Pacific area scientific research project for both libraries and museums.

What, it may be asked, are the characteristics of preservation and restoration of documentary material peculiar to the Pacific area? The answer is, I believe, that while in this vast area all the main regional systems of climate are well represented: tropical, subtropical, rainy and dry, there is at the same time the widest range of documentary material requiring attention. Contamination of library materials by salt spray is in some areas a leading feature. Sea salts are themselves hygroscopic as are most library materials so that one would expect the latter to be the victim more especially of foxing (i.e. brown staining), mildew and bacterial growths, especially near the seaboards and within the tropics. Australia herself can enlarge the field of interest to cover the dusty arid regions and when one considers the variety of conventional library material, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, seals, negatives and photographs, to say nothing of microtexts and the like, the problems of conservation in so vast an area must be enormous.

We begin by studying the local conditions.

Are conditions found to vary very greatly as between Sydney and Canberra, for example, where there is a marked difference in elevation? I would like to know. Is Melbourne more protected? Hobart and Adelaide exposed? We have studied published figures for the climatic conditions of Adelaide and they seem to be very reasonable. But do conditions vary noticeably in Perth and the Western Seaboard? The answers to these questions will be well known to you and they are certainly significant.

What all are agreed upon is that, irrespective of longitude and latitude, documentary material is of such a nature that it is likely to survive in a most satisfactory condition when the environments of library and store room are controlled by **clean, filtered, conditioned air at or around 60 to 75°F** and of **RH between 48 and 60%.** This is the ideal too often unattainable. And it is of the nature of documents that they travel around. For this reason documentary material may well have to be cleaned and sterilised, and acclimatised, so to speak, before it can be safely incorporated in a major centre.

It is one thing to recognise what are optimum conditions, but unfortunately it is not by any means economically possible in every case to attain them or, for that matter, to maintain them and, when conditions are less than ideal, ills follow: ingenuity is required to make the best of things. (We will return to this point later when considering storage.)

I would like to say, in passing, however, that to have full air-conditioning installed and to switch it off at night and at weekends on the excuse of saving a few dollars is like arranging for a sporting tug-of-war between a sterile hospital operating theatre and the requirements of a mushroom farm. The poor patients will inevitably be victimised as was found to be the case in our Public Record Office in the bad old 1930's before the air-conditioning was remodelled and brought up to date and I hope that in this regard history will not repeat itself in Australia.

It would help, I think, at this stage to assemble the facts relating to the **main causes of the deterioration of documentary material.** We might then try to assess which types are of most interest in the Pacific and from there proceed to consider methods of protection and treatment.

Cunha — to whose book I have already referred — supplies the following list under the heading *The Common Foes of Librarians*. There are nine items. We begin with ourselves —

(1) People;
(2) The Air We Breathe;
(3) Heat;
(4) Moisture;
(5) Light and Darkness;
(6) Insects;
(7) Rodents;
(8) Fungi;
(9) Acid.

He notes that it is possible to restrain most of these (preventive measures being **comparatively inexpensive,** compared with later repair work and restoration and actually cheap compared with the cost of rare and valuable items that might be destroyed by neglect).

We have everywhere evidence of trouble caused by two classes of individuals: **thoughtless people** and **well-meaning people.**

The thoughtless ones cause dog-eared papers, staining, indelible greasy fingerprints and unwarrantable wear and tear; the well-meaning ones are generally the owners of books or the librarians — those who unsuspectingly use pressure-sensitive so-called Scotch Tapes for a quick repair. These can cause serious staining. Those who use acid papers without realising this for protective wrappers, wood backing for framed maps, etc., polyvinyl acetate and other synthetic adhesives indiscriminately and who do not worry overmuch about conditions of storage. One might even add to the list those who, with the best of intentions, but inadequate experience, practice amateur lamination or themselves attempt to carry out restorative processes for which they have not the necessary experience.

While the nine foes of librarians have been cited as per Cunha, I think we need consider only how they impinge on the librarian himself, the individual responsible for preservation, noting how he might react to threats of danger from acids, fungi, insects, heat, moisture and light and, not least, how he might react to the **enfeeblement of materials** resulting from deterioration.

This point has already been made but not sufficiently emphasised. It is important because however salubrious may be the immediate environment, archives can arrive at our centre from many quarters where conditions are not so happy and even if material is introduced into a library provided with filtered, washed and conditioned air, this by no means is a guarantee of its future permanence. We are forced to make

a survey. The librarian must know where to put his finger on appropriate information for the solution of preservation problems. In fact he is expected today to be able to diagnose the various causes of deterioration and be provided with the knowledge and the means to combat them.

Acid paper wrappers have been mentioned, for example, as introducing instability. How do we know paper is acid? The laboratory chemist of course would tell you by using his expensive pH meter, just how acid is a paper, but if the librarian is interested enough to provide himself with a BCG testing pen, the so-called 'Archivist' pen, he can obtain directly for himself a reliable answer to the question: Is this paper acid or not? But what does he do when the valuable document itself is acid? He has to treat it with an appropriate neutralising agent, very carefully, according to a ritual that has been worked out and of which minute details are given both in Cunha's *Conservation of Library Materials* and also in Wardle's *Document Repair*. The acidity of books and papers once built up in the tissue remains and augments itself in time. In this sense damage is done and this is not reversible. We must do what we can to stop this and it is for this reason that today 'deacidification' as it is called, is one of the main operations practised in any archive of importance. Hence the necessity for having the means to distinguish acidity from neutrality and of having the facilities and knowing where to go for details that will allow one to neutralise the acids and so arrest decay. The emphasis is on the word 'appropriate'. We have to choose a procedure suitable for the class of material affected.

As a consequence of neglecting 'acidity', papers may become so rotten that they break like glass when flexed. We might correct this brittleness by a process of lamination. There is nothing novel about silking using crepoline or laminating with plastic film. The battle in favour has been won, always provided that we employ a process lending itself if necessary to 'reversibility without strain'. What should never be done is to laminate a paper without beforehand **testing its acidity and if necessary deacidifying** so that we are in part laminating a sheet that is neutral or even faintly alkaline. And don't forget that we must be able to delaminate too should this ever be desirable.

Deacidification and **lamination** are to be regarded then as among the commonest operations conducted for the preservation of documentary material today. Each of them has its variations and, no doubt, time alone will decide which particular variant of each process is to be preferred, as being safest for the document and for the problem concerned and most economical in cost and time. Suffice it for the time being to say that today as regards deacidification there are aqueous methods using successive baths of lime water and calcium bicarbonate, a spray technique using magnesium bicarbonate, a non-aqueous method using barium hydroxide in methanol due to Baynes Cope, published as the first article in the journal *Restaurator,* 1969, and even a gaseous or so-called vapour phase procedure advocated by Langwell, using cyclohexylamine (CHAC) carbonate published in 1966 in J. Soc. Archivists.

As regards lamination on the other hand, we have the choice of using paper tissue, silk or plastic; a dry mounting press of sorts with thermoplastic film or simply a cold setting adhesive in order to attach the surface laminates. There is plenty of room for choice as long as one is prepared to honour the requirement of reversibility, and preferably, (I speak as a very conservative individual) to confine the use of lamination to **the treatment of materials in a second or lower category of importance.**

As regards the practical application of deacidification and of lamination I hope to return to these important subjects when we come to the question of 'handling' at a later stage in our survey.

Now, one of the problems of main concern in the Pacific area is that of the **growth of micro-organisms.** It is unfortunate that documentary materials do so often provide the ideal nutrients for moulds and bacteria to say nothing of insects and conditions of temperature and humidity too for much of the year are just right, so that, for the purposes of protection, one is forced either to keep things in a conditioned environment or to poison the nutrients by employing a fungicide or the like: and often one has to do both.

A good fungicide should be an efficient fumigant, easy to apply and not liable to cause staining or acidity. Chemistry can supply many types of fungicide, solid, liquid and gaseous and while the latter volatile types are always useful in emergency resulting in 100% sterilisation what seems to be more important to collections in the Pacific is to have available some kind of continuous protection utilising a material having a very low vapour pressure that will continue to be effective over a period of time and so be more advantageous than gaseous fumigation. We have also to be conscious of the possible effects of fungicides and insecticides on the human subject as, of course, some of the best **fungicides** and for that matter **insecticides** too, are for mammals virulent poisons.

Of the great number of fungicides available for the protection of paper the following may be mentioned as of interest to librarians:

(1) **Thymol** effective, but not of high fungicidal potency and not very permanent in its protective capacity; it is expensive too but easy to use.
(2) **Formalin** very effective. But being solely a fumigant it is not lasting and it hardens leather.
(3) **Sodium salt of p-chlorphenol** 'Santobrite' — very effective and with lasting qualities. Of the greatest value during the 2nd World War, but more recently tending to give place to the non-chloro phenolic substance called 'Topane' (or ortho phenyl phenol).
(4) **Orthophenylphenol** 'Topane' — having all the virtues of 'Santobrite' and so far free from the suspicion of being able to cause acidity.

'Topane' may be regarded as a breakthrough for the modern technique of fungus control and it is very important to us for this reason. It did excellent service in Florence.

Now Thymol, 'Santobrite' and 'Topane' can all be applied by the method of interleaving documents with **fungicidal papers,** i.e. tissues previously prepared by being impregnated with the chosen fungicide. For 'Santobrite' and 'Topane' especially, this is a very practical method of procedure. You make a 10% solution in distilled water in a photographic dish and pass absorbent tissue paper through it, hang in festoons or strips to dry, cut to convenient lengths if you like, or when dry roll up and preserve in a taped polythene bag — **tightly rolled** preferably. Interleave at the rate of a sheet every 30 to 50 pages and it appears to be safe to leave the **fungicidal paper** there indefinitely.

Considerable confidence was gained in the efficacy of the impregnated paper form of treatment in dealing with the war problems at the Victoria Tower, House of Lords, where 'Santobrite' was used. They called it 'interleaving'. Chlorophenol papers were also used by Ist. Path. del Libro, a gift to Florence from Poland.

This is the cue for me to refer to a major **gaseous treatment** which, while not lasting in its effects, unfortunately, is the complete answer where there is a large

infection of bacteria, moulds or insects. I refer, of course, to the use of **ethylene oxide** gas as applied in a steriliser under controlled conditions of pressure, temperature and humidity. You need the machine and cylinders of gas of course, but having these (as you have in the National Library here) you are then able to control infection on a large scale. It is merely a question of knowhow, pairs of hands and a fleet of wheeled trolleys.

It would be very wrong, however, to suggest that the last word has been said on fungicides for the protection of cellulose. Long term researches are being carried out in various centres and in many countries to try and discover a fungicide that will do its work and give long-term protection without causing unfortunate side reactions such as polymerisation or yellowing of the paper: Kowalik in Poland, Santucci in Rome, etc. But such substances, as we can readily understand, must survive a time test before they can be recommended unconditionally for general use.

Now in common with fungicides, insecticides may be in the form of solids, liquids or gases, the latter as before being probably the fastest in action but the least protective. And the gases moreover require special fumigator plants. Ethylene oxide has been mentioned and as Dr Flieder has demonstrated it has insecticidal properties as well as being a fungicide. Methyl bromide is the popular insecticide fumigant today for large scale operations on ethnographical material and even in the horticultural field for sterilising seeds. Hydrogen cyanide is of course the more effective insecticidal poison, but being extremely dangerous to all forms of life (except fungi) can only be applied by experts who very rightly have to comply with official regulations which are naturally severe.

Of more general practical interest, where insect pests are a problem, are the sprays carrying insecticides in an odourless paraffin distillate. These are suitable for moths and mosquitos. DDT is now frowned upon and is difficult to obtain. (Incidentally, one should note that toxicologists have become interested in the great variety of organic solvents and chemicals used in repair shops and condemn today the use of some materials we used to consider perfectly harmless. Benzene, for example, is never used now as it has been shown that continued exposure to an atmosphere contaminated with the vapour may constitute a serious health hazard. This also goes for carbon tetrachloride which commonly occurs in certain fire extinguishers: and of course pyridine from bone oil, which is used for removal of stains, is very poisonous. One should also beware of exposing oneself to the fumes of dichlorobenzene, the moth killer, recommended at one time even for use in wardrobes, but now demonstrated without question to be a potent liver poison. However, there is no cause for panic. It's all a question of using ones imagination and taking appropriate precautions.)

I am still a great believer in the pentachlorophenol compounds, 'Mystox', the lauryl derivative being most effective as a spray; and in the organic thiocyanate derivatives ('lethane' for example) and also the pyrethum spray formula, details of which can be found in my 'Preservation of Antiquities & Works of Art', a new edition of which is due to appear later in the year, in co-authorship with Dr A. E. Werner, now Keeper of the British Museum Research Laboratory. While on the subject of spraying fungicides or insecticides, or fixatives, or anything else, always use a mask if possible — if you want to remain fit and healthy and to live to a ripe old age. This is common sense and one should have one's own personal mask. And a spray booth must be a great asset too. I have never had one, but I was always careful about the mask.

The museum librarian who is interested in the technical literature will be aware that so many of the traditional procedures are being questioned today and our comment is that this must be taken as a healthy sign. There is comfort for the conservative worker of the old school however, in the fact that he can still use thymol safely within limits and that for killing silverfish and firebrats there is still nothing to beat the old fashion mixture of dry flour and sodium fluoride applied in the time-honoured fashion of daily doses of fresh powder for one week or less.

Of the insect pests in the Pacific area that damage documentary material I suppose the Australian cockroach stands high in the list of depredators, though no doubt several members of the termite family are even a more serious menace.

The best form of protection against such depredators obviously is prevention. If a repository is not constructed in termite-resisting timber and on a cement platform, it may be hard to prevent attack without systematic piercing of the ground for impregnation by a toxic substance. For termite work, a poison is required which is adequate, which is stable and which can be guaranteed to be effective over a long period of time. This reduces the choice virtually to one or other of the synthetic contact insecticides of the DDT class, and of these Aldrin and Dieldrin have proved in practice to be effective and to meet all requirements. Mr Plumbe, Librarian of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, has described a case of highly successful treatment of a bad infection of termites by taking up the parquet floor, boring holes 2 feet deep at 5 foot intervals, both outside and inside the library walls and soaking 3 gallons of Dieldrin emulsion into each of over 90 holes. No termite was seen in the building after this: but he doesn't mention the cost.

Naturally, when the ground is so treated this will protect from all other lesser insect pests, provided the windows and vents are screened and special attention given to the possibility of access of insects under doors.

I was called urgently during the war to our main British Museum Repository in the country because a warder discovered a spider walking down the central aisle. After much cogitation we decided that it had just walked in the main entrance under his eyes or even perhaps under the feet of the guards when the door was open.

It has been categorically stated that termites will not walk over metal. If this is true it should be easy to exclude all but the flying types from bookshelving by erecting this on a metal sheet or standing it in metal cups and fixing it rigidly above with metal tie bars to the walls.

For the details of specific treatments against insect predators I think I cannot do better than recommend you to two reliable library sources, both from Unesco.

(1) The Unesco Report of 1961. (LBA/Sem. 8/9) entitled *Preservation of Books and Periodicals in Arab Countries* by Wilfred J. Plumbe of Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

(2) The Unesco Museums and Monuments No. XI publication of the Conservation of Cultural Property, the well illustrated, Article 4, *Identification and Control of Insect Pests* by Dr J. J. H. Szent-Ivany of Port Moresby, New Guinea.

We must proceed now to the remaining three foes of the librarian: **moisture,** heat and light. These bear very directly on questions of preservation. As to humidity I have perhaps said enough, meantime, about airborne moisture from the oceans and the resulting damp atmosphere. It is normal to take such precautions as one can against these.

It is from the unexpected that serious damage normally arises. Accidents as from a burst pipe or leaky tap are obvious and may pass without comment, but we should

note that when the relative humidity of an area is getting near to the damp limit that will allow moulds to grow, i.e. rising as high as 68% the **control of ventilation** is a very important prophylactic measure. We should also be conscious that in hot, muggy or steamy weather a sudden fall in temperature may cause the atmosphere to be no longer able to carry all its water vapour; the dew-point is reached and surpassed and condensation occurs which in the absence of specialised dehumidifying equipment, can only safely be dissipated by increasing the ventilation. To heat in such circumstances would be merely to foster the growth of moulds.

I always think with interest of a problem which arose many years ago. It was in the lower basement of the Public Record Office in London in the early days when it consisted of a number of isolated rooms, heated by steam radiators. At a certain time in the evening the heating was cut off, the temperature fell abruptly and up went the relative humidity. Mould growth was a constant bugbear and no amount of fungicidal treatment gave any lasting protection, not even thymol cages fixed near the electric lamps. At last permission was obtained to open vents connecting the rooms and to use positive pressure ventilation all the way through, i.e. electric fans, and then it was found possible to restore healthy conditions very quickly. The difficulty was not with the archivists or the safety precaution authorities but with the fire-station people who saw in the whole exercise the malignant machinations of a modern and highly sinister Guy Fawkes. But we managed to agree on a satisfactory compromise.

In normal situations today one has to be rather sensitive to the proximity of cold walls and floors and metal cupboards and metal shelving. These are conductors and they tend to lower the local temperature and raise the humidity also locally, causing microclimates in which microscopic moulds can obtain a footing.

Now as to raising the temperature. Here are two points of importance:

- We have said that with the traditional documentary material, we have to deal with hygroscopic matter. Documents carry some humidity when they are in a healthy condition. If they are heated the surfaces are first affected and they warp and cockle. For this reason tungsten light bulbs as a source of illumination inside vitrines or show cases are to be wholeheartedly condemned. Such lighting should be fitted externally, if used at all.
- A second point is that as heating promotes chemical action we must regard with deep suspicion the use of hot rollers in any laminating or other process for any paper that is at all acid. Lamination by the use of thermo-plastics is *out* therefore, unless the papers to be treated have been previously deacidified for, if any acid is present in the paper, heat will make its action a lot more violent because as we know, heat promotes chemical action.

Artificial heating in a building where there is ventilation is fine, but any form of local heating in damp surroundings or where there is restricted ventilation is potentially dangerous and we should bear in mind also that the optimum conditions for actually encouraging the growth of moulds are **75°F at 70% RH** and do everything to avoid these optimum conditions. Darkness also we find encourages mould growth, but we cannot do very much about this for it is true that lighting of most kinds over long periods of time can be even more damaging.

The **question of lighting** must be the subject of my final remarks this morning.

As everyone knows, bright light causes fading, loss of colour, the change of colour in certain dyestuffs; and even the appearance of colour in some cases when none was apparent before, and the shorter the wave length of the light the more potent it is likely to be in producing these changes.

The standpoint of the librarian today, guided by laboratory testing, is to exclude sunlight and to screen off the ultra-violet and shortest of the visible rays by the use of plate glass reinforced it may be by one of those modern transparent plastic ultra-violet filters. Several reliable types of which are now on the market. We don't mind daylight entering or cold white light, provided the UV is excluded. Tungsten lamps tend to be replaced by fluorescent lighting tubes in modern museums and these are fitted with sheaths of special transparent plastic so that they supply adequate safe cold illumination. There are actually types available today that need no screening, being guaranteed to be free from the suspicion of emitting UV radiations. Spot lights in libraries are for obvious reasons no longer in favour. Spot lights even when provided with heat filters are dangerous. Even when everything seems to have been done to preserve the collection from fading and photolysis there still remains good reason for using **opaque adjustable curtains** on the desk cases where special treasures are exhibited and for **changing such exhibits** at frequent intervals. The mere **turning of a page** from time to time may increase the longevity of a document. And store-rooms when not in use should be kept in **darkness.**

By observing these simple rules in regard to heating, humidity control and lighting the preservation of library and archival materials can be assured.

Without, at this stage, going into further detail we may attempt, as has been done in the Archiveo di Stato in Rome, to summarise the routine of traditional archival preservation under 10 simple headings:

When the item, whatever it is, arrives in the library:

1) study for diagnosis — may be shared by librarian and laboratory technician;
2) disinfection and disinfestation (as necessary);
3) registration and description (on cards);
4) testing for acidity;
5) photography (as necessary);
6) cleaning, stain removal and deacidification;
7) various special treatments: sizing e.g. by glue or by a spirit size like Calaton (soluble nylon) if deemed necessary;
8) flattening;
9) lamination (but consider in light of previous treatments);
10) reassembling.

All that now remains to do is to see that the storage and maintenance are adequate and carefully attended to, but that, more properly, we can leave for consideration in the talk that is to follow.

Storage and Handling of Material — Including Microtexts and Their Physical Use

H. J. PLENDERLEITH

HAVING sketched out a preservation routine — I fear all too briefly — and having outlined the main procedures that are applied in the preservation of documentary material, it now remains to complete the story as far as possible by filling in some of the essential details.

Handling and storage involve, as we have seen, a variety of activities and these are dependent upon the types under consideration and whether they are in a private collection, museum, closed archive or lending collection. In the most modern and sophisticated libraries documents are exchanged and information processed and with inter-library co-operation this may involve a good deal of coming and going and exposure under different conditions.

In addition to written, printed and graphic material some libraries collect audio-visual records of various kinds, public and private. Anything indeed of a documentary nature that can be of service to readers. Certainly, it would require the co-operation of several experts and more than one conference to do justice to all these diverse activities and materials. As most work has been done on the conventional parchment, paper, adhesives and sizes, we can continue to follow this route, being specially interested, however, in techniques that are of wider application, and coming, latterly, to the more exotic materials that are now beginning to be of concern in documentary storage, including of course microfilm and microfiches.

The basis of good storage, whatever be the nature of the material, is first: **hygiene in workroom and stockroom.** This means freedom from dust and segregation of infected material; so strict regulations are necessary regarding the timely **destruction** of mould nutrients like old paste or old gelatine size, in good time, before the spores of micro-organisms proliferate and of course, prohibiting introduction of foodstuffs that might encourage the entry of vermin. As we all know periodic vacuum cleaning in this regard is much better than flicking around the dust with a feather duster. Incidentally, we are inclined to forget that spores are present in clouds and are excessively tiny. Always with us whether we wish it or not. A dramatic way of recalling the fact is in the statement that it has been estimated that mould growth on a 2 lb. jam jar may release 36,000,000 spores i.e. would give everyone in Australia a rating of about 3 spores each from one jam jar! The mortality rate is of course very high but the dangers inherent in dust are apparent.

The second thing is **atmospheric control,** i.e. hygiene of the atmosphere. Basements characteristically tend to be damp and as we have seen, ventilation is very

important. Complete air-conditioning is expensive (but if the documentary material to be stored is important enough and the building is suitable, full conditioning may well pay for itself in time). Alternatively, partial air-conditioning with dust filtration may be installed. There are appliances that can deal with several strongrooms at a time, but in larger rooms it may be necessary to use more than one piece of equipment. Details of control and of some kinds of test equipment may be found in the Unesco *Museum* special number on *Climatology* by Plenderleith and Philippot published in 1960.

More recently we have available the types of hygrometer called 'shelf probes' that can be used to test the micro-climates between books and packages in storage, for example the 'Aquaboy' which comes from Wurttemberg in West Germany (KP Mundiger, 7253 Renningan); this shelf-probe hygrometer would seem to offer the possibility of checking the interior of a polythene package without opening it and if we would be assured that the atmospheric conditions inside such a package were satisfactory as regards temperature and relative humidity and were sterile as regards microfungi and insects and could be maintained as such, the systematic use of polythene bags or such packages, might go far to protect archives from their principal enemies including dust.

Two rather obvious points should be made here:

- If a dehumidifier is installed in a room, do not allow the water that it abstracts from the air to accumulate unnecessarily in the storage tank of the machine as this may flood over and accentuate damage. It is best to arrange to have it piped off or at least emptied regularly.
- It is unwise to use aqueous fungicidal sprays in enclosed store rooms as they introduce damp and we want to avoid this.

I have suggested that sprays having a basis of odourless paraffin distillate are safe, but even more effective for use in the tropics is the formula published in *Unesco Handbook XI* in an article entitled *Moulds developing in Tropical Climates* by Heim, Flieder and Nicot. This formula is based upon a substituted organic ammonium bromide. It has been thoroughly tested in tropical conditions. One must wear a simple face mask whilst spraying to protect the mucous membrane and it is true that it is in a 5% alcoholic solution, i.e. it is essentially an aqueous spray. But the fungicide content has been shown even so to be adequate to prevent fungus growth under tropical conditions in Central Africa. This work has been controlled from the CNR's Laboratoire de Cryptogamie in Paris.

From this same laboratory comes the so-called CIRE 212, a leather dressing for tropical use, i.e. one containing a protective fungicide cum insecticide mixture.

There was a time when we recommended ammonium arsenite and corrosive sublimate for protecting leather bindings from attack by micro-organisms but, if used at all, these highly poisonous substances should be reserved as additives for paste used in making up a book rather than have them on surfaces that are normally handled. CIRE 212 is effective and is a much safer dressing than either corrosive sublimate or other mercury compound.*

In this same *Unesco Handbook No. XI,* which was prepared in co-operation with the ROME CENTRE, there is an important article by William Boustead,

*This book wax ('CIRE 212') incorporates insecticides as well as fungicides. It comes in several colours. Dressing the leather covers of books makes them insect repellant and is particularly useful for those tropical climates where complete eradication of insects is almost impossible.

Conservator of the Art Gallery, New South Wales, entitled *The Conservation and Restoration of Easel Paintings* in which he speaks highly of spirit-soluble SHIRLAN (Salicylanilide) as a fungicide when used as a spray in a mixed solvent of acetone$^{5\%}$/trichlorethylene$^{95\%}$. This is also a Nostrand formula and is another serious competitor for use in the struggle to maintain a condition of sterility in storage rooms. Boustead is also responsible for the partly-mobile dehumidifying unit used in the galleries and which appears to have been remarkably successful and it gives me great pleasure as one of the founders of the International Institute for the Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works to pay tribute to Mr Boustead for his valuable contributions to our conferences in Rome, London, Florence and elsewhere.

It is clear that, especially for Pacific area problems, much fundamental work has been carried out in Sydney, primarily for the preservation of the notoriously susceptible material of the picture gallery, but undoubtedly of great potential interest to the library and archive.

Before proceeding further I would like to quote Professor Kowalik, a Mycologist/ Chemist of international standing, (1st Path. Conference 1969) on the subject of Shirlan. He says 'this compound is found to be very effective in the case of paper having a low moisture content, but is not maintained for long in the fibre when subjected to a continual high humidity'.

Salicylanilide is too volatile and too readily soluble in alkaline solutions to be of any use as a permanent finish. Block and Torgeson had already remarked that very thing in their book on Fungicides Vol. 1 (Academic Press N-Y. in 1967).

'In the case of paper of high moisture content' (says Kowalik) 'dichlorophene is more suitable'.

For use by the staff of the Istituto di Pathologia del Libro, thin papers impregnated with an ethyl alcohol solution of dichlorophene were prepared to be used for insertion between the damp leaves of books soaked in the floods of Florence. An experimental batch of these thin papers was sent from Warsaw to Rome immediately after the Florence disaster.

I would like to quote further from Kowalik. He says, 'It seems that in paper protection still one problem remains, namely the standardisation of procedures that are applied in the studies of resistance of paper for durable uses and for works of art against micro-organisms. For this purpose, the establishing of representative media would be needed and the designation of species or strains of micro-organisms suitable for these tests. To put the research on a scientific basis that is. Knowledge of the mechanism of bactericides and of fungicides used against microflora is very important. In many cases the health hazard offered by the use of microbiocides must also be given special attention'.

I need not, in this company, emphasize the radical differences that exist between paper and parchment, or, indeed, the variations in quality among papers themselves. We have noted that papers tend to become enfeebled by the development of acidity and that today a first essential step towards their preservation is to put them through a routine of deacidification. In parchment and vellum this is not the case because these animal membranes are normally somewhat alkaline and therefore to this degree protected. It must be clear then that deacidification is a procedure applied only to papers and other cellulosic materials and not to parchment which is a 'collogenic' material.

For the estimation of acidity, we can get all the information necessary by doing a colour spot test and this is carried out as follows. A tiny spot of the dye-stuff

bromcresol green (conveniently if you like from an 'Archivist' pen as sold by Russell Bookcrafts, Hitchin, Herts), is applied to the paper to be tested in an inconspicuous place, remembering that the outer edges of a document are likely to be more acid than the interior. The spot may gradually show a change of colour.

- If no change appears in the bluish green colour of the spot the paper is neutral.
- If a pronounced green tinge develops the paper is acid and some process of deacidification is required.
- If the spot turns a deep yellow the degree of acidity is already dangerously high and in this event, if the document will stand up to immersion Wardle recommends a simple and practical procedure. It is to treat the whole thing with lime water. Now lime water is a very mild alkali, but it happens to be strong enough to neutralise the acid in the paper and any residue of lime remaining will become converted in the tissue to calcium carbonate (i.e. chalk) which will act as a buffer and protect the paper from acid attack in the future. The lime water can be diluted of course at option to deal with papers that have been shown by testing to be in a lesser condition of acidity, but I do not think that this advice as to dilution of the lime water is very important. Even concentrated lime water is very weak as it is (.13 or .15 grams per litre). You can build up its strength, so to speak, 10 times this by bubbling in CO_2 and making the bicarbonate.

So, in large establishments, where the deacidification of paper is a routine operation, the bicarbonates of calcium and magnesium are used in accordance with the recommendations made originally by Barrow. These bicarbonates are prepared by bubbling CO_2 gas through a mixture of the carbonates in aqueous suspension until all the solid matter is dissolved. The result of deacidification by this, the original bicarbonate process, is more effective and immediate than by any other process so far described.

However, two other methods should be mentioned as each in its way makes a useful contribution.

- The first is due to Baynes Cope of the British Museum Laboratory published in *Restaurator 1969,* page 2. It is a non-aqueous technique involving the use of a 1% w/v solution of barium hydroxide in methanol.
- The second is a purely gaseous technique, deacidification being achieved by exposing papers in a confined space to sachets of cyclohexylamine carbonate. This gaseous process may take several days to reach completion and colour drop tests have to be made every two days or so to see how things are getting on. These two methods are an important addition to the standard procedure, however, in that they afford much greater flexibility in designing treatment, as for example in the case of documents bearing seals that cannot be immersed in liquid and even for the treatment of bound books.

NOTE:

In a recent appraisal of deacidification procedures Mervyn Ruggles (Current IIC-AG-1971) of the National Canadian Research Laboratory, Ottawa, recommended a variation of Baynes Cope, namely spraying with 2% $Ba(OH)_2$ (instead of 1%), and at a temperature of 35°C (instead of in cold).

Results found to be:

- improved deacidification;

- more lasting;
- trial papers survived;
- accelerated ageing well.

He criticises Langwell's method severely because:

- takes 10 days or more to do;
- paper gradually reverts to acidity; and
- there is an unacceptable discolouration on applying the long-term ageing test.

Stain removal is another problem in the preservation of documents. The **removal of stains** from paper and parchment is a rather specialised study and in the case of stained paper the stains must be removed preferably by dry methods before deacidification, if possible, as damping fixes certain types of stain. We may be content to refer to an excellent paper by Paul Banks (of Chicago) on stain removal published in *Restaurator Vol. 1,* page 52. The use of enzymes has also been advocated.

And so eventually we come to the **resizing of paper.** This is a standard procedure for restoring strength or body (as we call it) and especially after any aqueous treatment and when lamination is not contemplated.

From the scientific point of view, I believe as regards sizing, that there is little to choose between parchment size and gelatin size for standard routine work. For very frail documents, however, where wetting and drying would introduce unnecessary strains, a spirit size is preferred. A good spirit size is made by dissolving ICI Calaton brand of soluble nylon to the strength of about 10% in methanol. Incidentally, this solution is excellent for fixing flaking ink or protecting watercolour, either on parchment or on paper and beyond a slight intensification it does not appear to cause any change of hue. It is an invisible treatment, but in this there may lie a danger. If a document is sized by soluble nylon and at a later date it is, by design or accident laminated by a heat process there may be complications. Careful records are therefore an essential in conservation procedure.

There comes a time in the life of papers when sizing is no longer enough and it is then that **lamination techniques** become interesting. So useful has the lamination process proved to be that today it is applied to paper in many forms and of the methods that have been rigorously tested, the results from the best seem to be entirely satisfactory. Dr Werner who has made a special study of the subject has stated that because the Crepeline and tissue processes are impermanent and unsatisfactory — silking lasting for only some 25 years in the London area — it is worthwhile seriously investigating the laminating processes available today. These he classified in three groups as follows: I quote, with general observations, two examples from each group:

I. **The Heat Sealing Techniques**

Examples:

- the Barrow Machine using 5 ply lamination;
- the Jugoslav Zagreb (ARBEE Co. N.J.);
- cheaper machine.

Observations:

- the equipment is expensive;
- there is a question of the loss of plasticiser at high temperatures.

Virtues:

- speed of operation;
- it is a standardised procedure.

II. **The Dry Mounting Techniques**

Examples:

- the MORANE process using an adhesive semi-matt film;
- the DISPRO process also using an adhesive.

Observations:

- equipment cheap;
- dry mounting press costs only about L/80;
- there is the question of the nature of the adhesive.

III. **The Solvent Techniques**

Examples:

- the Indian Archive method using acetone and cellulose acetate;
- the OMNIA INDUSTRIE (France), an industrialised version.

Observations:

- good ventilation and fire precautions are essential;
- lamination possible in presence of seals using the solvent technique.

The transparent film used for lamination is usually a plasticised cellulose acetate of approved formulation. Other types of plastic film have been suggested. Bearing in mind the dangers of overheating and the essential requirement of reversibility films of polyvinyl chloride would not be tolerated. They would be unacceptable (for chlorine might be released at high temperatures) and polythene film with all its virtues is suspected to become difficult to remove though, in fairness, the Jugoslav workers Dadic and Ribkin have claimed in a recent article in *Restaurator* to have found that the solvent decalyne, an unsaturated compound of the acetylene family can accomplish this. No doubt long term testing is being carried out. We turned down the use of polythene film at the BM at the beginning when our first experiments were made with the Barrow machine because of the probable difficulty of being able to satisfy the principle of reversibility.

Langwell has suggested a novel procedure, namely, to use tissues impregnated with polyvinyl acetate incorporating a deacidifying agent and this would seem at first glance to allow of a reduction of temperature and a great saving of time, because the operations of deacidification and of lamination could be carried out in one operation. Such things of course require stringent testing and there have been criticisms that penetration of deacidifying agent is just not good enough. It becomes acid again.

Of course no method of lamination involving the use of heat is possible with parchment, nor can any method that involves the use of acetone or such a solvent be used with hectographic inks, carbon copies or type-script. Organic solvents cause ball-point inks of the biro type to run and colours on an oil-basis to become smudged. But for preserving newsprint by Barrow's process or collections of letters written in carbon or blue-black inks or in pencil, lamination is already a big advance and like most of the techniques is capable of being brought to even greater perfection.

One technique that has not changed very much is to use flour paste as an adhesive for paper and this formula is based on gluten.

It is a curious thing that in the handling of documentary material home-made flour paste is still the preferred adhesive competing successfully with all the modern synthetics for which so much has been claimed. In theory, of course, we ought to get away from using any recognised mould nutrient or insect food either in sizes or in pastes and while I maintain an open mind on this subject — or try to — there is no doubt that in the U.K., at all events, flour paste has stood the test of

time having been found to give a better bond than any of the synthetics suggested as substitutes — the methyl and ethyl celluloses and even carboxy-methyl cellulose though, where the use of a commercial adhesive is permissible carboxy-methyl cellulose may be employed.

According to very meticulous mycological testing work done by Professor Kowalik the Director of the **Institute of Industrial Organic Chemistry in Warsaw,** cellulose acetate (like ethyl hydroxy ethyl cellulose and also carboxy-methyl cellulose — materials that are considered among the best for strengthening cellulosic materials) has to be protected against micro-organisms e.g. by using salicylanilides.

We no longer add alum to paste of course, alum being an acidic substance — I don't know why we ever added it! Formaldehyde is just as effective and Wardle recommends the addition of a little chalk to flour paste as an acid barrier. This I think is a good idea. It seems to help it to spread anyway. It seems that paste must have a body so that it can slip over itself easily and can be spread out thinly, but not too thinly, with a spatula or paperknife or brush. So we have the compromise formula that is sometimes recommended 'flour paste plus synthetics' i.e. cellulose derivatives usually, plus a fungicide (such as formaldehyde, or it may be a terpene mixture such as the Fiji formula suggesting safarole and oil of cloves, or the favoured modern fungicide 'Topane'). If from a 10% aqueous solution of 'Topane' one teaspoonful is added to each pint of paste and thoroughly stirred in, it will give complete protection without affecting the adhesive quality. But is this the last word? No. Not, I am sure, by any means. The difficulty here is that we must rely on a long-time test before any synthetic paste material can be used by our craftsmen with the same confidence as the traditional flour paste.

And now we must leave the study of traditional materials and turn our thoughts to some of the more specialised documentary forms, documents on palm leaf, birch bark, papyrus and the like.

Documents on **palm leaf,** whether written or incised, tend to become brittle and powdery and when damaged, special methods are applied in the routines of cleaning and consolidating. These are described by A. S. Crowley of the British Museum in *Restaurator Vol. 1 No. 2* (1969). He advocates the filling of lacunae with paper-backed wood veneers of appropriate quality, carefully cut to shape and laminates the whole when necessary by a cold process using acrylic coated jap tissue, the legibility of incised texts being previously intensified by the time-honoured treatment with lampblack and oil of camphor. This form of lamination seems to be an improvement on silking with starch paste, an older method which was found eventually to yield a brittle surface.

Manuscripts on **bark** also suffer from brittleness and might well benefit from similar treatment. Such things, if loose, should be kept in separate receptacles, preferably in transparent envelopes of cellulose acetate or melinex, a procedure that will be familiar to any who have worked on fragmentary archaeological textiles and the like. This storage method proved its value in working on the biblical scrolls* of brittle parchment or leather where fragments were often the size of one word or less.

There is no reason why such envelopes should not be cased within the stiff covers of a guard book provided the contents are protected from undue pressure.

Papyrus writings seem to give no special trouble as regards preservation these days when the appropriate routines are followed. Papyrus is generally relaxed, flattened, sterilised and mounted between glasses using goldbeater's skin and

*The Dead Sea scrolls from 'En Feshka.

gelatin solution, and as these have already been fully described in the literature we can pass at once to the problems presented by photographic film.

For data on the preservation of **photographs** one turns to the experts . . . Eastman Kodak have pamphlets on *Storage and Preservation of Motion Picture Film* and on *Storage and Preservation of Microfilms.* Here we find tests to identify and differentiate acetate and nitrate film base; and whole sections are devoted to the archival storage of processed films of the two types, 'safety' and 'nitro' respectively.

It is clear that instability is to be expected in the case of nitrate film (i.e. any 35 mm film dating pre-1951). Nitrate film must be segregated and preferably duplicated on safety base in order to ensure the preservation of the document. Indeed, the official specifications for the preservation and storage of archival documentary film are restricted to black and white in silver images on safety base. Other types are too uncertain. It is noted, however, that there are many pictures on nitrate base that are of great historical value; and where the cost of 'duping' these on safety base is prohibitive it is necessary to consider the best way to preserve such records. They must be given their own separate and specialised storage vault and each must be in its own approved container.

Colour film, too, provides problems which are just as exacting, or even more so, for the makers state that colour should be stored under deep refrigeration at — 1.4°F (– 17°C) at the low RH of 40/50%, adding by way of discouragement that colour films and nitrate films are not recommended for permanent record use.

The best solution would seem to be to establish a separate film library, and to cede all such material to this central institution, i.e., as at Aston Clinton in England if there is enough film material to warrant the expense of constructing the essential specialised plant. (I served for years on the Technical Committee of the British Film Institute an Institute in which much valuable work has been done, at a cost of course, in saving the earliest film records by reproduction on stable base and storage in refrigerated vaults.)

Assuming now that we have only to deal with the safety acetate-based film in black and white the problem for the archivist becomes more realistic, for it is merely a question of keeping the temperature below 80°F (27°C) at a low RH in the broad bracket 25-60%. True that for archival records this requires a special vault even in England, with some refrigeration and it should be located moreover as far away as possible from urban and industrial centres and such an installation should be monitored by taking regular recordings of T and RH: the machinery also requires to be serviced regularly and the archival film itself must conform to the standards laid down for the minimum permissible residue of sodium thiosulphate. This all sounds rather formidable, but I know from experience that the routines when once established occupy little working time.

If one were a perfectionist one would have positives made of all negative material and arrange to have these preserved elsewhere.

Now if we are not dealing with the archival films but **with material in current use,** as it were, one can relax the conditions considerably provided one observes the following basic rules:

- protect from humid air, i.e. keep the film dry;
- process at the earliest possible moment after exposure;
- wind, but not too tightly round an open-work plastic core and keep in an aluminium can, preferably with a rather loose fitting lid;
- inspect, in detail, every two years or so.

The reason for the loose winding (some say exercise the film every two years) is obvious as there is a tendency to scratch if tightly wound and for the film to cramp itself into a permanent curve with attendant embrittlement. The reason for the loose lid is to allow any gaseous products of decomposition to escape as their continued presence in the box would catalyse further decay. For the rest, the gelatin film as we all know is unstable when damp and it is attacked by the same acidic gases that affect paper and so it must be kept covered and kept dry. Being a nutrient for moulds it is liable to develop spots of fungus growths at relative humidities above about 68%. This is important, for such fungus growths on film can cause permanent damage in distorting the image and rendering local areas water-soluble. When this happens it is too late to give effective preservation treatment.

Ageing affects the flexibility of a film too, as well as damaging the surface coating, a fact of significance in relation to the storage of **audiovisual tapes** and indeed in the possible deformity of **gramophone records** whether PVC or shellac. The basic requirements for working collections can be summed up in the words: 'coolness, dryness and freedom from dust'.

Now **cut films** because they are not flexed, are much easier to preserve. But in proportion as the text or other recorded material on the film becomes smaller so the possibility of damage by scratching is intensified and care is necessary to select a smooth envelope of acid-free permanent paper as a container. At the limit of recording when the pictorial subject matter is excessively small **the films themselves have to be laminated** with glass-clear surface layers of hard resistant plastic, making a 3-ply structure which while adding little in thickness gives very considerable protection and this is done professionally. I am referring now, of course, to the latest type of photographic record to invade the library, **the microtext record called a microfiche,** and at the limit, the ultrafiche.

Microfiches (in the plural) appear today as a variety of flexible lightweight transparencies as yet unstandardised as to size or as to the micro-dimensions of the texts they carry. This is embarrassing because the simple reading equipment that we use for 35mm microfilm is inadequate, much higher magnifications being required to meet all contingencies. It is a question, usually, of having several different types of reader or a large universal type like the Leitz reader which costs as much as a small motor car! The reading equipment, moreover, must be kept in immaculate condition so that one is forced, more or less, to have a special dust-free room allocated for microfilm storage and study. Dust would wreck everything because it would get into the readers and be attracted by statics.

It would help us to realise the magnitude of the problems for librarians, present and future, presented by micro-recording, if I quote freely from a letter sent to the London Times in May of this year by Mr L. L. Ardern, Deputy Librarian of the Andersonian Library, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

He writes that his library already has 'about 25,000 volumes' in the form of microtexts. Such microtexts have been available for 20 years and more. The latest development — the Microfiche — is less than a dozen years old and can be produced direct from the magnetic tape of a computer. This is a very great advance in micropublishing due largely to the research departments of the NCR (National Cash Register Company), to whose UK-Microform-Division-Manager Mr Garsed I am much indebted, as well as to Strathclyde University for the samples which I would now like to show you.

1. An early example of NCR Microfiche. Date: June 1970
   Reproduction of pages of book

   6 cols x 5 rows = 30 pages plus room for title.
   - just about the right size for a thesis and could carry a little more.
2. A later example of NCR Microfiche
   12 cols x 5 rows = 60 pages plus room for title.
   This is just about the maximum in this format.
3. Example of the **Ultrafiche giving a PC (photochromic) micro-image** (i.e. no intermediate photographic process).
   Features:
   - compiled straight from computer;
   - the fiche is specially embedded in thick polythene to preserve free from scratches;
   - but in any case magnification of the image cuts out any blemishes on surface so this ultrafiche is very stable.

   The sample shown is 96 cols of 35 rows = 3500 pages plus room for titles. Actually there are 6 books on this ultrafiche each of 500-600 pages. The librarian's life is not a happy one!
4. And finally the *tour de force* of the NCR Co., Dayton, Ohio. Here on a 1¾ x 1¾ inch film is recorded the whole of the Bible in English. *New Testament and Old.* 773,746 words in easy-to-read type, perfectly clear if examined, even by a student's microscope of 100 diameters.

Regarding all this in retrospect I feel that we are living in a dynamic age when the wind of change is apparent, bringing in new archival materials and exposing ever-widening horizons. But the general lack of standardisation of these materials and of equipment and of modern repair materials and techniques is now a matter for serious concern.

There is hope, however, great hope, to be derived from the earnest endeavours of science to serve the needs of preservation as applied to cultural property of all kinds and to this must be added the deliberations of such conferences of experts as the present which contribute so vitally to extending the field of interest and the appreciation of sound craftsmanship.

Bibliographic Control of Pacific Manuscripts

H. E. MAUDE

In speaking today on the subject of Pacific Bibliography I should explain at the outset that I use the term 'Bibliography' in its widest possible sense as meaning the orderly listing and description of publications, whether books, monographs, pamphlets, brochures, articles in periodicals (and even the serials themselves), manuscripts, microfilms, and indeed every form of documentation. It is convenient to observe the usual practice, at least in the Pacific, of referring to listings of articles in periodicals and other serials, including annuals and newspapers, as Indexes, and those of manuscripts, theses and other unpublished material as Catalogues; and to separate Area Bibliographies, Indexes and the like from those based on Subject. But for our purposes they are all Bibliographies.

From this it will be apparent that I accept Knud Larsen's description of bibliography as 'an auxiliary service to science and learning, which has no purpose in itself, and would never have come into existence if there had been no need for it'.[1] Perhaps I feel the more secure here since this statement was made in a book prepared for Unesco in accordance with the recommendations of their International Advisory Committee on Bibliography.

The opposite viewpoint is exemplified in the work of the Swedish bibliographer, Rolf Du Rietz, who, as stated in the introduction to his monumental *Bibliotheca Polynesiana,* regards bibliography as the 'science . . . concerned with the study of manuscripts and printed books as material objects and the study of the transmission of texts, this science being also intended to serve, in the end, as an indispensable ally of textual criticism', and classes all that we are concerned with as catalogues, or at the best ' "bibliographical lists", or, to use a popular library term, "bibliographical tools", in spite of the fact . . . that the bibliographical element in these lists may often be rather insignificant'. To call one's work a bibliography would, on the other hand, apparently necessitate the examination of 'numerous copies of all editions, impressions, issues and states of the book concerned', as the basis of a full bibliographical analysis.[2]

I suppose it is really a question of terminology, but however theoretically desirable such ideal compilations may be, our bibliographies in the Pacific are required for a severely practical and prosaic purpose: to act as finders' aids, in fact, for researchers and all who seek information on an area or subject. This is not to say, of course, that textual criticism is never, on occasion, a concern: the work being done on Morrison's *Journal* is a case in point, involving as it does the careful study of paper, watermarks, ink, handwriting, annotations, and other details. But such studies require the examination of the original document and can scarcely be aided

by bibliographies, however erudite. We are a young and rapidly developing region and it may well be long before we can devote our limited time and funds to the sort of detailed treatment that one would bestow on say **incunabula** in Europe.

As has been indicated in previous papers, the volume of documentation on the Pacific Islands scarcely warranted the compilation of bibliographies prior to this century. There were, of course, sections on the South Seas in more general bibliographies, such as Vol. 6 of Boucher de la Richarderie's *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages anciens et modernes,* printed in 1808; in the published library catalogues, such as that of Sir George Grey in New Zealand, issued in several volumes between 1858 and 1862, the Royal Society, published regularly from 1867, or the superb *Catalogue of the York Gate Library* . . . (now in Adelaide) compiled by E. A. Petherick (of whom more anon), and the Australasian bibliography published by the Public Library of New South Wales in 1893, which included Polynesia and New Guinea. Then there were the auction and booksellers' catalogues, some of them worth more now than many of the books which they listed. And in 1890 the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science (now ANZAAS), which from its foundation two years earlier had taken a special interest in the Pacific Islands, published its *Bibliography of the Australasian, Papuan and Polynesian Races.*

But apart from Vallée's *Essai d'une bibliographie de la Nouvelle-Calédonie,* published in 1883, and Rye's *Bibliography of New Guinea,* issued the following year, works on specific island areas appear to be non-existent except for Hawaii, which boasts a remarkable number commencing with W. Harper Pease's 24 page catalogue, published in Honolulu as long ago as 1862.[3]

The real father of Pacific bibliography was, I think everyone will agree, Edward Augustus Petherick, the Melbourne bookseller's assistant who went to London in 1870 and, working partly for Francis Edwards, who then as now specialised in second-hand Pacific books, not only amassed the remarkable collection of books and pamphlets which forms the basis of the National Library's Australian and Pacific collections, but also compiled an equally remarkable bibliography of Australasia. To do this he worked late at night and over the week-ends in the British Museum and other libraries, in that spirit of complete dedication which is the hallmark of the true bibliographer. His bibliography, which he intended for publication, was never completed, and was eventually purchased after his death in 1917 by the Commonwealth Government, the Pacific Islands section being housed in 26 boxes.

Robert Langdon has given us a graphic description of this, the first, and for some purposes still the most useful, bibliography on the Pacific Islands, in the *Journal of Pacific History,* from which the following is an excerpt:

> The bibliography consists of tens of thousands of entries written by hand on slips of paper, old envelopes, library application forms, etc. The slips, which are of many shapes and sizes, have been sorted into some semblance of chronological order and have been pasted on quarto sheets of paper, sometimes overlapping each other. The quarto sheets are sometimes pinned together according to subject, and sometimes not. Sometimes the subjects are grouped in a meaningful order, and sometimes not. However, this mass of ill-arranged material is a mine of useful information to anyone embarking on a major historical project dealing with pre-World War I events; and even the most erudite scholar on a particular subject is likely to find many minute references to obscure books and periodicals that were previously unknown to him.[4]

But I hope that all of you will take the time off to inspect Petherick's pioneering industry and at the same time pay your respects to the portrait of his rather formidable wife (and her hat). I must confess that as a neophyte to Pacific history several of my earliest papers were written almost entirely from material which

Petherick alone had noticed and recorded. For instance the *Bounty* would still be sailing on her time-honoured track straight from Tahiti to Pitcairn if he had not provided the clues which demonstrated that Fletcher Christian had, in fact, first discovered Rarotonga, passed through the Tonga Group and visited Fiji, in search of the long-lost islands of Mendana and Quiros, before ever deciding to settle on Carteret's forgotten island.

However I am digressing and we must press on to the 20th century, which opened with the publication in 1901 of Griffin's *A List of Books (with references to periodicals) on Samoa and Guam*. This was produced by the Library of Congress at the request of the Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico and is still in use. From then on, with the growth of literature on the islands, there is a corresponding growth in their listings, many of them, however, being little more than the customary references at the end of scholarly works, and it is not until the 1930's that we see the beginnings of that bibliographical efflorescence which developed to maturity after World War II.

From now on the centre of bibliographical research tended to move from Europe to the Pacific, following the trend in research noted in a previous paper, though to a less extent than most other Pacific studies which are, in contrast to bibliography, only partly based on documentation. As the main depositories of Pacific source materials continue to get more comprehensive in the Pacific peripheral countries and less so elsewhere in the world it seems a fair assumption, however, that the process of transfer will become complete, except for the occasional specialist work.

When I was a student in the 20's I believe that we relied exclusively, when preparing our general reading lists, on Percy Allen's *Bibliography of Works on the Pacific Islands* in the 1919 to 1922 editions of Stewart's Handbook — at least I can recollect no other. And a marvel of careful selection it was, by an amateur enthusiast who really knew his subject, even though his entries were technically imperfect. By 1931, however, we had the professionally competent Lewin's Pacific Islands section of the *Subject Catalogue of the Royal Empire Society,* arranged under geographical areas and sub-divided by categories in chronological order; and also Jore's exasperating *Essai de Bibliographie du Pacifique,* useful for some French periodical analytics, if it does not drive you up the wall first.

But in 1951 all regional bibliographies were largely superseded overnight by the appearance of C. R. H. Taylor's *A Pacific Bibliography,* with its 600 pages and 10,000 references a vastly more comprehensive and useful work, within its limits, than anything that had appeared before. I hope that it will not be taken as any derogation of my admiration for a compilation which I have used constantly ever since when I say that I believe that its second edition, published by the Clarendon Press in 1965, may well be its last, unless its construction is drastically revised. Its title, though modified by a descriptive sub-title, conveys the erroneous impression that it aims at being a catalogue of at least the major works on the Pacific, whereas in actual fact it is a subject bibliography intended for anthropologists and omits many of the standard items on the Pacific that lie outside a narrow range of subjects long outgrown by anthropological scholarship, which is increasingly becoming more comprehensive and historical and interested in all the multitudinous facets of human behaviour.

The fact that you won't find hundreds of such standard works as J. C. Beaglehole's *The Exploration of the Pacific*, Scholefield's *The Pacific: its past and future*. or even Findlay's *South Pacific Ocean Directory* in it may lead to the irrelevant note 'not in Taylor' in the second-hand booksellers' catalogues, thus suggesting rarity

and enabling an addition to the price, but it conveys a very erroneous conception to the researcher of the actual range and scope of the Pacific source material in existence.

Dating from World War II, furthermore, bibliographic monographs on particular subjects of current interest began to appear in increasing numbers. There had been one or two before, mainly on missions, but it was the founding of the South Pacific Commission at Noumea in 1947 which provided the main impetus. As a matter of fact I produced their first bibliography myself — on education — and not having the remotest idea how to proceed I engaged a girl to help me who knew as little as I did. Together we sought out every reference on education in the Pacific Islands which we could find and then placed them all together in alphabetical order of authors, regardless of area or subject, and without annotations, indexes, cross-references or any other aid to the seeker of information. As a well-known territorial Director of Education remarked, the only way one might conceivably find some item one wanted was to read right through from A to Z and hope that it might be revealed by its title.

Needless to say that work never progressed beyond a typescript draft, but others more competent soon joined the Commission staff, the most notable being Ida Leeson, former Mitchell Librarian, who as a Colonel in the Army had taken a major part in the production of the Allied Geographical Section's *Bibliography of the Southwest Pacific and Adjacent Areas* and when with us compiled the *Bibliography of Bibliographies of the South Pacific*. Camilla Wedgwood was another, with her *Selected and Annotated Bibliography of the Education of non-European peoples within the area of the South Pacific Commission,* for which my abortive trial effort did at last come in useful. Whether under Commission auspices or not the 1940's and 50's saw subject bibliographies published on such diverse themes as Botany, Cargo Cults, Co-operation, Culture Change, Education, Entomology, Films, Island Press Imprints, Maps, Land Tenure, Linguistics, Missions, and Nutrition, and probably more that I have forgotten. Streit and Dindinger's stupendous work in the *Bibliotheca Missionum* Series, Elmer Merrill's fine *Botanical Bibliography of the islands of the Pacific* and Felix Keesing's *Culture Change: an analysis and bibliography of anthropological sources to 1952* will long remain among our standard sources.

But in 1932 a new star had appeared in the Pacific sky, perhaps at first unnoticed except by the discerning observer but eventually to eclipse them all. For in that year Father Patrick O'Reilly published his *Essai de bibliographie des Missions Maristes en Océanie occidentale* as an article in the *Revue d'Histoire des Missions* and later as a separate monograph. For if Petherick is the father of Pacific bibliography, and Taylor its populariser, O'Reilly is undoubtedly the doyen of our fraternity, the man who has systematised our techniques, set us new standards of craftsmanship and pointed to new goals for achievement.

It was a pity that Father O'Reilly was flown from Paris to attend the January Conference on the Conservation of the Indigenous Cultural Heritage of the South Pacific, where he was hardly known, whereas at this gathering he would have been honoured as an oracle by people who know and can appreciate his accomplishments and speak, as it were, his language (and by that I do not mean French). He would be the first to agree (indeed he has often acknowledged) that Edouard Reitman, Renée Heyum and others should share with him the credit for the technical side of much of his work, but it is through his vision and impetus that we have seen that little pamphlet on the Marists lead on, through an inspiration that

came in 1940 on the death of the bibliophile André Ropiteau, to the definitive Bibliographies of New Caledonia in 1955, the New Hebrides in 1958, Wallis and Futuna in 1964, and to crown all the incomparable *Bibliographie de Tahiti et de la Polynésie Francaise* in 1967. And, as if this was not enough, these were accompanied by the three Bio-bibliographiques, or fully referenced biographical dictionaries, of New Caledonia, the New Hebrides and Tahiti; and finally by the first annual bibliographies of current regional publications with his *Bibliographie de l'Océanie* from 1939 onwards, which still appear regularly in the *Journal de la Société des Océanistes.*

Our task then today, as I see it, is to decide how we can best complete the work so well begun by Father O'Reilly or, to put it another way, to consider what ideal program we should set ourselves for completing the bibliographical coverage of the Pacific Islands and then to discuss the ways and means by which this program may best be carried into effect.

Probably it is unnecessary to preface this examination by arguing at any length the case for such a bibliographical coverage. Much of the shoddy, second-rate research being done in the Pacific is due simply to the lack of knowledge of the existence of the relevant source material — I suppose there have been years in which I have received an average of nearly a letter a day on some aspect of this subject, and to quote from an article 'Searching for Sources', of which copies are available for anyone interested: 'out of nearly 100 manuscripts received by the Editorial Board [of the *Journal of Pacific History*] to date virtually none have been condemned for irreparable stylistic defects and few for what one may term constructional inadequacies. When articles have been returned it has almost invariably been because insufficient basic research had been done to support the thesis advanced'.[5]

One might well have supposed that when, for example, the Research School of Pacific Studies was established the first unit to be created would have been a section charged with locating and recording the documentary sources extant on the area and seeing that copies of everything, whether published or in manuscript, were available in the National Library as a basis for the original research work to follow. One wonders, too, how much money is spent by the many universities and other research institutions engaged in Pacific studies in sending their staff and scholars to Great Britain, Europe or America to search for material required for their work, at times partly, at least, overlapping what someone else has already collected for himself, due to the lack of any adequate listings which would enable material not already available in one of the Pacific Research Libraries to be sent for in photocopy.

Two objections, are, however, customarily raised whenever a bibliography is proposed. The first, of which Professor Keesing was a great exponent, is that everyone should make one's own bibliography. To this one can but agree, indeed in the disciplines I am conversant with everyone does make their own bibliography as they progress with their research, but the sheer volume of Pacific documentation today is such that this operation is expensive, time-consuming and probably incomplete without the use of published bibliographical aids. In any case Keesing did not follow his own advice, for he published more than one bibliography himself, including his well-known work on Culture Change.

The second argument is that a bibliography is useless unless one can guarantee its completeness, and that until then it is best not to publish it. This again is unexceptionable in theory, but in practice no bibliography is ever complete and it

is far better to do our honest best, and recognise its inevitable fallibility, rather than produce nothing at all. Just as Taylor's second edition was much more comprehensive than his first one can only build on what already exists; ever reaching nearer to an unattainable ideal of perfection. The Pacific Islands Thesis Catalogue, published just a year ago, was possibly no more than 75% inclusive; with the help of kind informants we hope that the second edition will be at least 85%, and the third perhaps 95%. Should we then never have started?

One could go on for the rest of the morning were it not that the case for a comprehensive bibliographical coverage of Pacific documentation as an essential prerequisite for scholarly research seems unanswerable, and that the only task before us is to consider the form or forms which it should take.

At the first session of the South Pacific Commission we found ourselves in the intellectual desert of Noumea, without adequate library facilities or the means for ascertaining what had already been written or done on the projects on which we were engaged or envisaging. One of the early activities of the Commission was, therefore, to appoint a sub-committee consisting of Professor Douglas Oliver, Mr E. H. Bryan, Jr, now Director of the Pacific Scientific Information Service, and myself to report on the feasibility of preparing a Bibliography of Oceania. I for one had in mind a gigantic, multi-volumed work embracing the whole Pacific, to be prepared by a team of professional bibliographers over a term of years — something like the Arctic Bibliography.

The estimated cost turned out to be astronomical, even in those days, and the project was rightly turned down as beyond the Commission's then slender budget. I have since come to the conclusion that it would have been a cumbrous white elephant and that, in any case, with the publication of Father O'Reilly's four area bibliographies we should now carry on from where he left off and complete the job. Of course O'Reilly's bibliographies will have to be corrected, revised and added to like all other bibliographies — indeed supplements have already appeared — but they are unlikely to be superseded for decades to come.

After all, unless subsidised by some unusually prescient body which has yet to appear, bibliographies, if they are to attract commercial publishers (and even university presses have to pay their way), must sell. And no one is going to buy a multi-volumed Bibliography of Oceania at several hundred dollars except a few reference and specialist libraries; whereas we have found, from actual experience, that area bibliographies at from $5 to $10 apiece sell steadily and, most important point of all, they are in keen demand by the rapidly increasing educated sectors in the territories to which they relate. Guamanians, for example, would be proud to possess a definitive Bibliography of Guam, and a larger percentage of them would probably buy it than say Australians would purchase a Bibliography of Australia; but few would buy it if it merely formed subsection (a) of section 3 of Vol. IX of a Bibliography of Oceania.

Furthermore, if there is one region in the world that splits up, both geographically and politically, into convenient bibliographical areas, it is the Pacific Islands. The disadvantages are, to be sure, the duplication of many entries and the nice decisions that have to be made as to whether a paragraph or two on one area warrants the inclusion of an item (the answer seems to be yes, when it adds something new to our knowledge of the particular area, and no when it doesn't).

Area bibliographies must, however, be inclusive of everything in the country's literature, right through the alphabet from Administration to Zoology, for we cannot foretell for what purposes the works will be consulted; although we do know that,

American Micronesia offers a special problem owing to its geographical fragmentation and political vicissitudes, but here we have been fortunate in securing the expert advice and collaboration of Professor Paul Carano, Director of the Micronesian Area Research Center of the University of Guam, and his staff of Micronesian specialists, and in addition that of Mr William A. McGrath, Chief of the Lands Administration at Saipan. As a result arrangements have been made by which *The Bibliography of Guam* and maybe of the other Mariana Islands will be produced by Mrs Emile G. Johnston, the Chief Bibliographer of the Center, in collaboration with Professor Albert L. Williams of the University of Guam, while Mr McGrath is already under way with a bibliography entitled *The United States in Micronesia, 1944-1970,* which will cover the American period in the Trust Territory. Some of you will remember his two previous bibliographies: *New Guineana: or Books of New Guinea, 1942-1965* and *A select annotated Bibliography on Land Tenure in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.*

The Carolines are most complicated linguistically owing to the source material being in Spanish, German, Japanese and English, not to speak of the vernacular works, and it is impossible to find anyone with the necessary linguistic and other equipment to produce a complete bibliographical coverage. There is every hope, however, that Sister Maria Teresa del Valle, M.M.B., of the Micronesian Area Research Center, in collaboration with Father Francis X. Hegel, S.J., the historian of the Micronesian Seminar on Truk, will be willing to prepare a bibliography of Spain in Micronesia, on which they are the acknowledged experts. For the German period there has been a promising offer from the University of Arizona and, as already mentioned, Mr McGrath is dealing with the American period.

This leaves us with the Japanese language documentation not only, I fancy, relating to the Carolines but on the whole of American Micronesia; and here I should like to throw myself on the clemency of this conference and ask if you would be willing to ask our sponsors to finance for say two years the salary and expenses of a bibliographer to complete this last remaining gap in the bibliographical coverage of the Pacific region. The facts of the situation are that we have a most suitable candidate in Dr Sachiko Hatanaka, whose latest paper on 'The social organisation of a Polynesian atoll' is on the table for examination. Dr Hatanaka would be ready to commence work on this project as from the beginning of next year, when she ceases her present contract with the New Guinea Research Unit; and she is very keen to do so. Dr Hatanaka not only knows the Japanese literature on the area tolerably well already but, far more important, she is on terms of friendship with members of the Japanese Micronesian Association, that group of old-timers (once 80 strong, but now reduced by death to 30) who lived out their active lives in the islands and still meet to talk over pre-war days. I understand that one or more of them have in their possession the correspondence and other documentation of the Nanyo Boyeki Kaisha and, of greater concern, the Nanyo Kohatsu Company, and that she can obtain permission to copy this material, thus completing our microfilming of the main series of Japanese manuscript material on Micronesia.

For this work I would commend her for a grant from the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, but at the same time it is urged that she should be employed through funds provided by Unesco or the Pacific Research Libraries to complete the *Bibliography of Japan in Micronesia,* being attached for that purpose, subject to their agreement, to the Micronesian Area Research Center.

Those of you whose geography is up-to-date will find, I hope, that this completes the area coverage of the Pacific with the exception of the Marshall Group and a few

isolated islands, such as Wake, Johnston, and maybe Marcus and Tobi, which seem to fit comfortably into none of the larger groupings. For the Marshalls it is hoped to obtain the expert advice of Professor Leonard Mason, having regard to the fact that there are two, if not three, typescript bibliographies already in existence and that what is probably the best, Terza Meller's *An Annotated Bibliography of the Marshall Islands,* was produced under his supervision. For the small isolated islands there is a possibility that the indefatigable Honolulu amateur bibliographer, N. L. H. Krauss, will agree to complete his present series on them and make them comprehensive: they could then be issued in a single volume.

By now you must be wondering why one should have these volumes published in a series at all? Why should not each author find his or her own publisher, in the time-honoured manner? The answer is that not only will one discover it extremely hard to find a commercial publisher for an isolated bibliography but that there are very real advantages in being one of a series in that libraries, who are the main buyers, having purchased one volume have a compulsive urge to obtain all the others in order to complete their sets. As Vol. IV is published, for example, one finds an immediate lift in the, by then no doubt, moribund sales of Vols I-III.

The A.N.U. Press, furthermore, is by now recognised as the leading publisher of scholarly books on the Pacific Islands outside the United States, where their place is taken by the University of Hawaii Press. Both these publishers have an arrangement by which each bibliography is published simultaneously in the United States and Australia under their own imprints, while European sales are managed by Christopher Hurst and those in New Zealand by A. H. and A. W. Reed. The result is a profit for all concerned, and in addition a royalty for the compiler which is not to be despised, for bibliographies, like cookery books and legal commentaries, sell slowly but steadily year after year; and when one edition is exhausted it is time to prepare a revised and up-to-date replacement.

So much for area bibliographies: by far the most important finders' aids for locating source materials related to research in the Pacific Islands. But there are auxiliary aids, and these should be mentioned, if not in such detail. Firstly there are the Subject Bibliographies, of which the three volume *Ethnographic Bibliography of New Guinea,* published in 1968, is a good example. I do not minimise their value to subject specialists, though their contents should be included in the comprehensive area bibliographies, but there is very little that one can do about their production except to wait until some enthusiast comes along with his Bibliography of Pacific Ethnobotany, New Guinea Entomology, Mammals in Hawaii, Marine Seismics, or even the Biology and Fishery of the Skipjack Tuna, *Katsuwonus pelamis,* to mention some of the more recent; and then to encourage and help them to the utmost. You cannot intimidate or even cajole a subject specialist into producing a bibliography: he either gets bitten by the bug, like Merrill, or he doesn't; and no one not immersed in the subject can produce a really scholarly study.

Comprehensive catalogues of Pacific manuscripts located in each of the main countries of deposit are for most people even more important: the British Isles, France, Italy (for the Catholic material in Rome); the United States; Australia and New Zealand; and the Pacific Islands themselves; with a final volume for all other countries. But here we have two organisations from which help may be expected. The Pacific Manuscripts Bureau was, among other things, formed for this very purpose; and as you have heard from its Director, it has already commenced work on cataloguing the manuscript material in Australia and New Zealand.

Let us hope that it will not be long before specialists with the necessary skills and linguistic ability can be found to work in France, Rome and the Pacific Islands for the Bureau. In addition the Pacific libraries, when they undertake a manuscript locating and cataloguing project for Australian and New Zealand documentation, will almost certainly include the Pacific Islands within its scope, as witness Miss Phyllis Mander-Jones's monumental *Guide to Manuscripts relating to Australia and the Pacific Islands*. This work, financed jointly by the Australian National University and the Australian National Library, will meet our requirements as far as manuscripts in the United Kingdom are concerned for at least a century to come; and long before then bibliographies will presumably be compiled by computer and the information stored ready for instant retrieval through mechanical indexes.

The position as regards serial indexing is reasonably satisfactory. The main regional periodical, *The Pacific Islands Monthly,* has been expertly indexed by Mrs Margaret Woodhouse from its commencement in 1930 to 1945 and it is to be devoutly hoped that either she, or someone as good, will complete this essential task. Of the main regional scholarly journals the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* has been professionally indexed by C. R. H. Taylor, and *Oceania* up to 1964 in analytical form by the Centre Documentaire de l'Océanie. Others, including the *Journal of Pacific History,* are in process of being indexed.

The main need seems to be the indexing of local island newspapers and periodicals, such as the *Fiji Times* and the *Samoanische Zeitung* and including such vernacular serials as the early issues of *Na Mata,* which contain a number of articles written by Fijians on their traditions and culture. Perhaps the island universities will be able to spare someone from time to time to undertake what is, though of great value, the most mechanical type of bibliographical work. So much of our source material appears, furthermore, in newspapers and periodicals not solely concerned with the Pacific Islands, such as the *Sydney Gazette,* the *Nautical Magazine,* the *Friend* and *Niles Weekly Register,* and where these have not already been indexed, as have the first two, we must wait for others to undertake the work.

There remains a miscellaneous collection of listings of various kinds to complete the working tools required for adequate Pacific research: the Thesis Catalogue, of which a second edition is being prepared; an excellent catalogue of documentary films, recently published; a Pacific Islands gazetteer, of which the Micronesian portion is now being published by the acknowledged authority on Pacific place names, E. H. Bryan, Jr, who is also working on the Polynesian section; and an historically based catalogue of serials published in or on the Pacific Islands, from the earliest times to the present day, giving the location of the scarcer items. This last, though a rather herculean project, is very necessary since so much buried gold is to be found in early and sometimes missed periodicals such as the *Hawaiian Spectator* or the *Samoan Reporter*. It is hoped to commence work on it before long under the expert direction of Miss Janet Bell, until recently in charge of the Hawaiian and Pacific Collections in the University of Hawaii Library.

Every item discussed so far, whether in existence, in preparation or proposed, has been a retrospective bibliography. Fortunately for current works we have been reasonably well served since 1939 by the annual *Bibliographie de l'Océanie,* which appears both in the *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* and as a separate publication. One wishes, however, that the editors would appoint local correspondents in the main publishing countries to obviate the missing of articles appearing in the more unlikely serials; and that they would reduce their coverage to the Pacific Islands only. Similar current bibliographies are published in Hawaii and New

Guinea, listing material of local concern only, and items relating to the history (in its broadest sense) in the *Journal of Pacific History,* which also, together with the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau *Pambu,* covers current manuscript discoveries.

To cap this bibliographical pyramid, now that Ida Leeson's *Bibliography of Bibliographies of the South Pacific* is out of print a contract has been signed with the Oxford University Press for the compilation of a new and up-to-date Bibliography of Bibliographies to include all the islands, and not just those which may happen to be located south of the Equator.

Perhaps a brief mention should be made here of the recent spate of photographic reproductions of library Dictionary Catalogues, of which the most important for Pacific studies are those of the Mitchell Library, the Bernice P. Bishop Museum Library, the Library of the American Geographical Society of New York, and the British Colonial Office Library, but these, though exceedingly useful for researchers, represent the raw material for bibliographies and lie therefore outside this conspectus.

Before closing there is just time to say a few words on those who are responsible for doing all this work and who will, one trusts, be responsible for completing it in the years to come. What sort of people are our bibliographers and what ought we to expect of them? Absolute integrity coupled with meticulous industry are probably more important than the sort of intellectual originality that leads one to take up research work: academics, as a rule, are notoriously bad bibliographers, and some of our leading research scientists are reputed to be incapable of getting their own references straight without the aid of a bevy of research assistants and the editorial re-check done by their publishers.

A thorough knowledge of the locality and its history, is, I suggest, as important to an area bibliographer as a knowledge of the subject is to one working on a specialised subject bibliography: it can prevent many a howler and turn a wooden listing into a living work with annotations, in particular, of real value and interest. The compilation entitled *American Activities in the Central Pacific, 1790-1870* in its original form was a classic example of what can result from employing a team who knew nothing about the Pacific on such work, with its numerous references to British warships chasing negro slave ships near Ponape (because it was formerly called Ascension) and other vessels running into difficulties with icebergs off Arorae, just south of the Equator in the Gilberts (because it was once called Hurd Island). Even the first draft of Taylor had references to Christmas Island in the Indian Ocean listed under the Line Group.

Most important of all, bibliographers need that divine spark which makes one work endless wearysome, but nevertheless exciting, hours fired by the impossible ideal of locating that last reference, though everyone knows that in fact there never is a last reference and in any case probably no one would ever notice if one missed it. This feeling of excitement is hard to explain to those who have never done this kind of work: but I remember a friend who had been pursuing his elusive reference for a week in the Mitchell and, suddenly finding it, rose to his feet waving his hat: and ejaculated Eureka!

Just picture the disgraceful spectacle: the sepulchral silence of the Mitchell, surrounded by all those beauteous vestal virgins whose one desire in life is to bring you the treasures of knowledge and lay them, if not at your feet, at least close to hand. But it does illustrate the elation which only a real bibliographer can feel.

And the rewards? Financially meagre: as I wrote to the Bishop of the Southern Solomon Islands requesting permission for Father Wall to work on a bibliography

of the Solomon Islands, such is the scale of values in Australia today that he would frankly earn more by engaging in manual labour on the roads. By the upper echelons of the library world he will be welcome; but by the lower he will soon be regarded as a nuisance as he fills in slips for hundreds of books, each one of which has to be brought laboriously from the stacks, used for perhaps 15 minutes, and then returned. I sometimes feel that if that august body, the Australian Advisory Council on Bibliographical Services, had a few actual bibliographers among its twenty prestigious members, it would not be long before bona fide, properly accredited bibliographers engaged on bibliographical work approved for publication by a University Press would receive stack privileges and other facilities which might well reduce their work by half.

And when his book is finally out the bibliographer will receive a generous measure of praise from the ranking academics at the top of their profession, but from those less exalted, particularly if they consider themselves experts on the area, the response may well be less generous. Typical, in my experience, is the vague generalisation: 'It's a pity it contains so many omissions, and I'm afraid quite a few errors too'. This can be merely an automatic reflex: a measure of professional insecurity rather than of the bibliography's value; or else a natural feeling of irritation, whch I must confess to having felt myself, at finding references which one had thought a secret discovery blazoned forth for all the world to know. A few constructive and generous souls actually do send in a list of omissions which they have discovered, and to those one should invariably reply with a warm letter of thanks and appreciation.

Another convention which the bibliographer has to get used to is the fact that though a scholarly writer will be scrupulous in acknowledging every quotation, fact, figure or opinion for which he is indebted to others, he will seldom, if ever, acknowledge the often far greater assistance which he has received from a bibliography, without which perhaps his paper would never have been written. But paradoxically, to even the measure, by the general public, and particularly by the local residents, the bibliographer may well find himself considered the main authority on an area.

Yet, even though in this part of the world, but not I understand in Europe, the bibliographer is regarded as the journeyman of scholarship, no one can deprive him of the very real and sustaining inward satisfaction arising from a good job well done and the knowledge that for years, and maybe decades, to come thousands of searchers in hundreds of libraries will be poring over his work in their search for some aspect of knowledge, and at least in their inmost hearts, if not in print, will be calling him blessed.

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The Use of Pacific Materials — the Problems of the Scholar and Librarian

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UNLIKE previous papers which have been, so to speak, production reports on Pacific materials, this paper is a consumer report. This is not to imply that the producers and the consumers have different interests. There are, among academics, many jokes about librarians and archivists who could run perfectly efficient libraries or archives if only people did not want to read books and manuscripts. But I have never met such a keeper of materials (to use this word to describe those who collect and preserve). Let us assume that librarians, archivists and curators have a common interest with scholars, amateur students, administrators and even politicians in the use of the Pacific materials collected and preserved. Still, if there is this common interest, the requirements of the users create problems for the keepers of materials.

Two requirements of the users make heavy demands upon the keepers. The first is the need for the creation of detailed lists and indexes of the materials. The second is for the physical conditions and the equipment to consult and reproduce the materials. Obviously research can be done without either of these two things. The 17th century antiquarians in England went rummaging among the mouldering records in the Tower of London in damp, unheated, ill-lit, ill-ventilated rooms. Twenty years ago, when I was doing the research for my book on 12th century administration, it was still possible to make discoveries among unlisted sets of material in the Public Record Office. But with the distances involved in visiting Pacific centres, with the diversity of the materials, with the need to photograph them for use elsewhere, there can be no doubt that lists and indexes and the physical plant for consulting and reproducing the materials are the two fundamental requirements of the users, if they wish to do effective research.

The matter of physical equipment does not have quite the same priority as the lists and indexes. So far as documentary material is concerned, it is perfectly possible to work at a small table in the middle of a busy office, as I did in Port Moresby, Papeete and Pago Pago. But it is preferable, of course, to have the organised reading room, such as there is in Fiji. And for other kinds of material than written documents, for microfilm readers which must be used, for tapes which must be played, or films which must be run, some such facility is probably essential; the table in an office where ordinary work is going on is not adequate. So this user demand confronts the librarian, archivist or curator with the need to provide buildings, equipment and staff to produce the materials for the research worker.

This user demand is primarily a matter of available money. The keepers are the people who have to argue with governments or trustees or boards about the budget. They may be competing for scarce resources when they do this; they may get involved in public and private politics in doing so. Yet with all the difficulties which requests for money can create, the provision of the buildings, the tape recorders, the photo-copying machines, the micro-film readers, the projection cameras and the staff to work them, this physical equipment demand, simply because it is a matter of money, is the easier to meet of the two main user requirements.

The prior requirement, lists and indexes, is more difficult. For this involves not only money but peculiarly skilled personnel. A simple list of materials may not be too difficult to make, but it is of correspondingly less value to the user. For example, if there is a list of despatches passing between a governor and his home government it is not much help to a research worker, especially one in another country wishing to know what to have photographed, or faced with a large collection of micro-film of the series of despatches, to be told in a list: Governor to Secretary of State 10 September 1904 — Finance. But it is helpful to have a two or three line description of what kind of finance for what purpose. It is better still, of course, to have an index of proper names and of subjects. And to be properly useful such lists and indexes must not simply exist at the place of the collection of materials but be published and distributed to every centre of Pacific research. A counsel of perfection, of course, for although the money for staff and publication may be forthcoming, the actual recruitment of trained staff to do the work is difficult. The staff who make lists and indexes of the kind the users want for the most efficient research obviously need archival skills and the skill of librarians; but to make really useful lists and indexes of unpublished materials they must also have something of the scholars' professional skills. Any list of unpublished materials ought to include a description of the provenance of the material: how and when it came into existence, what its relationship may be to other classes of material. Any description of the content must also be aware of what users are looking for, and this involves distinguishing between the value of different sorts of material: what to put into a list, what to leave out, and above all which records are more important to scholars than others if there is any doubt as to which class of material should be listed or indexed first. Such skills involve some knowledge of more than one discipline: not simply knowledge of what historians want, but of what social anthropologists, geographers and natural scientists may want. Over the years libraries and repositories build up this kind of skill and knowledge, but more recently established institutions may find this user demand very heavy and perhaps impossible to meet unless a training program for such staff is treated with the priority that lists and indexes deserve.

These two fundamental needs of the users of Pacific materials have to a considerable extent but not completely been met in the great libraries and repositories of the metropolitan countries around the Pacific. They are beginning to be met in some of the Pacific Islands themselves — notably Fiji and Papua New Guinea. They have still to be met in other island groups. But even when they have been met, they do not in themselves solve a third problem of the users: actual access to the materials. Governments and private organisations — missionary societies, commercial companies — to say nothing of individual holders or donors of material, place restrictions upon their use. Any such restrictions are apt to irritate the users and possibly the keepers, but some restrictions are not unreasonable.

They are broadly imposed on two grounds. The first is security: to avoid prejudicing or even simply embarrassing the operations of one's organisation, whether it be government, church or company. Most organisations tend to be conservative about access, especially when they impose restrictions in the form of a time limit on access. In England, until a few years ago, for government records the time limit was fifty years. Now it is thirty. The United States government, at least in respect of the Second World War, is now considering twenty-five. Missions and commercial undertakings vary in their policy of access. One can argue about the details of security restrictions but obviously in principle the shorter the time limit on access the better from the users' point of view. Even with such restrictions, in individual cases they may be relaxed, although this involves the invidious task of making decisions about the responsibility of particular users which are avoided by some general rule of access. But the second kind of restriction has, I think, been quite as decisive as security in setting limits to the use of materials. This is the restriction based on personal grounds. If access is given to materials within a short period of time, their use may involve persons still living. To allow access to such materials may involve a breach of confidence, if certain information is publicly revealed. The user of materials which involve still-living people and their activities also runs the risk, or at least the threat, of legal action by such persons. So some restriction has to be accepted in everybody's interest. But such restrictions do not have to be uniform. It is possible to distinguish between different classes of material or even within a single class of material in the interests of the users, although this entails some administrative problems for the keepers who may have to do the sorting and classifying which follow from whatever access policy a government or an organisation decides upon. Still, it is helpful to both users and keepers to have a clear rule of access, whatever the rule may be. Such a rule may incidentally provide a set of priorities for the two fundamental needs of listing and facilities. If some materials are clearly restricted, then the need to list them is less urgent than the need to list the available unrestricted materials. And the limitation on the quantity of material available may be helpful in determining the space and the equipment needed to make them usable. What really matters to both users and keepers, therefore, is that a clear access policy should exist.

Lists and indexes, buildings, equipment and staff, a rule of access: all of these are the common interest of users and keepers. Or should be. Beyond this the keepers may have an interest in the quality of the work the users of their materials produce, if only because their resources, their money, time, skill and, very often, patience have been heavily drawn upon by the users and it is pleasant to see the result, with proper acknowledgement of the debt the users owe to the keepers. But this common interest in the use of Pacific materials covers a variety of methods and individual interests among the users themselves. These may be the practical ones of an administrator looking for precedents or for the descent of land titles or whatever. They may be the interests of a natural scientist in the circumstances of earlier observations and discoveries. Or they may be those of the social science disciplines which have been concerned with the Pacific Islands; of historians, social anthropologists, political scientists, economists, geographers, archeologists, and linguists. The class of materials used will vary. The techniques applied to them will also vary. But since the materials are all survivals from the past, and the bulk of them written records from the past, they are above all historical records with which historians are particularly concerned. So a consumer report from an historian, while it has the personal quality of any consumer test, is also discussion

of the use of Pacific materials by a practitioner of a discipline which has developed its techniques and skills to deal with survivals from the past. Indeed, this is all that history is.

History is not the study of the past; it is only the study of the surviving evidence from the past. If there is no evidence, there is no past. It is dead and gone, as if it had never been. Much of the past of the Pacific Islands is dead and gone in this way. Archeologists and linguists, with the help of biogeography, ethno-botany and the like, can no doubt eventually provide a broad picture of the peoples who came into the Pacific, can chart the course of their journeys and, approximately, date them. The nature of Pacific societies can be described: their hunting, their gardening, their animals, tools, pottery and so on. Major changes in those island societies can be described. What is irrecoverable from the type of material used by these scholars is a detailed chronological history of the Pacific Islands and of individual islanders. That kind of history is dependent on the materials which are largely of European provenance, and which obviously therefore came into existence after the arrival of Europeans in the islands. These materials are of many different kinds: ships' logs and charts, accounts left by beachcombers, castaways and other residents in the islands, missionary letters, trading company records, individual correspondence, government records, anthropological studies, records of the islanders' genealogies, myths and legends, islanders' own accounts of their experiences, and photographs and artefacts. The list is not exhaustive! Some of these types of material survive in much greater bulk than others. But with all of these variations in type and in quantity, the use of the materials raises technical problems of testing for reliability as evidence about the past.

All historical evidence falls into two categories: narrative evidence and record evidence. These are words commonly employed by mediaeval historians, but they or some equivalent of them describe the two classes of evidence into which Pacific materials fall just as much as mediaeval or, indeed, any other historical materials. The words do not imply that the materials are necessarily written evidence from the past, although the bulk of evidence is written. Artefacts, whether they are ruined castles and monasteries, pottery or weapons or mortars and pestles, can be classified in the same way. The first category of materials, narrative evidence, is deliberately intended for the attention of posterity, if not simply of the historian. Such, for example, are missionary accounts of their own work in the islands, journals, diaries and letters which are intended for publication, the works of instant and participant historians and journalists. Some, but not all, despatches from governors, missionaries and company managers fall into this category. So does some, but not all, oral tradition and oral evidence. Narrative evidence, being intended to preserve a view of the past, presents technical problems; but not very difficult ones. The purpose for which the materials have been put together can usually be discovered without too much difficulty, and its biases therefore taken into account in assessing its reliability. All such evidence can be tested by the two questions an historian normally asks of materials in this category: who first said so? What opportunities had he of knowing it?

Record evidence, the second category of surviving material, is not intended for posterity but for some other purpose, usually of course an immediate, contemporary one with no thought of posterity. Such, for example, are executive orders and minutes, law reports, balance sheets, ships' logs and most artefacts. So are journals, diaries and letters which are not intended for publication or preservation but to refresh a memory or to inform a correspondent or simply to keep a record.

So are many but not all, despatches. This is not to say, of course, that record evidence is always reliable. If it is not intended to impose a view on posterity, it may still be intended to deceive contemporaries. Technically therefore it presents users with more difficult problems than those posed by narrative evidence. Of the tests which can be applied, the basic one is to ask how the evidence was produced, what administrative processes or procedures underlay it, what purpose it served in this administrative routine. Knowing this, and knowing the relationship of one class of record materials to another, provides some test of the weight which can be given to the evidence. Any user needs to acquire this knowledge, knowledge which is also the province of the keepers who may have a familiarity with the provenance of record evidence greater than that of any user, for this is part of the task of making lists and indexes. The user can also test for reliability by cross checking. Not all contemporaries are taken in by records intended to deceive them; they may challenge their accuracy. The producers of the records themselves may privately reveal or let slip the fact that the record is 'cooked'. Beyond familiarity with the provenance of the record material and with corroborative evidence, there is also the test which comes from long acquaintance with the materials, from knowing what is exceptional in the materials and what common form. For example, if a governor writes a despatch to his home government, urging a particular policy and giving reasons for his opinion, he is arguing the best case he can and arguing it on the grounds he knows or hopes will appeal to the officials and politicians his despatch will reach. He may be tempted to distort the facts; certainly he will select them to advantage. His private papers may show what he really thought or wished. So may other records of his administration which discuss policy or provide the information upon which policy is formed. In all of this cross checking and weighing of evidence, the user will have to distinguish between the exceptional and the common form. In private letters, for instance, the way in which the writer addresses his correspondence and signs it may look formal but 'My dear Mr X . . . Yours sincerely' might in fact be an expression of intimacy if the writer's other letters read 'My Dear Sir . . . Yours very truly'. Or again, if the writer signs himself with his initials and name in a letter to his wife, this does not in itself reveal a cool relationship; the conventions of the time may have been stiff. Testing record evidence implies a wider familiarity with society and its usages, as well as familiarity with particular evidence and its provenance.

The physical use of Pacific materials and the two categories into which they fall are not peculiar to the Pacific; they are common to all survivals of evidence from the past. But do the materials present peculiar problems when they come to be used to describe the past? In principle they do not. For the pre-history, the period before written records survive, of Pacific societies, the materials are different from other pre-historic societies because of the absence of metal. But Pacific societies are not distinctive in this. The same is true of some African and Asian societies. To write the history of Pacific societies after written materials survive sets the problem of using materials derived from European society to describe a pre-literate, non-European one, for the materials of European provenance necessarily distort the non-European society because they convey an alien view which may be mistaken, which at best sees the non-European societies imperfectly because their attitudes, values and institutions are different. But this problem too is not peculiar to the Pacific. It obviously exists for the classical historian using the written materials of Roman provenance to describe the pre-literate tribes with which the Romans came into contact, and for the English historian trying to describe the Anglo-Saxon

invasions of Roman Britain. The same difficulty exists for a mediaevalist looking at Anglo-Saxon England through the records of the Norman provenance, for, although Anglo-Saxon society in the 11th century was not pre-literate, literacy was in fact confined to a small group of people in the population and society still rested to a large extent upon oral transmission. If the records of a literate society do not survive, for the historian's purpose it is pre-literate. So the problem of looking at a pre-literate society through the written records of another which is alien to it is a common enough historical problem for ancient and mediaeval historians, as it obviously is for any colonial historian in Africa, Asia, and South America. It is in fact the problem of any culture contact situation, a situation which has often existed in the history of Europe itself as well as in the expansion of Europe and less obviously inside any individual European society where one group of the population — for example the aristocracy or the city-dwellers — leads a different kind of existence from peasants or country-dwellers. It is in fact the historical problem of any plural society whether this comes into existence through foreign, colonial rule, or as a result of internal changes. Historians, especially classical and mediaeval historians, have long been concerned to analyse the surviving materials with this problem in mind. So, more recently, have colonial historians.

Any differences in the use of Pacific materials, as of African or Asian, are not therefore differences in the principles which historians apply to their evidence, but must lie in the nature of the evidence itself. And in two respects Pacific historians, like those of Africa and Asia, can claim to have new types of material. The first type is oral: the testimony of informants from the pre-literate alien society. The second is the work of social anthropologists who have studied the pre-literate alien society. Both kinds of evidence, it can and has been claimed, are not available to historians of the more distant past by contrast with the culture contact situation created by colonial rule which has come about within living memories and at a time when scholars in another discipline were interested in studying that situation. Such materials, it is said, can enable students of the written records to interpret far more fully and accurately the contact between alien cultures, and even to write the history of the pre-literate society before it came into contact with a literate one. Or can they? Before one proclaims a 'new orthodoxy' (as this belief of colonial historians has been called) we need to look more closely at these new materials.

Since social anthropology depends upon oral testimony as well as direct observation, it may be well to deal with that first, before going on to consider oral testimony as a distinctive kind of evidence. As an intensive study of pre-literate societies, social anthropology derives from the work of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown who did their field work just before or during the First World War. The studies which they, and those who followed them, produced in the 1920's became historical evidence because they provided testimony about the pre-literate societies which lay behind the written records. Malinowski, for example, living in the Trobriands during the First World War, provided an account of life there which is independent of the written records of government — the patrol reports, the station journals — and which can be used to correct the distortions implicit in European government perceptions of an alien culture. It can be used to measure European misunderstanding of Papuan society and also, of course, Papuan misunderstanding of European society. But such an anthropological study has limitations. Some of these come from the theoretical orientation of the anthropologists which must be allowed for, but the major one from the historian's point of view is that this evidence relates to a particular point in time. It may not be directly relevant to the

past for the anthropologists' informants have no interest in the past for its own sake; to them, as Franz Boas said of the Eskimo, the world has always been as it is now. Boas meant that in a pre-literate society the past is of interest only as it justifies or explains the present, with the result that the oral testimony which is offered about the past is always adapted to the present. It is not historical evidence but contemporary evidence. The consequences of this for interpreting the written materials are clear. An anthropological study does not explain a process of change; it documents a current situation. A series of such studies over a period of time is a series of contemporary descriptions which will show changes as between themselves, but what happens in the intervals between them may be a matter of informed guess-work about what must have happened. In short, social anthropology can provide the student of written records of one literate culture with evidence from the other pre-literate one for a particular point in time. A series of such observations can also be used to construct a model of the pre-literate society which may not indeed offer evidence on any particular event or personality but which may offer, through its statement of the regularities of society, a range of possibilities or probabilities to correct the distortion of the written records.

Model building of this kind is suspect to many historians. It need not be. Granted the limitations upon which it rests, it is in fact no more than a refinement of the informed guess-work any historian uses when the materials are deficient. Moreover, such a model, derived from an anthropologist's contemporary observations and theoretical framework may be less misleading than oral testimony about the past from members of the pre-literate society. An anthropologist's account of the society he studies 'freezes' that situation; once recorded, the written account itself is immune to change, whatever may happen to the society it describes. But this is not true of oral testimony. For example, among the Tiv of Northern Nigeria, the long genealogies which figured very largely in arguments over the rights and duties of a man were early recorded by British administrators for the convenience of future officials. Forty years later these written pedigrees gave rise to many disagreements, for the Tiv said that they were wrong. What had happened was that the oral versions had changed; they were simply not the same genealogies. So in northern Ghana. Among the Gonja at the turn of this century the story was written down of their founder Japka who divided the kingdom between his seven sons whose successors as territorial heads took it in turns to succeed to the paramount rule. But under British administration two of these territorial divisions went out of existence, and when the Gonja tale was again recorded in 1960 by an anthropologist, Japka, the founder, had then had only five sons whom he appointed to rule the divisions. Obviously the oral stories were a means of explaining and justifying a present situation. They were not historical accounts of the past, although they are evidence of what the Tiv or the Gonja believed about the past at that particular time. Still, even when oral testimony is demonstrably a social charter of the present situation, not a past one, it may incidentally provide historical evidence about the past.

Oral testimony, used in its own right as the material for a history of the pre-literate society or used to interpret alien written materials, requires careful analysis, for it is not all of a kind. A fundamental distinction has to be drawn between oral tradition and oral evidence. Oral tradition is testimony, not being an eye-witness account, which is handed down from generation to generation. Such traditions themselves fall into different classes. Vansina, in central Africa, has classified and analysed them with great rigour. Broadly speaking, oral traditions fall into two

types: oral literature, which includes praise poems, creation myths and legends; these are recognised literary forms. The second type is the general historical knowledge of the society, which includes beliefs about recent events and sometimes more remote references; such are genealogies and place names. The difference between the two is that the first type of oral tradition is a spontaneous narrative, the second is elicited for some purpose, for example a court case or in answer to questions. The value of each for historical purposes is different. The first being formalised and recited on particular occasions to a particular audience may have greater incidental value; the second is particularly liable to be distorted for a contemporary purpose. At least, this is the African experience. A similar rigorous analysis has not yet been done for the Pacific, although as an area which has produced a great body of myths of origins and travels there is need for it. The case of Fiji, where Dr Peter France examined Fijian traditions relating to their origin and to land, showed how myths were invented in response to European enquiries, just as Andrew Sharp has shown how the Maori legend of the Great Fleet was probably invented after Captain Cook's enquiries. These two Pacific examples of critical examination of oral traditions were possible because of other and written evidence; the oral traditions could be cross-checked. But what if oral traditions alone survive? Then, from the African examples, the types of oral tradition must be worked out, their purpose and their role in the pre-literate society determined, and the distortions which both type and function introduce must be allowed for before the incidental historical information which they may provide can be accepted as reliable.

Oral evidence is different from oral traditions, for it is the testimony of eye-witnesses to something which happened within the memory of the informant. As material it is not essentially different from the same kind of evidence in literate societies, except that the values and attitudes of the informants may be a little harder to determine in a pre-literate society. Such oral evidence can be distorted not only by the cultural attitudes of the informants, especially if they are testifying to events involving the alien culture which they only imperfectly understand, but also by the situation in which they are questioned and by the questions themselves. And this is wholly apart from the normal difficulty of human testimony where the memory plays tricks or self justification or vanity enters in.

What is peculiar to the use of oral tradition and oral evidence from pre-literate societies is not the need to understand those societies in order to detect and allow for distortions in such material — for this is true of any historian critically assessing his material (which may include oral testimony) from literate societies as well — but the method of achieving this understanding. It is a practical difficulty, not one of principle. For with a pre-literate society the only way to gain this understanding, in the absence of written materials, is direct observation by methods and skills which are not those of the historian but of the social anthropologist. To collect and to assess the likely distortions in oral testimony, obviously implies mastery of the language of the informants, not simply ability to speak the language after a fashion. And this is not something incidentally or casually to be picked up in the course of other historical enquiries, for the collection of oral traditions demands a precision and a depth of knowledge which must be professionally learned. Where the oral testimony has been collected and written down at any considerable time in the past, this mastery must also include the language as it was spoken in the past: since language changes. Just as a mediaevalist must know both classical Latin and mediaeval Latin as a basic minimum of technical skill, so the user of oral testimony must have a similar mastery of past and present language.

Yet, this linguistic skill is only a tool with which the professional skills of any discipline are applied. Familiarity with language does not in itself qualify a student to write history nor to do anthropological research. With oral testimony it has to be accompanied by the techniques of intensive observation over a long period of fieldwork which entail also familiarity with the theoretical aspects of anthropology, as well as the trained capacity for direct observation, interviewing, use of informants and so on. Such training is a professional matter, not something which can be picked up as one goes along, if the oral testimony is to be reliably collected. Because it is a professional matter which takes time and effort it marks off those who learn it as a separate discipline. After all, history and anthropology are separate disciplines partly because of the professional training and standards they require of their practitioners. In neither discipline can students be considered professionally trained until they have carried out a substantial piece of research work, and sometimes not even then. Such a training for an historian these days takes at least five years, in anthropology at least six. And for the collection of oral testimony, the latter training, even if it could be shortened somewhat in some interdisciplinary program, is essential. For the recitation of any type of tradition has to be considered in its complete social context: who recites, what his position in society or in a particular group within society may be, who is the audience, how does the recitation fit into social life, into ceremonies. These are questions which cannot be answered without the kind of knowledge an intensive anthropological investigation aims to provide. Only after that do the skills of the historian come into play in dealing with the oral materials collected. When the historian himself must do the intensive fieldwork involved, as P. D. Curtin said of Africa, 'the weight seems likely to put the camel out of his misery, his back having long since broken under the weight of the load.'

Is it worth it? Considering the European records which can provide the European side of the picture — a not unimportant one since what men thought was the case, the opinions they form, the official mind which evolves policy, are often as important as what is actually the local situation — and considering the model building from anthropological evidence which can be used to interpret those records to show the range of possibility or probability in the pre-literate society, are all these technical requirements for oral testimony worth the effort to acquire them? Since, at best, oral testimony, being a social charter or an eye-witness account, will not yield more than a little historical fact, although it will provide evidence of the attitudes and values of those who supply it at the time it is recorded. The answer must vary in different parts of the Pacific. In Polynesia where the prestige and position of ranking families and groups is still supported by oral traditions which they preserve and manipulate, more historical nuggets could be dug out than in Melanesia where the oral traditions of groups have no such value in the absence of a highly developed system of rank. But even so, the research work for the historian may not be justified by any great result. In practice therefore the use of these Pacific materials seems to me either a matter of co-operation between an historian and an anthropologist, the latter collecting the material and by his knowledge of the society classifying it and providing tests for likely distortions from the function it performs in that society, the former then making what use he can of it as historical evidence; or, and in my opinion greatly to be preferred, the collection and assessment of oral materials by Pacific Islanders themselves who are trained as historians and who have fluency in the language and an insider's knowledge of the society. There will be difficulties for such Islanders because of their

own position and that of their kin, within a society from which they are seeking this oral material but the technical advantages they have over Europeans seem to me decisive. In any case the difficulties which arise for such Islanders are seldom insurmountable, as Dr Latukefu has shown in Tonga.

Oral testimony as a type of evidence, the principles of methodology it raises, the training it entails: no more than the physical use of materials and the use of European materials to describe non-European activity does it make the use of Pacific materials unique. What is peculiar to the Pacific is not the materials and the principles of their use but the nature of the region and its societies from which the materials come. The diverse, fragmented character of the islands sets peculiar problems. This is true even of the European materials without taking into account Pacific societies. With so many islands spread over so large an area of ocean, for example, the process of discovery has been diverse. To describe it one would need to know French, German, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese, for the English translations of foreign ships' logs and the narratives based on them are sometimes defective. At certain crucial points (for instance, the Portuguese words *a loeste* which, depending upon an apostrophe, might mean either to the east or to the west) it is necessary to know not only the language but the manuscript rather than the Hakluyt edition. Similarly to describe European administration throughout the Pacific one would need to know the same languages, and in addition Japanese, although there have even been books on particular islands which have been written without that knowledge of the relevant European language which would enable the writer to examine and make his own selection of the materials. But the consequences of diversity are much greater when it comes to materials from the non-European cultures, and especially to oral testimony. In this last case the use of the materials is limited by the language group which can be directly observed. In Polynesia this may mean that one can write the history of whole island groups: of Tonga, Samoa, the Society Islands, the Cook Islands, Hawaii, and perhaps of the whole region because of its common linguistic stock and narrow dialectical variations. But in Melanesia, where linguistic groups are much smaller and not close dialect versions of each other, the nature of the island societies sets a particular problem. In Papua-New Guinea, for example, the use of oral testimony would necessarily confine the historian to a relatively small group of people. With over six hundred languages in the island of New Guinea alone, any use of oral testimony would entail the study of the same number of small units, would lead in fact to the study of local history, to the history of small communities. Such histories may be desirable in principle, apart from the dictates of this particular type of material, although they raise one important problem. Like the medieval historian who explores the nature of economic or social organisation through a single manor or estate, it is necessary to discover whether the single unit is typical. This can only be done by sampling a number of manors carefully selected as to terrain, climate and so on. With the Pacific, this sampling would be peculiarly difficult both by reason of language and by reason of the time needed for that intensive study of any group which is necessary before oral testimony can be collected and assessed. The logic of this is the need, if the oral testimony from the Pacific area is to be collected, tested and then used as evidence about what actually happened, to develop a training program and a program of systematic interdisciplinary field work which have so far been lacking in the Pacific. Perhaps, understandably, for the results might be small in relation to the resources expended, although projects which have been carried out on a local scale — in Tahiti for

example — may justify the expense at least for Polynesia. Certainly the collection of this oral evidence is worthwhile for the historian and the anthropologist, for if its incidental value as evidence about what happened may be slight, simply by recording it the material becomes historical evidence from a society for a particular point in time. And re-recording it in the next generation would be a valuable addition to Pacific materials because the discrepancies between the recordings are evidence of the nature and the speed of change.

This paper has dealt with the technical problems posed by the use of Pacific materials for the keepers — the librarians, archivists and curators — and still more with the problems they create for the users. I have argued that these problems are not peculiar to the Pacific, that they are the common ones which arise from all surviving evidence of the past and that what distinctiveness they have in the Pacific comes from the nature of the Pacific societies. I have assumed what has been called the 'primacy of evidence', that is to say that it is the evidence itself, the Pacific materials, which determine how much we can know about the past and which also determine the questions which we can ask about the past. To repeat an earlier point: if there is no evidence there is no past. This is not altogether a fashionable doctrine. Especially with materials like those from the Pacific, a colonial or former colonial area, an area of developing nations, there is a great temptation for historians, anthropologists and economists to begin with the problems which at the moment seem to them important and then to go to the evidence. There may be another temptation. As in Africa, the materials may be used to write national histories more to be honoured as patriotic works of devotion than as scholarship, in times of national fervour. European historians, both of their own societies and of alien societies, have done the same thing often enough; and some of them have also, as the legend of the South Seas bears witness, adopted a romantic view of the islands. Now, no user of Pacific materials, any more than any other student of the past, fails to bring prejudices and preferences with him, although in the case of the Pacific these are apt to be stronger because of the spell the islands cast. And it has happened that some users of Pacific materials have seen the evidence not only through their pre-occupation with the present, and often urgent, problems of the Pacific but also through a romantic vision of an idyllic life, rudely (and wrongly) interfered with by Europeans. The misuse of Pacific materials which follows from these political and temperamental attitudes to the islands comes close to inventing a myth about their past, just as the same kind of use of European materials invented another myth. 'The primacy of evidence', the professional use of the material, is the only safeguard against this kind of myth making; it is what the revolution in historical writing in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was all about. It would be pleasant to think that in the use of Pacific materials this battle does not have to be fought all over again: pleasant, but, I fear, optimistic.

RECOMMENDATIONS

No. 1 Pacific Source Materials

In order to facilitate the widest possible dissemination throughout the Pacific Islands of source materials related to the Pacific area, it is recommended that the Unesco Committee for Libraries and Related Fields, in collaboration with appropriate libraries concerned with Pacific documentary research, should arrange for the preparation of:

- a basic list of standard published source materials on the Pacific area for issue to each library, museum or other appropriate cultural organisation within the Pacific Islands; together with
- a supplementary list of standard sources on each Pacific Islands country or territory, for issue to the appropriate organisation within the Island Group concerned;

and that the Committee be requested to investigate the best means of making these works available to the appropriate local organisations.

No. 2 Pacific Classics Reprints Series

Since many basic published materials related to the Pacific area are now unobtainable except at prices beyond the financial means of those most in need of them in the Pacific Islands, it is recommended that the Unesco Committee for Libraries and Related Fields, in collaboration with the appropriate libraries concerned with Pacific documentary research, should arrange:

- for the preparation of a list of such works arranged in order of their importance as source material and their scarcity;
- for the reproduction of the works listed by the cheapest means possible consonant with readability and an attractive appearance; and
- for the sale of the works at wholesale rates to Pacific institutions and to the retail trade for the use of students, research workers, the peoples of the Pacific Islands and the general public throughout the world.

No. 3

In view of the fact that the peoples of the Pacific Islands are becoming increasingly interested in the preservation of source materials within their islands and facilities there have greatly increased in very recent years (e.g. University of Papua New Guinea, University of the South Pacific, University of Guam, several new museums and libraries as well as activities in these fields by some departments of education and teachers' colleges), future meetings and deliberations concerned with this topic should provide in addition to institutional involvement, for the fullest possible representation by Pacific Islanders.

No. 4

Since some Pacific countries and territories which are self-governing or independent do not yet have adequate archival or library facilities, it is recommended that application be made to the Director General of Unesco in terms of his Long Term Outline Plan for 1971/1976 para. 372:

(i) to assist the establishment or development of archives, libraries and/or museums where interest in the establishment of these facilities is evident;
(ii) for the training of Pacific Islanders in library and archival skills;

for nations which hold primary records created in a Pacific country or territory (usually obtained during a colonial relationship) to be requested to return such records, in original or in copy, to the country or territory concerned, upon the establishment of facilities to accommodate them.

No. 5 Document Preservation Handbook

In order to encourage the widest possible safeguarding in the Pacific Islands of documentary materials which otherwise might deteriorate before they can be used in archives or placed in other protective custody with suitable facilities for their preservation, it is recommended that:

- the Unesco Committee for Libraries and Related Fields arrange with Dr H. J. Plenderleith for the preparation of a brief handbook which sets out in non-technical language a variety of simple, inexpensive ways that documentary materials may be protected against the major ravages of tropical climate, insects and comparable other Island risks; and
- that the Committee be requested to facilitate the publishing and distribution of the handbook in a manner which will aid its widest utilisation in the Pacific.

No. 6 Central Conservation and Regional Conservation Laboratories

In view of the acute and urgent need for preservation of Pacific material and for research into and advice on problems created by that particular environment, that the Unesco Committee for Libraries and Related Fields and the Unesco Committee for Museums should be urged to approach the Australian and New Zealand governments:

- to establish or develop each a central laboratory in Australia and New Zealand, under the direction of trained professional staff;
- to establish or develop existing local restoration workshops into regional laboratories in Australia;
- to give similar help to the various Pacific Islands groups wishing to establish similar laboratories;
- to give consideration to membership of the Rome Centre.

No. 7 Pacific Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives

That this meeting recommends the formation of a Pacific regional branch of the International Council on Archives to promote collaboration in the development of:

- archival services;
- projects relating to archival source materials (such as the proposed Unesco Guide to Oceania records);

and that the support of the International Council on Archives for the proposal be sought as soon as possible.

No. 8 Depository Libraries and Current National Bibliography

1. That as soon as libraries are established in Pacific area countries, legislative provision should be made in these countries for the obligatory deposit of all publications in a designated library or other appropriate institution.
2. That the possibility of publishing a bibliography of current publications in Polynesia, Melanesia and possibly Micronesia, either in the countries themselves or in some regional centre be investigated as a priority.
3. That the Unesco Committee be asked to investigate the foregoing and take appropriate action.

No. 9

That the attention of the appropriate authorities be drawn urgently to the need to fill an important gap in Pacific bibliography, in the area of Japanese publications, and to the present availability of a distinguished Japanese scholar, Dr Hatanaka, to undertake this task.

No. 10

Referring to Resolution A4 of the Meeting on Studies of Oceanic Cultures, held at the A.N.U. in January 1971, which expressed the view of the meeting that a museum-library complex acting as a cultural centre and closely tied in with the educational services is an appropriate vehicle for the conservation and development of South Pacific cultures, and to Resolution No. 4 of this meeting, that the Committee consider that an institution in each country or territory be equipped with microfilm facilities, and electrostatic copying equipment.

No. 11

In view of the complicated nature of the art of collection of oral tradition and oral evidence, and in view of the urgency of their collection before they are lost forever with the passing away of able informants, this seminar strongly recommends:

- that the Unesco Committee for Libraries and Related Fields should seriously consider and make appropriate recommendations for the establishment of an institution or a department attached to an existing institution in the Pacific area for the training of scholars for the purpose of collecting these historical sources; and
- that a special fund be set up to finance the collection of such material.

No. 12

1. That investigation be made of the feasibility of establishing a society, with representative directive panel, for publishing Pacific source materials including vernacular material.
2. That preparation of these materials for publication be undertaken when appropriate by suitable students within the Pacific area as part of their training.

No. 13

That this seminar strongly recommends to Unesco the desirability of a further seminar in 2 or 3 years' time to review progress in the implementation of the above recommendations.

No. 14

That Dr Larkin be requested to convey the resolutions of this seminar to the International Meeting of Experts of Oceanic Cultures to be held in Suva, September 13-17.

No. 15 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau

In view of the tremendously valuable work of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, and since few institutions within the underdeveloped island groups can afford to join the Bureau, the institutions responsible for the Bureau be requested to give sympathetic consideration to making materials more readily available within the Pacific Islands by such means as:

- an associate membership or other relationship, at lower cost, so that smaller institutions within these islands can also benefit from the Bureau's work;
- a policy whereby a copy of manuscripts obtained within a Pacific group be deposited in that island group;
- a policy whereby originals be deposited in the central library of the island group to which they refer, where possible, upon the establishment of facilities to accommodate them; and
- the possibility of making micro-films relating to the Pacific Islands available on request at net additional cost of making additional copies, that is, this would involve three rather than two means of obtaining film:

  (a) by full membership of the Bureau;
  (b) to non-members at an added cost;
  (c) to underdeveloped island groups at net additional cost.

APPENDIXES

Appendix I

Outline of Seminar Program

Day	Time	Event
Monday, 6 September	8.45– 9.15 a.m.	Registration
	9.20– 9.30 a.m.	Official Opening
	9.30–10.30 a.m.	'Pacific Documentation: an Introductory Survey' Speaker — Mr H. E. Maude Chairman — Mr J. J. Graneek
	10.30–11.00 a.m.	Morning Tea
	11.00–12.30 p.m.	Discussion (Plenary)
	12.30– 2.00 p.m.	Lunch
	2.00– 3.00 p.m.	'Oral Traditions' Speakers — Dr S. Latukefu Dr R. Crocombe Chairman — Dr F. J. West
	3.00– 3.30 p.m.	Afternoon Tea
	3.30– 5.00 p.m.	Discussion (Plenary)
	8.00 p.m.	Films (National Library)
Tuesday, 7 September	9.30–10.30 a.m.	'National and Local Collection of Pacific Manuscripts' Speaker — Mr Kevin Green Chairman — Mr G. L. Fischer
	10.30–11.00 a.m.	Morning Tea
	11.00–12.30 p.m.	Discussion (Plenary)
	12.30– 2.00 p.m.	Lunch
	2.00– 3.00 p.m.	'The Pacific Manuscripts Bureau' Speaker — Mr R. Langdon Chairman — Professor O. H. K. Spate
	3.00– 3.30 p.m.	Afternoon Tea
	3.30– 5.00 p.m.	Discussion (Plenary)
	5.30 p.m.	Reception
Wednesday, 8 September	9.30–10.30 a.m.	'Preservation and Restoration of Documentary Material — including any special problems of concern to the Pacific' Speaker — Dr H. J. Plenderleith Chairman — Mr G. D. Richardson

	10.30–11.00 a.m.	Morning Tea
	11.00–12.30 p.m.	Discussion (Plenary)
	12.30– 2.00 p.m.	Lunch
	2.00– 3.00 p.m.	'Storage and Handling of Material — including microtexts and their physical use' Speaker — Dr H. J. Plenderleith Chairman — Mr G. D. Richardson
	3.00– 3.30 p.m.	Afternoon Tea
	3.30– 5.00 p.m.	Discussion (Plenary)
	8.00 p.m.	Public Lecture: " 'Secrets that only I and the Devil know' (the blind Tuita) — the arts of Polynesian and Micronesian navigators" Speaker — Dr David Lewis Chairman — Dr F. J. West
Thursday, 9 September	9.30–10.30 a.m.	'Bibliographic Control of Pacific Manuscripts' Speaker — Mr H. E. Maude Chairman — Mr Harrison Bryan
	10.30–11.00 a.m.	Morning Tea
	11.00–12.30 p.m.	Discussion
	2.00– 5.00 p.m.	Free
Friday, 10 September	9.30–10.30 a.m.	'The Use of Pacific Materials — the Problems of the Scholar and Librarian' Speaker — Dr F. J. West Chairman — Mr A. P. Fleming
	10.30–11.00 a.m.	Morning Tea
	11.00–12.30 p.m.	Discussion (Plenary)
	12.30– 2.00 p.m.	Lunch
	2.00– 5.00 p.m.	Summary session.

Appendix II

Members of Planning Sub-Committee for the Seminar

Mr W. D. Richardson (Chairman) — Assistant National Librarian, National Library of Australia

Mr Harrison Bryan — Librarian, University of Sydney

Mr J. J. Graneek — Librarian, Australian National University

Mr H. E. Maude — Specialist in the Bibliography of the Pacific

Mr G. D. Richardson — Principal Librarian, Library of New South Wales

Dr F. J. West — Department of Pacific History, Australian National University

Appendix III

List of Seminar Participants

Mr A. G. Bagnall	Chief Librarian, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
Mr Edwin H. Bryan, Jr.	Director of the Pacific Scientific Information Center, Hawaii
Mr Harrison Bryan	Librarian, University of Sydney
Mr W. G. Buick	Librarian, University of Papua and New Guinea
Mr B. T. Burne	Director, Western Pacific Archives, Fiji
Professor R. Crocombe	University of the South Pacific, Suva
Dr J. S. Cumpston	Canberra
Professor J. W. Davidson	Department of Pacific History, Australian National University
Miss T. M. Exley	Acting Chief Archivist, Commonwealth Archives Office
Mrs P. Fanning	National Library of Australia, Canberra
Mr G. L. Fischer	Archivist, University of Sydney
Mr A. P. Fleming	National Librarian, National Library of Australia
Mrs E. Fusitua	Australian National University
Mr J. J. Graneek	Librarian, Australian National University
Mr Kevin Green	Chief Archivist, Papua and New Guinea Archives
Mrs Merval Hoare	Secretary, Norfolk Island Historical Society
Mr K. A. R. Horn	State Librarian, Victoria
Mr G. Kalkoa	M.L.A., Vila
Mr R. Langdon	Executive Officer, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau
Dr Fanaafi Larkin	Director of Education, Western Samoa
Dr S. Latukefu	History Department, University of Papua and New Guinea
Dr David Lewis	Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University
Mrs B. H. Lovett	Librarian, South Pacific Commission
Mr H. E. Maude	Specialist in the Bibliography of the Pacific
Professor Norman Meller	Chairman, Pacific Islands Studies Committee, University of Hawaii
Miss S. M. H. Mourot	Associate Mitchell Librarian
Mr Daniel Peacock	Supervisor of Library Services, Saipan
Dr H. J. Plenderleith	Formerly Director, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, Rome
Mr I. Raymond	Librarian, Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide
Miss P. Reynolds	Librarian of the La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria
Mr G. D. Richardson	Principal Librarian, Library of New South Wales
Mr W. D. Richardson	Assistant National Librarian, National Library of Australia
Mr S. Tuinaceva	Archivist, National Archives of Fiji
Miss Marjorie Walker	Acting Oxley Librarian
Miss Jean Waller	Associate Librarian, Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University
Dr F. J. West	Department of Pacific History, Australian National University
Mr J. F. Yaxley	Deputy Financial Secretary, British Solomon Islands

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