

‘Not an Ordinary Man’

Donald Gilbert Kennedy in the Pacific

Submitted by

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Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

The thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution."

That all research procedures reported in the thesis were approved by the relevant Ethics Committee. Ethics approval was given for the period September 2007 until December 2008 (FHEC No.: 729-07).

Six interviews were conducted during the approved period and nine interviews were conducted before the commencement of the thesis. Permission to use an additional interview was withheld and it has not been included. One (unplanned) interview was conducted in Fiji in July 2010. It does not significantly contribute to the thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mike Butcher', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Mike Butcher
90881292

Date: 13 December 2010

Thesis Summary

This biography of Donald Gilbert Kennedy critically examines his contributions to the British Colonial Service in the Pacific, his active service during WW II and his post-retirement life in New Zealand and the islands. Kennedy has been described as the most able person in the Colonial Service in the Pacific at the time, but his promotions did not reflect this. The personal and institutional factors responsible for this are the main focus of the thesis. A chronology of his service forms the first part of the thesis. In Tuvalu, he is recognized for his teaching, which paved the way to independence for that atoll nation. His later war time exploits as a coastwatcher in the Solomon Islands have been written about extensively and are re-examined for what they reveal about his character. His role in the resettlement of Rabi and Kioa Islands further exposes his efforts to lead island communities down the development pathway. A thematic approach to the analysis of specific aspects of Kennedy's character and behaviour form the second part of the thesis. His relationships with colleagues and especially the Pacific Islanders are examined in some detail to reveal the man. The influence of his background, education and context on Kennedy's strict and sometimes brutal discipline as a teacher, administrator and soldier form another of the themes. Kennedy's sexuality and alcoholism are compared and contrasted with other officers in the Pacific and the broader colonial context.

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Major Donald Gilbert Kennedy, DSO, in the uniform of the British Solomon Islands Defence Force
Courtesy: Eme Kennedy, Dargaville

Preface and Acknowledgments

When Donald Lipine Kennedy (Don) asked me to find out a few bits of information about his father, Donald Gilbert Kennedy (Kennedy), as I left for a visit to Dunedin in 1988, I had no idea what would follow. Finding little on that occasion, the temptation to dig deeper was irresistible. A short visit to the United Kingdom National Archives at Kew while on holidays yielded more about the service of George Kennedy in the Seaforth Highlanders than about the Colonial Service of his grandson, and impressed upon me the difficulty of extensive research in London. The subsequent removal of the Western Pacific High Commission (WPHC) records from London to Auckland University made this thesis feasible. Access to those records in Auckland, and especially to Kennedy's personal files, was granted by Stephen Innes, Special Collections Librarian, whose considerable assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

In the late 1980s an account of Kennedy's wartime exploits in the Solomon Islands was written by the Canadian historian Dr Jim Boutilier. His 1969 interview with Kennedy on Waya Island was achieved at no little cost in persistence and physical effort. I thank him for meeting with me in Canberra in 2007 and for a transcript of his interview with Kennedy. It is the only known interview with Kennedy and is drawn on extensively. My early researches included an interview with Kennedy's former colleague, Professor Harry Maude, in Canberra in 1988, upon which I also draw heavily in this thesis. The interview was frank and included the advice that Kennedy's personal files in the WPHC records would be central to any biography of Kennedy. Without the encouragement of the late Harry and Honor Maude this research would not have been pursued. Dr Alaric Maude kindly gave me permission to access his father's papers in the Barr Smith Library. Professor Barrie Macdonald provided a summary assessment of Kennedy's contribution to Tuvalu. Casting the genealogical net wide, I also interviewed Ray Kennedy, in Invercargill, who had known, liked and admired his uncle in the twilight of his life. No other family members were interviewed at that time, but I was present at the first meeting in 1990 of Archie and Don, Kennedy's sons by Ellice Island women. My interest in Kennedy resumed in 2006, following an approach from Don Kennedy to re-publish his father's *Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu: Ellice Islands*. By then his first two wives and many other people who had known Kennedy had passed away.

Face to face interviews were conducted with five of Kennedy's children and stepchildren, his widow, a nephew and several other people to augment the official records, which in the case of his personal confidential files, too often focused on his transgressions. A list of interviewees is attached on page 204. The interviews were unstructured, exploratory and discursive with the active participation of the interviewer to 'generate detailed accounts rather than brief answers or general statements.'¹ The approval of the La Trobe University Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Human Ethics Committee was obtained for the interviews.² Signed authorizations were obtained for interviews conducted during the study period, but not for those conducted prior to the study. Authorization to use one interview was withheld and was not quoted in the thesis. The interviews were recorded for accuracy and the recordings and transcripts were returned to the interviewee for correction. All recordings have been retained for archival storage at the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide. Some revelations during one interview were of particular concern and the right of veto over their representation in the thesis was guaranteed (and honoured) to one interviewee. The issue of intimate revelations was discussed with the Ethics Committee Chairperson, who suggested that Kennedy's children should be encouraged to discuss their experiences with each other prior to public release of the thesis. This recommendation was passed on to them, but the extent to which it was carried out is not known. One of Kennedy's daughters suggested that the thesis would serve as the catalyst for that discussion. Christopher Kennedy, a solicitor and Kennedy's eldest son and executor of his estate, gave permission for me to have a copy of his father's essay on Marchant's Rule at Rhodes House, Oxford, but I did not attempt to meet with him before his death in 1992. One of Christopher's daughters and his widow declined to be interviewed. Pat Stewart, who worked at Glen Aros in the 1950s, was interviewed by phone.

I approached Dr Doug Munro at Victoria University Wellington in 2006 to supervise me while I wrote this biography of Kennedy. Doug was welcoming and although study at Victoria University was precluded by a residency requirement, he agreed to be an honorary co-supervisor. He has been an inspiration and I can only regret that La Trobe University has yet to find a way to compensate supervisors at other universities. Principal supervision was provided successively by Dr Robbie Robertson, Dr Jennifer Ridden and Professor Richard Broome, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged. I wish

1 Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*, Sage Publications, Singapore, 2008, p. 23.

2 Ethics approval number (FHEC): 729-07.

especially to thank Professor Ron Adams for engendering fresh enthusiasm as co-supervisor during the past year. Professor Anthony Kirk-Greene showed an interest in my research during a short meeting at St Anthony's College, Oxford, in 2008.

Professor Hugh Laracy at Auckland University has been generous in sharing his knowledge of Kennedy and the Pacific generally, and kindly provided me with a copy of his draft chapter on Kennedy for a forthcoming publication. Dr David W. Akin, University of Michigan, has willingly shared his encyclopedic knowledge of the Solomon Islands and provided drafts of his forthcoming publication. Professor Cyril Belshaw was one of the few Colonial staff still alive to have met and remembered Kennedy. Martin Clemens was the sole surviving coastwatcher with recollections of Kennedy. Selina Martin, daughter of coastwatcher Dick Horton, scanned (in vain) her late father's unsorted papers for Kennedy correspondence. Former District Officer James Tedder sent me a copy of his memoirs and Alan Scott, later Governor of the Cayman Islands, gave me his recollections of Kennedy on Waya Island. Doug Sterner confirmed Kennedy had not received any American decorations for his war service.

The La Trobe University Library Service has been invaluable: the assistance of Loris Ferguson, Trish Waddington and Leonie Trahair is especially acknowledged. La Trobe University funded a three week visit to research the Western Pacific High Commission papers in Auckland in 2007, a week in Fiji at the National Archives in 2010 and to Canberra to visit the Australian National Archives. Dr Marilyn Clark gave me access to the diary of her late grandfather, George Hard, whose own contribution to education in the Western Pacific has yet to be recorded. Nalda Hard shared her memories of her father-in-law and life in Kiribati. John and Mandy Barley shared their knowledge of former Resident Commissioner Jack Charles Barley and his family. Gayle Webb, Assistant Registrar at Warminster School, helped me locate Marco Dakin, but he declined to be interviewed about his father, Laurence Dakin, a friend of Kennedy's in Suva. Marco's mother, Nina Gibson, kindly filled in some of the gaps in my knowledge of Laurence Dakin. Jennifer Booth confirmed that William Telfer Campbell had been at Rossall School, Lancashire. Doreen Kuper and Lucy de Bruce gave Barley family contacts, and Lucy provided a copy of her thesis on the part-European population of Fiji. John Innes, Honiara historian, shared some Solomon Islands' recollections. Ian Pfennigwerth provided advice on the intelligence services. Ewan Maidment of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau was helpful with advice and access to the Tuvalu records copied by him. Professor Hank Nelson suggested where to look for Kennedy's Papua and New Guinea

(P&NG) ASIO activities in the National Archives. Dr Geoffrey Gray kindly provided letters from the Firth Archive, London School of Economics. Colin Amodeo discussed his *Waterlily* Diary publication. Jonathon Parson kindly allowed me to copy the *Waterlily* letters of his father, Freddy Parson, and Anne Cowper sent me a copy of the relevant pages from the diary of P.A.M. Williams. Simon McCracken provided a copy of John Harris's *Waterlily* writings and Dr Michael Baker discussed John Harris's last years near Bacchus Marsh, Victoria. Jane Teal, Christ's College Archivist, holds *Waterlily* material. Dr Judith A. Bennett kindly sent me extracts from the diary of Sir Philip Mitchell at Rhodes House. I thank all these people. Photographs from the Australian War Memorial collection and maps are individually acknowledged.

Professor Niko Besnier, who has conducted extensive fieldwork in Tuvalu, provided critical commentary on Kennedy's anthropological and language publications. Dr Tonya Stebbins kindly explained some of the linguistic issues exposed by Besnier. The hospitality and assistance of Rev Dr Fele Nokise, Principal, and David Lloyd, Librarian, at the Pacific Theological College, Suva, is gratefully acknowledged. Salesia Ikaniwai, Acting Government Archivist, and Asena Danne, Library Assistant, ensured that my visit to the National Archives of Fiji was efficient and rewarding. During the visit, Pastor Paneta Maibuca, a relative of Eme Paka, Kennedy's widow, shared his thoughts about Kioa and Vaitupu, and Rex Henry Ngengele, grandson of George Bogese, compared notes about this controversial Solomon Islander.

Manoa Mapworks kindly gave permission for some of their maps (individually acknowledged) to be used. Cheryl Hoskin (Barr Smith Library); Annie Stuart (University of Otago); Kathleen Stringer (North Otago Museum); Louis Changuion (Massey University); Dr Lachlan Strahan (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade); Lucy McCann (Rhodes House, Oxford); Moira White (Otago Museum); Nana Matenga (Ministry of Justice, Auckland); Richard Overy (former Archivist and Librarian, Tarawa); Dr Robin Darvall-Smith (Archivist, University College, Oxford); Dr Michael Goldsmith (University of Waikato); Sarah Walpole (RAI); and Alan Gilchrist (Radio historian) all contributed with material from their papers and archives. Graeme Haig (Grajohn Genealogical Services) was always able to find elusive individuals and gave value well beyond the cost involved. And finally: my wife, Dr Yolande Collins, now has a better understanding of the stresses that thesis writing has on other family members. Her constant support and advice has been invaluable.

Archival and other abbreviations

Maude Papers: Papers of H.C. and H.E. Maude, MSS 0003, Special Collections, Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide.

ANZ Archives New Zealand

NAA National Archives of Australia

NAF National Archives of Fiji

NLA National Library of Australia, Canberra

PMB Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Manuscript Series.

UAL University of Auckland Library

WPHC Records of the Western Pacific High Commission, Special Collections, University of Auckland.

Other abbreviations

ANU Australian National University

ASIO Australian Security Intelligence Organisation

BPC British Phosphate Commission

BSIP British Solomon Islands Protectorate

BSIPDF British Solomon Islands Protectorate Defence Force

CPF Confidential Personal File

CS Colonial Secretary

DC District Commissioner

DSC Distinguished Service Cross (United States)

DO District Officer

DSO Distinguished Service Order (British)

EAP Endangered Archives Programme

GEIC Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony

LAC Leading Aircraftsman

MBE Member of the British Empire

NMP Native Medical Practitioner

PIM Pacific Islands Monthly

RAI Royal Anthropological Institute

P&NG Papua and New Guinea

SDA Seventh Day Adventist

Introduction

The story of Donald Gilbert Kennedy's life-long engagement with the peoples of the Pacific begins with a tale of how a group of young New Zealanders sailed into his domain in the Ellice Islands. This was selected as a starting point because of a single extraordinary event that took place during their visit: it was one of those events that demanded explanation, but like much of Kennedy's life, tantalizingly defied it.

Seven young New Zealanders, all from Christ's College Christchurch, set sail for the South Seas in May 1932 on the adventure of a lifetime.³ Within a year, the dream had soured and as a requiem their boat, the *Waterlily*, had sunk. Nobody lost their life, but by then they had all lost their innocence. Two left the boat in Fiji. For the rest, the Ellice Islands were their nemesis. There they entered the territory of Kennedy, the newly appointed Acting Administrative Officer and the diaries they kept and letters they wrote present us with first-hand, albeit outsiders' views of island life in this remote outpost of the British Colonial Service. As well as the ship's log, diaries of the trip were kept by John Harris⁴ (Captain), Jack Atkinson⁵ and P.A.M. (Pam) Williams.⁶ The radio operator, Freddy Parson,⁷ did not keep a diary, but his extensive correspondence and many of his radiograms to his family have survived.⁸ For Kennedy, 1932 was a challenging year. He had been transferred from the island of Vaitupu, where he had spent seven years, to Funafuti, the administrative centre of the Ellice group. He had previously been a teacher and the appointment to Funafuti marked a move to the colonial administration. It happened that the visit of the *Waterlily* came just two months after the return of Kennedy's wife and three children following several years' separation.

3 The progress of the *Waterlily* was followed by the Dominion newspapers and a brief summary published: Rex Monigetti, *New Zealand Sensations*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1962. An unpublished manuscript account of the voyage is held in the Hocken Collection, University of Otago, MISC – MS 1100.

4 John Harris became the most celebrated of the crew: honoured with doctorates from three continents for his services to librarianship in West Africa and one time Vice-Chancellor of Ibadan University. Ormond Wilson, *John Harris: A Memoir*, Christ's College, Christchurch, nd, [1986]; Maxwell A. Oyinloye, 'The Pioneers: William John Harris (1903-1980)', *World Libraries*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Spring 1992).

5 John Henry Atkinson (1909-1945) wrote the only published diary. Colin Amodeo (ed), *The Waterlily Diary of Jack Atkinson*, Christchurch, Clerestory Press, 2001.

6 Philip Arthur Mortimer Williams (1910-2000) was always known as Pam to his friends. For his war service record, see NAA, A6769/2002/05135599.

7 Frederick St. John Parson (1909-1994).

8 Stephen Gerard also kept a record, but it has not been located. He drowned while on active service off Singapore in 1942. One of his publications was *Strait of Adventure*, Dunedin, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1938.

The adventure on the *Waterlily* had begun in 1931, when three friends were looking for an escape from the grip of the world-wide Depression. Their plan was to have a good time sailing across the Pacific, living off the land and selling their adventures to newspapers. Two of them, Stephen Gerard and Pam Williams were experienced ocean sailors: Stephen had sailed across the Atlantic in a ketch and Pam had sailed south to Stewart Island, when he spotted the *Waterlily* lying at the wharf in Invercargill.⁹ Despite her age—she was built in 1865—the *Waterlily* was found to sail well during a gale off the east coast of New Zealand. Refitted and made ready for the voyage, she eventually got away amid fanfare and good wishes. Her lifeboat was a late addition that lived up to its name when the *Waterlily* was abandoned off Vaitupu. But that was almost a year away.

Their route took them via the Fiji Islands, where two crew members found jobs, then to Rotuma and on to Nukufetau, in the Ellice Islands, on 9 October 1932. The people of Nukufetau gave them a Polynesian welcome, having correctly assessed the mariners' destitution. They knew traders arriving with trade goods, but the crew of the *Waterlily* was a puzzle as they had nothing to trade. There were no Europeans on the island, only the part-European descendants of Alfred Restieaux (anglicised to Resture) who had taken a Nukufetaun wife and remained there for the rest of his life, dying in 1911.¹⁰ The adventurers were aware that they needed to meet with Kennedy (whom they called the Commissioner) on Funafuti to register their arrival. After a few weeks they sailed across to Funafuti, taking six of the Islanders with them. In his official capacity Kennedy welcomed them in a 'very smart 5-oared ship's boat' and pointed out that they had inadvertently broken the law by transporting the Islanders to Funafuti.¹¹ However, he waived the penalty and allowed them to take two of the Islanders back on the *Waterlily* as pilots. The other four were returned by steamer. Over the next couple of days, the Kennedys, Mr Bowerman (the local representative of the trading company Burns, Philp) and Dr Macpherson (Medical Officer), all extended their hospitality in a private capacity. The visitors discovered that Kennedy was an efficient administrator and teacher. They may have been the only Europeans within a hundred miles, but visits were by appointment: 'Visit Kennedy at 10.00. A cool airy stone office with the most efficient

9 Amodeo, *The Waterlily Diary of Jack Atkinson*, p. xii.

10 In Atkinson's diary the name is rendered as Letsu. Details of Restieaux's life were given in Julian Dana, *Gods Who Die: The Story of Samoa's Greatest Adventurer*, New York, MacMillan, 1935, pp. 189-96, and the *Samoanische Zeitung*, 27 December 1911 (reproduced on the Resture website at www.janeresture.com).

11 The draconian 'Regulations for the good order and cleanliness of the Gilbert & Ellice Islands' were introduced by Grimble in 1930. Kennedy's leniency on this occasion may reflect a belief that the regulations were inappropriate, although it took until the end of the decade to formally repeal them, WPHC 939/1928.

Ellis [sic] clerks tapping typewriters, searching files,—generally disconcerting the visitor by their complete overthrow of all his pre-conceived notions of South Sea islands.’¹² Even in the remotest parts of the Empire, procedure was paramount—the means by which officials like Kennedy reinforced their identity and authority.

As the *Waterlily* crew was destitute, Kennedy’s clemency over the fines was welcome, and he suggested that they could solve their financial problems by selling their boat to the Vaitupu Cooperative. This was a divisive issue for the crew and one which could not be resolved amicably. They decided that £500 was the least they could sell it for, a price they quickly realized was unrealistic. Kennedy had personally re-established the Vaitupu Cooperative, so he saw an opportunity to further its interests as well as assist his guests. They were broke, unsure of what lay ahead and some were ready to quit. They returned to Nukufetau to make their farewells, and then back to Funafuti, where, fed up with the whole venture, Jack Atkinson and Pam Williams forfeited their shares and left on the Colonial Service vessel *Nimanoa* for Ocean Island and New Zealand. Taking only one elderly passenger with them and under-manned to sail the boat effectively, the remaining three set off for Vaitupu to sell the *Waterlily* for £250. Hit by a squall and dismasted within sight of shore they abandoned ship and rowed to the island in the lifeboat.¹³ It was three weeks before Kennedy visited them and took John Harris and Freddy Parson back to Funafuti. Steve Gerard remained on Vaitupu taking an interest in the Cooperative.

Their diaries are narrative descriptions of the voyage, what they see, do and who they meet, their reactions and increasingly their problems with each other. They are intelligent and interested observers who seem to record all that happens, but one event they did not record was the ritual killing of a dog—its execution—on Kennedy’s order. Why the silence is a matter of conjecture, but the event itself serves as an apposite introduction to Kennedy, to the extremes and the ambiguities of the man. Kennedy’s eldest daughter, Margaret, remembered the visit of the *Waterlily* crew, although she was only nine years old at the time.¹⁴ She recalled Steve Gerard by name because he was kind to the children and played with them. She also vividly recalled an incident not reported by any of the *Waterlily* crew, although at least one of them was present:

12 Log of the *Waterlily*, Hocken Collections, Archives and Manuscripts, MS 2647/239, p. 37.

13 The sinking of the *Waterlily* had a farcical element to it: they actually reached Vaitupu the night before, but, fearful of landing in the dark, the crew fired distress rockets to attract the attention of the Islanders. Three canoes came out and took the mail bags, but not the only passenger. The *Waterlily* lay off the island until morning and apparently there were no distress rockets left to be fired when they foundered in the squall. Letter from Freddie Parson to his parents, 5 March 1933. Original in the possession of Jonathan Parson, Wanganui.

14 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

In Funafuti, when we were there, one of the worst incidents that I remember is when a party of sailors had wrecked their boat¹⁵ on the reef ... Mum said that she had seen Wong [the cook] teasing it [the dog, Paddy] with a stick, poking it—and he had bitten her, he'd bitten her on the leg. It served her right! Well, Dad decided to have an execution, and it was the dog. The dog was ceremoniously tied up to the trunk of a coconut tree. We were all out in front of the house, the flag pole over there: the whole village came too and they stood around in a big ring ... one of the men off the boat was given the gun to execute the dog. I don't know if he [had] ever shot before, but he shot the dog once and it didn't die and it knew it was being shot: it just sort of hung its head and waited. Oh, God! ... I went roaring off into the house, I was so angry, and crying. I was lying on my bed and all the Islanders are cruising off past, started shouting something cheeky in at the window. I remember getting up off my bed in a huge rage and flying at them. They just ran off laughing, because that's them. I understood: I still understand. They don't have the same feeling for animals.¹⁶

Margaret's evident emotion when telling of this painful experience leaves little doubt of its authenticity.¹⁷ She remembered the occasion because she was fond of the dog, but her understanding of its meaning at the time is less clear. She came to believe that it was a warning to others that there would be consequences for anyone (or anything) that harmed something of Kennedy's. Looking back as an adult she believed that Wong was one of his sexual intimates, although she did not have this understanding as a child. The ritualistic execution of the dog could have been a piece of theatre selected by Kennedy to deliver a message about the hierarchy of authority.¹⁸ Was it a spur of the moment decision or an expression of his comfort in dealing with the Ellice Islanders that he chose a mode of delivery somewhat akin to the performances they used to carry their own messages through the medium of dance? It was certainly a long way from the formal processes required of an Administrative Officer. It is surprising that none of the *Waterlily* crew refer to the execution of the dog in their diaries or letters. It took place on Funafuti during one of the three visits made there. For the first brief visit, in November 1932, all five crew members were present. During the second visit, in January 1933, after a few days, Jack Atkinson and Pam Williams left for Ocean Island, leaving John Harris, Steve Gerard and Freddie Parson. The third visit, in March 1933, was from John and Freddie after the *Waterlily* had been lost off Vaitupu and they were being repatriated. John Harris's

15 Margaret subsequently recalled the name of the boat as the *Waterlily*: Personal Communication: Margaret Bishop to Mike Butcher, 28 July 2007.

16 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

17 This story stood out from the others related in interviews as a koan or unique incident with unusual salience worthy of particular notice. Irving E. Alexander, *Personology: Method and Content in Personality Assessment and Psychobiography*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 1990, p. 16.

18 Denning has written about the omni-presence of theatricality in cultural actions, especially when the moment is full of ambivalences, as this was. Greg Denning, *Performances*, Carlton South, Melbourne University Press, 1996, pp. 109 & 143.

Waterlily log gives the most detailed record, but at the end this becomes very brief, with several days bracketed together.¹⁹

The absence of any contemporary supporting documentation for the killing of the dog can be seen as a metaphor for the evidentiary gaps in the Kennedy's own life story. It is also a metaphor for the seemingly careless impacts he had on his children and others. His was a domineering and authoritarian personality that found expression throughout his career and life, as is revealed in this thesis. Yet there were ambivalences in him that ultimately frustrated any attempt to reduce his complex personality to such simple dimensions. The story of the killing of the dog, along with several other narratives in this thesis, challenges the concept of objective history and involves us in 'constructing and representing the rich and messy domain of human interaction.'²⁰ Several times we are presented with narrative accounts for which there is no empirical proof, and it is necessary to impute meanings that take into account the context of the telling. Each of these separate stories contributes to a narrative verisimilitude, or likely truth, rather than 'facts'. The documentary records are complemented in this way to provide 'flesh' for the official 'bones'.

Kennedy's biography should have been written by Dr James Boutilier, founding lecturer in History at the University of the South Pacific. That it was not can be fairly put down to the obstruction experienced by Boutilier at the hands of Sir Colin Allan (Governor of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP), P.D. (Paddy) Macdonald (Colonial Secretary), and Professor Harry Maude at the Australian National University (ANU). He was denied access to Kennedy's personal files in the Western Pacific High Commission (WPHC) Archives, which were then housed in Suva, and Maude and Macdonald declined to furnish their own experiences of Kennedy, with whom they had both worked. That was in 1978, when the records of the WPHC were in the process of being transferred from Fiji to London. In a letter to Maude, Macdonald wrote: 'Allan told me Boutilier was determined to write up all he could find out about Kennedy, some good but mostly bad.'²¹ So Allan told him all the files had been sent to the Public Record Office in London. Macdonald, then responsible for getting the records packed into cases for shipping, decided to tell Boutilier that the archives were closed. Macdonald had some misgiving about this course of action, telling Maude:

19 John Harris, Log of the *Waterlily*, Hocken Collections Archives and Manuscripts, MS 2647/239.

20 Jerome Bruner, 'The Narrative Construction of Reality', *Critical Enquiry*, vol. 18, no. 1 (Autumn 1991), p. 4.

21 P.D. Macdonald to Harry Maude 22 June 1978, p. 4, Maude Papers, Series H.

I find myself in a quandary; Kennedy's record was pretty black and white and I don't see why his character should be taken to pieces by a bloke like Boutilier even if Kennedy is dead. Kennedy means little to me personally; we were casual friends, no more. But it's the principle of the thing. I wonder how you would feel. Anyway, he's getting nothing out of me.²²

Boutilier got nowhere with these three antagonists, but he had successfully interviewed Kennedy on Waya Island, Kadavu, in September 1969 as well as many of the key people in his wartime coastwatching activities in the Solomon Islands. Boutilier's interview with Kennedy was extensive, resulting in several hours of recording over two days, but its content needs to be seen as looking back through 25 years of real and imaginary wrongs and his opinions of some of his colleagues may have become bleaker in consequence. Although he sometimes struggled for an elusive word, his memory of the War in particular was amazing. An account of these researches was published in 1990, but nothing of Kennedy's years in the Central Pacific followed.²³ Boutilier urged Maude to 'commit your recollections of him [Kennedy] to paper so that some future Pacific historian will be able to benefit from your broad knowledge of Kennedy and the GEIC [Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony].'²⁴ Maude committed nothing to writing about Kennedy and blocked Boutilier in other ways. When he had been in Canberra visiting the Research School of Pacific Studies, Boutilier tried to see Maude, but had been headed off by Professor Davidson and Deryck Scarr on the grounds that he was busy and not well. Dick Horton had also refused to see him when in the UK, being too busy with school work.²⁵ It sounds as though the call had gone out not to cooperate. Pacific history is the poorer.

Another historian with a long interest in Kennedy is Professor Hugh Laracy at Auckland University. Kennedy's name kept crossing his path in the Solomons and Tuvalu and, clearly captivated by Kennedy, he interviewed his three wives and some of his children. Again his focus was on the Solomon Islands, but he was aware of the more positive reputation Kennedy enjoyed in the Ellice Islands, where his educational practices prepared the Islanders for independence from Kiribati fifty years later. Laracy has written about the conflict during the war between Kennedy and George Bogese, a Native Medical Practitioner, portraying it as an interpersonal matter between two strong men, and has

22 Ibid.

23 James A. Boutilier, 'Kennedy's 'Army'', in Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom (eds), *The Pacific Theatre: Island Representations of World War II*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1990, pp. 329-52.

24 Boutilier to Maude, 13 July 1978. Copy in the possession of the author.

25 Ibid.

included a chapter about Kennedy in a forthcoming anthology of notable Pacific identities.²⁶ Both of these are tinged with a moral judgment. A puzzle for Laracy was how Kennedy could have married such fine women, who refused to damn him in spite of the treatment they received at his hands, and the talented children be sired. Sir Colin Allan (then retired) attempted to deter Laracy from publishing material on Kennedy.²⁷ Presumably, like Maude and Macdonald, Allan was protecting a fellow officer's reputation. However, Kennedy's contribution to the GEIC has received the attention of another Pacific historian, Barrie Macdonald, who had been Maude's doctoral student at the ANU.²⁸ Macdonald's history of the GEIC (Kiribati and Tuvalu) includes recognition of Kennedy's educational ability, which is explored here in some detail to illuminate his early work in the Pacific.²⁹

My interest in Kennedy arose through knowing his son, Tonileti (Don) Lipine Keniti (Kennedy), whose mother, Mainalupe, was an Ellice Islander. Don had been raised as an islander on Vaitupu and, although aware who his father was, did not meet him until he was sixteen years old. He had no contact with any of Kennedy's other children or relatives until much later in life. To obtain a personal view of his father, Don and the author interviewed Harry and Honor Maude in 1988 at their Canberra home.³⁰ Maude had been a colleague and superior of Kennedy in the Gilbert and Ellice Island Colony (GEIC) and later an academic at the ANU.³¹ Having encouraged Kennedy (unsuccessfully) to write an autobiography, Maude both saw the value in a biography of Kennedy and was cautious that it should not be sensational. Having lived for many years in the islands himself, he was loathe to sit in judgment on how others adapted to the privations and temptations of island life. He was anxious that Kennedy's contributions should not be obscured by his faults. Maude's opinions of Kennedy had, to some extent, been coloured

26 Hugh Laracy, 'Donald Gilbert Kennedy: an outsider in the Colonial Service', *Watriama and Co.*, in preparation.

27 Laracy interview (with Mike Butcher), 12 December 2006.

28 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 23 September 1988.

29 Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire: Towards a history of Kiribati and Tuvalu*, Canberra, ANU Press, 1982, pp. 246-7. The historian Barrie Macdonald is not related to the colonial administrator P.D. (Paddy) Macdonald.

30 Ibid.

31 He was eulogized after his retirement for his contribution to Pacific history and continued writing into his nineties. Niel Gunson, 'Harry Maude: *unimane*, statesman and Pacific historian', *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 42, no. 1, June 2007, pp. 108-18; Niel Gunson (ed), *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H.E. Maude*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1978; Susan Woodburn, *Where Our Hearts Still Lie: A Life of Harry and Honor Maude in the Pacific Islands*, Adelaide, Crawford House, 2003; Doug Munro is slightly more critical of the man he liked and admired: Doug Munro, 'Harry Maude – Loyal Lieutenant, Incurable Romantic', *The Ivory Tower and Beyond: Participant Historians of the Pacific*, Newcastle on Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009, pp. 171-242.

by time: they were so different in personality that it is unlikely that they ever found much pleasure in each other's company.³² Kennedy had hardly a good word to say of Maude, but in the interview Maude was careful to present a positive view that is somewhat at odds with his past actions in the Colonial Service, which included removing Kennedy from Rabi. Maude was possibly envious of Kennedy's practicality and dominance, whilst he was shy, modest and diffident.³³

Why was Kennedy in the Pacific at all? Was he 'desperately searching for some island where [he] can decolonize [himself], shed the constrictions of civilized life and experience the feeling of living like a savage'?³⁴ Or was he, as Hall has phrased it, 'able to use the power of the colonial stage to disrupt the traditional class relations of [his] own country and enjoy new forms of direct power over "subject peoples"'.³⁵ Answers to these questions are explored and, whatever his original mission, he was profoundly changed by the experience and continued to live in the Pacific Islands for almost his entire life. Laracy believed 'there was this Robinson Crusoe element to him.'³⁶ Although some attempt is made at understanding his personality, no single theory is subscribed to. Over thirty years ago Gavan Daws pointed out that Pacific biographers have shown next to no interest in the psychological interpretation of the lives of their subjects and the criticism still largely holds.³⁷ Whilst more risk-averse historians like Francis West might dismiss the relevance of psychohistory to biography (in this case in relation to Hubert Murray), because, 'neither in his private nor his public papers were there symptoms of the unconscious psychosexual and psychosocial drives assumed by psychoanalytical theory',³⁸ Daws sees the work of Erikson as relevant to an understanding of

32 Woodburn, *Where Our Hearts Still Lie*, pp. 214, n. 23.

33 Robert Langdon, 'Harry Maude, Shy Proconsul, dedicated Pacific historian', in Gunson (ed), *The Changing Pacific*, pp. 1-21; Munro, 'Harry Maude – Loyal Lieutenant, Incurable Romantic', pp. 171-242.

34 Gavan Daws, *A Dream of Islands: Voyages of Self-Discovery in the South Seas*, New York, W.W. Norton, 1980, p. xiii.

35 Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2002, p. 65.

36 Laracy interview (with Mike Butcher), 12 December 2006.

37 Gavan Daws, "'All the horrors of the half known life": some notes on the writing of biography in the Pacific', in Gunson (ed), *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H.E. Maude*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 297.

38 Francis West, 'Two Pacific Biographies: Hubert Murray and Father Damien', in Doug Munro and Brij V. Lal (eds), *Texts and Contexts: Reflections in Pacific Islands Historiography*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2006, pp. 111-23. West was the biographer of Hubert Murray (the long-term Lieutenant-Governor of Papua).

psychohistory.³⁹ However, Erikson, who wrote two famous psychobiographies, *Young Man Luther* and *Ghandi's Truth*, has a warning for the psycho-historian:

His choice of subject often originates in early ideals or identifications that it may be important for him to accept as well as he can some deeper bias than can be argued out on the level of verifiable fact or faultless methodology. I believe, in fact, that any man projects or comes to project on the men and the times he studies some un-lived portions and often the unrealized selves of their own life ... The psycho-historian may owe it to history, as well as to himself, to be more conscious of re-transference [counter-transference] on former selves probably inescapable in any remembering, recording, or reviewing and to learn to live and to work in the light of such consciousness.⁴⁰

Such a caveat demands an enjoinder: the author's own selection of Kennedy as the subject was not free, to the extent that it was initially undertaken to meet a request from his son. It later became a challenge to form opinions about the man (and an exploration in historical biography) and finally a responsibility to record what I had found out.⁴¹ Maude's plea to treat him fairly married with my sense of justice and belief that Kennedy would be judged harshly unless he could be explained in the context of his time and place, encapsulating the cardinal virtues of a historian: attachment, justice and span (context).⁴² Attachment, defined as 'sympathetic insight' and 'imaginative understanding' is challenging, especially for someone who has not held command in the armed services, fought in a war or lived in (or visited) any of the Pacific Islands beyond Fiji. A natural antipathy to violence, indiscriminate sexual behaviour, and uncontrolled drinking suggests that a deal of imagination and empathy was going to be needed. On the other side of the ledger is a lifetime of experience with people struggling to overcome problems, including family violence, alcoholism, drug abuse, psychiatric illness, and also, possibly most valuable of all, a family with unhappy parents. The dynamics of my critical mother and resigned father seem to resonate with Kennedy's experience and offer the greatest danger of counter-transference. We were similarly raised to believe in King and country, though at opposite ends of the world and a generation apart. Taking a cue from

39 Alexander explores the influence of Erikson's personal history on the development of his theories. Irving Alexander, 'Erikson and Psychobiography, Psychobiography and Erikson', in William Todd Schultz (ed), *Handbook of Psychobiography*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 266.

40 Erik H. Erikson, 'On the Nature of Psycho-Historical Evidence: In Search of Ghandi', *Daedalus*, vol. 97, no. 3 (Summer 1968), p. 713.

41 My biographical interest in Kennedy has occasionally resulted, in the interest of completeness, in the inclusion of material that might otherwise have been omitted from the thesis.

42 J.W. Davidson, 'Understanding Pacific History: The Participant as Historian', in *The History of Melanesia: Second Waigani Seminar, University of Papua and New Guinea and The Research School of Pacific Studies*, Canberra, ANU, 1969, p. 12. Davidson was quoting W.K. Hancock, *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*, vol. 2, 'Problems of Economic Policy 1918-39', pt. 2, London, Oxford University Press, 1964 (1940), pp. 330-1.

Elms, my ambivalence about Kennedy being someone to whom I could do justice, possibly qualifies me for the task better than if I had been too positive or too negative.⁴³

The whole rational basis for psychoanalysis has been questioned by Stannard, who believed, ‘it would be a hopeless exercise in intellectual myopia to apply it to the past.’⁴⁴ Putting it even more strongly, he finally concluded that, ‘the psychoanalytic approach to history is—irremediably—one of logical perversity, scientific unsoundness, and cultural naïveté.’⁴⁵ However, psychobiography has been developing over the past two decades away from psychoanalysis as the sole psychological model and has received the attention of noted psychologists.⁴⁶ The psychobiological methodologies of Runyan and Alexander are helpful in identifying salient events in Kennedy’s life and in opening the door on his personality, though we are warned:⁴⁷

To review hidden aspects of another person’s existence and speculate on their meaning is not a task to be undertaken lightly. This is especially so when the material from which inferences are drawn is sparse. In dealing with people who have made intellectual contributions to knowledge there is also the feared consequence, often expressed, that the evaluation of the work may be confounded by moral or ethical judgments about the lived life.⁴⁸

This intrusion into Kennedy’s life is not intended to confound his positive achievements, but rather to explore the personality behind those achievements and the other factors involved. One of the methodologies of psychobiography, the focus on salient events, offers opportunities for analysis. The execution of the dog, referred to above, demands attention, though we may not fully understand its significance. This story has a particular salience, but other incidents are also analysed for what they contribute to our understanding of the man, especially at times of stress, such as during the war and in his marriages. The American Psychiatric Association devised some ethical guidelines for psychohistory and psychobiology in 1976 that include who should be written about and

43 Alan C. Elms, *Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance of Biography and Psychology*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 20.

44 David E. Stannard, *Shrinking History: On Freud and the Failure of Psychohistory*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 143.

45 Ibid., p. 156.

46 Elms, *Uncovering Lives*, p. 9.

47 William M. Runyan, *Life Histories and Psychobiography: Explorations in Theory and Method*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1982; Irving E. Alexander, *Personology: Method and Content in Personality Assessment and Psychobiography*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 1990.

48 Alexander, *Personology*, p. 259.

when. This biography meets the criterion of the subject no longer being alive, but there are still ‘surviving relatives close enough to be embarrassed by unsavory revelations.’⁴⁹

The omission of any reference in the records to the killing of the dog at Funafuti is instructive. Like so many other events and episodes in Kennedy’s life, the evidence is patchy and even then mediated through the memories of others who had already formed a view of the man. We can only speculate about the reasons why the killing of the dog was omitted from all the diaries and letters. Similarly, no mention is made of any sexual relations with the Islanders, so, if they could be discrete about sex, they may also have been discrete about the execution. That Kennedy involved one of the crew members may have caught them by surprise and, like George Orwell in another colonial setting, they simply did what they believed was expected of them.⁵⁰ It is also possible that the event was not recorded because it would have tarnished Kennedy’s otherwise positive image. It was certainly a public exhibition for someone’s benefit. Kennedy may have felt that his authority over the islands was in some way challenged and considered it necessary to demonstrate who was in charge. After all, the Islanders were being exposed to white people who exhibited greater kindness and informality than Kennedy ever showed to them. Outsiders visited rarely, so the execution may have been a warning of how he would deal with young white men showing an interest in ‘his’ island women. When Kennedy punished, it was often as an example and therefore carried out in front of and for the benefit of others. Having others carry out the sentence could have been to add a veneer of justice to the proceedings, as was the case in the Solomon Islands during the War. Kennedy had drive and initiative and took shortcuts, sometimes before (or without) consulting his superior officers in the Colonial Service instead of waiting—often for months—for approval to do things.⁵¹

The Ellice Islands were later described as ‘Kennedy’s Kingdom’,⁵² though not in the same sense as Rajah Brooke’s in Sarawak or Shirley Baker’s in Tonga. This was no ‘Heart of Darkness’ as portrayed by Conrad.⁵³ The Polynesians were welcoming, civilized

49 Elms, *Uncovering Lives*, p. 251.

50 George Orwell was the nom-de-plume of Eric Blair, who, as a policeman in Burma, shot an elephant because the crowd expected him to do so, even though it was against his better judgment, George Orwell, *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1950, p. 9.

51 HC to Acting RC, 26 February 1929. WPHC F3794/1928 item 32a.

52 Noatia P. Teo, ‘Colonial Rule’, in Hugh Laracy (ed), *Tuvalu: A History*, Suva, University of the South Pacific, 1983, p. 135.

53 Joseph Conrad, ‘Heart of Darkness’, in Robert Kimbrough (ed), *Heart of Darkness: An Authoritative Text Backgrounds and Sources, Criticism*, 3rd edition, New York, W.W. Norton & Co, 1988 (1963).

and willing to learn, and Kennedy had much to teach. He taught them well and his school ran efficiently long after he had left it, preparing boys for employment and, ultimately, Tuvalu for independence.⁵⁴ Harry Maude, his colleague in the Colonial Service and later Pacific historian, described how Kennedy

did so much for the Ellice [Islands]: nobody in this world has ever done as much for the Ellice Islanders as Kennedy has—there's no question about it ... [he] was an extremely brilliant person. He had the brains and the capability far ahead of any of us in the Colony. To my mind he was the cleverest person in the service, by far.⁵⁵

This was high praise from someone who had seen Kennedy at his worst as well as his best. In many ways Kennedy was at his peak when the *Waterlily* called. The Ellice Island education was on a sound footing; he had seen his years of ethnological work published (and been awarded the Percy Smith medal for anthropology), and was a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute; his family was with him; and he had a foot on the administrative ladder. The following year he began his most important work on land tenure in the Ellice Islands, but by then his family had left for good and the difficulties, personal and otherwise, and the effects of isolation were manifest. Yet he remained, caught between the dream and the reality, for another five years. His story and the reasons he failed to achieve positions commensurate with his ability are told here, and serve as a prism through which we may view the rule of Empire as implemented at the local level.

Dominant is the word often used to describe Kennedy, and definitions of the authoritarian personality appear to fit his described behaviours well: belief in hierarchical relationships, dichotomies of power (weak vs. strong); mobility through influence; self-glorification; a tendency to blame others; distrust and suspicion of others; and exploitative-manipulative propensities.⁵⁶ The one quality of this personality type that does not appear to fit is a conventional morality, which Kennedy arguably lacked—though later in the thesis certain aspects of Kennedy's behaviour are tentatively attributed to his drinking, rather than personality.

The story is told in two parts, the first through five narrative chapters that deal with the islands where he served, the Colonial Service he served in, and his different theatres of operation. Interspersed with these are his periods at Oxford University, his active service in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate Defence Force and post-retirement activities

54 Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire*, p. 170; Maude interview (with Mike Butcher), 30 July 1988.

55 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher), 30 July 1988.

56 Alan C. Elms, 'The Counterplayers: George Bush and Saddam Hussein', *Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance of Biography and Psychology*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 222.

in the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), New Zealand and Rabi, Kioa and Waya Islands, Fiji. The second part also has a large narrative component, but the chapters are thematic, dealing with Kennedy's interpersonal relationships, violence, sexuality and alcoholism.



Margaret Kennedy on Funafuti.

Her politically correct dolls reflect the consciousness of her parents. Her father made a point of even-handedness with the children to avoid any suspicion of racial prejudice.

Courtesy: Margaret Kennedy

Part One

In the first part of this thesis I give an overview of Kennedy's life as he moved from rural New Zealand to remote parts of Oceania. His career included a brief sojourn at Oxford University and a holiday in the Poet's Gulf in Italy, but he always seemed more at ease in the remote places of the world. One can only speculate on why he chose this pathway—a retreat from the demands of civilization or to find his own 'kingdom'? Did he 'desperately want the world to know about [him]' as Daws has suggested for other, more famous voyagers of self-discovery in the South Seas?⁵⁷

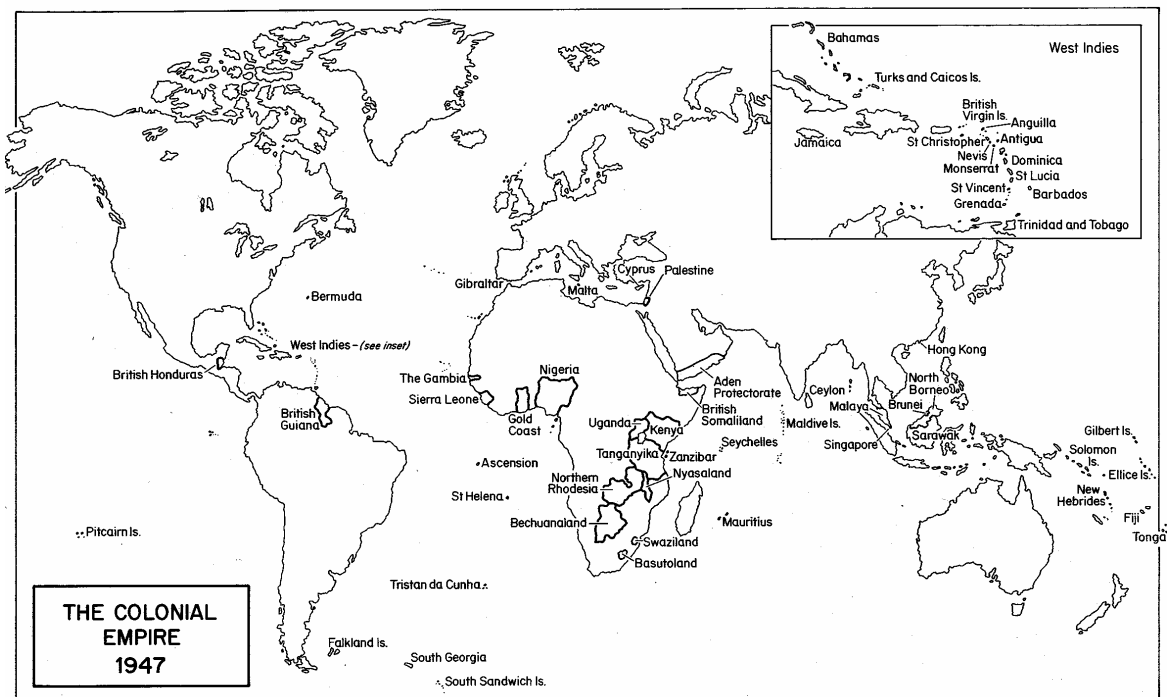
Kennedy's discovery of the Pacific Islands—as he applied his linguistic, anthropological and organizational abilities to assisting the Islanders adapt to Western ways—is described here. It does not include the minutiae of the DO's work, which was extensive, but focuses on those activities which reveal something of his personality or alert us to a difficulty he was experiencing with the Islanders, his colleagues and superiors in the Colonial Service. Although he spent long periods of time (too long) on some islands, he was always passing through, and rather than his marriages and children providing stability against the transient backdrop of the islands, it seems that the marriages were transient. With the passing of the colonial era and the questioning of its benefits, it is possible to believe that Kennedy's life was lived in the service of others—as he saw it. Along the way he had to 'still labour at tasks that were set for every white man of [his] day ... they have to decide who they will be, what kind of work they will take up, ... what larger tribe of humanity they will attach themselves to, what they want the world to think of them, what final monument they will try to erect to mark their existence.'⁵⁸ The decisions Kennedy made reflected his own personality, hopes, fears and pathologies.

It is possible to discern in the pages that follow that Kennedy attempted to find a place for himself in the societies he lived amongst, suggesting that the 'larger tribe of humanity' he wished to attach himself to was not his native New Zealanders, but the peoples of the Pacific Islands.

⁵⁷ Gavan Daws, *A Dream of Islands*, p. xiii.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Chapter 1: Colonial Service in the Pacific



Map of the Colonial Empire in 1947, For administrative convenience Pitcairn Island was included with the West Pacific Islands and the Fiji Islands formed a separate Colony.

Reproduced from *On Crown Service: A History of HM Colonial and Overseas Civil Services, 1837-1997* by Anthony Kirk-Green, IB Tauris, 1999 by kind permission of the author.

At its peak the British Colonies covered a quarter of the land area of the globe and 440 million people lived under some form of British rule. This was three times the size of the French and ten times the German empires.⁵⁹ The vast British Empire comprised a number of separate colonies, dominions, protectorates and a condominium with France, that before 1930 were autonomous and developed differently. The disadvantage for staff (and for the administration) of this heterogeneous system was the difficulty of movement between the services. Such movement was necessary “if the evils of parochialism and the deadening effects of monotony are to be avoided”.⁶⁰ A committee was formed in 1929 under Warren Fisher (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and Head of the Home Civil Service) to address the issues of unification of the Colonial Service. As a result, the many barriers which formerly existed were rationalized and greater opportunities became available for serving officers. Kennedy, as we shall see, was both the victim of the former regime, which kept him in isolation for far too long, and the beneficiary of the unified

59 Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain made the Modern World*, London, Penguin Books, 2004, p. 240.

60 Charles Jeffries, *The Colonial Empire and its Civil Service*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1938, p. 83.

Service, which provided him with a furlough to Oxford University. He did not serve outside the Pacific, but the Colony of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission gave him experience in Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia.

Much has been written about the experiences of officers in the Colonial Service. For many the experience was a highlight of their lives and there were ‘few Englishmen who thought there was anything inherently sinful about empire ... [and] it was the place where the middle-classes would go to redeem themselves.’⁶¹ Accordingly, most writings have been autobiographical and often lack a critical perspective of the Service.⁶² They have also usually been written by successful men (or their wives) at the ends of their careers and concentrate on what they did, with little questioning of the system that had rewarded them. The District Officer (DO) was the man on the ground implementing policy as he saw it. For the millions of indigenous people in the colonies, the DO was the Service and the representative of the Crown. Kirk-Greene’s *Symbol of Authority*⁶³ makes a solid contribution to our understanding of how the Service depended on the DOs in Africa, and Boutilier’s ‘The Government is the District Officer’ succinctly captures the popular perception of this vital role in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) administration.⁶⁴ However, the role was at the interface of local and colonial aspirations and subject to pressures from above and below. How far could he go in representing the interests of his district to government? The ‘inter-hierarchical’ or ‘middleman’ status of the administrator has been explored in many colonies to elucidate the complexity and importance of the local colonial representative.⁶⁵ When Kennedy was sent to the Ellice Islands (Tuvalu) to establish a school, he would have been more aware of his missionary role of bringing education to the Ellice Islanders and only later, as he became fluent in the language and knowledgeable about their culture, would he have become aware of his role

61 Kathryn Tidrick, *Empire and the English Character*, London, I.B. Tauris, 1992, p. 268.

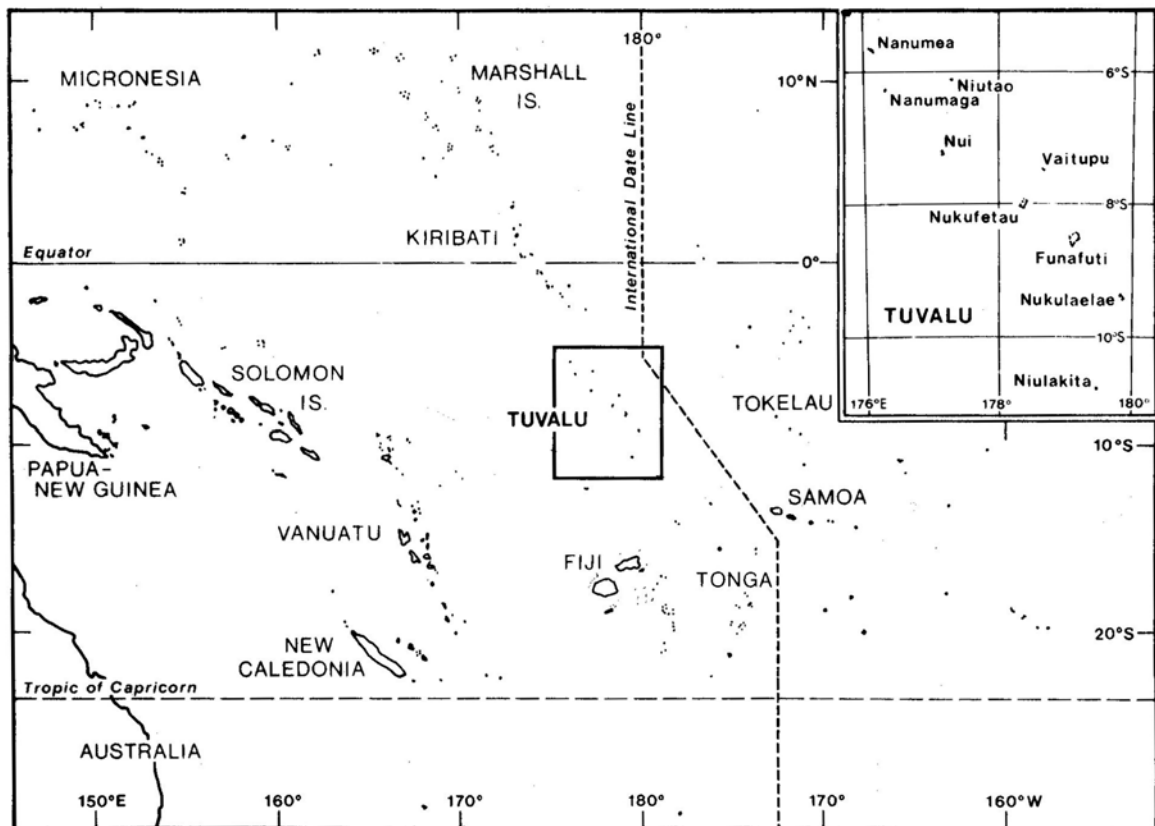
62 For the Pacific these include: Arthur Grimble, *A Pattern of Islands*, London, John Murray, 1952; *Return to the Islands*, London, John Murray, 1957; Wilfred Fowler, *This Island’s Mine*, London, Adventurer’s Club, 1959; D.C. Horton, *The Happy Isles*, London, Travel Book Club, 1965; Hector MacQuarrie, *Vouza and the Solomon Islands*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1946; Lucille Iremonger, *It’s a Bigger Life*, London, Hutchinson & Co., 1948; James L.O. Tedder, *Solomon Island Years: A District Administrator in the Islands 1952-74*, Stuart’s Point, NSW, Tautu Studies, 2008.

63 Anthony Kirk-Greene, *Symbol of Authority: The British District Officer in Africa*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2006.

64 James Boutilier, ‘The Government is the District Officer: An Historical Analysis of District Officers as Middlemen in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, 1893-1943’, in William L. Rodman and Dorothy Ayres Counts (eds), *Middlemen and Brokers in Oceania*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1982, pp. 35-67.

65 Max Gluckman, ‘Inter-hierarchical Roles: Professional and Party Ethics in Tribal Areas in South and Central Africa’, in Marc J. Swartz, *Local Level Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives*, London, University of London Press, 1969, pp. 69-93; William L. Rodman and Dorothy Ayres Counts (eds), *Middlemen and Brokers in Oceania*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1982.

of middleman in bringing the needs of the Islanders to the attention of his superiors. His story in the Pacific begins in Fiji, but it was in Tuvalu that he found fulfillment and made his greatest contribution to the Pacific Islands.



Map of the Central and Western Pacific Islands with Tuvalu (Ellice Islands) inset.

Reproduced from: Hugh Laracy (ed), *Tuvalu: A History*, Suva, Institute of South Pacific Studies, 1983, by kind permission of the author.

The independent nation of Tuvalu is one of the smallest and most remote nations in the world. Formerly known as the Ellice Islands, the group comprises nine islands with a total area of just 26 square kilometres, the nine islands forming a chain stretching over 580 kilometres, just south of the equator. Six of the islands are true atolls (having lagoons), while the other three are reef islands. They are distributed in a northern group (Nanumea, Nanumaga, Niutao and Nui) and a southern group (Vaitupu, Nukufetau, Funafuti, Nukulaelae and Niulakita). The total population in 2002 was 9,561 persons, an increase of over two thousand since 1979, though many now leave the islands for work or to live in Australia or New Zealand.⁶⁶ Population change has not been uniform across the islands or across time, with the greatest growth taking place on Funafuti, the centre of government

66 For a recent review of efforts to provide seasonal employment to Tuvaluans, see: Charlotte Bedford, Richard Bedford and Elsie Ho, 'Engaging with New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) Work Policy: The Case for Tuvalu', in preparation for publication, *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*.

and the only island with an airstrip. To the north lies the linguistically distinct Republic of Kiribati, formerly the Gilbert Islands, to which the Ellice Islands had been attached for administrative convenience since the nineteenth century. Kiribati is larger in number and size of islands and before independence was the seat of government for the Protectorate and later the Colony of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands under British rule.

The process of colonization differed markedly across the British Empire, and much of what has been written about the settler-colonization of other nations and places does not apply to the GEIC.⁶⁷ The central Pacific islands generally had little economic or strategic value until phosphate deposits of immense commercial value were discovered at Ocean Island (Banaba).⁶⁸ The atoll islands are barren, supporting very limited vegetation, principally coconuts, pandanus and the hardy root vegetables, such as taro and babai, in freshwater pits. Fish, pigs and chicken are the main source of protein, though canned food was used in colonial times to supplement the diet and subsistence living is supplemented by imports, such as canned foods, rice, flour and sugar. Having few exploitable resources, the small surplus of copra (dried coconut flesh) was of interest to traders while the price was high and a few representatives of their trading companies lived on the islands.⁶⁹ Some of them, for instance Louis Becke, became writers and have left us with images of the South Seas that have become stereotypes of white sand, blue lagoons, coconut trees and carefree lives of leisure. In reality, many of the traders attracted there and especially those who stayed had trouble fitting into a more demanding society. The beachcombers, as those who were destitute and reliant upon Islanders were derisively called, may have become addicted to alcohol or other drugs.⁷⁰ The French artist Paul Gauguin always had an income from his art, but nevertheless lived on or beyond the fringe of the European society in Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands, where he died.⁷¹ Robert Louis Stevenson spent his last years in the Pacific, including a short time on both Butaritari and Abemama in the Gilbert Islands.

67 The extreme violence that motivated Franz Fanon to write *The Wretched of the Earth*, was never experienced in the GEIC.

68 Maslyn Williams and Barrie Macdonald, *The Phosphateers: a History of the British Phosphate Commissioners and the Christmas Island Phosphate Commission*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1985.

69 Doug Munro, 'The Lives and Times of Resident Traders in Tuvalu: An Exercise in History from Below', *Pacific Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2 (March 1987), pp. 73-106.

70 Characterised by Becke as 'fond of liquor and never happy without some grievance against the natives.' Quoted in: Munro, 'The Lives and Times of Resident Traders in Tuvalu', p. 85.

71 Gauguin was syphilitic and may have died from an overdose of morphine. Daws, *A Dream of Islands*, pp. 244 & 270.

At the time Kennedy joined the British Colonial Service in 1921 there were two administrations: the Colony of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission (WPHC), with responsibility for the GEIC, the BSIP, Tonga, Pitcairn Island and the New Hebrides (which was jointly governed with the French). The Governor of Fiji was also the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. He answered directly to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, but was largely autonomous in his dealings within the Pacific. His secretariats were headed by Colonial Secretaries and each of the larger territories was staffed by a Resident Commissioner, with a number of District Officers (DOs) and other staff reporting to him. As a teacher in the Ellice Islands, Kennedy was responsible to the Director of Education for the Western Pacific, Frank Holland, based on Tarawa. In addition to the DOs, there were teachers, police and medical staff, almost all of whom were European until World War II. After the War, there was a proliferation of technical staff to assist with development.

Charles R. Swayne⁷² was the first officer appointed to administer the Gilbert and Ellice Islands after these two Protectorates were declared in 1892.⁷³ The High Commissioner, John Bates Thurston, appointed Swayne as Resident Commissioner because of his legal and administrative experience. He had been a Stipendiary Magistrate during Sir Arthur Gordon's governorship with twenty years experience at Lomaloma, on Vanua Balavu in the Lau Islands.⁷⁴ He was appointed Resident Deputy Commissioner for the Gilbert and Ellice Islands on secondment for two years only. Like Thurston, Swayne believed the best form of government was one which interfered as little as possible with the customary political systems. He therefore set about collecting the existing laws and formalizing them according to the local needs. In the Northern Gilbert and Ellice Islands, where there were strong hierarchical systems under a High Chief, it was more straightforward than the Southern Gilbert Islands.⁷⁵ He issued *The Native Laws of the Ellice Islands* in 1894 after getting approval from Thurston.⁷⁶ They were deliberately simple in concept and covered the following provisions:

72 Charles Richard Swayne (1843-1921)

73 The Protectorates were declared by Captain Davis of *HMS Royalist* in the Gilberts and Captain Gibson of *HMS Curacao* in the Ellice Islands.

74 Deryk Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914*, Canberra, ANU Press, 1967, p. 258.

75 Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire*, p. 78.

76 Barrie Macdonald, *Policy and Practice in an Atoll Territory: British Rule in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, 1892-1970*, PhD Thesis, ANU, Canberra, 1971, p. 31.

Theft, assault, adultery, rape, carrying naked fire, abuse, slander, drunkenness, fornication (defined as sexual intercourse with a woman betrothed to another man), and cutting down trees were all regarded as offences and carried fines ranging from 10s. to £5 or imprisonment from two weeks to two years. Flogging was also sanctioned for second and subsequent theft offences. Compensation, in cases of fornication (up to £10) and adultery (up to £20) and to the extent of loss by theft, could also be enforced. The death penalty, requiring the Resident's sanction, was retained for murder.⁷⁷

School attendance was also compulsory, but some traditional sentences, such as the confiscation of land, were abolished. Swayne also appointed magistrates to implement the laws and in doing so usurped the traditional power of the chiefs. He spent his time touring the islands introducing the new laws and sorting out problems. Whilst allowing as much local decision-making as possible, he did not hesitate to intervene when he thought necessary, but always with legal justification.⁷⁸ Hampered by the lack of a dedicated boat for inter-island travel, Swayne toured the Ellice Islands six times in visiting British naval vessels, but was only resident once, at Funafuti, for six weeks in 1895.⁷⁹ He set up land registers on each island, and gave instructions that a census be undertaken. He struck a rate for taxation in the Ellice Islands of four shillings per head.⁸⁰ He did not challenge the missionaries as he lacked the resources to do so, and the tenor of his period in office was support for the existing institutions.

Swayne's successor could not have been more different and in many ways set the benchmark for his successors. Like Swayne, William Telfer Campbell⁸¹ had also been a magistrate, but in the Louisiade Archipelago off the south-eastern coast of New Guinea.⁸² His record was ambiguous, his methods having been criticised by the Governor, Sir William MacGregor, but then he was given a glowing reference to the position of

77 Ibid., pp. 31-2.

78 Ibid., p. 34.

79 Doug Munro, *The Lagoon Islands: A History of Tuvalu 1820-1908*. PhD Thesis, Macquarie University, November 1982, p. 300.

80 Macdonald, *Policy and Practice in an Atoll Territory*, p. 33.

81 Campbell's birthplace was given as the East Indies in the 1881 Census of Great Britain. He attended Rossall School in Lancashire 1879-81, where he gained admission to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. [There is some doubt about this as there is no record of his attendance at Sandhurst. Personal communication: Dr A.R. Morton, Curator, Sandhurst Collection, to Mike Butcher, 15 April 2010.] After serving with Methuen's Horse in Bechuanaland (Botswana) in 1884-5, he joined the Registrar-General's Department in Queensland. He may be the 25 year old William T. Campbell who arrived in Brisbane on the *Dorunda* on 27 June 1888. The following year he was employed by the legal service in British New Guinea before moving to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony in 1893. After a brief interlude in Tonga, he was posted to The Gambia (West Africa), where he served as Colonial Secretary and Acting Governor on a number of occasions. *Colonial Office List*, 1924; Queensland State Archives item D, Registers of Immigrant Ships Arrivals Page No. 66. Campbell died 12 March 1929 in London.

82 Campbell contributed half-yearly Resident Magistrate's reports in New Guinea for 1891 and 1895.

Resident Commissioner in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands.⁸³ The methods he used in New Guinea included chopping down trees (destroying livelihood) and burning houses, which punished the family of the transgressor. Like Kennedy, he was a large man, who was 'impatient with any whose ideas were not in accordance with his own, and intolerant of those who dared challenge his dominance over island society.'⁸⁴ Campbell soon found that the application of the law as interpreted by the Native Courts was not to his liking. He quarrelled with impartiality with missionaries, traders, his own staff and his superiors.⁸⁵ An autocrat by nature, he was soon intervening in island affairs, making the Islanders responsible to him. He removed traditional leaders from office and appointed Magistrates of his choice who became the real power in his chain of command. Eventually his actions were investigated by the Governor, Sir Everard im Thurn, and Campbell was moved on.⁸⁶ Binder claimed he was removed for expressing support for the Banabans in their plight with the British Phosphate Company, a stand which put paid to the careers of at least two later Resident Commissioners (Dickson and Eliot).⁸⁷ By the time he left the Protectorate for Tonga in 1908, he had transformed the physical appearance of the villages, which were then tidy and well regulated, and he had also instituted a new form of direct rule that persisted into the 1930s.⁸⁸ That Campbell was able to achieve so much without official sanction, Macdonald attributed to his interpretation of the mandate left by Swayne.⁸⁹ Clearly, there was considerable scope for a sufficiently determined officer to implement colonial policy as he saw it. In the ambiguous political relationship between the Colonial Service and the King of Tonga, Campbell overstepped the mark and was removed to The Gambia (West Africa).⁹⁰

83 Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire*, p. 83.

84 Ibid.

85 Campbell's hostility to the Catholics is recorded in: Ernest Sabatier, *Astride the Equator: An Account of the Gilbert Islands*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1977, pp. 232, 283, 319-20, n. 372.

86 Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire*, p. 280. C.H. Norman, 'A Story of the Pacific', *The New Age*, vol. 3, no. 24 (10 October 1908), pp. 467-8; A correspondent, 'Modern Buccaneers in the West Pacific', *The New Age*, vol. 6, no. 3 (5 June 1913), pp. 136-7.

87 Pearl Binder, *Treasure Islands: The trials of the Banabans*, Cremorne, NSW, Angus and Robertson, 1978, p. 57.

88 Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire*, p. 85.

89 Ibid., p. 93.

90 Penny Lavaka, 'The Tonga Ma'a Tonga Kautaka: A Watershed in British-Tongan Relations', *Pacific Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1981, pp. 142-63. Campbell's remarkable career has received attention from Macdonald in particular, but he was in error when he said Campbell was dismissed from the service in Tonga. Campbell deserves further study.

Campbell's successor was Arthur Mahaffy, who was told 'to stop on these islands, organize the native Government, assist them generally, start a police force, and settle the occasional disputes that might from time to time arise either between the three or four white men resident on the islands or between any of them and the native population.'⁹¹ He had a reputation for ruthlessness from his punitive expeditions in the Solomon Islands and arrived in the Colony 'with clear ideas about his duties as "Protector" of the native population'.⁹² Initially aghast at the indifference of the BPC to the suffering of a sick Islander, he also foresaw the complete devastation of Ocean Island by mining. In spite of his immoderate language in reports to government, he nevertheless later served as Colonial Secretary in Fiji and Acting High Commissioner.

Geoffrey Smith-Rewse joined the Colonial Service on Funafuti as a District Magistrate in 1912, but from 1916 held posts in Tonga and Nauru, before returning as District Officer in 1920.⁹³ He was elevated to the post of Resident Commissioner in the New Hebrides in 1924. Kennedy knew him and suggested that he was in the mould of his predecessors:

Well, Rewse was a man of that general stamp; you might say the Cecil Rhodes stamp. They might have succeeded as well as Rhodes had they gone to places like that. There was Telfer Campbell and his successors and men like Rewse—men like Woodford, others in the Solomons who by pure force of character were able to size up situations. I think they achieved something in the greatness they had. You see, they were the King's Representative and that gave them some feeling of responsibility whether it was in them before or not and they carried forward stuff and, according to their previous upbringing, they influenced the whole of the society around them, which were mostly natives. But they were strong enough in character to keep in order the odds and bobs of our communities—sailors, traders, missionaries, others who came in and who might have gone out of step a little bit and I think there's no way you can judge those.⁹⁴

These were the men who created the Colonial Service in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. From an initial policy of 'Indirect Rule' created by Swayne, the administration became more interventionist under Campbell and remained so through his successors, including

91 Arthur Mahaffy, 'Memorandum on the Duties of District Managers in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and the Solomon Islands Protectorates', 16 December 1911, NAF, F62/107, p 8.

92 Williams and Macdonald, *The Phosphateers*, p. 86.

93 Geoffrey Whistler Bingham Smith-Rewse (1878-1927).

94 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969. Three years later, after a successful period of collaboration with the French administration, Smith-Rewse was found accidentally burned to death in bed. He had knocked over a lamp in the night, no alarm had been raised and he succumbed to his injuries in the morning. He was buried at sea the same afternoon with what looks like unseemly haste. No post mortem was conducted, but we may surmise that alcohol played a part in Smith-Rewse's failure to raise the alarm. *Obituary, Fiji Times and Herald*, 19 August 1927, p. 4.

Kennedy's period in office. Kennedy showed initiative from the outset and thrived in his new environment. In the next chapter we follow his progress as teacher, administrator, disciplinarian, researcher, author and parent as he adapted to the constraints of working for government in one of the most isolated outposts of the Empire.



Houses on Funafuti. Note the European style house at left with walls and windows. The leaf-roofed local housing without walls was preferred in the equatorial climate of Tuvalu.

Courtesy: Mrs Margaret Bishop.

Chapter 2: Service in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony

Kennedy brought with him to the Colonial Service a range of values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, some of which came from his immediate family, tough Scots who had made their way in the New World, some from his schooling and some from the profound affects of World War I, even though he never reached the front. This chapter will outline some of the formative experiences in New Zealand and Fiji, followed by the most productive phase of his colonial career in the remote Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC), where the effects of isolation ultimately determined how his career would unfold.

Donald Gilbert Kennedy was born at Spring Hills, near Invercargill, in March 1898 to Robert Kennedy and Isabella Chisholm.⁹⁵ Robert was a capable man, who took menial jobs to provide for his family and gave them a start in life. Kennedy's uncles, Donald and Archie Chisholm, were influential figures in his life, teaching him the bush skills and self-reliance that were such strong traits in his character.⁹⁶ By the time Donald was of secondary school age, their home was in Tokarahi, some 35 kilometres from Oamaru, on the east coast, where his father then worked on the railways. Tokarahi was the terminus of a branch line from Oamaru, built to improve access to the Otago hinterland. The branch line did not last long, closing in about 1930, but it had enabled the Kennedy boys to attend school in Oamaru. By good fortune, one of the best schools in New Zealand was situated there, under the direction of Frank Milner. Waitaki Boys' High School in many ways emulated the English Public School system portrayed in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and in Alec Waugh's *The Loom of Youth*.

Kennedy did not star academically, but as the first person in the family to have been offered such an education, he provided the lead to his siblings. According to his eldest daughter, her father told her that 'he felt guilty because his father was working away to get them educated at Waitaki School and half the time he wasn't at school, he'd be away

95 Born 12 March 1898 at Spring Hills, near Invercargill. Birth Certificate No 65554/1898. His father, Robert Kennedy, was then 29 years old. He had been born in Limerick, Ireland, where his father, George Kennedy was stationed with the Seaforth Highland Regiment. George had emigrated to New Zealand in the 1880s, tried farming in the Southland and failed. For further genealogical information, see: Margaret Whitford, *Chisholm, Murchison, McRae*, self-published, Invercargill, 2000, and Margaret Whitford, 'Donald Gilbert Kennedy 1898-1976', self-published, nd.

96 Donald Murchison Chisholm (1976-1952) and Archibald McLennan Chisholm (1880-1937).

fishing in the rivers with his Maori friends.’⁹⁷ He was a big boy and claimed to have won a school boxing prize, though none of the more conventional team sports seem to have claimed his interest. He was a member of the school cadets, possibly encouraged by his grandfather, who had been a career soldier in the Seaforth Highland Regiment. Donald Kennedy arrived at the school in 1911 and within two years was a lance corporal in C Company. A year later he was Sergeant and in 1915 was Squad Leader of No. 2 platoon.⁹⁸ It was the beginning of a militaristic style of discipline that Kennedy carried through the rest of his life.

Waitaki Boys’ High School had been in existence for over twenty years when Milner accepted the position of Rector in 1906. The school flourished under Milner, whose achievements were given prominence in the biography written by his son.⁹⁹ The values Kennedy was exposed to at Waitaki are glimpsed through Ian Milner’s observations.¹⁰⁰

What really mattered, Waitaki had made us realize, was that to be a good New Zealander one must be loyal to King, Country and Empire. ... Each morning a large Union Jack was hoisted on a lofty flag-pole overlooking the school grounds. At morning assembly my father would give one of his many eloquent orations on the role of the British Empire in upholding democracy and freedom in a world that obstinately failed to live up to British standards.¹⁰¹

Among the great artists, poets and philosophers, Thomas Carlyle’s views influenced Frank Milner and may have generated a belief in the role of the heroic leader, much found if not fostered in the Colonial Service.¹⁰² Kennedy quoted Carlyle almost fifty years later, suggesting an appreciation, possibly from an early age.¹⁰³ The school grew in numbers, size and reputation. For the boarders, the regimen of physical exercise was exacting: up at 6.30am and out for a half mile run followed by a dip in the pool before breakfast. As a day-boy, Kennedy would have been spared this, though his own exertions

97 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006. He had a free place at the school, but there would have been expenses for his parents. Personal communication: Oamaru Museum to Mike Butcher, 23 February 2007.

98 Ibid.

99 Ian Milner, *Milner of Waitaki: Portrait of The Man*, Dunedin, John McIndoe, 1983. Ian attended his father’s school and became a Rhodes Scholar. See also A.R. Tyrell, *Strong to Endure: Waitaki Boys’ High School 1883-1983*, Dunedin, Waitaki High School Old Boys Association, 1983.

100 There is an irony in this patriotic quotation, as Ian Milner subsequently achieved notoriety as a Communist spy. Phillip Deery, ‘Cold War Victim or Rhodes Scholar Spy?: Revisiting the Case of Ian Milner’, *Overland*, vol. 147 (1997), pp. 9-12.

101 Ian Milner, *Intersecting Lines: The Memoirs of Ian Milner*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1993, p. 87.

102 Anthony Kirk-Greene, ‘The Colonial Service in the Novel’, in John Smith (ed), *Administering Empire: The British Colonial Service in Retrospect*, London, University of London Press, 1999, pp. 19-45.

103 Kennedy to Taylor, 30 July 1960. NLA, MS 2594, Box 36.

in covering the distance to reach the school may have more than compensated. In spite of his own classical background, Milner introduced and supported science as a keystone of the teaching, in well-equipped laboratories. Wireless telegraphy (radio) was also developed at the school in 1913.¹⁰⁴ Kennedy's interest in radios possibly dates from that time.

Although old enough to enlist in the services, Kennedy spent two years at Kaikori School, Dunedin, where he gained a Teacher's Certificate.¹⁰⁵ He also enrolled at Otago University where, for the first part of his degree, he passed in French, Latin and History. His results were not spectacular, but he did pick up some good grades for his teacher training, including the highest marks in New Zealand for Physiology and 'Structure of the Body.'¹⁰⁶ Teaching represented an upward step for a family of humble origins and modest means and Kennedy's younger brother followed the same path.¹⁰⁷ Whilst studying in Dunedin, he joined the 10th Northern Otago Regiment (Territorial Force), where he was promoted to Corporal, Sergeant, and finally commissioned as Second Lieutenant just prior to joining the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces in March 1918. As a portent of things to come, there were irregularities in his promotion to Sergeant and 'Corporal Kennedy should not have been dispatched to camp until his case had been referred to General Headquarters for disposal.'¹⁰⁸ This is the first of many examples where Kennedy treated official procedure with nonchalance and got away with it. The armistice came before Kennedy could leave New Zealand on active service and on 14 December 1918 he was demobilized without firing a shot in battle—unlike 690 of his fellow Waitakians, of whom 120 had died and 300 had been wounded.¹⁰⁹

Kennedy's first job was as housemaster at the Maori College at Otaki, which

gave me an interest in Polynesians. ... After that I went to Hurworth School as a housemaster. That was the preparatory school to Wanganui, and after that I became a science—junior science—Master at a country High School called Dannevirke. That

104 K.C. McDonald, *History of Waitaki Boys' High School 1883-1933*, Auckland, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1934, p. 232.

105 Application for Appointment to the Colonial Service, Donald Gilbert Kennedy, 10 February 1921. NAF, CSO, MP 765/21.

106 Ibid.

107 According to his son, Robert Kennedy disliked teaching and was not a good teacher. His son and grandsons have continued in the profession. Ray Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 20 November 1988.

108 Colonel C.M. Gibbon, Chief of General Staff to Camp Commandant, Trentham, 16 July 1918. Ministry of Defence, Wellington: attached from Kennedy's Army file to correspondence: E.S. Tyler-Wright (Ministry of Defence, New Zealand) to Don L Kennedy, 14 October 1988.

109 Milner, *Milner of Waitaki*, p. 63.

was all inside two years and the following year I saw an advertisement ... early, round about Christmas they wanted a housemaster for the [Suva] Grammar School ... and I applied for that and somebody, Headmaster of the place came down, an Englishman called Mann.¹¹⁰

There is no suggestion that the short duration of these appointments was for unsatisfactory performance because one of his referees for his later appointment to the Boys' Grammar School in Fiji was the Headmaster of Hurworth. The move to Dannevirke High School, near Palmerston North, was in January 1920, where his broad education enabled him to take classes in English, Latin, French, History, Geography, Mathematics, Agriculture, and Physical and Natural Science. He also took the boys for games and drill.¹¹¹ Two major events happened at Dannevirke: he married Nellie Chapman,¹¹² a fellow teacher four years his senior; and he responded to an advertisement in the *New Zealand Herald* seeking Assistant Masters for the Boys' Grammar School, Fiji.¹¹³ The Head Master of the School was in New Zealand in December to conduct the interviews and by January 1921 the appointments had been made. Kennedy and Captain A.J. Cross, a former House Master at Wellington College, were offered jobs and they sailed on 21 January. A 'Scheme of Cooperation' existed from the early 1920s until the 1970s whereby teachers could work in Fiji under the same conditions as in New Zealand, but whether this was already in place in 1921 is not known.¹¹⁴

The best education at Suva Boys' Grammar School was reserved for European children and to gain admittance part-European children needed 'twenty-five percent of "white blood" as well as a "European home environment", and then ... only up to five percent ... of the school numbers.'¹¹⁵ However, in May 1921 Fijians Ratu Dovi¹¹⁶ and Ratu George Kadavulevu (Cakobau) were sent there for cramming before being sent to

110 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

111 Donald Gilbert Kennedy, Application for Appointment to the Colonial Service, 24 November 1920. NAF, CSO, MP 765/21.

112 Married in December 1920, to Nellie Kathleen Minnie Chapman, born in Blackburn (a remote part of Hawkes Bay). Certificate No. 211/1920, Dannevirke District.

113 *New Zealand Herald*, 11 November 1920.

114 Helen Tavola, *Secondary Education in Fiji: A Key to the Future*, Suva, University of the South Pacific, 1991, p. 15.

115 Deryck Scarr, *Ratu Sukuna: Soldier, Statesman, Man of Two Worlds*, London, Macmillan, 1980, p. 61. The governing committee was against the admission of the boys. One of the 'earnest objectors' was Henry Scott, K.C., a leading citizen later exposed as the father of a part-European daughter he never acknowledged. Jim Anthony, *Sex Across the Color Line – a Neglected Topic of Pacific History: The Case of Parbhudaia aka Minie Wilkinson and Sir Henry Scott*, Lautoka, Fiji Institute of Applied Studies, 2007.

116 Ratu Cakobau became Governor General of Fiji from 1972-82 and Ratu Dovi trained as a doctor in New Zealand.

school at Wanganui. The Head Master at Suva Boys' Grammar soon discovered that Kennedy was no pushover: Captain Cross, being unmarried, was appointed to the position of resident master, and Kennedy made non-resident, although his contract required that he undertake supervision of the boys outside normal working hours. Even though he had not in fact been required to undertake any additional supervision, he wrote to the Head Master in March 1921 requesting that this requirement be deleted from his contract on the grounds that he had been misled. The result was that, as happened so many times throughout his life, Kennedy got his wish 'to give him a chance to show his abilities in other directions, unhampered by any 'ill-used' feelings.'¹¹⁷ It sounded as though Kennedy was holding this condition of his contract responsible for his performance and that the Head Master was prepared to see how he improved if that condition was removed.

An incident occurred during his stay that could have ended badly, when a boatload of boys was caught in a squall.¹¹⁸ Kennedy had taken the boys sailing for the day and was on the way back into Suva harbour when the boat overturned. It could not be righted, so Kennedy used the oars to support the younger boys while he swam with them to shore. No harm was done and the boat was recovered the following day. However, rather than being applauded for his initiative and common sense, a *Fiji Times* correspondent was critical of both Kennedy and the Head Master for placing the boys at risk by bringing them home after dark in uncertain weather, especially as some of the boys were of 'very tender years'.¹¹⁹

In a short space of time, Captain Cross had accepted the post of Head Master at the school in Levuka,¹²⁰ and Kennedy considered breaking his three year contract and returning to New Zealand. The Acting High Commissioner, Mr T.E. Fell,¹²¹ suggested that, instead of resigning, he might like to consider taking on the Head Master's position on Ocean Island (Banaba).¹²² Kennedy's promotion created a vacancy at the Boys' School and they tried to make his promotion conditional upon the arrival of a replacement. However, the Acting Secretary, Henry Vaskess, wanted him on Ocean Island, so that was

117 Head Master, Boys' Grammar School to the Superintendent of Schools, Fiji, 14 March 1921, NAF, CSO MP 8752/20.

118 'Boating Accident', *Fiji Times and Herald*, 4 July 1921, p. 5.

119 Ibid, 5 July 1921.

120 He ran into difficulties for admitting a Chinese student. See: Bessie Ng Kumlin Ali, *Chinese in Fiji*, Institute of Pacific Studies, Suva, University of the South Pacific, 2002, p. 150.

121 Thomas Edward Fell.

122 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

that.¹²³ Kennedy left Fiji for Sydney *en route* for Ocean Island on 27 February 1922, leaving behind his first child, a stillborn son, in the Suva Cemetery.¹²⁴

Ocean Island was not a prepossessing place in the 1920s and became less so as it was progressively denuded by phosphate mining. Perhaps Kennedy saw some opportunity for advancement, or was drawn to the romance of its remoteness. His eldest daughter, Margaret, was born on Ocean Island, but the experience of giving birth in that place was such that Mrs Kennedy returned to New Zealand for the births of her subsequent children.¹²⁵ Ocean Island had been the administrative headquarters of the Protectorate since 1908, as a way of more closely supervising the activities of the newly formed Pacific Phosphate Company. A school for the Banabans on Ocean Island had been established in 1920 (by which time the Protectorate has become a Colony), and Kennedy had to learn the Gilbertese language. The more prestigious King George V School on Tarawa, the former colonial administrative headquarters, was established in 1922 under Frank Holland to provide clerks and other workers with a basic understanding of English and ‘in the hope of upgrading village schools’.¹²⁶

Holland and Kennedy remained colleagues but not friends for over thirty years. In personality they were poles apart, and while Kennedy was clearly the more able, it was Holland who progressed further in his career. They submitted joint proposals for a revised education policy to the Resident Commissioner, recommending a progressive education program.¹²⁷ No general colonial education policy seems to have existed, because Crocker remarked that ‘British education practices ... have mingled every approach and every attitude that could be disastrous, disaster itself normally being warded off only because of the inspired muddle which resulted’.¹²⁸ Holland and Kennedy at least had some agreed principles to guide them: they believed that education was, ‘the best means of ensuring the moral, intellectual and physical improvement of the Gilbertese and Ellice Islanders.’¹²⁹ The Resident Commissioner, Reginald McClure, was opposed to the

123 Kennedy suggested his younger brother, Robert, for the position as he had just graduated from the Dunedin Teachers’ College, but he declined.

124 Suva Cemetery interment no. 6452 Kennedy, P.S. (stillborn), 15 June 1921, C of E., private. Acting Secretary to Acting CS, Fiji, 14 February 1922, NAF, CSO MP 373/22.

125 Margaret Isabella Kennedy born 15 January 1923.

126 Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire*, p. 134.

127 Macdonald, *Policy and Practice in an Atoll Territory*, p. 76.

128 Crocker, *On Governing Colonies*, p. 55.

129 Macdonald, *Policy and Practice in an Atoll Territory*, p. 76.

proposals on the grounds that they were 'contrary to the accepted principles of good government of a native race.'¹³⁰ He was also fearful that outside ideas would be harmful and breed unrest.

Map of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands, where Kennedy lived for seven years and established the Ellice Islands' School.

To better use his abilities, Kennedy was engaged to establish a new school in the Ellice Islands, on Funafuti. There had been mission schools previously on Funafuti, but never one with a ‘European’ master, although a European ‘lady missionary’ (Miss Sarah Jolliffe) had been in charge for some years.¹³¹ The decision to place it there had been made by McClure. When McClure died three years later, Kennedy claimed that more had been agreed with McClure than could be found in the files.¹³² Far from the watchful eye of his superior, Kennedy quickly asserted himself in his new kingdom. The school buildings, paid for with a levy on the Islanders, were erected, but the gardens needed to make the school self-supporting were inadequate. The people of the island of Vaitupu, the next island in the Ellice chain, wanted to have the school on their island and offered to endow it with more than adequate gardens. The buildings were removed from Funafuti

and re-erected on Vaitupu at Elisefou, across the lagoon from the village. Neli Lifuka, who was one of Kennedy's earliest students and a later colleague, recalls the episode:

It took us two or three years to build the new school, the dormitories, a big schoolhouse, the house for Mr Kennedy, and the other houses for the staff, the cook, the gardeners, the fishermen, the storekeeper, the policeman, the dresser, and the carpenter, my father.¹³³

All of the Ellice Islands contributed to the nearly £3,000¹³⁴ that was raised to pay for erecting and equipping the school. For this sum, each island sent seven boys annually to be educated.¹³⁵ After the move to Vaitupu, the school became self-sufficient in food, so Vaitupu was allowed to double the number of students from that island, who later made up most of the educated Ellice Islanders holding high positions in government as well as in commerce. The boys were graded into six classes, with Kennedy teaching the fifth and sixth forms and assistant masters the lower forms. Kennedy taught English, geography, mathematics, civic studies and 'other general subjects.'¹³⁶ Sport was also important: rugby, soccer, cricket, water polo and boxing were taught. Pasefika remembers the responsibilities of being a prefect and member of the school council as well as the difficulties of imposing his will on older and larger boys. 'When I look back on those days it showed we were just emerging from primitive life to a more civilized world with very different ways and conditions.'¹³⁷

At the end of the first year, the Elisefou School was in full swing: Holland's report as Director of Education is enthusiastic about the structural progress, but fails to include any mention of the educational standards reached, reflecting the lack of any specific educational aims or even policy for the Colony. With both the King George V School on Tarawa and the Ellice Islands School on Vaitupu fully operational, the Resident Commissioner, Arthur Grimble, who had not been the Resident Commissioner when they commenced, started to question their educational aims:

133 Klaus-Friedrich Koch, *Logs in the Current of the Sea: Neli Lifuka's Story of Kioa and the Vaitupu Colonists*. Canberra, ANU Press, 1978, p. 6. See also the account of another student: Frank Pasefika, *The Autobiography of Frank Pasefika*, Suva, University of the South Pacific, 1990.

134 Present day equivalents of historic prices are problematic, but if we compare a recent price of US\$500 per tonne for copra with £5 per ton (it fluctuated widely) in the 1930s, we arrive at a figure of somewhere near US\$150,000. However, that masks the difficulty the Islanders had in raising cash with copra as their only saleable product. It was a large impost on a small, impoverished, community and attests to the value they placed on education.

135 F.G.L. Holland, Headmaster Government Education Scheme, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony: Annual Report on Education and Schools, Year 1924-5, 7 November 1924, WPHC 359/1925, p. 2.

136 Pasefika, *Autobiography*, p. 19.

137 Ibid.

The general object in view when the School was first established seems to have been the education, along lines suited to the rustic local conditions, of a limited number of Gilbertese boys, from whose ranks were eventually to be selected:

- (a) the future native officials of the Colony, and
- (b) school teachers for outlying islands under a scheme of village education projected but never defined.¹³⁸

Grimble pointedly condemned the Ellice Islands School as ‘unsuitable for young boys whose destiny must remain circumscribed ... by the bounds of ordinary village life.’¹³⁹ He spoke of education, ‘not as a means of imparting academic knowledge to natives, but as an influence whose chief function is to sensitize minds to the incidence of new ideas, and render them amenable to social instruction.’¹⁴⁰ Grimble’s ‘museum policy’ on education was based on the presumption that the needs of the Colony would never change and that the role of education was to maintain the *status quo*.¹⁴¹ At a seminar/conference held in Hawaii in 1936 the educational motives and policies were still in flux. One speaker expressed the view that maintaining the status quo was to ‘accept the policy of *Divide et impera*.’¹⁴² It was pointed out that the schools could teach little in the way of manual or agricultural training, as the Islanders had, as a result of ‘generations of struggle against a hostile and barren environment ... learnt to take every possible advantage of the scanty resources at his command and there is little we can teach him ... that will be an improvement.’¹⁴³

Some years later, anthropologist Ian Hogbin questioned the value of education to the people of the Solomon Islands, who were keen to read and write as they believed they would then earn higher wages and that ‘the whole of European material culture will be open to them.’¹⁴⁴ He went on to say that they were doomed to disappointment, and:

138 Grimble to HC, 20 December 1926, WPHC 179/1927, p. 2.

139 RC to HC, 17 December 1931, quoted in Macdonald, *Policy and Practice in an Atoll Territory*, p. 78.

140 Ibid, p. 4.

141 Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire*, p. 137.

142 ‘Divide and Rule’; Felix M. Keesing, *Education in Pacific Countries*, New York, AMS Press, 1978 (1937), p. 62.

143 Ibid, p. 118. Harry Maude was the GEIC representative, so the views may have been his, as well as those of the administration, because he had been told by Juxton Barton ‘to refrain from any criticism of the educational or any other policy of the Colony ...’ Woodburn, p. 100.

144 H. Ian Hogbin, ‘Culture Change in the Solomon Islands’, *Oceania*, vol. 4, no. 3 (March 1934), p. 265.

The modern tendency is to regard education as the panacea for all social evils, whereas it is probably in reality the cause of most of them. In any case, I see little reason why so much attention is paid to teaching natives merely to read and write.¹⁴⁵

If these were the prevailing views, Kennedy was clearly ahead of his time. Writing a decade after Kennedy's educational initiatives on Vaitupu, the Papua and New Guinea (P&NG) government anthropologist F.E. Williams specifically addressed the question of 'Native Education' in the Territory of Papua. He believed that 'English *per se* is the most valuable gift we can bestow upon the native. Let the educator choose for himself what subjects he will teach, from algebra to botany ... but let him not forget that English ... is *the* subject.'¹⁴⁶ As far as the medium of instruction was concerned, Kennedy had the double aim of teaching English and reinstating the Ellice language over Samoan, which had crept in through the influence of the pastors. Not that Kennedy took a lot of notice of anyone: he applied a levy to the islands to provide electric lighting for the school before the administration discovered what he was doing.¹⁴⁷ He was hauled over the coals and told to return the funds. He also put someone in gaol after summary trial, when he had no authority to do so.¹⁴⁸ These incidents and the allegation of having fathered a child with an Ellice Island woman held up his appointment until 1928, when it was finally accepted that there was no replacement 'possessing the capabilities of Mr. Kennedy or one who would be more able to withstand temptation.'¹⁴⁹ Macdonald summed up Kennedy's achievements at the Ellice Islands School thus:

At a time when it was unfashionable, even unpopular, in colonial circles, Kennedy placed a very strong emphasis on academic education and on the teaching of English as well as covering the vernacular literacy, basic arithmetic, agriculture, hygiene and manual skills that were then the common core of most government educational programs in Pacific dependencies.¹⁵⁰

Another enduring contribution in the Ellice Islands was made in 1926, when he put the languishing Vaitupu Cooperative Society, or Fusi, on a sound footing.¹⁵¹ It had struggled

145 Ibid. A later historian also concluded that "education is as likely to lead to frustration as to fulfillment." Hugh Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians: A History of Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands*, Canberra, ANU Press, 1976, p. 157.

146 F.E. Williams, *The Blending of Cultures: An Essay on the Aims of Native Education*. Papua and New Guinea Official Research Publication N 1, Port Moresby, 1951 (1935).

147 Grimble to HC, 27 July 1926, WPHC 2352/1926.

148 RC to Rev Frank Lenwood, London Missionary Society, 15 January 1925, WPHC F3794/1928, item 32.

149 Acting HC to Secretary of State, 4 March 1928, WPHC F3794/1928, item 8; HC to Acting RC, 26 February 1929, WPHC F3794/1928, item 32a.

150 Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire*, p. 246.

151 Noatia P. Teo, 'Colonial Rule', *Tuvalu: A History*, p. 137.

for a number of years and the key to Kennedy's success was issuing individual pass books with columns for credit from copra sales and trade-goods supplied and with entries in the storekeeper's books that were periodically audited by him.¹⁵² He found that when he was away in 1929 the Fusi could run without problems. By effectively leaving the Islanders to run the Fusi themselves, Kennedy was building their confidence in self-management at a time when such capabilities were not generally recognized. Maude was so enthused by the Vaitupu Fusi during a visit in 1931 that he replicated co-operatives all through the Gilberts. In 1949 he delivered a paper as the Executive Officer of the newly formed South Pacific Commission, in which he credited Kennedy with having developed the successful cooperative prototype on Vaitupu.¹⁵³

Kennedy was also filling in his time getting wireless (radio) transmissions going between Vaitupu and New Zealand, Fiji and Ocean Island. These were pioneering days for wireless transmissions and he was well ahead of the field locally. His motivation was to ease the loneliness of his existence, especially after his wife returned to New Zealand and they could 'talk' using Morse code. Kennedy had been experimenting with wireless since 1926, when the education report of that year mentions the aerial he had erected. He gave credit to McClure, late Resident Commissioner, who envisioned the day when wireless communication would be possible between the islands operated by trained Islanders, and for allowing his initial experimentation in 1924.¹⁵⁴ One of the early amateurs with whom Kennedy and his wife had weekly schedules was New Zealander Brenda Bell,¹⁵⁵ whose recollections included the memory that 'Mr Kennedy too had trouble with swinging signals, due to his pet chameleon catching flies on the set. His first batteries were half coconut shells.'¹⁵⁶ It was, of course, fantasy: there are no chameleons on Vaitupu, and Kennedy's early experiments were better resourced than she suggests. When the experimentation had advanced sufficiently for a Wireless Receiving Station Licence to be required in 1927, Grimble was less than convinced of its value, as the new government vessel, the *Nimanoa*, was about to make frequent (four times a year) visits to

152 Donald G. Kennedy, The Native Co-operative Company of Vaitupu; A Report on its Constitution and Activities, 1925-1933, WPHC F3510/1933, item 1.

153 H.E. Maude, 'The Co-operative Movement in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands': a paper read to the Seventh Pacific Science Congress, Auckland, New Zealand, February 1949, Technical Paper no. 1.

154 D.G. Kennedy, Report on experiments in the use of short wave wireless telegraphy in the Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony, WPHC 2649/1927, item 1c.

155 'A Pioneer YL', <http://www.qsl.net/zl6yl/hist/pioneer.html>; Alan Gilchrist, Amateur Radio – South of the Waitaki. CD, self-published, nd.

156 Ibid.

outstations.¹⁵⁷ Perhaps Grimble realized too well the implications of better communications for his position, and remoteness was not always a disadvantage for local decision making. The Colonial Secretary, Mr Pilling, was less insular in endorsing the value of Kennedy's work, recommending not only that Kennedy's licence be paid, but that he should also be reimbursed for some of his outlay and paid an annual allowance for these additional services. In addition, a bonus should be paid for each of the 'boys' trained in wireless operation. Their training included making batteries from discarded materials (including indigenous pua trees as cell separators).¹⁵⁸ Because of Kennedy's foresight and technical ability, the Ellice Islands had men trained and ready for the role of radio operators when the War came, although the Ellice Islands were never invaded. In 1938, a team of trainees was taken to Nanumea to build three radio sets for the northern islands, led by Falavi Sosene and with Kennedy as adviser. The pupils did the wiring and the sets served until the coastwatchers arrived in 1942 with new ones for the war effort.¹⁵⁹

While Kennedy was getting the wireless service up and running in the 1920s, he was also researching and writing a book on the culture of Vaitupu, using radio communication via his wife in New Zealand to keep in contact with Harry Skinner at the Otago Museum.¹⁶⁰ Skinner was a generation older than Kennedy and had graduated from the University of Otago before the Great War. He had served in Gallipoli and enrolled at Cambridge under Haddon, the senior oceanic ethnologist of the day. On returning to Dunedin, he had secured a post as Assistant Curator at the Otago Museum and as the first lecturer in anthropology in Australasia. He did not enjoy fieldwork, so it is likely that he approached Kennedy on behalf of the museum to help fill the gap in Polynesian studies. Skinner encouraged Kennedy to publish in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, which he did in thirteen parts between June 1929 and March 1932.¹⁶¹ The Polynesian Society was just being re-organised, including moving from New Plymouth to Wellington, and had the resources to publish select monographs as memoirs. All of Kennedy's individual contributions were compiled into a book, which was published as Polynesian Society

157 Grimble to HC, 6 September 1927, WPHC 2649/1927, items 1 & 11.

158 Noatia P. Teo, 'Colonial Rule', pp. 138-9.

159 Ibid.

160 Atholl Anderson, 'Henry Devenish Skinner 1886-1978', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>

161 *Journal of the Polynesian Society* Memoir supplement: 'Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands', by Donald Gilbert Kennedy. vol. 38, no. 150 (June 1929), pp. 1-38; no. 151 (September 1929), pp. 39-70; no. 152 (December 1929), pp. 71-99; vol. 39, no. 153 (March 1930), pp. 101-124; no. 154 (June 1930), pp. 125-152; no. 155 (September 1930), pp. 153-182, no. 156 (December 1930), pp. 183-216; vol. 40, no. 157 (March 1931), pp. 217-246; no. 158 (June 1931), pp. 247-264; no. 159 (September 1931), pp. 265-284; no. 160 (December 1931), pp. 285-319; vol. 41, no. 164 (December 1932), pp. 321-325 (Index).

Memoir No 9 in 1931 under the title *Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands*.¹⁶² It was fortunate to have been published at all as the Society was hit hard by the Depression and survived with difficulty between 1931 and the early 1940s.¹⁶³

The *Culture of Vaitupu* is not an ethnography: most of the book comprises detailed descriptions of the material culture (canoes, fishing, house building, etc), but it also included chapters on games, songs, religion, traditions and folk lore. In his conclusion, Kennedy displayed an ability to create an evocative picture of Vaitupu:

At times, however, a canoe will put out suddenly from the shore-line, its occupants shouting, singing, laughing in reckless abandon, paddling at random as though the mere arrival at a destination were of truly negligible importance compared with the ebullient joy of present living. Or, at night, there will be a fishing party, half in play, half in earnest, their hand-nets slapping on the water, their blazing torches and shiny brown bodies mirrored on the still surface; or again, in the clear moonlight, a large fish jumps, out in the distance, and some minutes later the eddies it set up come lap-lapping along the shore. At such times one is close indeed to the spirit of old Polynesia, and may feel the presence of long forgotten *Tangaloa-langi* on a stealthy visit to a small corner of his former vast empire.¹⁶⁴

The surviving letters from Kennedy and his wife to Skinner in the Otago Museum archives give us some insight into their relationship and the extent of Kennedy's anthropological network. Skinner was his eye on the world, but Kennedy also corresponded directly with anthropologists Eugene W. Gudger, James Hornell, Kenneth Emory, Margaret Mead, Clark Wissler and Ethnomusicologist Helen Heffron Roberts at Yale, for whom he made gramophone recordings of forty Gilbertese songs.¹⁶⁵ He received congratulations from Charles Nordhoff for his chapter on fishing.¹⁶⁶ When Skinner was working to improve relations between the Polynesian Society and the Bernice Bishop Museum on Hawaii, he urged Kennedy to apply for a position there. Kennedy was reluctant to put himself forward, waiting for an offer to be made and unwilling to trade

162 Printed by Thomas Avery and Sons, New Plymouth. They had printed the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* for many years and continued to do so after the removal of the Society to Wellington.

163 M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society over 100 years*. Auckland, Polynesian Society, 1992, pp. 69-70.

164 Kennedy, *Culture of Vaitupu*, p. xviii, quoted in Doug Munro, *The Lagoon Islands*, p. 314.

165 Kennedy attempted to get Maude to check his translations of these songs, so they may never have reached Helen Roberts. Kennedy to Maude, 24 April 1933; Maude to Kennedy, 22 May 1933. Maude Papers, Series H.

166 Nordhoff is better known for his novels, including *Mutiny on the Bounty*, but he also wrote an article on fishing: Charles Nordhoff, 'Notes on the Off-shore fishing of the Society Islands', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 39, No. 154 (June 1930), pp. 137-173.

the security of the Colonial Service for the less predictable path of academia: 'science and poverty, or smug and snug security.'¹⁶⁷

To mark his new status as an anthropologist, Kennedy asked Maude in 1931 to propose him for Fellowship of the Royal Anthropological Institute.¹⁶⁸ Apparently he neglected to do so, because Kennedy was proposed by the President, Captain Joyce in July 1932, seconded in February 1933 by the Secretary, Charles Blagden, and elected.¹⁶⁹ Later the same year Skinner nominated Kennedy for the University of Otago's Percy Smith Medal, which was awarded only every four years for published work in the field of ethnology and had only previously been awarded to Skinner himself, Peter Buck and David Teviotdale.¹⁷⁰ No medal was actually struck or money awarded, as this would have emptied the kitty, but the honour was his. In recommending Kennedy for the prize, Skinner said, 'This work, which is splendidly illustrated and printed, reaches a very high standard in ethnological work, and is more than the equivalent of a thesis for the Doctorate in Science.'¹⁷¹ It took until the late 1950s to sell all the copies held by the Society, by which time it was being described as an 'essential' and 'valuable' book of reference by the District Commissioner, who was then looking in New Zealand for copies for the Colony staff.¹⁷² In a critical appraisal of the translations Kennedy included in the book, anthropologist and linguist Niko Besnier had the following to say: 'the folk tales are reasonably well transcribed, and are consistent with his representation of Tuvaluan Grammar in *Te Gagana*,¹⁷³ including analytic mistakes. Which indicates that DGK probably had a good command of the structure of the language.'¹⁷⁴ An altogether different and more subtle criticism was made by Pastor Alovaka Maui of Kennedy's choice of meaning for 'mana' in his translation of one of the pre-Christian prayers in *Culture of*

167 Kennedy to Skinner, 11 April 1934, Archives Otago Museum.

168 Kennedy to Secretary, RAI, 2 February 1932, RAI Archives, 94/11/40.

169 Personal Communication: Sarah Swalpole, RAI, to Mike Butcher, 5 March 2007.

170 Skinner to Kennedy, 21 November 1933, Archives Otago Museum.

171 Skinner to Chapman, Registrar University of Otago, 15 November 1933, Archives Otago Museum. Maude and Grimble said they would like their Gilbert Islands work to be published in the same way. Cf. Skinner to Kennedy, 8 December 1932, Archives Otago Museum.

172 Acting District Officer to District Commissioner, 5 March 1957. WPHC F76/8/12 (EAP110_5437).

173 Kennedy's book on the Tuvaluan language, *Te Ngangana a te Tuvalu* was published in 1945 and is discussed on pages 75-7.

174 Personal communication: Niko Besnier to Mike Butcher, 26 October 2009. See Besnier's definitive work on the language of Tuvalu: Niko Besnier, *Tuvaluan: A Polynesian Language of the Central Pacific*, London & New York, Routledge, 2000.

Vaitupu.¹⁷⁵ A review of the *Culture of Vaitupu* in the Sydney University edited journal *Oceania* criticized Kennedy for overlooking the findings of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown concerning 'transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent.' The review by F.L.S. Bell from Sydney University, where Radcliffe-Brown¹⁷⁶ was the professor and founder of *Oceania*, criticized the antiquarian interest in primitive society as opposed to the more current sociological focus.¹⁷⁷ Kennedy claimed it was because only the technology remained and the culture had been forgotten. Skinner, who was schooled in the antiquarian (or 'survivals') school perhaps should have steered Kennedy around this point. Maude, as one trained in the sociological school, described *The Culture of Vaitupu* as 'a superb study in material culture, but on social organization was a non-starter.'¹⁷⁸ It seems safe to say that Bell's review would hardly have encouraged Kennedy to pursue an academic career.

Kennedy's future plans were changed by his infection with filariasis (a slow onset disease that manifests itself in later life as elephantiasis—swelling of the limbs) and the consequent move to Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands. With the scaling back of the education program, he needed new fields. First there was the move to Tarawa to get him away from the filariasis carrying mosquitoes with which Vaitupu is especially plagued. It was first diagnosed in Kennedy in the 1920s and later confirmed in Britain.¹⁷⁹ The service recognized that it had a responsibility to Kennedy to provide him with a safer working environment. While they discussed his future, he was made Acting Head Master of the King George V School on Tarawa, and then allowed to return to Funafuti as the Acting Administrative Officer. The terms 'Administrative' and 'District' Officer were synonymous and ill-defined: indeed, as Dimier has observed, it had 'always been easier to define what he was not: ... What he should be and do was more difficult to describe.'¹⁸⁰

175 Alovaka's proposed alternative made the meaning no clearer. Michael Goldsmith, 'Alovaka Maui: Defender of the Faith', in Doug Munro and Andrew Thornley (eds), *The Covenant Makers: Island Missionaries in the Pacific*. Suva, University of the South Pacific, 1996, p. 238; Michael Goldsmith, 'On not knowing one's place', in Sjoerd R. Jaarsma and Marta A. Rohatynskyi (eds), *Ethnographic Artifacts: Challenges to a Reflexive Anthropology*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2000, p. 51.

176 For a comment on Radcliffe-Brown's role in making anthropology relevant to the colonial administration, see: Francis West, 'An Australian moving frontier in New Guinea,' in Gunson (ed), *The Changing Pacific*, p. 222.

177 F.L.S. Bell, Review of 'Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu', *Oceania*, vol. 2 (1931), pp. 366.

178 Personal Communication: Maude to Butcher, 9 February 1989.

179 D.C.M. Macpherson to Senior Medical Officer, 24 April 1931, WPHC F1632/1931, item 3.

180 Veronique Dimier, 'Three Universities and the British Elite: A Science of Colonial Administration in the UK', *Public Administration*, vol. 84, issue 2 (June 2006), p. 341.

A rather humble description of its enormous scope was provided by Eric Bevington, who had both pre- and post-war experience in the Pacific Service:

In a world of increasing specialization the D.O. was the last great un-specialist—a professional amateur who, for want of abler hands, found no task too mean or too grand. The sole criterion was need. Small wonder that he was caught up in his little world, his District: were it otherwise it would be sadly wrong. The District, the people, their cares, their hopes, all became his yet he was no missionary; rather a representative of the Crown.¹⁸¹

Bevington's description of the amateur-professional DOs underscores the British belief that good government 'can only be learned on the job through trial and error', in contrast to the French who trained their officers in administration before allowing them into the field.¹⁸²

Having proved himself as Administrative Officer on Funafuti, Kennedy was next appointed conjointly as Lands Commissioner with the task of getting down on paper the ownership and location of land in the Ellice Islands. Arthur Grimble had developed the enabling legislation and procedure for this difficult exercise in applied anthropology when the Native Lands Commissioner in the Gilbert Islands. The disputes, of which there were many, were adjudicated by 'Old Men' elected by the villagers, who knew the customs. All the proceedings were conducted in Gilbertese.¹⁸³ Grimble had left the Colony before Kennedy took on a similar role in the Ellice Islands in 1934. The previous year, Kennedy had written a paper on 'Land Tenure in the Ellice Islands', which he used as the basis for further study when at Oxford in 1938-9.¹⁸⁴ In it, he spelled out the complexity of the issues and it was clear why it was necessary for someone with his intimate understanding of the people, language and customs to undertake the work.¹⁸⁵ Some of the notebooks Kennedy kept are still in the islands and the following extract highlights the challenges of working with local Commissioners:

Monday 12th August [1936]

Nukufetau

Warned members [of the Commission] they must not give decisions or hold preliminary enquiries in my absence. (Complaint received earlier in morning from two

181 Eric Bevington, *The Things we do for England—if only England Knew*, Burley, Hants, self-published, 1990, pp. 147-8.

182 Veronique Dimier, 'Three Universities and the British Elite', p. 337.

183 Arthur Francis Grimble (H.E. Maude (ed)), *Tungaru Traditions: Writings on the Atoll Culture of the Gilbert Islands*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1989, p. xxiv.

184 See pages 42-5.

185 Donald G. Kennedy, Land Tenure, Inheritance and Alienation in the Ellice Islands, 13 September 1933, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, 1898/1936.

old women that members of the Commission had forbidden them to bring a certain claim before the L. C. in my presence.) They were not to consider matters as a Commission without my presence. They were at no time to make or announce decisions. They might consider any questions of custom or principle amongst themselves but must put their recommendations before me as Lands Commissioner. All people again advised not to withhold claims for more favourable opportunity in future (as is the custom) but to make them at present opportunity. After reading of a list, claims are registered against it. The list is then closed. Only in exceptional circumstances will further claims against that list be registered.

Proceeded with reading of lists and recording of claims.¹⁸⁶

In spite of his best efforts, not all contingencies could be covered. For instance, when land on more than one island had been inherited, a relative might be entrusted with representing the interests on the other island, as they could not afford to travel and possibly stay for an extended time. Under those circumstances, it was possible to hoodwink the Commission, creating further claims in the future.¹⁸⁷ The Lands Commission had to be fitted in with Kennedy's other responsibilities, so after more than three years, the work was not finished when he left for a refresher course in Oxford in 1938. In fact, the work of the local Lands Boards was on-going: forty years later, several of the land tenure practices described by Kennedy were no longer observed and the ownership patterns were evolving due to the westernization of their culture.¹⁸⁸ Most land was still owned by kinship groups, but there was movement towards more individual ownership for a number of reasons, including the growth of capitalism and population pressure.

The ability to speak the local language was essential for a DO, and Kennedy appeared to have some linguistic ability. Apart from the Ellice language and French (which he studied at University), Kennedy considered himself fluent in Samoan and Tongan and had 'a fair knowledge of all other [Polynesian] dialects', with only a 'fair knowledge' of Gilbertese (Micronesian) and Fijian (Melanesian).¹⁸⁹ That was in 1936: four years later, in response to a questionnaire sent out by the Royal Anthropological Institute to its members, Kennedy was then beginning to learn the Solomon Islands' Gela language, but

186 Ellice Islands General Tour Diary DG Kennedy 1936, Endangered Archives Programme (EAP) 005 Pilot Project, TUV 7/1 (7), TNA 2120.

187 Laloni Samuelu, 'The Land', in Laracy (ed), *Tuvalu: A History*, p. 37. To encourage compliance, Kennedy brought a 'Pathoscope cinematograph' (film projector) back to the islands in 1934 and used to make public showings conditional upon good court behaviour. Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutillier), September 1969.

188 Ivan Brady, 'Land Tenure in the Ellice Islands: A Changing Profile', in Henry P. Lundsgaarde, *Land Tenure in Oceania*, Honolulu, University Press of Hawaii, 1974, pp. 130-178.

189 Donald Gilbert Kennedy, Annual Confidential Report, 5 November 1936, WPHC 3423/1936.

only claimed fluency in Ellice, and a fair knowledge of Samoan and Gilbertese.¹⁹⁰ His knowledge of ‘all other dialects’ was an extravagant claim, but when he visited Rennell Island (a Polynesian outlier in the Solomon Islands) in 1940, he could make himself understood better than using Pidgin English.¹⁹¹ He would have met Polynesians from many islands and later visited Lord Howe Island and the other Polynesian outliers, so his claim may have some basis in fact. After the War he settled in Fiji and would have become proficient in Fijian.

Kennedy had not completed a university degree and sought to have one awarded on the basis of his anthropological writing. Even before *The Culture of Vaitupu* was printed in 1931, Kennedy had been looking at ways to gain some academic recognition for his work. Because of his isolation, he relied on the advice and prompting of others to know what was possible and where. In July 1930 he asked Skinner to find out about the Rockefeller Institute scheme for officers in the Colonial Service.¹⁹² Next, he sought Maude’s opinion about a possible Research Studentship at Cambridge University and made formal application through the Acting Resident Commissioner, Major Swinbourne.¹⁹³ Nothing seems to have come of either overture and the following year he applied for Carnegie Corporation funding to attend a refresher course at an English University.¹⁹⁴ He still had Cambridge in mind, but in the event it was Oxford he attended. For a while his study leave looked in doubt as he came down with a serious illness while on Niutao in November 1937. Dr H.B. Stephens postponed his own leave and hurried to Kennedy’s assistance in the *Nimanoa*. After bringing him back to a few days in hospital on Ocean Island, he pronounced Kennedy ready to resume work. Stephens’ diagnosis was ‘a toxic heart following upon insufficiently skilful treatment of his abdominal condition.’¹⁹⁵ It may have been a side-swipe at a Native Medical Practitioner attending Kennedy on Niutao. Three months later, the Resident Commissioner visited Kennedy on Vaitupu where he was ‘recuperating from recent heart attack.’¹⁹⁶ This may refer to the illness on Niutao. Complete rest was prescribed and Kennedy proceeded on sick leave to New Zealand in May 1938. He was examined in Suva and found to be suffering from chronic

190 Royal Anthropological Institute, Survey of members, nd (1940); A71 209(2)

191 D.C. Horton, *The Happy Isles: A Diary of the Solomons*, London, Heinemann, 1966, p. 176.

192 Kennedy to Skinner, 3 July 1930, Otago Museum archives.

193 Charles Augustus Swinbourne (1884 -). Kennedy to RC, 6 November 1931, WPHC F1061/1932, item 1b.

194 Kennedy to RC, 19 June 1933, WPHC F1061/1932, item 4.

195 H.B. Stephens to RC, 2 December 1937, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 1, 1898/1936, item 16a.

196 RC to HC, 22 March 1938, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 1, 1898/1936, item 18.

appendicitis and the general dietary deficiencies from living in the islands. His heart was much improved, though he recommended ‘no alcohol other than one whisky and soda in the evening.’¹⁹⁷ He proceeded on leave immediately to New Zealand, although his ship did not leave Sydney for over two months.¹⁹⁸

A two-week summer school on Colonial Administration had been trialed at Oxford in 1937, organized by Margery Perham¹⁹⁹ and Sir Reginald Coupland, Beit Professor of Colonial History. Kennedy hoped to attend when it was repeated the following year, but his departure was too late for that to occur.²⁰⁰ He was supported by the High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Richards, who had met him on tour and been favourably impressed by his abilities.²⁰¹ Money was tight, and Kennedy’s proposal to study ‘Anthropology and law in relation to systems of land tenure’ was a bit vague for immediate acceptance.²⁰² Nevertheless, Coupland was prepared to offer his assistance and, as the Secretary of State observed, ‘it really means that all the resources of Oxford will be placed at his disposal. He cannot have more than that.’²⁰³ By February 1938 it was all agreed upon and shared funding between the Colonial Service and the Carnegie Corporation had been arranged. It was all ‘in-house’, as the Corporation block-funded the Colonial Office to administer the funds on its behalf.

When Kennedy left Sydney on the *Strathmore*²⁰⁴ on 8 August he was embarking on more than a voyage to Britain: the woman who was to become his second wife six years later was on board, with her parents. By the time she married Kennedy she was a widow with three young children, and Kennedy had fought a war. That was all in the future. Kennedy was in Oxford in September 1938 and enrolled at University College.²⁰⁵ In his

197 Dr Worger, Final Medical Certificate required for Officers proceeding on leave to the United Kingdom, 7 June 1938, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 1, 1898/1936, item 21a.

198 Burns Philp & Company, Auckland to Secretary High Commission, 30 June 1938, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 1, 1898/1936 item 30.

199 Patricia Pugh, ‘Margery Freda Perham, 1895-1982’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 111 (2001), pp. 617-33.

200 Summaries of the papers were published: *Oxford University Summer School on Colonial Administration: Second Session 27 June–8 July 1938*, Oxford University Press, 1938, NAF, F54/18.

201 HC to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 19 October 1937, National Archives (U.K.), CO 850/103/18.

202 Secretary of State to HC, 6 December 1937, National Archives (U.K.), CO 850/103/18.

203 Secretary of State to Coupland, 11 February 1938.

204 *PIM*, 15 September 1938, p. 18. The author of this thesis emigrated to Australia on the *Strathmore*, then on her final voyage, nearly a quarter of a century later.

205 Kennedy signed the University College Admissions Register in Michaelmas Term, 1938. Personal communication: Robin Darvall-Smith to Mike Butcher, 2 July 2008. His residential address was 2 Long Wall Street, nestled amongst the colleges.

enthusiasm to make the most of the opportunities offered and encouraged by Coupland, Kennedy enrolled in Japanese classes at the London School of Oriental and African Studies. He withdrew the following term, having had to travel by train to London for two hours of classes per week, whereas the others in the class were getting ten hours tuition. He immediately fell behind and gave up the unequal battle, while claiming he had already obtained what he wanted: 'a sufficient groundwork in the language and in the method of studying it to enable me to continue with the subject on my return to duty.'²⁰⁶ How much use this was to him during the war we do not know, as Kennedy never mentioned it again. It is hard to see how Coupland failed to anticipate his difficulties, as he knew Kennedy was about to embark on a piece of anthropological work on land tenure. But one might also question Kennedy's commitment, given that he took a holiday in Italy when he could have been cramming to catch up. After returning from Italy he wrote to Vaskess, the Colonial Secretary in Fiji, 'I found the first term at Oxford somewhat embarrassing in that I was out of touch with modern youth but I have now found my feet & am looking forward to a spot of useful reading before I return.'²⁰⁷ He would have found more than an age difference in the classes he shared with the cadets, who were the elite of the British universities. He was giving one of them, Thomas Iremonger, lessons in the language of the Ellice Islands, where he subsequently replaced Kennedy. They could not have been more different: Iremonger represented everything that class, wealth and education could provide, though Frank Pasefika was not impressed by him when he was in the Ellice Islands.²⁰⁸ Kennedy asked Vaskess to send to him a copy of the paper he had written on land tenure in the Ellice Islands in 1933, which he proposed to use for a comparative study for a thesis in third term.²⁰⁹

My main thesis at present is that almost all systems of land tenure throughout the world (including the European) have gone through the same stages of evolution and very often the same type of revolution at similar periods of development.²¹⁰

No copy of the thesis has been found, though some mention of it could be in the voluminous records of the Carnegie Foundation, now held by Columbia University. When Kennedy published 'Land Tenure in the Ellice Islands' after the war, it drew heavily on

206 Kennedy to James, 18 January 1939, National Archives (U.K.), CO 850/103/18.

207 Kennedy to Vaskess, 17 January 1939, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, 1890/1936.

208 Pasefika, *Autobiography*, p. 32. Pasefika tells of Iremonger (whom he called Tremong) sending him to meet a suspected Japanese ship in his place, 'because his wife did not feel too well.'

209 Donald G. Kennedy, 'Land Tenure, Inheritance and Alienation in the Ellice Islands', 13 September 1933, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, 1898/1936.

210 Ibid. Emphasis in original.

what he had written in 1933.²¹¹ His interest in land tenure had evidently been sustained beyond Oxford, as he later claimed, ‘I did considerable research at Oxford and later in the Solomons—all records lost in the war.’²¹² He did acknowledge later that he had squandered his opportunity at Oxford.²¹³ No record of Coupland’s assessment of Kennedy is on file, though he is reported to have formed a good opinion of him.²¹⁴ He was an eminent historian with an enormous capacity for work, who encouraged those younger than himself.²¹⁵ However, Kennedy was not there just to work:

I went there with the idea of not only having a good leave and enjoying myself, but doing some research on this primitive land tenure. I had the instinct that a book was necessary on the very subject of what constitutes ‘freehold.’ Where did people get the idea of ‘freehold’ from—the very earliest beginning? There has been very little been written on it.²¹⁶

Such a book was published in Oxford in 1946, but only included Tonga from the Pacific region and its section on freehold versus leasehold tenure was small.²¹⁷ It endorsed the importance placed on land tenure by the colonized people and by the officers responsible for its administration. It is possible Kennedy over-estimated what he could have achieved with this complex topic during the short duration of his course.

Kennedy was a small fish in a very big pond at Oxford, and the dream may have soured as he struggled after all the years of isolation and low intellectual expectation, during which he had set the standard himself. Ailsa Murray tells the story of how at Oxford Kennedy ‘set his own exam, sat it, marked it and passed with ninety-nine percent. One of the exams must have been Pacific languages, or something.’²¹⁸ Any basis this story might have would be in relation to his Ellice language competency test, when he had no examiner except himself.²¹⁹ Kennedy later drew on the local government lectures

211 Donald Gilbert Kennedy, ‘Land Tenure in the Ellice Islands’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 62, no. 3 (1953), pp. 348-358.

212 Kennedy to Maude, 26 January 1955, Maude Papers, Series J.

213 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

214 Tomlinson to Luke, 26 September 1939, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, 1898/1936.

215 J. Simmonds, ‘Sir Reginald Coupland 1884-1952’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 14 (1959), pp. 286-295.

216 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

217 C.K. Meek, *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies*, London, Frank Cass & Co., 1968 (1946), pp. 243-248. Charles Kingsley Meek was a former Nigerian DO.

218 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

219 Kennedy was paid the language allowance without examination on the assurance of Arthur Grimble that he was ‘the sole living European authority upon the Ellice variants of the Polynesian group of languages.’ RC to HC, 17 October 1930, WPHC 71/1931.

he had received from John Maud while at Oxford, and when he returned to Sydney on the *Narkunda* on 3 August 1939, it was no longer anthropology but ‘a special course of study’ at Oxford University that he was credited with having undertaken.²²⁰

Kennedy’s plans for his return to Funafuti were forestalled by a deputation to the High Commissioner, Sir Harry Luke, when on a tour of the islands.²²¹ He was petitioned on Funafuti by four Islanders with a log of grievances about Kennedy’s drunkenness, cruelty and ‘always [being] after the native women and girls.’²²² Significantly, Frank Pasefika, who had worked for many years with Kennedy and was said to be one of the worst affected, did not join the deputation, which included the wireless operator Falavi. Falavi, as we shall see, had his own reasons for not wanting Kennedy to return. Maude was present at the meeting with the delegation, but could recall nothing when asked about the grounds for Kennedy being banned from the Colony.²²³ Why he did not remember is tantalizing: perhaps the allegations were lacking in substance, or not saying anything new! Within a day and without consulting Kennedy or giving him the opportunity to respond to the allegations, Luke had decided that Kennedy could never return to the Ellice Islands. He was not even to be allowed to return to retrieve his personal belongings. However, they would continue to use his wireless transmitter/receiver until it could be replaced. Luke did not even want him to visit Fiji, so he was sent to Ocean Island under the eye of the Resident Commissioner, Jack Barley.

Luke’s decision was based on suspect information, which we examine more closely, beginning with the observations of the new DO and his wife. The packing up of Kennedy’s possessions (including his collection of cultural artifacts) was carried out by Tom Iremonger after he arrived with his wife Lucille early in 1940.²²⁴ Lucille had taken an MA at Oxford the year before and was later to have a successful literary career. Her first book was of her experiences in the islands, which helps us to fill out the picture of life at that time.²²⁵ Kennedy is never mentioned by name or given credit for his

220 *PIM*, 15 August 1939, p. 11.

221 Sir Harry Luke, *From a South Seas Diary*, London, Nicholson & Watson, 1945, p. 121.

222 Vaskess, file note 18 July 1939, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, 1898/1936.

223 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

224 Lucille Iremonger, *A Bigger Life*, London, Hutchinson, 1948, pp. 50-1. Three roughly packed boxes addressed to Kennedy arrived at Ocean Island from Iremonger seven months after Kennedy had left there for the BSIP. They were apparently forwarded to Tulagi and lost during the Japanese invasion. Barley to HC, 22 January 1941, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, no. 142.

225 It is of the genre, like Grimble’s best sellers, that translates the names of the Islanders into their literal English meanings. If Western names were treated in the same way, it would cause offence.

achievements, although the Iremongers knew him well from Oxford, for which reason we must suspect a level of disaffection for Kennedy. Lucille has provided us with the following description of Falavi:

The wireless operator was a tall, coal-black negro, with nothing Polynesian about him, with a lame leg. His name was Falavi, which means Sour Pandanus. One of his ancestors was George, a Jamaican buck negro, who had found his way to the Ellice as a sailor ... Falavi, of whom we were very fond, gave the impression of being Uncle Tom in person, but he had a fiendish temper, and lost it frequently... Falavi loved gossip, especially malicious gossip, and had to be shut up almost by force. He was as slippery as an eel.²²⁶

If Sir Harry Luke had been in possession of this character portrait, he might not have been quite so quick to judgment. That the four petitioners did not represent the views of the majority of Ellice Islanders was revealed by a second deputation, this time to the Resident Commissioner. In response to repeated requests, Jack Barley met with a deputation of sixteen Ellice Islanders on 4 February 1940.²²⁷ They came from five of the islands—Nanumea, Nui, Vaitupu, Nukufetau, and Nukulaelae—and, because they were employed by the British Phosphate Commissioners on Ocean Island, were able to meet at the Residency. The leading spokesman was ex-Sergeant-Major Manuela, from Nanumea, someone of standing in the community. Their main points were:

- (1) The deputation at Funafuti was not representative of the community and they wanted Kennedy to return.
- (2) Only Kennedy could complete the Lands Commission work.
- (3) Kennedy was needed to do the reef blasting in the other islands.
- (4) The debt of gratitude owed to Kennedy by the Ellice Islands people.

They also said that Falavi was behind the first deputation because he knew he would have to answer to Kennedy for his errant behaviour while he was away at Oxford.²²⁸ Specifically, 'he had been freely distributing kerosene purchased (on Mr. Kennedy's account) for the running of the wireless and electric light plant to numerous relatives and friends.'²²⁹ This impression that there was considerable good will towards Kennedy in the islands was relayed to the High Commissioner in Fiji.²³⁰ Kennedy's belief that the original petition was motivated by 'half-castes' disgruntled by his decisions as Lands

226 Iremonger, *A Bigger Life*, pp. 66-7. Don Kennedy confirmed that Falavi was darker than most Polynesians.

227 Barley to Luke, 29 February 1940: WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, 1898/1936.

228 Ibid.

229 Barley to Luke, 29 February 1940, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, 1898/1936. Kennedy was incensed at having to pay for the excess kerosene that Falavi had distributed.

230 Sir Philip Mitchell to Secretary of State, 12 October 1943, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3.

Commissioner adds another layer of complexity to an understanding of the Islanders' motives.²³¹

Luke had come under considerable pressure from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir George Tomlinson, who had met Kennedy in London and had 'taken a rather special interest in him.'²³² He mentions the breadth of Kennedy's interests and the fact that Sir Arthur Richards 'had spotted him as being much above the average of administrative officers in the Western Pacific and recommended him for the MBE (which oddly enough, Kennedy refused).' Tomlinson had also spoken to Barley when he was on leave in the United Kingdom, concluding that he 'evidently assumed and hoped that Kennedy would return to his previous work with the added stimulus derived from his stay at Oxford.' Taking great care not to tell Luke how to manage his affairs, Tomlinson nevertheless strongly signaled his preference for a more understanding solution to the problem of what to do with Kennedy, and ended with a reflection on the causes of his difficulties:

Kennedy made a good impression when he was in England and it now looks as if the trouble and money that were spent on him had been wasted. But I am sure that the fons et origo mali is the leaving of men for prolonged periods in these remote and isolated islands. How many of us could have preserved our standards of life intact if we had been put to a similar test in early manhood?²³³

Kennedy did well on Ocean Island, where he soon demonstrated his administrative abilities. He had stopped drinking and had the support of the medical men in his attempt to rehabilitate himself. Faced with the evidence of the second delegation, Luke did not reverse his decision about barring Kennedy from returning to the Ellice Islands, but he did agree to give him the opportunity of going to the Solomon Islands to re-establish his career. Kennedy was reluctant to leave the GEIC before the allegations had been cleared up, but a personal note from Dr Macpherson encouraged him to go so as not to 'jeopardize this new opportunity.'²³⁴ Kennedy did not know Macpherson had been ordered by Ronald Garvey, the Acting Resident Commissioner, to send this note.²³⁵

Kennedy's relationship with Barley is explored further in chapter 6, but at this time Barley interceded on several occasions on his behalf and seemed to have Kennedy's

231 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

232 Tomlinson to Luke, 26 September 1939, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, 1898/1936.

233 Ibid.

234 Macpherson to Kennedy, 10 May 1940, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, 1896/1936, no. 106.

235 File note 211, sheet 21. WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2.

interests at heart. Barley also had Kennedy visit him in the United Kingdom when on leave, though Kennedy had nothing but rancour for Barley when recalling him thirty years later.²³⁶ Perhaps Kennedy believed Barley had not taken a strong enough stand against Falavi in his representations to Luke. Kennedy had convicted Falavi of falsifying accounts when a clerk in training on Funafuti in October 1932 and sentenced him to six month's hard labour.²³⁷ He had rehabilitated himself sufficiently to have been left in charge of the wireless station when Kennedy went on leave, though it is likely that Kennedy did not anticipate Falavi being left in sole charge without supervision. Falavi seemed to court trouble and in April 1940 was suspended while charges of negligence and incompetence were investigated. Tom Iremonger found the charges were 'all comparatively trifling, and I think Falavi is certainly not guilty of any grave offence.'²³⁸ The charges involved a number of instances of breaches of the protocols resulting in non-delivery of messages and then attempting to cover them up by ripping out pages from the log, which are scarcely trivial matters. Iremonger suggested that the fault lay with inadequate training, which amounted to a criticism of Kennedy. However, Falavi had been trained by Kennedy for twelve years before leaving him in charge in 1938 and his duties were detailed in the application for a paid position as wireless operator.²³⁹

The transcript of the evidence collected has survived and it illustrates the difficulty of holding such proceedings in the islands. Iremonger's bias is evident and caused Garvey to comment on 'the general atmosphere of intrigue which surrounded the whole question of Falavi's conduct and which reflects little credit on anybody who has figured in the incidents.'²⁴⁰ He may well have included Iremonger in his criticism, as his friendship with Falavi had compromised the investigation. The proceedings served to reinforce the value of Kennedy's 'arms-length' philosophy when it came to discipline. Nevertheless, Falavi's experience as a wireless operator was too valuable to lose, so he was re-employed on Beru Island,²⁴¹ although specifically barred from re-employment on Funafuti or Ocean Island. It would seem from the evidence of Falavi's character that Kennedy had grounds for stating he had been misrepresented. The accusations of the other three members of the

236 Kennedy interview, (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

237 Kennedy to Acting RC, 17 October and 27 November 1932; Acting RC to HC, 1 December 1933, WPHC 168/1933, items 1a, 1b and 5.

238 Minute by T.L. Iremonger, 2 January 1941, WPHC 277/1941, item 1a.

239 Kennedy to RC, 22 December 1933, WPHC F5/13, vol. 1, item 37a.

240 Acting RC to HC, 14 November 1941, WPHC 277/1941, item 8.

241 Administrative centre for the South Gilbert Islands.

original delegation cannot be so easily brought into question. But there remains little doubt that Luke's premature decision denied Kennedy natural justice; or that Iremonger, newly arrived in the islands and out of his depth dealing with the Ellice Islanders, was much more open to manipulation by people like Falavi than the experienced and linguistically-equipped Kennedy.²⁴² After the war had passed north of the Solomons, Sir Philip Mitchell re-examined the original complaints after he met Kennedy on Guadalcanal, as he thought Kennedy had 'developed almost a persecution mania' about the allegations.²⁴³ Mitchell thought the allegations were 'vague in the extreme' and that, without a proper enquiry, no judgment could be formed about his degree of culpability. He also believed that no enquiry could now be held and proposed that they should 'expunge the whole unsavoury matter from the records.' He went on to describe an event that threw further doubt on the original charges:

When the Ellice Islanders resident in Suva recently heard of his [Kennedy's] arrival and that he was staying with me at Government House, they begged him to attend an entertainment which they organized on his behalf. There were between 80 and 100 Ellice Islanders present and my Aide-de-Camp who accompanied Major Kennedy tells me it was quite evident that they were delighted to see him and quite attached to him.²⁴⁴

Mitchell found this impossible to reconcile with the allegation that they lived in fear of Kennedy on the islands. It might have been the correct decision to quash the charges, but Kennedy was denied his day in court and there were later determinations to continue the ban.²⁴⁵ Fortunately for researchers, the records were not expunged from the files.

Transport to the other islands in the group was always problematic and with eight islands to administer and no boat of his own, Kennedy was always dependent upon the availability of the *Nimanoa* or the vagaries of missionary or Burns Philp shipping to carry out his responsibilities. Kennedy was a keen and skilled sailor, well able to sail a boat to the other islands and eventually decided it was feasible to build one on Vaitupu. He already had a small yacht on Funafuti in 1933 that he had built himself. Margaret Bishop

242 The vulnerability of officers to the wiles of the local people was observed by J.C. Mitchell, who considered the DOs in Africa to be controlled by "clerks, interpreters, messengers, policemen and other intermediaries between the Administrator himself and the people." Quoted in: Gluckman, 'Inter-hierarchical Roles', p. 72.

243 Sir Philip Mitchell to Secretary of State, 12 October 1943, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3.

244 Ibid.

245 Chief Secretary secret file note dated 26 July 1951 includes: 'Sir Alexander Grantham gave some kind of pledge that he would not be allowed to return, in any circumstances, to a group where he had incurred so much fear and odium.' WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3.

was rescued by her father while sailing and recalled the occasion as one that accounted for the trust she had in him:

They [her parents] would be sitting up in [the yacht] and a little rush board out the back tied on and Joan and I lying on it and holding onto the front edge. It was wonderful. I've got a real weakness in my hands or something, because I drop things, and I let go the board and I can remember looking up through the bubbles and seeing Dad standing up and diving in and Mum looking. What was she going to do with the boat? She must have known what to do. He brought me up, but I wasn't scared, that was the funny thing. I could swim before I could walk, they told me. I can remember doing this to get up through the bubbles to the top, but Dad saved me.²⁴⁶

Iremonger had a Sailing Blue from Oxford and took a particular interest in the boat Kennedy had been building with the carpenter, Kelese, which was part-finished when he left for England in 1938. Lucille Iremonger was predictably disparaging about the boat:

He [Kennedy] knew nothing of boat-building, so bought a *How-to-Build-a-Boat* book, which contained a design for an eighteen-foot sailing boat. Naturally, he needed something a bit bigger, so he simply doubled all the measurements... This white elephant was lying half-finished in Vaitupu and Tom had the job of finishing her, with Kelese's aid, and then launching her.²⁴⁷

Iremonger certainly did not finish the boat and David Wernham reported in 1942 that the boat was inspected by an experienced boat builder who reported that 'the hull was strongly built, but that it would need considerable alteration before tubes for the twin propeller shafts could be fitted.'²⁴⁸ In 1948, when it had finally been completed and tested, the vessel, then named the *Nautaka*, 'would however seem to be useless as a vessel for the government as she can carry no cargo, few deck passengers and one cabin passenger in great discomfort.'²⁴⁹ For all its limitations, the *Nautaka* was still operating in Kiribati thirty-five years later.²⁵⁰ Kennedy later built his own boat when living on Waya Island.

In many ways, Kennedy's best years were behind him in 1940. His marriage was over, health impaired and drinking scarcely under control, but he was well adapted for a frontier life as he could improvise and train others. Although it was not then known, his educational strategies provided the springboard for the eventual independence of the

246 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 September 2006. Kennedy taught Margaret to sail and to have confidence on the water. He later sent an outrigger canoe to her in Auckland and she bought her own yacht after starting employment.

247 Iremonger, *A Bigger Life*, p. 90.

248 Wernham, Acting Administrative Officer, Report: Ellice Islands Vessel, 5 September 1942, WPHC F46/12/1, vol. 1, item 52.

249 Acting RC to HC, 23 March 1948, WPHC F6/12/1, vol. 2, item 141.

250 Noatia P. Teo, 'Colonial Rule', p. 137.

nation of Tuvalu.²⁵¹ He was remembered as a charismatic figure with high expectations of his students and the teachers he trained kept the Vaitupu School going right through the war and provided the men for training in administration after the war.²⁵² Laracy received similar responses when he met contributors to *Tuvalu: A History*:

Some of the older men came along and clearly they were proud to be Kennedy's boys. I said, 'I've heard stories about being hit with the cricket bat.' 'Oh, yes!' It wasn't resented. It wasn't white bullying colonial racist! It was what we used to get at school in Latin, *Esto vir*—Be a Man! Kennedy had rules and drew lines in the sand and for him there was scarcely a soppy affection, but a regard or respect that he gave these chaps, abilities to learn and to push them.²⁵³

The war in Europe was almost a year old when Kennedy was posted to the Solomon Islands as a last chance to rehabilitate himself. He left Ocean Island 13 June 1940 en route for the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) at Tulagi, via Nauru and Melbourne.²⁵⁴ In fact, as the next chapter shows, he came into his own under wartime conditions that enabled him to use all his abilities to the full but at the same time took him to the edge psychologically.



Kennedy (far left) with wife and family and the crew of the *Waterlily*. Funafuti 1933.

Courtesy: Anne Cowper

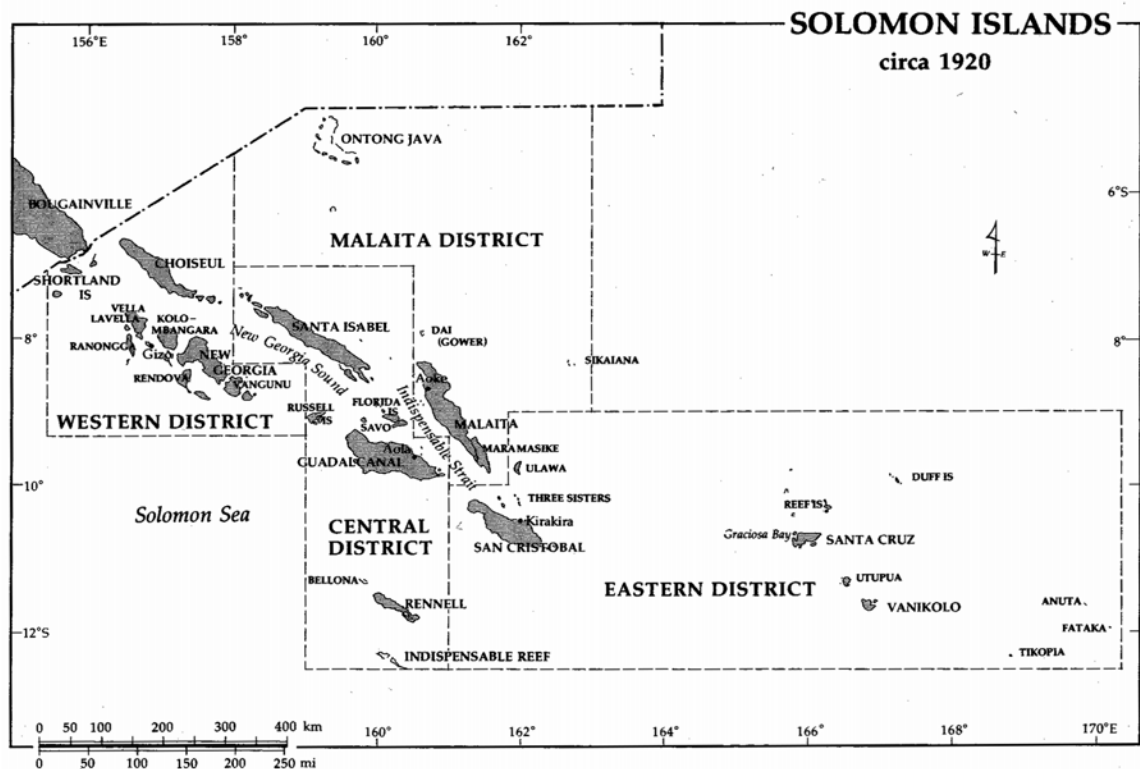
251 John Smith, the last Governor of the GEIC, claimed the credit for having 'argued for amicable and orderly separation' of Kiribati from Tuvalu. He also curiously states that 'A significant number of Ellice Islanders were sent to be educated in the USA by servicemen, giving them a head start in terms of jobs.' No supporting evidence for this claim has been found and he seemed totally unaware of Kennedy's role as educator. John Smith, 'Preparation for Independence: West African Experience Applied to the Pacific', in John Smith (ed), *Administering Empire: The British Colonial Service in Retrospect*, London, University of London Press, 1999, pp. 313 & 319 (n. 10).

252 Niko Besnier, *Literacy, emotion, and authority: Reading and writing on a Polynesian atoll*, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 60.

253 Laracy interview (with Mike Butcher), 12 December 2006.

254 Vaskess to HC, 9 October 1940, WPHC CPF 51, vol. 2, 1898/36.

Chapter 3: Service in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate



Map of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate c. 1920 showing the Administrative Districts.

Source: Judith A. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons: A history of a Pacific Archipelago, 1800-1978*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1987, p. 3. Reprinted with permission. Copyright Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Cartography by Manoa Mapworks, Inc.

Having left the Gilbert and Ellice Islands under the threat of dismissal from the Colonial Service, Kennedy arrived in Tulagi resenting the fact that he had not been given the chance to answer allegations made against him. Sir George Tomlinson, Secretary of State for the Colonies, encouraged Sir Harry Luke to offer Kennedy the opportunity of proving himself in the Solomon Islands, for which Luke had responsibility as High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. As discussed in the previous chapter, Luke had decided that Kennedy could not return to the Ellice Islands on grounds that were subsequently found to be flawed. Kennedy's move to the Solomons through a staff exchange in July 1940 was not initially popular with William Sydney Marchant, the Resident Commissioner. Marchant resented being lumbered with someone whom he considered 'an unfair burden on Protectorate finances since he cannot be entrusted with duties commensurate with his salary.'²⁵⁵ However, they seemed to hit it off and Marchant was soon sending Sir Harry

255 HC to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 16 May 1940, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, 1898/1936.

Luke encouraging messages about Kennedy's progress.²⁵⁶ He was appointed Inspector of Police for Gela,²⁵⁷ (effectively District Officer), with the administrative task of 'trying to knock Gela into some sort of shape.'²⁵⁸ What Marchant meant by this was elaborated by Kennedy as a response to 'a spirit of dissatisfaction with the administration [that] has existed throughout the district.'²⁵⁹

Tulagi, located on a small island off the south coast of Gela,²⁶⁰ had been the seat of Government in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate since 1896. It had been selected for its harbour and as a healthier alternative to the high islands for the European staff. Head taxes had been collected from the Solomon Islanders since 1921-3 to raise revenue and to force Solomon Islanders into plantation work, since they had no other means of paying the tax than as wage labourers.²⁶¹ The Islanders saw little benefit, which led to civil unrest, particularly on Malaita. In the eyes of the people, the obligations of the government in return for these payments were not being met, and it was to be expected that any '*mala fide* failure to discharge the duties ... meets with a whole series of rebukes, reprisals and disservices.'²⁶² This situation of civil unrest existed on Gela and an additional dissatisfaction arose from the way the initiatives of the Reverend Richard Fallows had been treated by the High Commissioner, Sir Harry Luke. In June 1939, Fallows had held a public meeting or 'parliament' on Gela to discuss common needs and grievances amongst the Solomon Islanders.²⁶³ Fallows had become politically active because of the administration's neglect of the welfare of the Melanesians and founded what later became known as the 'Chair and Rule' movement. These meetings had previously been held on Santa Ysabel and Savo Island and were a cause of concern to the administration.²⁶⁴ A petition was presented to Sir Harry Luke by John Pidoke, Chief of

256 Marchant to Luke, 6 August 1940. WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, 1898/1936, no. 124.

257 Spelt Nggela in the Solomons orthography. Also named Florida Island, but usually known as Gela.

258 Marchant to Luke, 19 September 1940, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, no. 131.

259 Gela District Annual Report 1940, WPHC F1486/1941, item 1f.

260 Gela has been described as the most beautiful island in the Solomons. Charles E. Fox, *Kakamora*. London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1962, pp. 106-7.

261 Ian Frazer, 'Maasina Rule and Solomon Islands Labour History', in Clive Moore, Jacqueline Leckie and Doug Munro (eds), *Labour in the South Pacific*, Townsville, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1990, pp. 191-203.

262 B. Malinowski, introduction to H. Ian Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia*, Hamden, Conn, Shoe String Press, 1961 (1934), p. xxvi.

263 David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission 1849-1942*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1978, pp. 282-5.

264 Judith A. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons: A history of a Pacific archipelago, 1800-1978*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1987, pp. 262-3.

Gela, during Luke's first official visit in June 1939.²⁶⁵ Luke also met with Fallowes and summarily deported him instead of responding to the issues raised by the meetings.²⁶⁶ In this he had the support of the Bishop of Melanesia, Walter Baddeley, as Fallowes' unorthodox behaviour also challenged the Bishop's authority. According to the anthropologist and former colonial officer Cyril Belshaw, these 'parliaments' posed no threats to law and order and if they had been handled properly they could have had beneficial results.²⁶⁷ Kennedy's role was to demonstrate that the administration did take an active (if belated) interest in the welfare of the Gela people.

It was Kennedy's previous experience with Native Administration in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony that equipped him to carry out the work on Gela. In his position of District Officer for the Ellice Islands, Kennedy had recorded his attitude to Native Administration, which was critical of the appointments being made. He observed that justice was compromised by the traditional factions in the community and suggested the appointment of magistrates with judicial functions only.²⁶⁸ His District Commissioner, Jack Barley, disagreed with him, believing that the existing structures were more appropriate.²⁶⁹ Barley had earlier suggested that training young men as scribes could lead to their eventual appointment as magistrates to achieve the same end.²⁷⁰ A year later, Kennedy reiterated the weaknesses of the prevailing scheme as a mix of local community pressure, influence of the local missionaries (Samoan pastors) and personal politics.²⁷¹ Importantly, when speaking of the Native Government on Funafuti, he maintained that his policy as Administrative Officer was not to interfere except in matters of major importance, 'to imbue the Native Government with a greater sense of self-confidence and a more developed initiative,'²⁷² in keeping with the original intention of the Protectorate

265 Hugh Laracy, *Pacific Protest: The Maasina Rule Movement Solomon Islands 1944-1952*. Suva, University of the South Pacific, 1983, pp. 49-52.

266 Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, p. 285.

267 Cyril Belshaw, Native Politics in the Solomon Islands, *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 20, no. 2 (June 1947), p. 189. Belshaw was an anthropologist who left the Colonial Service in 1946 for a successful academic career and can be counted as a reliable observer at the time. Belshaw described his days in the Colonial Service in his autobiography, but does not mention Kennedy. Cyril Belshaw, *Bumps on a Long Road*, vol. 1, Vancouver, Webzines, 2009, pp. 11-56.

268 Donald G. Kennedy, Report on the Appointment of Native Magistrates in the Ellice Islands, 15 February 1934, WPHC 1653/1933.

269 RC to HC, 19 December 1936, WPHC 1653/1933.

270 RC to HC, 8 June 1934, WPHC 1653/1933.

271 D.G. Kennedy, Annual Report of the Gilbert and Ellice Island Colony, pp. 7-8, WPHC 1737/1935.

272 Ibid, p. 8.

under C.R. Swayne.²⁷³ Perhaps heeding Barley's suggestion, Kennedy was already involved in training scribes recruited from the Tarawa and Vaitupu schools.²⁷⁴ Judging by his actions in the Ellice Islands, it would seem that Kennedy adopted a developmental approach to his work with Native Government in a way that Marchant was keen to see on Gela.

The administration of Gela had been characterized by neglect on the part of the European officials, who for some seventeen years had made 'no regular administrative visits' and corruption among the village officials, which 'led naturally to abuse of power and misrepresentation to the Government', and to unrest in the community.²⁷⁵ Kennedy also attributed the unrest to the presence of nearby foreigners—'people who displayed an apparently superior or vastly different culture and who, whatever their actions or intentions, were a disruptive element, denigrating traditional culture and liable to obstruct indigenous ambitions.'²⁷⁶ Conversely, becoming acquainted with Europeans gave some of the local men the confidence to express their demands and knowledge of Western ways.²⁷⁷ It is clear that Kennedy believed in the importance of personal contact with the villagers to establish his credibility and to promote the trial of Marchant's model of self-management. With an apparent appetite for the rough life of being on tour, he spent six months visiting the thirty villages. Two young Gela men, John Manebona and Stanley Piluniuna, accompanied him, 'talking with the villagers at night, observing their gardening and fishing activities by day, and learning something of their language, customs and ideals.'²⁷⁸ The keystone of the strategy was the construction of local court houses in which the business of the village was conducted. By mid-1941, all the court houses were complete and in his regular visits Kennedy reported remarkable enthusiasm and 'a marked change in the attitude of the villagers towards the Administration.'²⁷⁹ Sergeant-Major Sitiveni Sipolo also accompanied Kennedy on some of these trips. He later stood trial for his participation in the pro-independence post-war Maasina Rule

273 See pages 19-20.

274 D.G. Kennedy, Annual Report of the Gilbert and Ellice Island Colony, p. 9. WPHC 1737/1935.

275 D.G. Kennedy, Gela District Annual Report 1940, p. 2. WPHC F1486/1941 item 1f.

276 Ibid.

277 D.G. Kennedy, Marching Rule in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate: Memorandum on the Origin of the Term, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, 17 April 1967, MSS. Pac. s.76. Deposited June 1969.

278 Ibid, p. 7.

279 Ibid, p 13. Belshaw says all trace of Kennedy's efforts had disappeared by the time he arrived, just a few years later, through the intervening two DOs showing no interest. Personal communication: Belshaw to Mike Butcher, 3 February 2010.

movement on Malaita, where he gave evidence about the chain of events leading from Fallowes' 'Chair and Rule' movement, through Kennedy's 'Marchant's Rule' to later pro-independence movements. In his trial evidence, Sipolo (Sipola), who claimed to have been a loyal servant for thirty years, reported on these early meetings to government, but did not identify Kennedy's work as being a significant step in the progression of events.²⁸⁰ Belshaw was more generous with his assessment of Kennedy's importance: 'Before the outbreak of war ... an able administrative officer was appointed to the Gela district. He initiated political reforms ... [which] included the establishment of Native Courts and Councils, local legal and legislative organizations of extraordinary educative value.'²⁸¹ Belshaw's own involvement with furthering these initiatives in 1944 and 1945 suggests that he had an intimate knowledge of Kennedy's work on Gela. Writing much later, Kennedy was less generous to Belshaw, then a cadet, and Captain Rogers, the Acting District Officer, 'neither of whom had an inkling of the root causes of the Gela rebellion.'²⁸² The scheme nevertheless seemed to be working before the Japanese arrived, but with hindsight was judged to be too little, too late.²⁸³

Other models for Native Administration had been proposed in the Solomons by District Commissioners Kane²⁸⁴ in 1922 and Ashley²⁸⁵ in 1929, and in 1940 by District Officer Miller,²⁸⁶ who had inaugurated a system of courts in the Gizo District.²⁸⁷ After the war had passed to the north, Kennedy was again involved in the politics of Gela, when he called a meeting early in 1944 of the original 1941 delegates at Salisapa village on Little Gela.²⁸⁸ It was the largest public meeting ever recorded in the district and attested to the esteem in which Kennedy was held that they turned up in such numbers.

Having demonstrated his capability within his first year in the Solomons, Kennedy's territorial responsibilities were expanded to include Ysabel and the Shortland Islands as well as some preparations for the defence of Tulagi, in the event of a Japanese invasion.

280 Laracy, *Pacific Protest*, p. 116. Sipolo received a prison sentence of four years and lost his service pension.

281 Belshaw, 'Native Politics in the Solomon Islands', p. 190.

282 Kennedy, *Marching Rule*, p. 16.

283 Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, p. 282.

284 Richard Rutledge Kane, RC 1921-29.

285 Francis Noel Ashley, RC, 1929-39.

286 William Hugh Cornelius Craven Miller, District Officer, 1926-42.

287 Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, p. 282.

288 Kennedy, *Marching Rule*, p. 16.

The Tulagi Advance Operating Base (an air base) was set up on the adjacent islands of Gavutu and Tanambogo.²⁸⁹ Kennedy cleared the mangroves with a team of men from Malaita and by the end of June 1941 the tiny airbase was complete. No runway was necessary as the aircraft were amphibious Catalinas, also known as PBVs.²⁹⁰ A small ill-equipped and poorly trained defence force was created, in which Kennedy and some of the other District Officers were commissioned in December 1941. Their role was that of coastwatchers distributed across the islands of the archipelago. The Coastwatching service had been established before the war to provide Australian Naval Intelligence with information about, for instance, strange shipping movements.²⁹¹ During the Japanese invasion, many of the coastwatchers, most of whom were European planters with experience of the islands, operated behind enemy lines with the support of the local Islanders. Their role was primarily to report by radio on troop, shipping and aircraft movements and remain as invisible as possible while doing so.²⁹² Radio transmissions were coded using the Playfair-Feldt method, of which many examples have survived in books kept by Kennedy.²⁹³

As war with the Japanese approached, Marchant seemed incapable of facing the reality of invasion, with the result that the evacuation from Tulagi, when it came, was chaotic.²⁹⁴ Dick Horton, a District Officer who had come to the Solomons before the war, claimed that both the High Commissioner, Sir Harry Luke, and the Resident Commissioner, Marchant, were slow to grasp the reality and it was only after the bombs started falling on Tulagi that Luke ordered the evacuation.²⁹⁵ Whilst other descriptions of the evacuation support Horton's view of events, he did harbour jaundiced views of Luke and

289 Stanley Coleman Jersey, *Hell's Islands: The Untold Story of Guadalcanal*, College Station, Texas, A&M University Press, 2008, pp. 10-11.

290 The initials PBV were a product of the US Navy aircraft designation system of 1922. The PB stands for 'Patrol Bomber' and the Y designates the manufacturer—Consolidated Aircraft.

291 For the history of the Coastwatching Service see: Barbara Winter, *The Intrigue Master: Commander Long and Naval Intelligence in Australia, 1913-1945*, Sheldon, Boolarong Press, 1995.

292 Eric Feldt, *The Coastwatchers*, Hawthorn, Vic, Lloyd O'Neil, 1975 (1946).

293 A copy of the coding instructions has survived: WPHC SF9/6/6 vol. 1, Playfair code; Kennedy's logs are in the UAL, Special Collection, Kennedy, Donald Gilbert. Papers. MSS&Archives Vault 58.

294 Lt D.C. Horton RANVR, Special Appendix to Report: Coastwatching in British Solomon Islands Protectorate, nd, p. 1, NAA, B3476/55.

295 Ibid. Horton and Marchant had fallen out over Horton's request to be allowed to resign from the Service so he could enlist in the armed forces. Marchant rejected his application, but Horton resigned anyway. By communicating with the recruiting office in Melbourne, Marchant prevented him from enlisting. Horton re-joined the Service and served as a coastwatcher with distinction, but clearly did not like or forgive Marchant.

Marchant.²⁹⁶ Others fell foul of Marchant: Henry Josselyn had resigned like Horton and later served as a coastwatcher; and Donald Smith Macfarlan, the Intelligence Officer, had trouble getting cooperation from Marchant with planning the evacuation. Matters came to a head with Hugh MacKenzie, when Marchant had to be instructed not to interfere with his intelligence work. The problem seems to have been the dual accountability of the officers to Naval Intelligence as well as to the Colonial administration. Later, Kennedy's relationship with Marchant was also strained over the location of his coastwatching base away from Ysabel.²⁹⁷

Kennedy's role during the War has been written about elsewhere, so only specific incidents will be highlighted in this chapter for their significance to our understanding of him. However, adopting the format pioneered by Denning in *Performances*,²⁹⁸ the chapter will be followed by an 'image essay' of photographs collected by the Australian War Memorial. The images may be 'read' as a visual text complementing the information contained in the chapter.

Following the bombing of Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 and Rabaul's capture in the following month as the base from which to launch attacks down the archipelago towards New Guinea, Kennedy established a base on Ysabel at Mahaga, a village away from the coast from where he could observe Thousand Ships Bay and New Georgia Sound to the south west.²⁹⁹ He also set up a secondary base on Rennell Island in April 1942, where he had gone to recruit crew for the government sloop *Waiiai*.³⁰⁰ During a visit to the Shortland Islands the same month, Kennedy discovered an outbreak of influenza and dysentery in the villages, and sent Hugh Wheatley, NMP, and Joseph Alenge, dresser, to provide medical treatment. They were taken there by Johannes Klauke in the *Lauru*.

296 Ibid. Luke, he said, was 'universally disliked ... much concerned with his own importance ... [and] very vain.' Marchant fared worse: he was 'vain and weak with the peculiar mulish obstinacy often associated with such men.' Also, he was ruled by his irritable, peevish, pettifogging and vindictive wife. District Officer Eric Bevington was more kindly disposed towards Luke, whom he described as 'an intensely human soul who, having to climb the ladder himself, understood the difficulties his juniors worked under. He was never soft and had no time for the whiner.' Bevington, *The Things we do for England—if only England Knew*, p. 95. Luke's 'ladder' included Eton and Trinity College, Oxford. No colonial glass ceilings for him.

297 Copies of telegrams between RC and Kennedy 3 May 1942 to 24 January 1943. WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, no. 162a.

298 Greg Denning, *Performances*, Carlton South, Melbourne University Press, 1996.

299 Donald Gilbert Kennedy, District Officer's Report on Coast-Watching in the Central and North Western Districts of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, 20 November 1943, p. 1, NAA, B3476/60.

300 See pages 173-4 for details of his subsequent alleged abduction of a young Rennellese woman. The *Waiiai* is described and illustrated in Wilfred Fowler, *This Island's Mine*, London, The Adventurers Club, 1959, p. 239, photo facing p. 88.

However, the Japanese had arrived in the short period since Kennedy left and none of the three survived the war. They were not badly treated before they were transferred to Rabaul in September and disappeared some time after February 1944.³⁰¹ When Hugh Laracy visited the Shortlands many years later, resentment was still expressed towards Kennedy for surviving whilst these men had died.³⁰² However, no other suggestion has been made that he was negligent in taking this action.



Map of Eastern New Georgia showing Kennedy's base at Seghe, opposite Vangunu Island.

Source: Judith A. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons: A History of a Pacific Archipelago, 1800-1978*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1987, p. 62. Reprinted with permission. Copyright Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Cartography by Manoa Mapworks, Inc.

Tulagi was occupied by the Japanese virtually unopposed on 2nd May, but the following day the island was heavily bombed by the Americans. By then the network of coastwatchers was reporting on transport and troop movements. In the period between the fall of Rabaul and the occupation of Tulagi, Kennedy had been collecting indentured labourers from abandoned plantations, returning them to their home islands and instructing villagers to move away from the coast into the mountains to avoid the Japanese. The imperative was to avoid Islanders coming into contact with the invading

301 George G. Carter, *Ti è Varanè: Stories about People of Courage from Solomon Islands*, Auckland, Unichurch Publishing, 1981, pp. 109-115. Boutilier suggests they perished on the *Montevideo Maru*, sunk off the Phillipines on 1 July 1942. Boutilier, Kennedy's 'Army', p. 336.

302 Laracy interview (with Mike Butcher), 12 September 2006.

Japanese forces, both for the safety of the Islanders and to minimise betrayal,³⁰³ inadvertent or otherwise, of the coastwatchers' locations. Establishing new gardens in remote areas involved a great deal of privation and suffering, but the plan was universally adopted. The Japanese assisted by issuing instructions on Guadalcanal that if 'natives are discovered, they must be killed immediately.'³⁰⁴ Fortunately, this instruction was not followed on the other islands.

At this time we first encounter George Bogese NMP, with whom Kennedy had one of his most significant interpersonal conflicts.³⁰⁵ Bogese was on Savo Island when Tulagi was occupied by the Japanese and on 5 May tended the wounds of two Japanese survivors from a destroyer sunk the previous day. He approached the Japanese for payment for his services (ignoring coastwatcher Lief Schroeder's warning not to), whereupon he was taken to Tulagi to tend the Japanese wounded from the Coral Sea battle.³⁰⁶ He was interrogated and apparently collaborated as an interpreter.³⁰⁷ On 17 May, Bogese led a Japanese force to the Southern Ysabel island of Kolare and told his cousin, Supa, to show the Japanese where the *Waiiai* was hidden, with the probable intention of capturing Kennedy at Mahaga. However, they withdrew after setting fire to the vessel. Kennedy employed two local planters³⁰⁸ as radio operators at his base camp at Mahaga, one of whom was married to Bogese's sister, so Kennedy had reliable sources of information on Ysabel and about Bogese in particular. Hugh Laracy has suggested that Bogese's actions were motivated more by personal hatred of Kennedy than hatred of the British cause in general, and that he was therefore not a traitor. This view was not shared by Bill Bennett, who was badly burned on the *Waiiai*. Bogese was captured when Tulagi was re-taken by

303 Coastwatcher Frederick Ashton 'Snowy' Rhoades believed that betrayal on Guadalcanal was inevitable and it was only the arrival of the Americans that turned the tide of loyalty towards the Allies. F.A. Rhoades, *Diary of a Coastwatcher in the Solomons*, Admiral Nimitz Foundation, Fredericksburg, Texas, 1982, pp. 17 & 19.

304 Combat Information, captured Japanese document – Guadalcanal, 23 December 1942, AWM 54, 423/6/2, p. 1.

305 See pages 130-5 for discussion of his earlier behaviour and character.

306 Rhoades, *Diary of a Coastwatcher*, p 6. Schroeder was a planter and coastwatcher on Savo Island.

307 Hugh Laracy, 'George Bogese: "Just a Bloody Traitor?"' in Geoffrey M. White, (ed), *Remembering the Pacific*, Occasional Paper 36, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1991, p. 60.

308 C. Bignall from South Ysabel and F. Gorringe from North Ysabel. Both left for Australia early in April 1942. Kennedy, District Officer's Report on Coast-Watching in the Central and North Western Districts of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, 20 November 1943, NAA, B3476/60.

the Allies in August 1942 and sent to Australia for internment until after the war.³⁰⁹ We return to Bogese on pages 130 to 135.



Australian War Memorial
ID No. 306811

New Georgia, Solomon
Islands, 1943-03.

Native scouts stand guard
near the beach at Segi,
coastwatcher's station (ZGJ5)
of Capt D.G. (Donald)
Kennedy, BSIPDF.
(Naval Historical Collection)

Photo: H.A. Mackenzie

Kennedy had to find an alternative base because the Japanese now knew his location. Although Marchant ordered Kennedy to remain on Ysabel, Kennedy disagreed and compromised by setting up Geoffrey Kuper as a coastwatcher, initially overlooking the Japanese amphibious aircraft base at Rekata Bay, while he toured the islands of Vella Lavella and New Georgia in the *Marara* looking for a more suitable base for himself.³¹⁰ He eventually selected Harold Markham's former plantation at Seghe,³¹¹ on the south coast of New Georgia, across the Njai Passage from the Methodist Mission at Patutiva on Vangunu. James A. Mitchener immortalized Seghe in one of his *Tales of the South*

309 Martin Clemens, in whose hands Bogese was placed after his capture, said: 'My chaps, they'd all fought the Japs, and all George Bogese had to do was turn around and they'd have shot him, so I was responsible for keeping him alive.' At his trial in Honiara in 1946 Bogese was found guilty of lesser charges and imprisoned for four years. Clemens interview (with Mike Butcher), 23 January 2007.

310 Copies of telegrams between RC and Kennedy 3 May 1942 to 24 January 1943, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, no. 162a. Kennedy had the authority to appropriate boats for his use and to prevent them falling into the hands of the Japanese.

311 Seghe is the spelling used by Hviding, but Segi, Sege and Seghi are alternatives. Edvard Hviding, *Guardians of Marovo Lagoon: Practice, Place and Politics in Maritime Melanesia*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, Pacific Islands Monograph Series 14, 1996. Markham's homestead was described at the time he returned to find it war-ravaged in 1946: 'Besides his prosperous coconut plantation there, he planted avocado pears from Mexico, cherries from Brazil, plums from Madagascar, lichee nuts from China, mangoes from Colombo and Singapore, all Queensland's edible fruits. He surrounded his bungalow with colourful scrubs, set in a 40-acre lawn of evergreen clover he imported from Japan.' *PIM*, March 1946, p. 41.

Pacific, from the time long after Kennedy had left and the War had moved northwards towards Japan, leaving a bar for the Americans at Seghe.³¹² Kennedy's seamanship at Seghe has also been acknowledged: '[a]lthough he was a soldier, he was an extraordinarily competent sailor and navigator and his knowledge of the intricate reefs in that area [Seghe] completely baffled the Japanese.'³¹³ The sea approach was well protected by hazardous reefs and land access was by jungle paths, which were patrolled by Kennedy's scouts. It lay almost directly under the air route from Rabaul to Guadalcanal, so Kennedy was able to radio the base on Guadalcanal to have aircraft already in the air waiting to attack the enemy bomber formations as they arrived. Patrols of local Islanders were organized over the whole of New Georgia to keep Kennedy informed of troop movements and to bring in any airmen (Allied or Japanese) who crashed.³¹⁴ A monetary value has been put on the value of Kennedy's successes with pilot recovery: the cost of training a pilot was estimated at US\$25,000 and so Kennedy's contribution in recovering them was equivalent to over half a million dollars.³¹⁵ The reward to the Islanders was one case of tinned meat and one sack of rice for every airman saved (Allied or Japanese).

The dependence of the coastwatchers on radio equipment for reporting made Kennedy's experience in the Ellice Islands invaluable. Not only did he ensure that his own equipment was always functional, but he repaired that of his colleagues when mishaps occurred. Henry Josselyn brought his radio 240 kilometres through occupied territory to Seghe for repairs.³¹⁶ Kennedy also took the radios from downed Japanese aircraft and made them operational. John Magu recalled that when a Japanese aircraft crashed near Kusaghe, Kennedy sent word that it should be dismantled and carried to a

312 James A. Mitchener, 'Wine for the Mess at Seghe', *Tales of the South Pacific*, Sydney, Dymock's Book Arcade, 1952, pp. 208-223.

313 'Now it can be told—a Private War', Australian Radio Productions Ltd, transmitted on stations 3DB and 3LK in January 1951 and NJV Suva, 5 November 1952. Copy in the possession of the author.

314 One of the American airman was Bob Maxwell, who crashed on 2 May 1943 and was taken to Seghe after being found on Rendova Island. He spoke to Kennedy for two minutes only on 16 May and left without seeing him again two days later. Cases of alcohol were delivered to Kennedy by the same PBY that took him back to his squadron on Guadalcanal. Bob Maxwell, 'Lost and Found', in Eric Hammel, *Aces Against Japan II, The American Aces Speak*, vol. III, Pacifica, California, Pacifica Press, 1996, pp. 123-140. Jim Boutilier was told of a Japanese flier, Petty Officer Nakashima, who was rescued by Kennedy's scouts and returned to Japan after the war. Boutilier interview (with Mike Butcher), 12 October 2007.

315 Col. Allison Ind, *Allied Intelligence Bureau: Our Secret Weapon in the War Against Japan*, New York, David McKay, 1958, p. 42.

316 Lt H.E. Josselyn, RANVR, Coastwatching report, 1 March 1943, NAA, B3476/57, pp. 19-25.

place in the bush. 'We were all so afraid of Kennedy, that we immediately went, carrying all those heavy pieces. (We were more afraid of Kennedy than the Japanese!).'³¹⁷

The coastwatching role was a passive one – to observe and report – but if enemy patrols entered his 'exclusion zone', Kennedy's policy was total extermination so that no news of his base would get back. To do this he trained and equipped his men to operate as guerillas, arming them with weapons taken from enemy patrols and downed Japanese planes. 14 kilometres along the coast from Seghe was the harbour at Viru, garrisoned with a detachment of Japanese troops, which was kept under observation by Kennedy's scouts. The Islanders were not shot on sight and were sometimes able to reconnoitre in the enemy camps, taking care to hide their knowledge of English. Belshazzar Gina and some other volunteers entered the Japanese camp at Viru in this way and escaped after close questioning, having gathered the required information.³¹⁸

On one occasion Kennedy ignored his usual defensive role and prepared to attack the barges moored in Viru harbour, which he believed to be unguarded. As with every other incident in the Solomons, the accounts are conflicting or defy commonsense. Gina was supposed to have reconnoitred the harbour and had reported the barges undefended.³¹⁹ As the canoes of the assault party were about to enter the harbour, they were suddenly warned by Ishmael Ngatu, a local chief from Vangunu, that Gina's report was false: he had not been there and the barges were heavily defended. The mission was aborted and no harm done, except to Gina's reputation. Gina was given twenty-five lashes, but was not punished further, suggesting that his offence was seen more as delinquency than treachery. As Kennedy could have executed him or turned his back while his men did so, Gina's brutal punishment was lenient under the circumstances.

The uncertainties, as well as the hazards, of the job were considerable: Assistant District Officer J. Daymond, the coastwatcher in Gasmata, New Britain, was betrayed by the local Islanders who in their 'innocent simplicity' told the Japanese where he was, just because they had asked.³²⁰ Kennedy's strictly enforced segregation from the Japanese

317 John Magu, interviewed by Bob King between 1981-84, Western Provincial Executive, Solomon Islands.

318 George G. Carter, *Yours in his Service: A Reflection on the Life and Times of Reverend Belshazzar Gina of Solomon Islands*, Honiara, University of the South Pacific, 1990, pp. 64-6; Esau Hiele interview collected by Bob King 1981-84. [FULL CITATION]

319 This is understood to have been a separate occasion from the one reported above, but there seems to be some confusion. After the earlier Viru camp reconnaissance, Gina was praised for his courage: after the second, he was put on trial. Gina's trustworthiness is discussed on page 137.

320 Feldt, *The Coastwatchers*, p. 50.

avoided this happening on New Georgia, and Bill Bennett acknowledged that without the severity of Kennedy's punishments, they might have been similarly betrayed.³²¹ Whipping was meted out for even minor offences, which is discussed further in Chapter 7. Falling asleep on the night watch resulted in painful consequences for the offender, as one of Kennedy's men later testified. It is clear, moreover, that Kennedy's quasi-legal processes were supported by the chiefs who, in addition, had a say in the choice of punishment:

Kennedy whipped me. We used to have stations to watch. One night I was assigned to No. 3 station. An airplane came, but I had a sore on the leg and so I just lay down on a log and slept. So they never had any report from me that night, because I was asleep (laughs). So I went to court. Kennedy asked what I would have done if the enemy had come – I said, we're here to fight, so I would have fought. But he said I broke the military order, so he said I could choose three whips or one pound fine. So I thought hard about that. One pound was about a month's pay, but three whips was for only a second or two, not every day. So I said, 'Master, I think I'll take the whip'. (Laughs). Pinenunu [Piluniuna?], a Gela man, did the whipping. He was Kennedy's cook. I was cross after that and didn't want to work. There was plenty of us got whipped. It wasn't always big things that got you in trouble. People would report others for small things. I wondered, couldn't they just forget these things? And many times it was our chiefs who were reporting us for small things we did.³²² Later we thought, we could have just shot them. And maybe in old times, we could just have eaten them.³²³

Ada's testimony suggests that Kennedy often sided with the chiefs in their own disciplinary roles, as he did with some of the other coastwatchers, who sent offenders to him for punishment.³²⁴ Through his strictly enforced system of scouts, Kennedy kept a close watch on all enemy movements. Because Japanese patrols that came too close were annihilated, the only Japanese ever to see his base were prisoners. He treated them well and they were removed by Catalina flying boat to Guadalcanal for interrogation when possible. On more than one occasion Kennedy sought advice by radio from Nurse Merle Farland,³²⁵ at Bilua Mission on Vella Lavella, about the treatment for the badly septic arms and legs of his prisoners. He had to inject them with M&B (sulphanilamide), but Nurse Farland doubted his capability: 'It is to be hoped the poor beggars do not have to lose limbs because of his over-confidence. From a few remarks of his previously, I

321 William Bennett, 'Behind Japanese Lines in the Western Solomons', in Geoffrey M. White, et al (eds), *The Big Death: The Solomon Islanders Remember World War II*, Honiara, University of the South Pacific, 1988, p. 145.

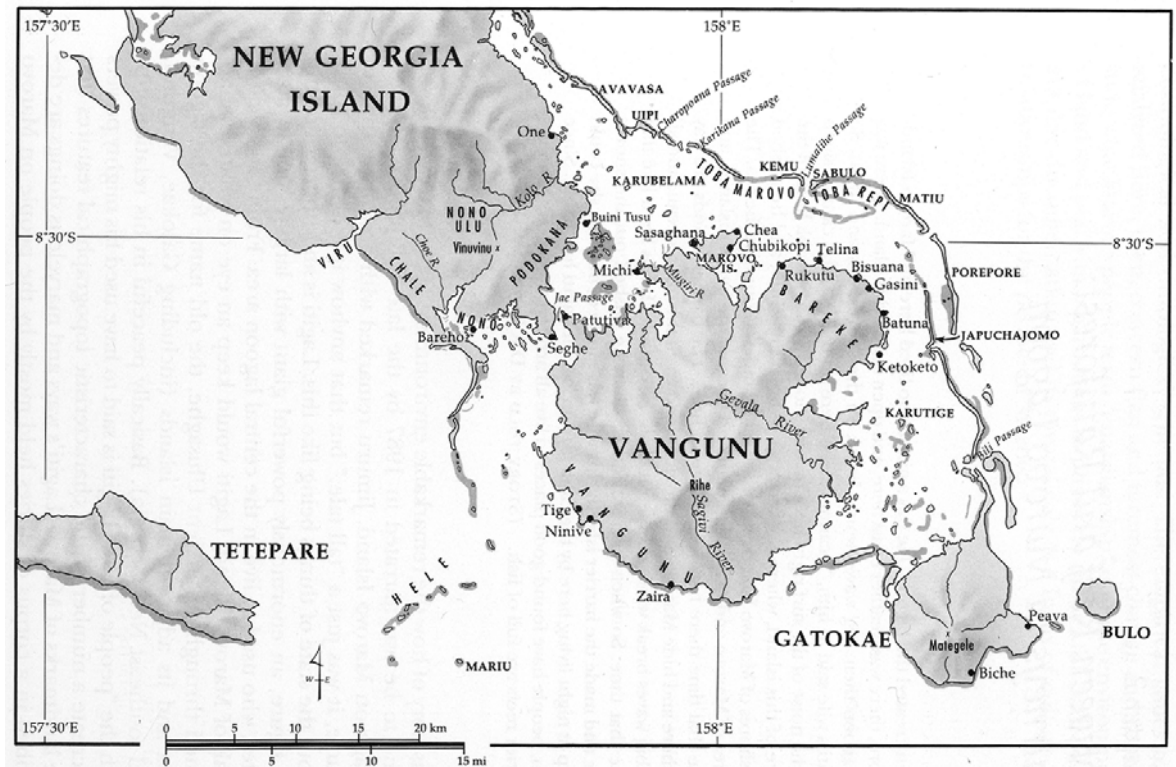
322 Rhoades gives an example of a Guadalcanal man giving false information against his brothers, causing them to be whipped. On that occasion, the falsehood was later exposed and the brothers did the whipping in revenge. Rhoades, *Diary of a Coastwatcher*, pp. 15-16.

323 Kitchener Ada interview collected by Bob King 1981-84. [FULL CITATION]

324 Bennett, *The Big Death*, p. 146.

325 Merle Stephanie Farland (1906-1988).

somehow don't think his knowledge in that line is at all practical.³²⁶ She was wrong: they lost no limbs and the wounds healed.



The Marovo Lagoon around Vangunu, showing Seghe, Patutiva, Viru and other places of interest.

Source: Edvard Hviding, *Guardians of Marovo Lagoon: Practice, Place, and Politics in Maritime Melanesia*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1996, p. 36. Reprinted with permission. Copyright Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Cartography by Manoa Mapworks, Inc.

Our interest in Nurse Farland is because she was seemingly almost unique in being a woman he respected and valued for her abilities and, although their relationship was clearly professional, there are some clues in her diary that they might have been closer. They had been exchanging letters, but whether they contained personal information is not known.³²⁷ Martin Clemens suggests that it was not necessarily intimate, when he says: 'Kennedy always got women to do things for him. I do not mean sex. I mean that it amazed me that he got Merle Farland to go over to Segi [sic] and do the radio, while there were all sorts of goings on going on.'³²⁸ Although Magiko Sogo was still at Seghe, it would have been uncharacteristic of Kennedy to miss the opportunity to make advances towards Nurse Farland if she was within reach. She had offered to do 'anything, anywhere', to which Kennedy replied 'very hesitatingly' that she might go down and

326 Farland Diary, 23 September 1942, p. 104. PMB 1106.

327 Her diary entries initially referred to him as Kennedy, but later this was contracted to D.K.

328 Anonymous letter [Martin Clemens] to Jim Boutillier, 12 December 1978, Papers of Sir Colin Allan, PMB 1189/271, reel 8.

relieve him on the wireless as he needed to travel.³²⁹ She duly travelled down by canoe and launch in early December through Japanese occupied waters and stayed at Seghe to have ready access to the radio. Chief Ishmael Ngatu sent over Lily, 'a quiet, stolid child', from the Mission at Patutiva as servant and companion.³³⁰ Within days the order came through that Nurse Farland had to be evacuated to Guadalcanal. She commented in her diary that 'D.K. has not attempted to persuade me to stay.'³³¹ Nurse Farland appealed unsuccessfully against the evacuation order, and left on 20 December by the same Catalina flying boat that brought in Dick Horton and took the Japanese prisoners to Guadalcanal.³³²

By March 1943 plans were underway for an assault on the Japanese airfield at Munda, in the north-west of New Georgia, with an initial beachhead at Seghe to build a fighter airfield. Kennedy was called over to Guadalcanal for three days to give 'valuable topographical and general information of the Group.'³³³ American officers visited Kennedy at Seghe as they made plans for removing the Japanese from the islands. With only months until the proposed offensive, it was important that Seghe was not captured, as it now had an additional strategic importance. Kennedy was therefore especially attentive to incursions by patrols from Viru or Wickham Anchorage on Vangunu. One such incursion became vaingloriously known as the 'Battle of Marovo Lagoon', which involved Kennedy and his crew on the *Dadavata* (a boat requisitioned from the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Church) and a Japanese whale boat.³³⁴ In reality it was a one-sided affair. The Japanese were in the ascendant, but on this occasion their whaleboat was attacked by a larger, more powerful and better-armed vessel.

329 Farland Diary, 28 November 1942, p. 133, PMB 1106.

330 Ibid., 7 December 1942, p. 137.

331 Ibid., 10 December 1942, p. 138.

332 Ibid., 20 December 1942, p. 140; Horton, *Fire over the Islands*, p. 186. Merle Farland died in Auckland on 21 May 1988.

333 Report by Lieutenant Commander H.A. MacKenzie, RAN, (Deputy Supervising Intelligence Officer, North Eastern Area), on Coast-Watching in the South Pacific Area Covering the Period 1st June 1942 to 21st April 1943, p. 40, NAA, B3476/46.

334 The number of Japanese servicemen in the boat varied with the accounts from eight to twenty. One description of the incident reported the whaleboat as being 25 feet long with a crew of ten. *The Waitakian*, vol. 38, no. 2 (December 1943), p. 157. Other descriptions of the action are included in Boutilier, Kennedy's 'Army', pp. 345-6; Horton, *Fire Over the Islands*, pp. 209-11; Walter Lord, *Lonely Vigil: Coastwatchers of the Solomons*, Viking Press, New York, 1977, pp. 206-8; Eric Were, *No Devil Strings: The Story of Kata Rangoso*, Mountain View, California, Pacific Press, 1970, pp. 75-6; Harold Cooper, 'The Battle of Marovo Lagoon: Oddest Naval Engagement Ever Fought', R.W. Robson and Judy Tudor (eds), *Where the Trade Winds Blow: Stories and Sketches of the South Pacific Islands*, Sydney, Pacific Publications, 1946, pp. 31-2. (This also appeared in *PIM*, March 1944, pp. 34-5); Harold Cooper, *Among those Present*, Government Printing Office, Honiara, 1967 (1946), pp. 50-2. DC Horton, *New Georgia: pattern for victory*, London, Pan Books, 1972, pp. 40-1.

The patrol had entered his exclusion zone and the engagement was of special significance because Bill Bennett reportedly took advantage of the opportunity either to attempt to murder Kennedy or at least take a resentful shot at him. The Battle took place on the Marovo Lagoon on the night of 19 May 1943, when Kennedy was on his way back from Telina (North-East Vangunu) with SDA Pastor Kata Ragoso under detention. After keeping surveillance during the day, under cover of darkness they closed on the whale boat, with Kennedy firing from a machine gun. Eventually they rammed the whale boat and there were no Japanese survivors. Kennedy received a bullet wound in the thigh that he believed was from return fire, but which Bill Bennett claimed in 1988 had come from him.³³⁵ An account by another of the crew mentions Kennedy being wounded in the leg, but no suggestion that the shot came from Bennett.³³⁶ Kennedy's account of the action has Bill Bennett steering the boat in the wheelhouse,³³⁷ whereas he claimed to have fired the shot from the engine room. With these inconsistencies, the passage of over sixty years and the passing of colonial rule, it is probable that the truth will never be known. Bruner's discussion of narrative 'truth' is relevant here: what may be more important than any 'objective truth' is the fuller discussion of the implications of the incident for understanding the changing context in which the story is retold.³³⁸ But firstly, it is possible that the shooting, if it took place, was motivated by the engagement itself. Whilst not a battle in scale, it was nevertheless different from Kennedy's other engagements, and the decision to make a frontal assault across open water may have caused Bennett so much anxiety that he shot out of fear, in the hope of breaking off the engagement.³³⁹ As Keegan has pointed out, 'the study of battle is always a study of fear and usually courage, always of leadership, usually of obedience; always of compulsion, sometimes of insubordination; always of anxiety.'³⁴⁰

Bennett had told the story many times over the forty-five years since the engagement, but it was only under the influence of alcohol and an audience keen to extract the 'truth' that he changed his story. We must therefore consider the possibility that the shooting by Bennett never took place, or was not intentional, and that it became a metaphor for the

335 Bennett, *The Big Death*, p. 134.

336 Able Reka interview, collected by Bob King 1981-84. [FULL CITATION]

337 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

338 Bruner, 'The Narrative Construction of Reality', p. 13.

339 Bennett has reported his own panic when nearly discovered by Japanese soldiers, so he was susceptible to such situations. Bennett, *The Big Death*, p. 143.

340 John Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, Cape, New York, 1977, quoted in Greg Denning, *Performances*, Carlton South, Melbourne University Press, 1996, p. 84.

struggle for independence from Colonial rule.³⁴¹ The distortion of cultural memory to meet contemporary purposes is discussed by Munro in his reflections on his earlier fieldwork in Tuvalu.³⁴² In the re-telling of the story of the Battle over the years, the glory was always attributed to the leader. The temptation to shoot him may have been there and, encouraged by the questioners to admit that he did so, eventually took the credit for actually having done so. His act could then be seen as a blow against the colonial oppressor. Mageo recognized that, in just this way, ‘intergroup recollection can be a way of reclaiming cultural authority and historical agency.’³⁴³ A related concept is the regaining of mana³⁴⁴ through the creation of palpable stories and the ‘Interconversion of Intelligibility and Palpability’ observed in Fiji.³⁴⁵ As with Bennett, one of the case-studies quoted involved the (false) claim of murder. In Kennedy’s case, it would be helpful in deciding whether this was a likely scenario to know how the questions were asked. Were they leading questions or cajoling? Who was the audience? Bennett’s testimony under the effects of alcohol may have been over-readily accepted.³⁴⁶ Bennett’s revised version certainly takes the glory out of the encounter.

Kennedy appeared to have lost control when questioning Kata Ragoso on the day of the Battle, but in contrast, just the previous day Kennedy had penned a letter, which shows no trace of not coping.³⁴⁷ It was to his son at Waitaki Boys’ High School from a caring father rather proud of his son’s achievements and his own acquisitions of arms and barges from the Japanese. He advises his son not to join up and there are no signs of stress. It may have concealed the truth because at some time towards the end of his service on New Georgia, Kennedy was convinced that the Japanese had surrounded the

341 There are many examples of the fallibility of memory, but this is not the case here: the meaning has been changed. A well-authenticated example involves an incident in Chauri Chaura, India, in 1922 that began as a riot resulting in the deaths of 23 policemen, but has been reinterpreted over time to have quite different meanings. In departing from the facts it has been molded into a metaphor for the struggle for independence on that continent. Shahid Amin, *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922-1992*, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1995.

342 Doug Munro, ‘The Vaitupu Company Revisited: Reflections and Second Thoughts on Methodology and Mindset’, *History in Africa*, vol. 24 (1997), pp. 221-37

343 Jeannette Marie Mageo, ‘On Memory Genres’, in Jeannette Marie Mageo (ed), *Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2001, p. 21.

344 Mana is defined here as efficacy.

345 Matt Tomlinson, ‘Mana in Christian Fiji: The Interconversion of Intelligibility and Palpability’, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 75, no. 3 (September 2007), pp. 524-553.

346 Bennett had a European father and Solomon Islands mother.

347 D.G. Kennedy to Christopher Kennedy, 18 May [1943]. Original in the possession of Joan Kennedy.

camp and he machine-gunned the jungle, to the consternation of his own men.³⁴⁸ He had been drinking at the time and the incident offers evidence that he was breaking down under the stress of spending twelve months behind enemy lines.

In May 1943, a Catalina took the five surviving Rennellese soldiers and a heavily pregnant Magiko back to Rennell Island when the Americans were in the ascendant and about to land in force at Seghe. In doing so Kennedy was meeting an undertaking to repatriate them as soon as hostilities permitted.³⁴⁹ The Japanese must have been aware of the Allied troop build-up and the increased activity around Seghe, as orders were given to the Japanese commander at Viru to attack Seghe with a whole battalion and to destroy the base. With the Allied offensive planned for a few days time, Kennedy signaled that he needed assistance to secure the base, which came immediately in the form of four US Marine Raider companies. Kennedy's scouts were sent out with reconnaissance patrols and the marines set up artillery and anti-aircraft batteries and the fighter airfield on Markham's plantation was completed in just ten days. An attack was made on Viru Harbour from Seghe, but now with the Americans in command. The main offensive against Munda airfield was from further north, with Kennedy providing radio intelligence. However, Kennedy's role as a coastwatcher was coming to an end:

About the only adverse incident arising out of the precipitous occupation of Segi [sic] by the battalion-size landing force was the displacement of Donald Kennedy. Something of a recluse, Kennedy mildly resented having so many people around. ... So Kennedy moved to a quieter locale.³⁵⁰

The 'quieter locale' was across the Njai Passage at Patutiva Methodist Mission on Vangunu, in the house formerly occupied by the Reverend Goldie. There were still Japanese soldiers on the island, so his scouts were out keeping an eye on them when Harold Cooper visited Kennedy looking for war stories to raise morale. Cooper believed that he 'was on the trail of one of the best stories to come out of the Pacific war', but he did all the talking when he found Kennedy reticent about recent events and he had to be content with writing about the visit instead.³⁵¹ His account included a report by Bill

348 Boutilier, Kennedy's 'Army', p. 342.

349 Memorandum from Kennedy to the Secretary, WPHC, 22 October 1945, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, item 225, p. 2.

350 Eric Hammel, *Munda Trail: The New Georgia Campaign*, Orion Books, New York, 1989, p. 37.

351 Harold Cooper, 'Kennedy's Boys Go A-Feudin', in Robson and Tudor (eds), *Where the Trade Winds Blow*, pp. 95-6.

Bennett, showing no signs of rebelliousness, of an approaching Japanese patrol, and Kennedy's order to '[t]ell the boys to wait until they're sure they can kill all of them.'³⁵²

Accolades for his bravery were received from the High Commissioner, who recommended Kennedy for the Distinguished Service Order (DSO),³⁵³ and from the Australian Navy (which approved that he should receive the US Navy Cross).³⁵⁴ Curiously, although his obituary states that he was awarded 'the highest-ranking United States Navy Cross', no evidence has been found to support the award and it was not listed with the DSO on his cemetery headstone.³⁵⁵ Kennedy's son Christopher would have been the informant, so he would presumably have known about the medal from his father, and may have seen it in New Zealand before it went to the bottom of the Pacific Ocean with the other medals in 1954 (see page 114). He was invested with his DSO in Suva by the High Commissioner, Sir Alexander Grantham, on 10 September 1946.³⁵⁶

Kennedy's other activities before finally leaving the Solomon Islands are less well documented. He was on leave from September 1943 until February 1944, when he was appointed Acting District Commissioner, Central District.³⁵⁷ In a paper read before the Fiji Society of Science and Industry, Kennedy stated that he had conducted a census of Ontong Java in 1944 and claimed an acquaintance with the other Polynesian outliers of Sikaiana and Tikopia, which he presumably visited on that tour.³⁵⁸ Kennedy also revisited the areas of his active duty between March and July 1944, gathering evidence

352 Ibid., p. 95.

353 HC to Secretary of State, 11 June 1943, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, no. 163. The award was published in the supplement to the *London Gazette*, 23 September 1943, p. 4221.

354 Assistant Supervising Intelligence Officer to Supervising Intelligence Officer, 20 July 1944, NAA, B3476/105.

355 Staff Reporter, Whangarei, 'War Hero Dies, Aged 77', *New Zealand Herald*, 17 July 1976, p. 2. According to one file note, Kennedy 'did not come within our ambit.' Footnote on: Hugh Mackenzie to Col Julian Brown, USMC, 22 May 1943. NAA, B3476/105A. The Distinguished Service Cross (DSC) was awarded to fellow coastwatchers D.S. Macfarlan, P.A. Mason, J.W. Read and F.A. Rhoades. Kennedy is listed as having received the DSC by Douglas Sterner, but he says that was an error and believes Kennedy's award of the Navy Cross was cancelled when he received the DSO. Personal communication: Doug Sterner to Mike Butcher, 22 December 2009. Doug intended to pursue the matter. C. Douglas Sterner, *Australian and New Zealand Recipients of the U.S. Distinguished Service Cross or U.S. Navy Cross*. www.homesofheroes.com.

356 *PIM*, October 1946, p. 26. Undated photographs of the investiture are in the possession of his family. The citation for the DSO was published in the *Fiji Times and Herald* of 10 September 1946.

357 Donald Gilbert Kennedy, Service Record, p. 4, 18 February 1944: 'resumed duty and appointed Acting District Commissioner, Central District.' WPHC [FULL REF]

358 D.G. Kennedy, 'The Polynesian Outliers of Melanesia', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Fiji Society of Science and Industry*, vol. 3, no. 1 (December 1953), pp. 28-44. Paper read 11 June 1945.

against George Bogese, who was still interned in Australia.³⁵⁹ His report and recommendation that Bogese be charged with treason was not completed until he returned from leave after his marriage to Mary Adelia (Pops) Campbell (nee Macfarlane). Pops and Kennedy had been in touch since meeting on the voyage to England in 1938 and Kennedy took the opportunity of her husband's death to pursue her hand in marriage.³⁶⁰ The new Resident Commissioner, Colonel O.C. Noel,³⁶¹ had some sympathy for Kennedy, but he was also having to deal with Kennedy's drinking and commented 'there must be something medically wrong with him when he, a soldier of courage, a man who has successfully resisted great odds, cannot face up to a mere bottle of whisky.'³⁶² At the time of Noel's report (May 1944), Kennedy was on tour in the Western Solomons. Noel recognised that Kennedy's future in the Service was untenable unless he got his drinking under control. Kennedy's hopes for an alcohol-free future were pinned on re-marriage, in which he was supported by Noel, who also recommended treatment for Kennedy's alcoholism or, if that failed, retirement.³⁶³

When Kennedy took leave in July 1944 to marry Pops Campbell, he expected to return with his family to Kirakira on San Cristobal in the Solomon Islands, 'well out of the military zone.'³⁶⁴ The intention to live there had been discussed with Noel and the High Commissioner, Sir Philip Mitchell, but the permission of U.S. Admiral Nimitz, was needed as it was still in the militarized zone.³⁶⁵ Kennedy and Pops were married at the home of her family doctor, Rowland Cashmore, in Hastings, and they stayed at Pops' parents' farm, Glen Aros, near Hastings in Hawke's Bay.³⁶⁶ The High Commissioner wrote to Kennedy instructing him to attend an alcoholism rehabilitation course at

359 Major D.G. Kennedy, note on G. Bogese, 20 January 1945, WPHC BSIP 4, FS 66.

360 Pops' husband, Robert Campbell, was killed in a flying accident over the Taieri Plains, near Dunedin, when she was pregnant with their third child. On 25 August 1943, the Tiger Moth flown by Flying Officer (FO) Robert Campbell and Leading Aircraftsman (LAC) Brian Hall, collided with another Tiger Moth flown by FO Frank Waymouth and LAC Lewis Ireland. All four men were killed. Department of Justice, Series 46 (Coroner's Records), 1943/1078, ANZ (Wellington).

361 Owen Cyril Noel (1898-). D. Akin, Working list of Malaita District Officers and Staff from 1909.

362 Noel to HC, 10 May 1944, WPHC 32/1, CPF51, vol. 3, no. 202.

363 D.G. Kennedy, 'The Polynesian Outliers of Melanesia', pp. 28-44.

364 Kennedy to Vaskess, 10 October 1944, WPHC Untitled file accompanying 32/1 CPF 51, vols. 1-3.

365 Vaskess, Memorandum: Major D.G. Kennedy, DSO, 4 November 1944, WPHC Untitled file accompanying 32/1 CPF 51, vol. 1-3.

366 Kennedy's divorce from his first wife became absolute on 14 July 1944. Divorce No. 697/43, Auckland Registry, ANZ. They married on Pops' birthday, 17 July. She was 26 and Kennedy 46 years old.

St Mary's Hospital, Hanmer Springs, New Zealand.³⁶⁷ The treatment is discussed further on page 187. Kennedy was advised by the New Zealand government to remain at Glen Aros until they could travel as a family to Suva in December 1944.³⁶⁸ Maude also wrote to Kennedy while he was still in New Zealand, to advise him of his appointment to Suva, where he would act in Maude's position while Vaskess was on leave and where Maude would be the Acting Colonial Secretary.³⁶⁹ He made the work sound exhausting and uninteresting, but first there was the Ellice language Handbook to see through to publication. While on leave, Kennedy had re-written (and Pops had typed) the Handbook he had started before the war.³⁷⁰ Although the move to the Secretariat was temporary, until Kennedy had shown his drinking was under control, he never set foot in the Solomons again.

After the freedom of the islands, Kennedy was not happy doing office work and Maude suggested that he would be better utilized in collecting the Banabans (Ocean Islanders) from the Pacific Islands where they had been taken by the Japanese, especially Nauru, Kusaie, and the Gilbert Islands with a view to settling them on Rabi Island, Fiji.³⁷¹ Resettlement had been seen as a panacea for over-crowded islands before the War and Kennedy had pursued resettlement as a solution for the Banabans, who were being displaced by the mining of their island. Not all of the resettlement plans had prospered: Maude's pre-war Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme of the over-populated South Gilbert Islands was at that time still in place, but was it abandoned after the war and the Gilbertese settlers were re-settled in the Solomon Islands.³⁷² Resettlement of the Banabans was to prove challenging work that was of great importance to the Colony. This work and its implications are taken up in the next chapter, which is the final period of Kennedy's colonial employment during 1945 and 1946 before his retirement and his attempt to settle down to the life of a Hawke's Bay grazier.

367 This was arranged through the Minister for External Affairs in Wellington. HC to Minister for External Affairs, 11 September 1944. [REF] 86/9/3.

368 Secretary of External Affairs to Major W.F. Strouts, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 27 November 1944. ANZ, [REF] 86/9/3. Kennedy and his family arrived in Suva on Christmas Day, 1944. Report on D.G. Kennedy, D.S.O, nd, WPHC Untitled file accompanying 32/1 CPF 51, vol. 1-3.

369 Maude to Kennedy, 4 December 1944, Maude Papers, Series H.

370 Kennedy to Secretary, WPHC, 2 November 1944, WPHC F76/1940, item 5.

371 Maude had purchased Rabi with the Banabans' phosphate royalties in March 1942. Woodburn, *Where our Hearts Still Lie*, p. 200.

372 For an evaluation of the Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme, see: Anne Chambers, *Resettlement Planning: An Analysis of Eight Case Studies of Resettlements in the Pacific*. Honours Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii, 1972. See also: Michael D. Lieber (ed), *Exiles and Migrants in Oceania*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1977.



Australian War Memorial
ID No. 304719

Segi area, New Georgia,
BSIP, c. 1944.

The house of coastwatcher
Donald Kennedy.
(Naval Historical Collection)

Photo: H.A. Mackenzie



Australian War Memorial
ID No. 306806

New Georgia, Solomon
Islands, c. 1943-03.

Dinner at Kennedy's
coastwatchers station (ZGJ5).
Left to right:
Lieut Carson (USNV);
Capt Boyd (USMC);
Unnamed Solomon Islander;
Capt D.G. Kennedy
(BSIPDF);
Unknown Marine;
Lieut N.F. Coultas (USNR).
(Naval Historical Collection)

Photo: H.A. Mackenzie

Kennedy based his coastwatching station at Seghe (Segi) in the plantation house of Harold Markham, who had fled the approaching Japanese. Markham had created a garden of Eden where 'Besides his prosperous coconut plantation there, he planted avocado pears from Mexico, cherries from Brazil, plums from Madagascar, lichee nuts from China, mangoes from Colombo and Singapore, all Queensland's edible fruits. He surrounded his bungalow with colourful scrubs, set in a 40-acre lawn of evergreen clover he imported from Japan.' *PIM*, March 1946, p. 41. The visiting American officers look uncomfortable dining in some comfort at Seghe after the mess life of Guadalcanal. The house was destroyed when a fighter airfield was built across the plantation.



Australian War Memorial
ID No. 306816

New Georgia, Solomon
Islands, c. 1943-03.

A guard of honour mounted
by Native Scouts trained and
commanded by
Capt D.G. Kennedy BSIPDF.
The guard slopes arms on the
jetty at Segi for a ceremonial
handover of a Japanese
Prisoner of War (POW) who
is to be taken by boat to
Guadalcanal.
(Naval Historical Collection)

Photo: H.A. Mackenzie



Australian War Memorial
ID No. 044835

New Georgia, Solomon
Islands, c. 1943-03.

Native Scouts of Kennedy's
group bring in a 19 year old
captured Japanese pilot to the
Segi station commanded by
Capt D.G. Kennedy BSIPDF.
(Naval Historical Collection)

Photo: H.A. Mackenzie

Kennedy trained the Solomon Islanders into a successful fighting force against the Japanese. The role of the coatwatchers was to observe and report, but Kennedy believed it was necessary to be offensive to retain confidence in the British administration and defend his base at Seghe. His 'exclusion zone' around Seghe was maintained to prevent knowledge of the location of his radio station reaching the Japanese. Several Japanese pilots were rescued and taken to Guadalcanal for interrogation. They were well treated by Kennedy and the Solomon Islanders, who received the same reward for rescuing Japanese or American fliers. This young Japanese prisoner looks very uncertain about his future. The Solomon Islander holding him is possibly Bill Bennett, Kennedy's deputy. Chief Ngatu (at left) was an important ally, decorated for his services and given a pension after the War. Then an old man, had been alive in the head-hunting days and had killed a European trader in the unsettled early years of the Protectorate.

Chapter 4: Rabi Island

In January 1945 Kennedy was set to work in the Secretariat attached to the High Commission, acting in Maude's position, while Maude was Acting Colonial Secretary. The Secretariat was as thankless as its counterparts in any colony and was dubbed 'the whipping boy of every colony' by Colonial Secretary, Juxon Barton, perhaps to justify his own unpopularity.³⁷³ It had not been Kennedy's choice to leave the Solomons and Maude had warned him that the work in the Secretariat was long and uncongenial, but it was where the administration could keep an eye on him. Kennedy had believed that he could continue to do the work for which he was best suited in the Central Solomons, with his family, but with that route no longer available, he knuckled down and saw his Ellice language manual through to publication.³⁷⁴ The proposal for such a manual had come from the High Commissioner in November 1938, while Kennedy was on leave at Oxford, probably because he was the only European Tuvaluan-speaker in the service.³⁷⁵ Kennedy agreed to write the Handbook and for exemplars looked at those being used for other languages being taught to the Colonial Service probationers. He was already doubtful that the traditional approach of grammatical analysis followed by synthesis was the way to go for an idiomatic language. At the time, he was coaching Tom Iremonger, one of the latest batch of cadets at Oxford (see page 43), and he proposed to use that experience as the basis for the book. He would have intended to complete the work when he returned to Funafuti in 1939, but that did not eventuate and the draft he had prepared when he left for the Solomon Islands in 1940 was lost at Tulagi with his other possessions during the War.³⁷⁶

Kennedy justified his focus on the Vaitupu dialect in terms of its being the headquarters of the mission and government and was well understood throughout the

373 Quoted in Deryck Scarr, *Ratu Sukuna: Soldier, Statesman, Man of Two Worlds*, London, Macmillan, 1980, p. 122. Barton's unpopularity is also recounted in Woodburn, *Where Our Hearts Still Lie*, pp. 112-13.

374 Published as *Te Ngangana a te Tuvalu: handbook on the language of the Ellice Islands*, Suva, Government Printer, 1945. Abbreviated in the text to 'the Handbook'.

375 Kennedy to Secretary WPHC, 20 December 1938, WPHC F76/1940, item 2. Actually, Kennedy's level of fluency was never tested. Grimble to HC, 17 October 1930. WPHC 71/1931, item 1. The only recorded comment on his fluency comes from Tuvaluan Kelese Simona [Simeona], who knew Kennedy well, and said that his language was 'good but heavily accented.' Personal communication from Niko Besnier (Professor of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam), 24 October 2009. Don Kennedy remembers his father's Tuvaluan as fluent but accented. It was different in the Gilbert Islands, where Harry Maude was both instructed in the language and examined for proficiency. Woodburn, *Where Our Hearts Still Lie*, p. 52.

376 Kennedy to Vaskess, 2 November 1944, WPHC F76/1940, item 5.

Ellice Islands. He was aware that an elementary handbook had limitations for learning an idiomatic language, and he ‘always advised people who’ve come to me to learn Polynesian, or written to me to learn Polynesian, to take that book I wrote on the language of the Ellice as a guide only, but go to the people and have them tell those stories in their own words, not read them out of a book as I’ve written them.’³⁷⁷ He went on to describe the various sources of his own detailed knowledge of the language, garnered over many years and in many ways:

[Y]ou’ve got to learn a language from a woman, the same as you learn your own language, from your mother’s knee, and if you’re going to learn a language properly you’ve got to have women whispering you this, that and the other and so forth, whether you call them sleeping dictionaries or whether they’re old women who come and tell you stories. I mean the old women ... they’re much better than the sleeping dictionaries. The sleeping dictionary³⁷⁸ does tell you some things but the old women do take you as a child and lead you through stories—the stories of the Polynesians in the Ellice Islands there. They were told me by some old women, even better than the ones told by the men because the old women put a facial characteristic in everything and you’ve got the expression and you suddenly ... by Jove, that’s puzzled me, I’ve got it from that old woman’s talk, how she was telling that story and the thread of the story tells you exactly what you mean and where the idiom goes, and so you pick up idiom in a language like that.³⁷⁹

The traditions and folk lore parts of his *Culture of Vaitupu* were his first renderings of the Ellice language in print, with translations. The Handbook was a more systematic introduction to the language and comprised three parts: grammar, followed by useful sentences of colloquial speech, grouped under headings, and finally two Ellice Islands stories, with literal, interlinear and free translations, plus explanatory notes.³⁸⁰ Kennedy steered the book through publication and 514 copies were duly received.³⁸¹ Kennedy was paid an honorarium of £75 Fijian.³⁸² The demand was immediate and there was soon a need to re-print, but the Administration was not up to the task and it was not until 1954 that two hundred further copies were printed.³⁸³

377 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

378 ‘Sleeping dictionary’ was the name sometimes given to concubines, from whom colloquial language could be learned.

379 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

380 Kennedy to Secretary, WPHC, 2 November 1944, WPHC F76/1940, item 5.

381 Kennedy to Burns Philp, 7 March 1945, WPHC F76/1940 (EAP110_5338).

382 HC to Acting RC, 8 November 1946, WPHC F76/1940, item 35.

383 The initial purchase price had been five shillings, on which they made a loss of two shillings a copy, but for the re-print the price went up to fifteen shillings. In 1966 the University of California was permitted to microfilm the copy in the British Museum. R.G. Roberts to R.B. Fleming and Company, 13 July 1966, WPHC F76/8/3, EAP110_5434.

Kennedy was assisted by Ellice Islanders, including Tofinga Foua, though we do not know the latter's opinion of the Handbook. When Penitala Teo from Vaitupu was sent to Britain for training in 1951, his speech was recorded by George Milner, who noted the aspirated consonants first referred to by Kennedy.³⁸⁴ However, modern linguists, with the advantage of sixty more years of study, see *Te Ngangana a te Tuvalu* as 'a brave first attempt at an elementary description.'³⁸⁵ Niko Besnier, the author of the definitive study of Tuvaluan, is a little harsher:

[I]t is a rather hurried piece of work, which is probably not up to the standards of colonial language description of the times. It has some glaring errors that indicate DGK's mastery may have been a bit wanting ... But it is of course a product of its time and context.³⁸⁶

Slightly kinder are Besnier's comments on the translations Kennedy included in *The Culture of Vaitupu*: 'the folk tales are reasonably well transcribed, and are consistent with his representation of Tuvaluan grammar in Te Gagana, including analytic mistakes, [w]hich indicates that DGK probably had a good command of the structure of the language.'³⁸⁷ Whatever its shortcomings, the late Henry Lundsgaarde placed Kennedy's Handbook on his website in 1994 and it is now included on the Tuvaluan Islands website.³⁸⁸

While Kennedy was pressing on with this work, he received a visit from the Resident Commissioner of the Solomon Islands, C.O. Noel, who was presumably assessing his potential for returning to the Solomons. He visited Kennedy in Suva during February 1945, after Kennedy had returned from alcohol rehabilitation at Hanmer Springs and from his leave in New Zealand. He was pleased to find Kennedy sober and apparently recovered from his past troubles, but it was short-lived. Four days later, Noel reported, 'this officer has not been cured of his illness ... he is incapable of performing his duties, and I fear that he may even be a harm to other people.'³⁸⁹ Not very encouraging from the man who had recommended treatment, and the death knell of any hopes Kennedy had of returning to the Solomons.

384 G.B. Milner, 'Aspiration in Two Polynesian Languages', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1/3, (1958), p. 368.

385 Ross Clark, Senior Lecturer, Auckland University, 15 March 2005.

386 Personal communication: Niko Besnier to Mike Butcher, 11 February 2007. Niko Besnier, *Tuvaluan: A Polynesian Language of the Central Pacific*, Routledge, London, 2000.

387 Personal communication: Niko Besnier to Mike Butcher, 26 October 2009.

388 www.tuvaluislands.com. There is also a note to the effect that there are many errors in the Handbook and an acknowledgment that Lundsgaarde's website had closed down since his death.

389 Noel to HC, 15 February 1945, WPHC Untitled file accompanying 32/1 CPF 51, vols. 1-3.

Although he was a competent administrator, Kennedy's forte was working in the field and the Secretariat office work, in what he sarcastically called Vaskess's 'paper kingdom' was not to his liking. The High Commissioner readily acceded to the Banaban leaders' request that he be assigned the task of repatriating the Banabans from the Pacific Islands, especially Kusaie (Kosrae), and the Gilbert Islands, where they had been taken by the Japanese. They were dispirited by their wartime treatment, the deaths of one third of their population and the devastation of Ocean Island by mining.



Rabi Island
Fiji Map Series 31
Topographic Map
1:50,000
Sheet S 23
Rabi
Government of Fiji 2010

A knowledge of the Banaban experiences is necessary to the understanding of the difficulties faced by Kennedy as the person to whom they trusted at this crucial time. It began with the discovery of guano-phosphate in 1900, when a company to mine the phosphate deposits on Ocean Island had been formed under terms that were not advantageous to the Banaban residents. When they realized that further mining was going to result in the island becoming uninhabitable, they refused to agree to any further concessions. The impasse of commercial interests versus Banaban autonomy was resolved, again to the disadvantage of the Banabans, by declaring the GEIC Protectorate a Colony, whereby the mining rights were ceded to the Crown. Japanese occupation came at the end of a further decade of mining and the further loss of the habitable part of the island. Mining on Banaba had ceased during the Japanese occupation after the equipment was disabled by the retreating British. After the War, the British Phosphate Commission (BPC) priority was getting the industry up and running again, not returning the Banabans

to their homeland.³⁹⁰ The government responsibility was to find the Banabans somewhere else to live while mining progressed unimpeded by their presence.

The problem of where the Banabans were going to be re-settled was raised by Grimble in 1928, when he suggested the island of Kuria, but they refused.³⁹¹ Kennedy had suggested purchasing Wakaya Island, east of Viti Levu,³⁹² but when Maude asked the Fijian Agriculture Department to assess its suitability, the island was found to have inadequate rainfall.³⁹³ Although the Banabans were still keen to purchase it from their accumulated royalties, the Governor refused.³⁹⁴ During the War the threat of invasion brought several small islands in private ownership onto the market and when Rabi Island, lying between Vanua Levu and Taveuni, came up for sale in 1942 Maude persuaded the Governor that it was a good investment, particularly as the threat of Japanese invasion kept the price low.³⁹⁵ The support of Ratu Sukuna (Native Adviser for Fiji) was obtained for the admission of the Banabans to Fiji, if the island was purchased for them, and Maude did the negotiating. Rabi was secured for £25,000 from the Lever Brothers Company, which was keen to move its operations to the Caribbean. At that stage, there was no timeline for resettlement, and the island was leased to tenants. After the Japanese had been cleared out from Ocean Island, temporary resettlement became a compelling need and, in fact, provided an advantageous opportunity for the government. Rabi had been purchased in the name of the High Commissioner for the sake of expediency, but the later advantage of this was not lost. When the Banabans demanded ownership of Rabi, because it had been purchased with their funds and in their name, the High Commissioner

390 The British Phosphate Commission, a joint venture of the British, Australian and New Zealand governments, had the rights to the phosphate deposits on Ocean Island, as well as Nauru, Makatea and Christmas Islands. For the history of the destruction of Ocean Island by mining, the exploitation of its owners and their attempts in the mid-1970s to get restitution through the British courts, see: Katerina M. Teaiwa, *Tirawata Irouia: Re-presenting Banaban Histories*, MA Thesis, University of Hawaii, May 1999; Maslyn Williams and Barrie Macdonald, *The Phosphateers: a history of the British Phosphate Commissioners and the Christmas Island Phosphate Commission*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1985; Martin G. Silverman, *Disconcerting Issue: Meaning and Struggle in a Resettled Pacific Community*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1971; Pearl Binder, *Treasure Islands: The trials of the Banabans*, Cremorne, NSW, Angus and Robertson, 1978; Raobeia Ken Sigrah and Stacey M. King, *Te Rii ni Banaba*, Suva, University of the South Pacific, 2001. For more up to date accounts of the resettlement, see: Gerard Hindmarsh, *One Minority People: A Report on the Banabans: formerly of Banaba (Ocean Island) who were relocated to Rabi Island, Fiji*. UNESCO (Apia), November 2002; www.banabans.com

391 Binder, *Treasure Islands*, p. 89.

392 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

393 H.E. Maude, *Memorandum on the Future of the Banaban Population of Ocean Island; with Special Relation to their Lands and Funds*, 1946, p. 11, WPHC F48/5/10 vol. 1, items 107-136.

394 The asking price for Wakaya was £12,500 Fijian. In 1954 it was on the market for £48,000, so it would not have been a bad investment. HC to RC, 19 March 1954, WPHC F48/45, item 55.

395 Woodburn, *Where Our Hearts Still Lie*, p. 200.

decided ‘to retain full title to the lands as a bargaining lever in connexion with the necessary renunciation by the Banabans of their interests in Ocean Island.’³⁹⁶

Kennedy had the task of persuading the Banabans that Rabi was a better immediate option than Ocean Island, at least in the short term. Resettlement is a complex process requiring planning and careful implementation, and the time constraints for the Rabi resettlement meant the process was always going to be problematic.³⁹⁷ Matters were complicated by the trauma and privations suffered by the Banabans since being forced to leave Ocean Island by the Japanese and they were keen to return. However, all but one of the Banabans remaining on Ocean Island at the end of the War had been murdered the day after hostilities ceased and in all 463 Banabans died during the War.³⁹⁸ In addition the infrastructure on Ocean Island had been destroyed making it uninhabitable for the foreseeable future. Evidence collected since then, including that of Banabans returning to the island in the 1960s, raised questions about its habitability in 1945 and it is possible the extent of the devastation had been exaggerated to deter the Banabans from attempting to return.³⁹⁹ However, the boundary marking ‘team’ which returned from Rabi to Ocean Island in 1947 appears not to have raised any questions about its habitability.⁴⁰⁰ Regardless of the truth of these claims, having the Banabans on Ocean Island would have impeded the resumption and further development of phosphate mining. More succinctly: ‘The move to Rabi was a (pre-meditated) godsend for the British and the BPC.’⁴⁰¹ Such was the climate of devastation and duplicity in which Kennedy carried out his critical role with the Banabans.⁴⁰² Once they were on Rabi, the government and BPC could negotiate from a position of strength.

Kennedy’s involvement was actively sought by the Banabans and he could see Rabi was a better option than Ocean Island for the future as mining made the land unproductive and uninhabitable. It started well enough and he was able to get an ambitious project underway quickly—perhaps too quickly, for the difficulties soon mounted up. Kennedy

396 File note: Assistant CS, 20 June 1946, NAF, F37/269, pt. 2, p. 69.

397 A recent study of the process of resettlement focuses on the problems facing Tuvaluans, but they are also valid for the Banabans. Kathryn Louise Paton, *At Home and Abroad: Tuvaluans Shaping a Tuvaluan Future*, Master of Development Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 2009.

398 Binder, *Treasure Islands*, p. 92.

399 Sigrah and King, *Te Rii ni Banaba*, pp. 261-3.

400 Williams and Macdonald, *The Phosphateers*, pp. 366-7.

401 Teaiwa, ‘Tirawata Irouia’, p. 78.

402 The tasks to be undertaken by Kennedy are listed in Binder, *Treasure Islands*, p. 97.

left Suva on 5 September 1945 for Rabi on the *Yanawai* to report on the suitability of the island for resettlement and to draw up an inventory. He returned on the twenty-seventh.⁴⁰³ Pops Kennedy assisted with his report and drawing the map. She wrote enthusiastically to her mother about the scheme: 'It seems such a lovely island with plenty of nice sandy beaches, lots of horses (all thoroughbred), cattle and pigs. Also three nice houses, the biggest of which we hope to go to.'⁴⁰⁴ The inventory listed thirty-one plantations, totaling 2,800 acres (1133 hectares), of various ages and productivity which were capable of producing copra.⁴⁰⁵ The estates were in some cases overgrown through the neglect of the lessees (and the government for not monitoring them), but all the equipment for copra production was in place. On the basis of his inspection, Kennedy prepared a detailed proposal for the settlement of the Banabans on Rabi, which was accepted by the administration.⁴⁰⁶ At that stage, the planning was for the settlement of six hundred people, but in the event over one thousand were landed. Providing housing for such a number precluded the possibility of permanent dwellings in just two months and the expense could not have been entertained for a temporary stay. The *Yanawai* was chartered to carry the materials for some timber buildings and a local contractor, Mr Whan, and forty Fijian workmen were engaged to build the necessities for the Banabans.⁴⁰⁷ Kennedy met with a number of Solomon Islanders, who were already on the island, to sort out their needs and compiled a report that specified their island of origin, wives and children.⁴⁰⁸ They were employed temporarily to assist the Banabans learn how to make copra and by the following August over half had left.⁴⁰⁹ Kennedy's luggage and possibly Pops and three of the children⁴¹⁰ arrived at Rabi aboard the *Yanawai* on 8 November.⁴¹¹

Before collecting the Banabans from the other Gilbert Islands, Nauru, and Kusaie (Kosrae) in the Caroline Islands, Kennedy first needed their agreement to the temporary

403 He took his step-daughter Anne along for the trip. Pops Kennedy to Adele Macfarlane, 7 September 1945. Original in possession of Anne Anderson, Auckland.

404 Ibid., 11 October 1945.

405 Kennedy to CS, 28 September 1945, WPHC 6/1, CF48/5, vol. 2.

406 D.G. Kennedy, Outline of Scheme for the Preliminary Settlement of the Banaban People at Rabi, Fiji, 8 October 1945, NAF, F37/269, Pt. 2, item 21a.

407 M.W. Whan to CS, 26 October 1945, WPHC F48/5/1, vol. 1, item 19.

408 Kennedy to Secretary, WPHC, WPHC F10/31, items 1 & 4.

409 Pops Kennedy to Adele Macfarlane, 11 October 1945. Original in possession of Anne Anderson, Auckland.

409 Kennedy to CS, WPHC, WPHC F10/31, Items 1 & 4.

410 Martin, her youngest child from her first marriage, remained with his grandparents at Glen Aros.

411 Kennedy to Secretary, WPHC, 20 February 1946, WPHC F48/5/3 vol. 1, item 119.

resettlement. They trusted Kennedy because he had been their teacher on Ocean Island in the 1920s and Headmaster of the King George V School on Tarawa in the 1930s. He spoke Gilbertese, though not fluently. They accepted the following conditions for the resettlement:

- (a) the removal was to be for a period of 2 years, with the option of permanently settling there;
- (b) their transportation, cost of establishing their temporary camp at Rabi and their rationing for one month after their arrival there would be a charge on the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Rehabilitation, and not on Banaban funds; and
- (c) if, at the end of 2 years, any or all of them should wish to return to Ocean Island, suitable transport would be arranged at the expense of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Government.⁴¹²

Kennedy flew to Tarawa on 23 October to brief the Resident Commissioner, Vivian Fox-Strangways, and set up a temporary base at Bairiki. According to Maude, Kennedy ‘was dispatched by air to visit all the Banabans and ascertain their reactions to the above proposal ... [which were] unanimously accepted by the Banaban community.’⁴¹³ The visits were actually by boat, and Kennedy was able to show them photographs of Rabi and the kinds of houses they could expect to build. Any decisions made by the Banabans were made on the basis of trust, as they had no opportunity to investigate the options properly. From Bairiki he took short trips in the *Kiakia* to Maiana and Abaiang and he proposed to take the *Maureen* to collect the Banabans and other displaced Islanders from Kusaie.

In the midst of this unfolding drama, there was also comic opera on the sidelines that revealed Kennedy’s intransigence and his competence as a sailor. The *Maureen* was an 18 metre vessel with a tiny cabin for the captain and ‘a very-little-larger “Commissioner’s” cabin.’ However, Captain Carter would not leave Tarawa unless he had the larger Commissioner’s cabin, which was rightfully Kennedy’s.⁴¹⁴ The impasse was resolved by Carter being sent to Suva and Kennedy taking the *Maureen* to Abemama, where William Reiher was taken on board as captain.⁴¹⁵ Acting Director of Education George Hard, then involved in building a new school on Abemama, dates the event and his role in it:

412 H.E. Maude, ‘Memorandum on the Future of the Banaban Population of Ocean Island; with Special Relation to their Lands and Funds’, 1946, p. 13, WPHC F48/5/10 vol. 1, items 107-136.

413 Ibid. Kennedy only mentions air travel to Tarawa, but lists the voyages he undertook in: Progress Report on Banaban Settlement Scheme, Rabi, 28 January 1946, WPHC 6/1, CF48/5, vol. 2.

414 Vaskess to HC, 9 November 1945. WPHC F46/24, item 25.

415 A fanciful version recalled by Commodore Stan Brown had Kennedy as the aggressor: ‘Kennedy was sent in a small vessel called the *Margaret* [sister ship to the *Maureen*] to bring them [the Banabans] back.

Wednesday 14 November [1945]:

On phone with Tarawa. Message from Maude; he requested me to go to interview Wm Reiher regarding the job of captain of the 'Maureen'. Went down by bicycle and got Wm to consent. On phone to Tarawa at 12.15pm and told Bastins ... that it was all fixed. Was informed that 'Maureen' would leave straight away with Kennedy aboard for Abemama.

Thurs 15 November:

'Maureen' sighted about 7 am coming into the passage. Went out aboard about 8.15 just as ship anchored and met Kennedy. Sent launch down to pick up William Reiher. Launch arrived back to ship about 10.30am and I took Kennedy ashore. ... Ship left at 5.15 for Tarawa and Kusaie where she is to pick up Banabans for repatriation.⁴¹⁶

With Reiher in charge, they headed for Kusaie, calling en route at the islands of Marakei and Butaritari. 'At Kusaie we found the Banabans, some 280 in all, were herded in one large camp in Lele Harbour, in appalling conditions of damp and mud.'⁴¹⁷ There were also about six hundred other Gilbert and Ellice Islanders in the camp, so the *Maureen* was clearly going to be of little use for transporting them. Help was on the way:

Two days after my arrival at Kusaie I heard with great relief that Mr Gaze [General Manager, British Phosphate Commissioners] had arranged to let us have *The Trienza* to take the Kusaie and Nauru people (Banabans and Gilbertese at Nauru) to Tarawa. ... We succeeded in getting the Kusaie camp packed up the night before and all the people, nearly 900, were on board before sundown when the vessel cleared for Tarawa. I myself had transferred to *The Trienza* and we arrived at Tarawa on the morning of the 30th. All the Banabans were disembarked and went into camp at Bairiki.⁴¹⁸

They spent just a few days on Tarawa before all the Banabans and three hundred Gilbertese, over a thousand in all, as well as a number of Ellice Islanders, boarded the *Triona*⁴¹⁹ and left on 9 December, repatriating the Ellice Islanders at Nanumea and Vaitupu on the way.⁴²⁰ Maude remembered the departure well:

We got the Banabans all on board and they were in pretty bad shape, poor things, got them all on the ship and happy on board there. And Kennedy had gone on board a bit

When they got to the Carolines he objected to the cabin, because he was given a very small cramped place, and he decided to take over the Captain's cabin, and that led to an altercation with the Captain ... and he said, "well if you take this cabin, you can take the ship back yourself." Kennedy was quite able to do that, [so] he sailed the ship back to the Gilberts with all passengers on board.' Stan Brown interview (with Doug Munro), 1 August 1997.

416 Diary of George Hard, Director of Education for the Western Pacific. Diary in the possession of Dr Marilyn Clark, Canberra.

417 Binder, *Treasure Islands*, p. 100.

418 Ibid., p. 101.

419 Not the *Trienza* as reported by Binder. The *Trienza* collected the Banabans from Kusaie and her sister ship, the *Triona*, took them to Rabi

420 Binder, *Treasure Islands*, p. 102. Don Kennedy believed the real reason his father visited Vaitupu was to collect him from his mother. 'My mother quickly packed me up with some aunt and sent me right out to the other end of the island, so that he wouldn't get his hands on me.' Don Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 16 October 1988.

earlier and so I went to give them an official farewell, wish them luck and all that. And of course by that time he was completely drunk and he was lying in his bed absolutely dead to the world. So I wrote a little note saying, 'Goodbye and Good luck! Hope you have a good passage and let me know how you get on in Rabi Island' I pinned it onto his shirt, and he never even woke up at all.⁴²¹

After stopping at Nanumea and Vaitupu to drop off the Ellice Islanders, the Banabans and Gilbertese arrived at Rabi on 14 December and disembarked the following day. The short time allowed for planning the resettlement was insufficient to build huts for more than a minority, so one hundred and fifty tents had been erected for temporary shelter.⁴²²

Kennedy's expectation was that the Banabans would immediately build more permanent dwellings that would be hurricane-proof and suitable for winter. He had arranged for a radio to be loaned by the Fiji government for two months and for the provisions and necessities for subsistence to be delivered in the week before the Banabans arrived.⁴²³ Some of the older people did not make it through the first winter of wetter and colder conditions, presumably exacerbated by their wartime privations. Having an income from the phosphate mining and copra ready to harvest on Rabi, the government offer of provisions for one month, was considered adequate, but Maude thought their motivation had compromised by the 'System of Annuities ... [which] has sapped his moral fibre, turning [the Banaban] too often into a dole-fed hanger-on of the British Phosphate Commission.'⁴²⁴ Kennedy came to share that view but in his first report to the Colonial Secretary, he stated that while most Banabans were still in the main camp at Nuka, groups were preparing to move off to live closer to the copra plantations. He was having trouble with the overseer (Crabbe), whom he claimed was obstructing the Banabans in learning the new skills. The plantations had been neglected and needed work to clear the undergrowth, for which Kennedy employed Fijians, as he considered them better workers. Importantly, he considered the health of the community to be 'exceptionally good', though two lepers were removed to Makogai.⁴²⁵ Kennedy appeared to have the interests of the Banabans to the fore and felt that, 'On the whole I am satisfied that things are going pretty well and perhaps rather better than any of us anticipated.'⁴²⁶ What difficulties he anticipated are not stated, but they were likely to have been seriously under-estimated,

421 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

422 Binder, *Treasure Islands*, p. 103.

423 E.D. Horton to Kennedy, 7 December 1945, WPHC F48/5/1 vol. 1, items 58-60.

424 Maude, 'Memorandum on the Future of the Banaban Population of Ocean Island', p. 17.

425 Kennedy to Vaskess, 1 January 1946. Maude Papers, Series F/3.

426 Ibid.

given the short time for planning, the physical and psychological consequences of the Banabans' incarceration and their growing distrust of Europeans. Kennedy's allegiances were said to lie with the Banabans and he proposed to become their 'Apolosi'⁴²⁷ after retiring from the Colonial Service.⁴²⁸ This suggests he was motivated at that time to become the 'saviour' of the Banabans, a difficult position for a man already caught between the administrations of the Fiji Government and the Western Pacific High Commission. According to Fijian Colonial Secretary J.F. Nicoll, a root problem was disagreement over ownership of the funds derived from phosphate mining royalty payments:

I do not know the whole story, but Vaskess [Colonial Secretary] holds the view firmly that this money does not belong to the Banabans, whereas Kennedy argues that it does. It appears that Kennedy's idea now is to persuade the Banabans that he is the man to champion their cause and get them what they want. He wishes, as soon as he can, to be allowed to retire from the Service on pension and to be appointed by the Banabans as their sort of welfare officer or business manager.⁴²⁹

Nicoll was subsequently appointed Governor of Singapore from 1952-55, where he was described as unconciliatory when handling official matters and gave the impression of being unsympathetic and obstructionist.⁴³⁰ He was not popular with the new elected leader, David Marshall, and at his own farewell from office, Nicoll pleaded, 'When the music goes wrong, don't shoot the pianist, he's doing his best.'⁴³¹ Kennedy would have appreciated receiving that much understanding from Nicoll when 'the music went wrong' for him on Rabi.

Unlike much of Kennedy's pre-war work in remote places far removed from supervision, Rabi was neither remote nor out of touch, thanks to radio and ready access. It was also too important to ignore. Nevertheless, it took the administrations of the WPHC and the Colony of Fiji some time to work out how to do business. The legalities were important and the legislative framework for the Banabans' occupation of Rabi, the

427 Apolosi R. Nawai was a Fijian Nationalist and thorn in the side of the Colonial Administration, which banished him to Rotuma. Tim Macnaught, 'Apolosi R. Nawai: The Man from Ra', in Deryck Scarr (ed), *More Pacific Islands Portraits*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1978, pp. 173-92; Brij V. Lal, *Broken Waves: A History of the Fiji Islands in the Twentieth Century*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1992, pp. 48-54; James Heartfield, "'You are not a White Woman!': Apolosi Nawai, the Fiji Produce Agency and the Trial of Stella Spencer in Fiji, 1915', *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 38, no. 1 (2003), pp. 69-83.

428 Revealed by Mr Crabbe when interviewed on Rabi by J.E. Windrum, DC Northern, on 12 January 1946. Windrum to CS, 18 January 1946, NAF, F37/269, pt. 1, p. 65.

429 CS to Windrum, 29 January 1946. NAF, F37/269, pt. 1, p. 67. Sir John Fearn Nicoll (1899-1981).

430 Chan Heng Chee, *A Sensation of Independence: A Political Biography of David Marshall*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1984, p. 95.

431 Ibid.

Banaban (Settlement) Ordinance of 1945, came into effect on 27 December of that year. It enabled the Governor in Council to make regulations for the peace, order and good government of the Banaban community on Rabi. Kennedy was criticized for being ‘busy drawing up ... electoral procedures’, when he should have been doing more for the welfare of the Banabans.⁴³² However, electoral procedures were important to good decision-making on the island and were critical to the island’s development, though they were not Kennedy’s only concerns.⁴³³ An Island Council was formed with Pastor Tito Rotan unanimously elected as chairman.⁴³⁴ This created an immediate conflict of interest as he was also Manager of the Banaban Cooperative, which handled the commercial interests of the Banabans. He was soon at odds with Kennedy over the need to establish good business practices in relation to the slaughter of cattle, which were essential to the good management of the plantations, making the maintenance of the herds an important issue. Kennedy insisted that the herds should be maintained and only the surplus slaughtered, but the Island Council decided otherwise. No doubt this led to some tension, especially as Rotan defied Kennedy’s advice/directive about keeping the revenue from the meat sold to replenish the herd.⁴³⁵

For the visiting medical practitioner, Dr Lindsay Verrier, Kennedy was the problem.⁴³⁶ Verrier reported on Kennedy’s drunkenness and observed that ‘the only notable construction works done on the island since early January have been the large remodeling of Mr Kennedy’s house and the new construction of a motor-road up to it.’⁴³⁷ The drinking charge is confirmed by Kennedy’s wife’s diary and the recollections of her children.⁴³⁸ However, the works on the house were another matter entirely, Kennedy having taken:

432 Binder, *Treasure Islands*, p. 104.

433 Kennedy considered the best form of government for Rabi should reflect their previous experience on Ocean Island, but stressed the need for flexibility to allow it to evolve, rather than be imposed. Kennedy to CS, Fiji, 30 April 1946, NAF, F37/269, Pt. 2, p. 48.

434 Pastor Tito Rotan was a pure-blood Banaban, a large landowner on Ocean Island, son of a Methodist Pastor and a leader in the fight to obtain justice for the Banabans.

435 Kennedy to Holland, Handing over Statement, 18 August 1946, WPHC 6/1, CF 48/5 vol. 2.

436 Verrier was a brilliant but somewhat unstable character who created problems on Taveuni. Philip Snow, *The Years of Hope: Cambridge, Colonial Administration in the South Seas and Cricket*, London, I.B. Tauris, 1997, pp. 205-6. See also: www.tighar.org/wiki/Walter_Lindsay_Isaac_Verrier,_MD

437 Verrier to RC Northern, 18 June 1946, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51. The motor road was for the plantations, not for Kennedy’s benefit.

438 A diary of the time Pops Kennedy spent on Rabi is in the possession of Anne Anderson, Auckland. The entries are sparse, but they nevertheless confirm Kennedy’s out of control drinking..

At great inconvenience to my family, ... a very old and dilapidated house in order to avoid the expense and loss of time involved in travelling daily to and from the only other suitable house for an officer's quarters. After a great deal of work the house has been made sanitary and put in moderately good order.⁴³⁹

The use of green timber meant some of the work had to be re-done, and by March the kitchen still was not finished and electricity was still some way off.⁴⁴⁰ Verrier appears not to have appreciated that Kennedy needed to provide his new wife and family with an acceptable standard of living under difficult circumstances. He may also have been unaware of the constraints under which the resettlement was being conducted. Most of the building was to be funded by the Banabans from their own funds, which Kennedy saw were transferred to them from the mining royalties. The resettlement did not go well, and by June a 'Small party inspired by Rotan [were] committing petty breaches of administrative instructions, re riding horses, slaughtering cattle, use of launch, refusing to appear before native magistrate.'⁴⁴¹ Kennedy sought to have a police contingent based on the island to counter this minor law breaking, which he attributed to their 'desire to assert ownership' over the assets. P.D. Macdonald, Assistant Colonial Secretary, thought it was more likely to be 'pin-pricks against Kennedy,' but he failed to consider the possibility that they opposed government authority in general.⁴⁴² These 'petty breaches' might be viewed as the signs of 'everyday resistance' resorted to by powerless groups against the strong.⁴⁴³ Kennedy was in a difficult position, because as Adviser employed by the Fijian government, his authority to apprehend offenders was unclear, though after years of exercising supreme power he is likely to have behaved in a directive way, at least.

Word had reached the *Pacific Islands Monthly* that not all was well on Rabi, where 'the community is not at present pulling together as successfully as the optimists would have us believe.' They attributed the difficulties to the old men hankering after their 'barren, but in their eyes, desirable, hunk of phosphatic rock [Ocean Island].'⁴⁴⁴ A Banaban deputation visited Dr Verrier on Taveuni to demand Kennedy's removal from

439 Kennedy to CS, Fiji, 2 July 1946, WPHC F58/1949, item 37.

440 Pops Kennedy to Adele Macfarlane, 4 March 1946. Original in the possession of Anne Anderson, Auckland. It was originally intended to supply hydro-electricity, but Kennedy provided his own generator.

441 Telegram: Kennedy to CS, 1 June 1946, WPHC CF45/5/9.

442 CS to DC Northern, 3 July 1946, WPHC CF48/9/5.

443 Doug Munro, 'Patterns of Resistance and Accommodation', Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro and Edward D. Beechert (eds), *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1993, p. 24. Other signs included foot-dragging, dissimulation, false-compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth.

444 *PIM*, June 1946, p. 13.

Rabi, which he forwarded to the administration in Suva.⁴⁴⁵ In response, J.E. Windrum, the DC Northern, visited the island on 13 June 1946.⁴⁴⁶ Most of the issues raised had nothing to do with Kennedy and the Banabans were evasive when questions were asked. Rotan was clearly the leader of the antagonism and blocked Windrum's attempt to hold a ballot. Apart from his drunkenness, no real issues of Kennedy's behaviour were raised. There were certainly no accusations of violence or sexual misbehaviour. After the Banabans had initially asked for Kennedy to be their Adviser and having agreed to the terms under which they were re-settled on Rabi, they accused Kennedy of 'not looking after them' in ways they did not specify.⁴⁴⁷ They also said they had been starved after one month of rations, even though they had agreed to that specific condition. Clearly there had been miscommunication and misunderstanding between the Banabans and Kennedy, with relations perhaps refracted through a dominant-dependent relationship.⁴⁴⁸ Part of the problem was their expectation that he would advocate for them, when he was actually implementing official government policy. He was in the 'classic position of the man in the middle.'⁴⁴⁹ These were issues of governance and were not related to Kennedy personally. Windrum's report resulted in a further visit to Rabi later that month by Maude (Acting Colonial Secretary) and P.D. Macdonald as the matter was of considerable importance and urgency. Both spoke the Banaban/Gilbertese language and spent three days on Rabi talking informally as well as formally to the Banabans. They identified a set of grievances:

- (a) uncertainty regarding their rights over land on Ocean Island and Rabi and the Banaban funds;
- (b) loss of confidence in Major Kennedy, the majority of Banabans being in favour of his removal;
- (c) increasing incidence of sickness, and in particular pulmonary troubles, diarrhea and measles;
- (d) inadequacy of the housing facilities, thus aggravating sickness;
- (e) lack of food;
- (f) the deduction of exchange when paying Annuities;

445 Verrier to RC, Northern, 18 June 1946, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51.

446 James Edward Windrum (1895-). He was the British Consul on Tonga from 1949-54.

447 J.E. Windrum, Meeting on Rabi Island to meet with some of the elders at their request, 17 June 1946, Maude papers, Series F/3.

448 See page 126 for more on the dominant-dependent relationship.

449 Martin G. Silverman, 'Making Sense: A Study of a Banaban Meeting', in Lieber (ed), *Exiles and Migrants in Oceania*, 1977, p. 128.

- (g) the fact that visits between themselves and neighbouring Fijian communities were prohibited (at their own earlier request).⁴⁵⁰

The reasons for the loss of confidence in Kennedy are not revealed, nor how they came to the conclusion that the majority desired his removal. Maude surmised that the two underlying causes of discontent related to a 'change of front evinced by Rotan', and a general demoralization due to the system of annuities.⁴⁵¹ Rotan's changed attitude may have reflected his growing sophistication and awareness of the duplicity of the government and the BPC.⁴⁵² With Rotan as leader of the community and Kennedy as the Adviser, a certain amount of tension could have been expected, because both saw themselves as possible future leaders of the Banaban community.⁴⁵³ Whilst the principal causes of their resentment may have been the grievances identified by Maude, the Banabans also resented having to work at the menial task of copra production after the more lucrative mining work on Ocean Island.⁴⁵⁴ It is possible that Kennedy made efforts to motivate them and that this was resented, as was the case on Kioa Island when he visited there in 1951-2.⁴⁵⁵ Kennedy would have found it difficult to sit back and watch the Banabans squander their opportunity (as he saw it), particularly as he needed the resettlement to be successful for his own career. Silverman later concluded that Kennedy's 'demeanor' had offended many Banabans, though the observation that 'he may have expected too much too fast,' is probably more insightful.⁴⁵⁶ Katerina Teaiwa has identified the failure to accept responsibility as a continuing Banaban characteristic manifested in demands upon those in authority, as long as they do not require the community to act.⁴⁵⁷ Presumably blaming others is the corollary. This would create difficulties for any leader and their community.

The Banabans were exiles from their own island, but were not refugees, because they owned the island to which they moved and because their relocation involved the whole

450 Maude, 'Memorandum on the Future of the Banaban Population of Ocean Island; with Special Relation to their Lands and Funds', 1946, p. 15, WPHC F48/5/10, vol. 1, items 107-136.

451 Ibid.

452 By 1948 Rotan was becoming openly aggressive and accused Maude and Macdonald of making 'a trap to bind [the] necks of [the] Banabans.'

453 After nearly two decades, the latest Adviser was still at loggerheads with Rotan. Silverman, 'Making Sense', p. 131.

454 Ibid., p. 133.

455 See pages 108-12.

456 Silverman, *Disconcerting Issue*, p. 166.

457 Teaiwa, 'Tirawata Irouia', p. 109.

community.⁴⁵⁸ Resettlement involves the whole community whilst migration usually involves individuals.⁴⁵⁹ After their wartime removal from Ocean Island, they shared, with other refugees, an uncertain future and an ambivalence about moving forwards or backwards. They were in the 'perilous territory of not belonging' with 'a lost or abandoned past and an as yet unexperienced future.'⁴⁶⁰ Belonging, for the Banabans, was tied up with Ocean Island in a way that Europeans, with centuries of migration experience, found hard to understand. Whilst they named the villages on Rabi after the villages on Ocean Island to reinforce their identity, for them Rabi still represented not-belonging. Kennedy, who could see the superior commercial and political potential of Rabi and knew Ocean Island was lost to them as a place to live, was probably impatient of their reluctance, and although he sought to engage and encourage them, he had little understanding of their loss.

Maude's assessment seems to have overlooked the war-time experiences of the Banabans at the hands of the Japanese, although the task at hand outweighed any personal sympathy. No doubt Maude and Macdonald had instructions to hose down the situation, because it was critical for the mining interest that the Banabans did not return to Ocean Island. Kennedy's withdrawal from Rabi was a small sacrifice to achieve that outcome. Forty years later, Maude was less certain that he had been right in replacing Kennedy, but at the time he wrote without delay to persuade Frank Holland to come back from retirement to take over on Rabi.⁴⁶¹ The tone of the letter suggested a level of friendship towards Holland that was lacking with Kennedy, so possibly personal antipathy was also a factor in Kennedy's removal. Maude was not blind to the difficulties, warning Holland:

I should tell you at once that the Banabans are as difficult as ever and completely under the domination of Rotan, who has turned rather anti-European (or is it only anti-Kennedy?). They are making little effort to settle down on Rabi and set to work, preferring for the most part to idle away their time in gambling and football. I blame the unspeakable system of annuities for most of this, coupled with Rotan's money complex.⁴⁶²

458 A '60 Minutes' presenter in 1993 is quoted as saying of the Banabans on Rabi, 'these are the most pleasantly relocated displaced people in the world.' He caught the uniqueness of their situation and the ire of the Banabans. Teaiwa, 'Tirawata Irouia', p. 118.

459 Michael D. Lieber, 'Conclusion: The Resettled Community and Its Context', Lieber (ed), *Exiles and Migrants in Oceania*, pp. 342-3. This simple distinction is complicated by the Phoenix Islands Resettlement Scheme, which directly involved only a minority of Gilbertese.

460 Dianne Schwerdt, 'The 'Third Space' as Void: Exile and Self-destruction in Eva Sallis's *The Marsh Birds*', Anna Haebich and Baden Offord (eds), *Landscapes of Exile: Once Perilous, Now Safe*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2006, p. 136.

461 Maude to Holland, 4 July 1946. WPHC CF 48/5/9.

462 Maude to Holland, 4 July 1946. Maude Papers, Series H.

When the final negotiations were made between the Banabans and the Phosphate Commissioners in 1947, Holland was not allowed to act as their Adviser. (This calculated move to disadvantage the Banabans ultimately had beneficial repercussions. During the court case of 1975-6, to have left the Banabans unsupported at that time was identified as a clear dereliction of responsibility and restitution was paid). Holland did not have it all his own way on Rabi and became quite autocratic: three years later he was described in the following terms, 'I knew before Holland left that in certain matters he was "Government" and indeed my whole experience of him over the last 12 years has been that while he is a charming gentleman he inclined to be Prussian.'⁴⁶³ How Holland and the succeeding Advisers fared is important to our understanding of this period in Kennedy's life. Whatever Kennedy's sins of omission or commission, the politics were such that anybody and everybody had difficulty in their dealings with the Banabans, underpinned as they were by the loss of Ocean Island as a homeland and the duplicity of government.

Kennedy still had to wait until Holland arrived in August to take over and find somewhere for his family to live in Suva. Again he turned to Maude for assistance. Suitable accommodation could not be found, so the Kennedys stayed at the Grand Pacific Hotel in Suva, at the expense of the Colony.⁴⁶⁴ Denied a mission to work on, Kennedy lapsed into heavy drinking. Maude liked to tell the story from that time of how Kennedy said he was going to kill him and how when he complained to the Governor he received no sympathy for his fear.⁴⁶⁵ Maude's anxiety for Kennedy to be invalided from the service was matched by Kennedy's willingness to go. To achieve this end, Maude called for Kennedy to be examined by a medical board, but it found him physically fit. Another board was called to assess his psychological capability to continue and he was allowed to retire, to everyone's relief.⁴⁶⁶

The Colonial Service pensions were not generous by current standards and were not indexed for inflation, so that retirees, such as Jack Barley, wrote letters to the Governor

463 File note: Acting Assistant CS, 16 August 1949, NAF, F37/269, pt. 3, p. 129. There were six Advisers between 1945 and 1953, though after 1951 they were no longer resident on Rabi.

464 The expense of keeping the family at the Grand Pacific Hotel hastened the processing of his retirement. HC to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 5 December 1946, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3. Anne Anderson has 'some memories that I think were of Suva. One is of when we were on a hotel balcony: there were flying foxes and Ken [Kennedy] was taking pot-shots at them.' Anne Anderson interview (with Mike Butcher), 5 October 2007.

465 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

466 HC to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 5 December 1946, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51 vol. 3.

pleading for an increase to compensate for the falling value of the pound after the War.⁴⁶⁷ He was not successful. Kennedy and Maude applied to have Kennedy's pension increased to compensate for his early retirement due to the results of isolation, disease, stress and diet. Kennedy made a case for the effects of filariasis, dietary deficiency and psychological disturbance.⁴⁶⁸ He attributed 'the psychological disturbance from which I am alleged to suffer' to isolation, and he claimed that between 1909 and 1930 five officers had been transferred from the district, 'owing to serious psychological disturbances', all after serving shorter periods of service than Kennedy.⁴⁶⁹ After the War, Vaskess, the Colonial Secretary, formulated the 'seven year rule', under which no officer should be required to serve for more than seven years in the WPHC territories.⁴⁷⁰ The activities Kennedy had taken up to compensate for his loneliness were: wireless transmission, meteorology, boat building, and anthropology. When help came in the form of his course at Oxford, 'my mental and nervous condition was then such that I was unable to derive full advantage from the facilities offered.'⁴⁷¹ It was a case of too little, too late. In the ten years since he had left, no officer had served for more than twelve months in the Ellice Islands. Kennedy had served in the Colony for fifteen years, as Teacher and Administrative Officer, with breaks, mostly for leave. A 1936 medical report commented on his isolation and said that Kennedy was 'unable to express himself freely in English, owing to the fact that he had not spoken to a European for some months.'⁴⁷² Maude wrote a letter of support stressing the isolation of Kennedy's service:

[W]e wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, asking that he [Kennedy] should get an additional five year's pension on the grounds that his disability was caused by his long absence and the lonely stations and had to put up with psychological pressures that no other officer in the service had ever been required to do and that because it was our fault, not his fault, that he had to be retired, asked to retire.⁴⁷³

The Secretary of State for the Colonies was not swayed by Kennedy's (or Maude's) pleas and, indeed, gave the opinion, 'This is the first time in my personal knowledge, we have been asked to give five year's extra pension to an officer on the grounds that he is

467 Jack Barley to Chief Secretary, 24 July 1950, WPHC, F1296/1936, item 94.

468 Kennedy to CS, 16 September 1946, p 1, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3.

469 Ibid.

470 No doubt his experience of the effects of isolation on Kennedy would have been a factor in this recommendation. Colin H. Allan, *Solomons Safari*, Part 1, Christchurch, Nag's Head, 1989, p. 9.

471 Ibid.

472 Minute: A.H.B. Pearce, Director of Medical Services, 19 August 1936, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 1, (1898/1936).

473 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

incurably drunk.’⁴⁷⁴ Regardless of the medical reports, he clearly understood Kennedy’s drunkenness to be the problem, not the result of the problem. These issues are taken up in the Alcoholism chapter. Maude’s assistance at that time could be seen as demonstrating an understanding of these real factors as well as a bad conscience for having contributed to the early retirement. Kennedy left Fiji for New Zealand by December and after serving out his accumulated leave, retired on 25 April 1947 to become a Hawkes Bay grazier.⁴⁷⁵

Maude’s responsibility for the Banabans on Rabi ended soon after, when he was appointed Resident Commissioner on Tarawa. He was called as a witness for the government during the trial for damages brought by the Banabans in London in 1976.⁴⁷⁶ Maude later stated that he had wanted to speak on the side of the Banabans, ‘but they started telling so many lies that ... he’d just have to go and tell the truth.’⁴⁷⁷ With the unraveling of the Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme undermining his confidence, it was not until the 1980s that Maude received some assurance that the move to Rabi had been in the Banabans’ best interests:

A few years ago we were in Suva, and Tebuke [Pastor Tito Rotan’s son] heard we were there and he phoned and said, ‘Would we go and have a meal with him?’ He’d like us to come and meet the Council and have dinner. So he picked us up and took us to a Chinese restaurant and we had a marvellous dinner with the Council, and at the end Tebuke said, ‘Could he give a speech in Gilbertese?’ We said, ‘Yes, we’d be all right,’ and he made a speech thanking my husband for buying the island, and he said they were all happy there and doing well, which was marvellous.⁴⁷⁸

Perhaps this was a generous gesture to an old and esteemed friend, as the community on Rabi still struggled to be viable.⁴⁷⁹

Kennedy might be considered to have been fortunate in having an alternative way of life on retirement, with the promise of a place in the Hawkes Bay farming community and the prospect of success, had the circumstances of his retirement been different. In the event, as described in the next chapter, he was a fish out of water with little control over his life, and Hawkes Bay proved to be a temporary break from his life-long Pacific adventure.

474 Ibid.

475 He took a small arsenal of weapons with him to New Zealand that subsequently disappeared. They were thought to have been built into the foundations of the music room at Glen Aros, but when that room was later demolished, there was no sign of them.

476 Woodburn, *Where Our Hearts Still Lie*, p. 258.

477 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

478 Ibid.

479 Hindmarsh, *One Minority People*.

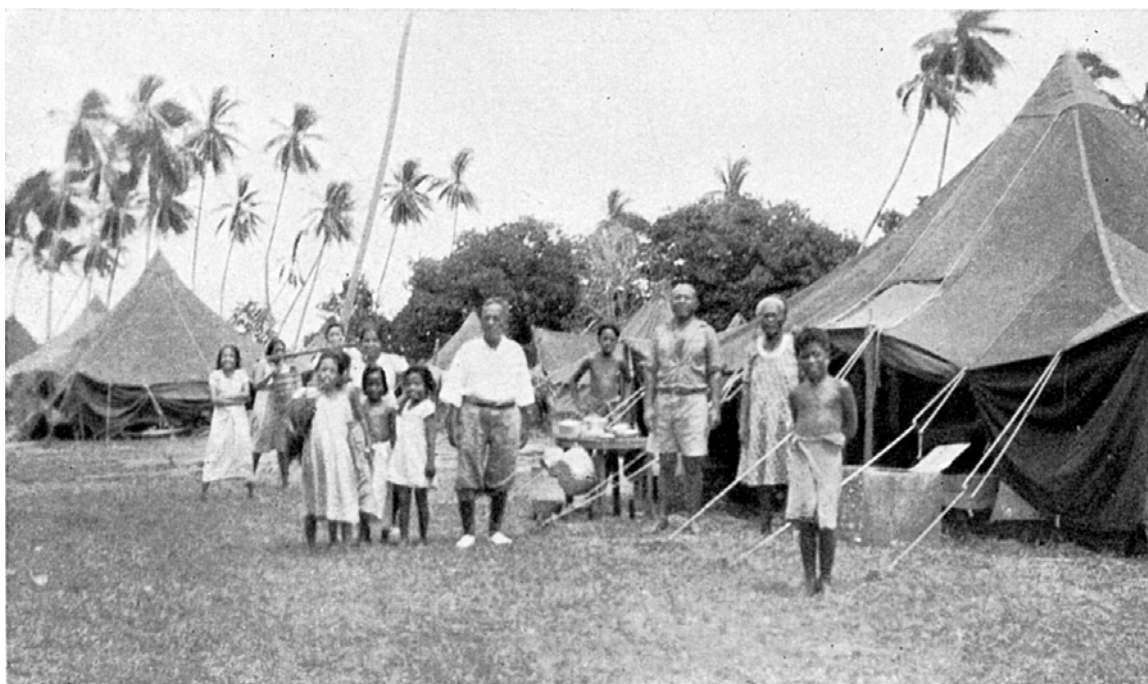


Photo: H. B. Maynard.

GROUP OF BANABANS AT RAMBI.

Group of Banabans at Rambai, showing the tents provided for them when they first arrived.

Source: Albert Ellis, *Mid-Pacific Outposts*, Auckland, Brown and Stewart, 1946.

Chapter 5: After the Colonial Service

Retirement did not have a propitious beginning: Kennedy arrived at Glen Aros from Fiji with a baby, three step-children, few prospects of employment, little knowledge of farming, a chip on his shoulder and a drinking problem. Fortunately, the house at Glen Aros was a large one that could accommodate an extended family. Originally on the Maraekakaho Station of Sir Donald McLean,⁴⁸⁰ James (Jim) Macfarlane and his brother, William Archibald, purchased part of it in 1908 and renamed the section Mount Lookout.⁴⁸¹ They farmed together for a few years before dividing it ‘amicably’ into Glen Aros and Waiterenui.⁴⁸² Glen Aros was named for a valley on the Isle of Mull, next to the Macfarlane’s native island of Tiree in the Inner Hebrides.⁴⁸³ He took as his wife Adel Wright, sixteen years his junior, who was apparently fond of socialising and had a local reputation as ‘a good time gal.’⁴⁸⁴

James Macfarlane of Glen Aros was also a man who loved socialising, and ... now he owned land he had the opportunity to build himself a beautiful house. He had Alfred Garnett of Hastings⁴⁸⁵ design a house for him, where each night billiards and poker were played and throats were lubricated by nips of Highland Nectar whisky ...⁴⁸⁶

He was a good professional farmer who established a Poll Aberdeen Angus Stud as well as a flock of Romney Marsh sheep and he managed the farm well. For instance, he had ploughing plans drawn up by surveyors and he employed skilled workers who brought credit to the Station at the agricultural shows. Mary Adelia (Pops) and her brother,

480 Sir Donald McLean was a significant figure in 19th century New Zealand race relations history. See: Donald McLean (1820-1877) Administrator, runholder, politician, provincial superintendent. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, www.dnzb.govt.nz

481 Glen Aros lies about 20 minutes by car south west of Hastings in the rolling hills and flats of limestone country.

482 Alan L. Scarfe, ‘Too Much Land?’: Maraekakaho Station, 1877-1929. MA Thesis, Massey University, 2005, p. 45.

483 Tiree is a fertile island with a benign climate that formerly benefited from being strategically located on the sailing route between the west of Scotland and northern Europe. It succumbed to over-population in the 19th century. There is no place named Glen Aros on Tiree. An Iodhlann—Tiree Historical Centre information, 27 January 2010.

484 Adel [usually spelt Adele] Marion Wright, born 1 September 1890 at Westport; daughter of William Marcus Wright and Adelia Munson, born in Hokitika. Reg No 1890/15238, Westport. Pat Stewart worked at Glen Aros for a short time from June 1950. Pat Stewart interview (by phone with Mike Butcher), 27 July 2008.

485 Designed by Albert Garnett (1878-1956), a Hastings architect who has left a number of notable buildings. *Napier’s Reconstruction Architects*. Art Deco Information Sheet 11, October 2003. The house has commanded its share of heritage attention over the years and has now been restored and developed as an exclusive B&B and Executive Retreat. www.glenaros.co.nz

486 Scarfe, Too Much Land?, p. 49.

Donald James (Tim), were born at Glen Aros and attended the local Raukawa School. Tragedy struck in 1938, when Tim, his mother's favourite, was killed accidentally.⁴⁸⁷

Tim was killed playing polo when he was twenty-one. My grandmother, Gardie,⁴⁸⁸ virtually never forgave Mum for that, that she had survived and Tim had died. She was very bitter to Mum for quite a lot of her life. Gardie was extremely vicious and tried to—could be very nasty.⁴⁸⁹

To help the family recover from the shock, they took a holiday in Europe and it was on that voyage of the *Strathmore* that Pops met Kennedy on his way to Oxford.⁴⁹⁰

By 1947 James Macfarlane's best days were behind him: he had suffered from heart and nervous problems since the his son's death, so the family decided that Pops and Ken (as she always called her husband) needed the opportunity of managing Glen Aros themselves, while James and his wife moved to a house in Havelock North, closer to the hospital. Kennedy's limited knowledge of animal husbandry had been gleaned from his experiences as a child and in the Pacific, so to learn how to be a farmer he enrolled at the Massey Agricultural College in Palmerston North in September 1947 for a twelve week course in sheep farming, sponsored by the Rehabilitation Department.⁴⁹¹ He was interested in learning about cattle, which was included in the general sheep farming course. In his application he stated that he intended to purchase a half interest in his father-in-law's farm, 'after completing a farming course and gaining some experience and to take over its management.'⁴⁹² His report was excellent (including conduct and attendance), and he was 'strong in cattle management but may require more experience

487 Tim was playing a polo practice match at Twyford (near Hastings) on 12 February 1938, when his horse and Walcott Ormond's horse collided, throwing Tim, who fell under his mount. He was admitted unconscious to Royston Hospital, Hastings, and died the following day from head injuries without regaining consciousness. The coroner's verdict was accidental death with 'no blame being attachable to any person.' Coroners Report: ANZ: J 46 1938/200.

488 Adele Marion was known as 'Gardie' to her grand-children, to distinguish her from their paternal grandmother, Isabella Kennedy, 'Gomma'.

489 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007. The letters Pops sent to her mother from Rabi are warm and suggest a caring loving relationship, not one marred by resentment. No letters to Pops from her mother have been sighted. Ailsa believed her grandmother had not been supportive of Pops when she was suddenly widowed, but Anne Anderson remembers how the family was taken care of by Gardie at that time and it was Robert Campbell's mother and sister who failed to support the family (his father having died while Robert was young). Personal communication: Anne Anderson (by phone with Mike Butcher), 14 September 2010.

490 See page 42.

491 Personal communication: Louis Changuion, Massey University Archivist, to Mike Butcher, 11 January 2010. Kennedy completed the course successfully after dropping out after a month and returning to the following course in 1948. He received living and travel allowances and college fees from the Rehabilitation Department, ANZ, AADK 20203 W3729/893.

492 Donald Kennedy to the Rehabilitation Officer, Hastings, 11 March 1947, ANZ, AADK 20203 W3729/893.

with sheep.’⁴⁹³ Plans exist of a proposed sub-division of Glen Aros, but nothing came of it, though Kennedy did go into partnership with his father-in-law in a Poll Angus herd.⁴⁹⁴ Kennedy sounded out the possibility of borrowing money to buy four hundred acres of Glen Aros and received the ‘A’ grading he needed to manage the farm.⁴⁹⁵ A loan of £6,725 was also approved, but was never taken up.⁴⁹⁶ Kennedy is credited with having bred and exhibited a prize bull, Emperor of Glen Aros.⁴⁹⁷ In fact, Glen Aros had a reputation for breeding champions, and it has been suggested that Jim Macfarlane had a lot of influence at the show, so the win may have been for the stud, not the individual. Patrick Stewart, who worked at Glen Aros, remembers there being talk about Kennedy’s lack of economy as a farmer and gives as an example of (relatively) lavish spending on the bunk house:

[Kennedy] actually had arranged the building I lived in—there was a bunk house thing, I think it was five bedrooms and a lounge, and attached to it an ablution block, he got that built and I don’t think the Macfarlanes were very happy. He was running at big cost for the thing.⁴⁹⁸

Anne Anderson remembers the building more positively, as ‘modern and progressive’ quarters for the shearing gangs, who greatly appreciated the standard of accommodation provided.⁴⁹⁹ Kennedy spoke kindly of old Jim Macfarlane, but most unkindly of Adele, whom he described as a half-Jewess.⁵⁰⁰ In the same interview he also described Arthur Grimble and Jack Barley as half-Jews, adding, ‘I have some very, very good friends, Jews, you know, among the academic people, people who’ve got special jobs, doctors sometimes, but ... I have something against the many who sacrifice everything for the sake of making money.’⁵⁰¹ Kennedy also said that Adel was constantly interfering with

493 Ibid.

494 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

495 Rehabilitation Department, Land Settlement, Recommendation for Regrading, 11 June 1948, ANZ, AADK 20203 W3729/893.

496 Ibid.

497 G.A. Tait (ed), *Farms and Stations of New Zealand*, Cranwell Publishing, Auckland, 1957, p. 12.

498 Pat Stewart interview (by phone with Mike Butcher), 27 July 2008.

499 Personal communication: Anne Anderson (by phone with Mike Butcher), 14 September 2010.

500 Anti-Semitism has been extensively analysed as a personality indicator and is referred to later in this thesis (see pages 124 and 193), Daniel J. Levinson, ‘The Study of Anti-Semitic Ideology’, in T.W. Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality*, W.W. Norton, New York, 1969 (1950), pp. 57-101.

501 His source of information about Adele’s family was the wife of Dr Rowland Cashmore, who had been a family friend for years. Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

the farm. In the event, when Kennedy left and her husband died in 1951,⁵⁰² she took over the farm again until Pops returned in about 1970.⁵⁰³

Settling into a life of domesticity on the farm after life in the islands was not possible for Kennedy and the memories of his children and step-children from this period are mostly bleak with alcohol related violence. The high points were being taken by their father to the hotel and left in the car. They were made memorable by the publican's wife 'coming out with pies and soft drinks for us and handing them through the car window, while he was on a bender. But we were all happy. That was all wonderful—pies and fizzy drinks.'⁵⁰⁴ Ailsa recalled how, on a visit to the Hastings Club,

[H]e had a gun, and he locked himself up with a bottle of scotch and they got a bit worried about him, so they—funny how memories come back—this is just the story Mum told: anyway, a policeman came and knocked on the door and said, 'Mr Kennedy, I really think you should come out', and 'Bang!' Dad's firing the gun, and they left him. They knew he'd come out of it when he was ready.⁵⁰⁵

It was around this time that he started to attract the attention of the public by stopping cars on country roads: 'He went off the rails a little bit, so I was told—that he was stopping cars out at Pakipaki Junction looking for fifth columnists, or something like that. Whether it was the grog or whether he had a mental problem I don't know what it was.'⁵⁰⁶ Kennedy left Glen Aros by ambulance in 1949 and Pops rang Margaret Bishop to tell her Kennedy had 'gone off on a drinking binge and he had gone to the Marae and was living with the Maoris in the Marae.'⁵⁰⁷ In November of that year he appeared at the Hastings Rehabilitation Department office in a 'highly nervous state with facial and hand tremors.'⁵⁰⁸ Dr Cashmore had recommended that he return to Queen Mary Hospital, Hanmer Springs, but there was a waiting list.⁵⁰⁹ He gave his address for the next few days as the Hastings Club or McDuff's Hotel, Havelock North, so the split from Pops and Glen Aros had probably just taken place. Before a hospital bed became available, Kennedy left for Auckland, at the invitation of his daughter, Margaret. 'I asked Dad to come up and he

502 James Alexander Macfarlane, died 23 November 1951, aged 77 years: buried Havelock North.

503 Selina Gentry, 'Back at Glen Aros', *The Hawkes Bay Herald Tribune*, 10 September 1988, p. 13.

504 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

505 Ibid.

506 Stewart interview (by phone with Mike Butcher), 27 July 2008. The question of whether he was suffering from an alcohol related psychosis is taken up in Chapter 9: Alcoholism.

507 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

508 Interview Sheet, 11 November 1949, ANZ, AADK 20203 W3729/893.

509 A.W Wilkinson, Medical Superintendent, Queen Mary Hospital, to Officer in Charge, Rehabilitation Department, Hastings, 14 November 1949, ANZ, AADK 20203 W3729/893.

did come up. He stayed, not very long, because he was still drinking. We had an argument and we went to work and when I came back again, he had gone.’ It was ‘a while’ until she heard from him, as ‘he was in Malaya doing intelligence work. That’s what we heard: somewhere over there.’⁵¹⁰ The ‘somewhere over there’ was not Malaya, but New Guinea.

It was his drinking that Pops said led to her ending the marriage, but there were more sinister reasons, of which both Ailsa and Anne were aware. Reference is made later to Anne being abused by Kennedy (see page 177) and according to Anne it was the threat of this happening to Ailsa that finally caused Pops to take action.⁵¹¹ Anne also recalls incidents involving the servant girls, an assault on a twelve year old cousin and an incident involving the stabbing of a young Maori woman that was hushed up.⁵¹² With the breakdown of his marriage and the consequent move from the farm at Glen Aros, Kennedy needed something to occupy his time and energies. His herd of Angus cattle remained with the farm in lieu of alimony, so he was unencumbered financially, but he still needed to make a living.⁵¹³

In 1943 he had been approached to join Naval Intelligence, but was encouraged to remain in the Colonial Service to assist with the discontent amongst ‘native Solomon communities ... petitioning for United States rather than British rule.’⁵¹⁴ Perhaps he put it about that he had retired and was now available for work, as he left New Zealand early in 1950 to join the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) in Melbourne. He claimed to have been recruited by Commander [Rupert] Long, whom he described as ‘Director for the Australian Navy.’⁵¹⁵ Long had been the Director of Naval Intelligence during the war, and would have known Kennedy by reputation.⁵¹⁶ He had set up the Coast Watching Service between the wars and was informed throughout of Kennedy’s activities

510 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006. She dates the visit to the months before she married John Lancelot Bishop in 1950.

511 Anne Anderson interview (with Mike Butcher), 5 October 2007.

512 Ibid., Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

513 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

514 Kennedy to CS, 20 August 1945, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51. This would have been his postwar return to Gela: see page 176.

515 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

516 Feldt, *The Coastwatchers*, pp. 18-19. After the war, Long was aware of the threat of communism and provided support to the Netherlands East Indies to fight communism there until the CIA became involved. Barbara Winter, *The Intrigue Master: Commander Long and Naval Intelligence in Australia, 1913-1945*, Brisbane, Boolarong Press, 1995, p. 275. Kennedy caught up with Eric Feldt in Brisbane in 1950, so Feldt may have had a hand in his recruitment. Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

in the Solomons. In what capacity Long was acting to recruit Kennedy is unclear, as he had not joined the Security Services after the war.⁵¹⁷

No information about Kennedy was forthcoming from ASIO as it is an offence under s.92(1) of the *ASIO Act 1979* 'to make public that a person having a particular name is an officer or former officer of ASIO.'⁵¹⁸ However, thirty years ago Jim Boutilier was able to penetrate the wall of silence by writing to former coastwatcher Martin Clemens, who forwarded the request to W.T. Robertson, Head of Protective Services in the Department of Administrative Services in Canberra. Although not part of ASIO, he was able to elicit the following information:

ASIO tell me that their meager records of the late Major Kennedy reveal that he was employed by the organization in 1950 for a total of just over seven months. They say he spent just under three months of that time in New Guinea before resigning for reasons which have not been recorded. Nothing is known of his service in New Guinea except that he was located in Lae.⁵¹⁹

Lae, a frontier town formed in the 1920s and 30s, still suffered in the 1950s from war damage and a chronic housing shortage. As the temporary capital of the Territory of New Guinea, it was occupied by the Japanese from March 1942 until September 1943 and was struggling to get back on its feet after the war.⁵²⁰ With a mixed Asian and European population of just over a thousand people, living in primitive conditions, it seemed a likely spot for insurgents. Although ASIO claimed that the records covering Kennedy's period of employment were incomplete and that they did not have the resources to look anyway, Robertson said that 'the files do reveal that Kennedy had rather grand ideas of his station and consequently the accommodation and staff he should have.' He surmised that Kennedy would 'have had the task of establishing some sort of security intelligence network to cover New Guinea.' In this he was correct, as the file relating to the Establishment of Security Services in Papua and New Guinea (P&NG) has survived and is now accessible.⁵²¹

517 Ian Pfennigwerth, the biographer of Captain Eric Nave, believes it is more likely that Nave recruited Kennedy. Personal communication: Ian Pfennigwerth to Mike Butcher, 19 January 2009. Ian Pfennigwerth, *A Man of Intelligence: The Life of Captain Theodore Eric Nave, Australian Codebreaker Extraordinaire*, Kenthurst, New South Wales, Rosenberg, 2006.

518 David Wagland, Reference Officer, NAA, to Mike Butcher, 17 July 2007. David had made application to ASIO on the author's behalf.

519 W.T. Robertson to J. Boutilier, 14 December 1978 (copy provided by J. Boutilier).

520 Lachlan Strahan, *Day of Reckoning*, Canberra, Pandanus, 2005, pp. 90-1. See also: Ian Willis, *Lae: Village and City*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1974.

521 Department of External Territories: New Guinea ... Miscellaneous, NAA, Security Service – Establishment of Branch in P&NG, A518/2/BH836/1, I16/2/6.

Kennedy was involved in the establishment of a branch of the Security Service in PNG, occasioned by the fear of Communist infiltration from the north. The question of Communist incursion had been raised by the Minister for External Affairs, Percy Spender, during his visit to the Territory in April 1950.⁵²² In June he reported to parliament, 'It is most important that the Territories should be kept free of subversive influences and steps will be taken by legislation and otherwise to see that they are not exposed to this menace.'⁵²³ In anticipation of possible Communist-inspired sabotage, lists were being compiled in P&NG in 1950 of 'those installations and facilities whose functioning is of major importance for the national war effort or for the maintenance of the life of the community.'⁵²⁴ The report for Lae included the airport and facilities for the supply of power, water and transport.⁵²⁵ Menzies had won the election in December 1949 and the Communists were high on his hit-list. On 27 April 1950 he introduced to Parliament the Communist Party Dissolution Bill, and although he forced the legislation through both Houses, it was subsequently invalidated by the High Court.⁵²⁶ ASIO was also shaken up and given a new director, Colonel Charles Spry, who was assiduous in harassing Communists. To counter the perceived threat of Communists in Australia, the focus of activity changed from counter-espionage to subversion, or, as one historian has put it, 'The focus of the Cold War extended from alleged traitors to domestic dissenters'.⁵²⁷ Letters to the *Sydney Morning Herald* about the 'Red Threat' in New Guinea claimed the attention of readers and the government, though they were ill-founded.⁵²⁸ By 25 May 1950 arrangements had been made with 'Mr D.G. Kennedy of the

522 Ian Downs mentions the visit in some detail, but nothing of a security nature: Ian Downs, *The Australian Trusteeship Papua New Guinea 1945-75*, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1980, pp. 69-71.

523 Territory of Papua and New Guinea Security, 16 August 1950. NAA, A518/2/BH836/1: I16/2/6 Security Service – Establishment of Branch in P&NG.

524 Report by the internal security sub-committee regarding the measures required in the event of an emergency for the protection of key points in Australia and its territories against subversive activity and sabotage. Security of key points in the Territories against subversive activity and sabotage, NAA A518 HF16/2/1. This file is accessible on-line.

525 J.R. Halligan to Administrator Papua New Guinea, 20 September 1950, NAA A518 HF16/2/1.

526 David McKnight, *Australia's Spies and their Secrets*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1994, p. 39. Academic freedom was also under threat. See Fay Anderson, *An Historian's Life: Max Crawford and the politics of academic freedom*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2005, pp. 217 and passim. Australian Communist Party v. Commonwealth.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australian_Communist_Party_v_Commonwealth

527 Fay Anderson, *An Historian's Life*, p. 294.

528 'Red Threat seen in New Guinea', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 July 1950.

Security Service to proceed to the Territory.⁵²⁹ Just when he arrived there is unclear because whilst his report on evidence of the (lack of) spread of Communism in the Territory appears to have been received by 16 August, a memo of 25 August implies Kennedy had not then arrived.⁵³⁰ Kennedy's report and that of the Administrator were removed from the file by ASIO, before it was released for public access and very little is known of his movements.⁵³¹ His presence in PNG in October 1950 was remarked upon in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, which reported that Kennedy, 'a quietly spoken, inconspicuous man,' visited all parts of the Territory.⁵³² Colonel Spry reported at a meeting early in August 1950 that, 'so far as his information goes including the report by Mr. Kennedy there is no evidence of the spread of Communism in the Territory.'⁵³³ If Kennedy was already in the service in May, and was only employed for seven months, then he would probably have resigned by the time he arrived in Brisbane at Christmas.⁵³⁴

Although Pops Kennedy later recalled that her marriage was over when her husband was carried from Glen Aros in an alcoholic coma,⁵³⁵ they did, according to Kennedy, attempt reconciliation when he went to Australia to join ASIO:

She didn't come up to New Guinea with me but she came up and down to Australia with me quite a bit and she wrote a letter back from there saying how thoroughly delighted she was and how willing she was to come over and bring the kids and all the rest. Almost immediately afterwards, I went up to New Guinea.⁵³⁶

To give them a chance without the children around, she had left two of the elder children in the care of her mother, but the youngest two were put into a home. As Ailsa Murray recalls:

I would have been four then. That's when ... they ... reconciled, ... and she put Alie [Alison] and I into this home. My grandmother wouldn't have us. She'd have the

529 Territory of Papua and New Guinea Security, 16 August 1950, NAA, Security Service—Establishment of Branch in P&NG, A518/2/BH836/1, I16/2/6.

530 J.R. Halligan to Director General of Security, 25 August, 1950, NAA, Security Service—Establishment of Branch in P&NG, A518/2/BH836/1, I16/2/6.

531 A note was left in the file to show what reports had been removed.

532 *PIM*, March 1951, p. 58.

533 Unsigned memorandum, Territory of Papua and New Guinea Security, 16 August 1950. NAA, Security Service – Establishment of Branch in P&NG, A518/2/BH836/1, I16/2/6. Kennedy wrote that one of his former colleagues from the Solomons, Michael Forster, had spent one night in Lae at their 'transit quarters', presumably en route to take up his new post in Malaya.

534 Letter from Kennedy to Pops Kennedy from Lennon's Hotel, Brisbane, Christmas [1950]. His address after the New Year was to be Sydney.

535 Hugh Laracy interview (with Mike Butcher), 25 October 2006.

536 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

Campbells, but she wouldn't have the dreaded Kennedys. We were put in this thing like an orphanage and Alie kept running away.⁵³⁷

It is not clear how long they were away from their mother, but it must have added to the difficulties for Pops, knowing they were unhappy without their mother.

Kennedy's reasons for quitting ASIO were recalled by Harry and Honor Maude, who met him in Sydney early in 1951:

We [m]et him in Macquarie Street and took him into a tea shop and had tea with him. He talked a lot about ASIO because—the reason he left ASIO was because ASIO became political and he found that they were wanting him to check up on people as to whether they were good Liberal voters and if they were not, to find out something wrong about them. Kennedy wasn't willing to do that work and I give him all honour for not doing that work. He went up to the heads of his coastwatching people during the war, the heads of coastwatchers and he said to them, 'What should I do? I joined the thing to find out about subversive activities and things like this and I find that I'm to work for the Liberal government who happen to be in power in Australia, and try to see the Labor Party doesn't get a say.' And they all agreed with him that he should go, and he put in his resignation, and left.⁵³⁸

His resignation may also have been prompted by Pops' departure from Australia. They had been planning to build a house in Brisbane and bring the children over. 'She was keen on coming to New Guinea', Kennedy later reported. 'I said, "all right", although I knew that it wouldn't be the best up there because I'd be travelling all the time, it would be far better if I could travel down to Australia and see them there.'⁵³⁹ But while he was away in P&NG, Pops had a change of heart and returned to New Zealand with the intention of marrying Stan White. In his divorce application, Kennedy gave the end of October 1950 as their date of separation.⁵⁴⁰

I telephoned her from New Guinea one day and her attitude was quite different. Her mother had introduced this Stan White and I think Pops with her ordinary free and easy way of life had fallen for him again and I was a bit staggered, but I gave up ASIO and was back in New Zealand and did try my best to get Pops to reconsider for the sake of the kids or anything else. No, she was thoroughly determined she was on the right track at last.⁵⁴¹

537 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

538 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

539 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

540 Technically Kennedy petitioned for restitution of conjugal rights and his failure resulted in the dissolution of the marriage. ANZ, Supreme Court of New Zealand, Auckland Registry, 250/51.

541 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969. Kennedy may not have been aware that Pops and Stan White had known each other since their school days. Personal communication: Anne Anderson (by phone with Mike Butcher), 14 September 2010.

By 17 April 1951, Kennedy was back in New Zealand, trying to persuade Pops to return to him.⁵⁴²

He then applied for a posting with Naval Intelligence in Wellington, but was stymied by Maude, who was quoted in a secret note as stating that Kennedy was 'distrusted and disliked by the Ellis [sic] Islanders'.⁵⁴³ The note goes on to say that Sir Alexander Grantham (the former High Commissioner) had given 'some kind of pledge' that Kennedy 'should not be allowed to return to a group where he had incurred so much fear and odium'.⁵⁴⁴ To make sure Kennedy was unsuccessful, Colonel Pleasants,⁵⁴⁵ CO Fiji Military Forces, was warned that Kennedy 'cannot be allowed to revisit G[ilbert] & E[lllice] or BSIP'.⁵⁴⁶ Whatever the justification for barring Kennedy from the BSIP, there could be none in regard to the GEIC, as Sir Harry Luke's original grounds for doing so had been set aside by his successor, Sir Philip Mitchell, and the whole incident supposedly struck from Kennedy's record.⁵⁴⁷ Maude would have been aware of that, but appears not to have passed on the advice. Although he found Kennedy's motives for resigning from ASIO praiseworthy, Maude then obstructed Kennedy's attempts at subsequent employment.

Plans to visit Rennell Island⁵⁴⁸ appear to have come to nothing because in August 1951 he was in Auckland preparing to leave for Suva.⁵⁴⁹ He left for Fiji on the *Aorangi* on 11 September 1951⁵⁵⁰ and arrived on the island of Kioa, just south of Rabi, at the end of the

542 Kennedy to Pops Kennedy, 17 April 1951.

543 Secret File note 502, 26 July 1951, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3. Maude was with the South Pacific Commission in 1951, based in Sydney, but the file note says that the information was gained 'in the course of conversation with Mr. Maude.'

544 Ibid.

545 Clive Lochiel Pleasants (1910 -)

546 File note 505, 27 July 1951, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51.

547 Sir Philip Mitchell to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 12 October 1943, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, no. 174. In a diary note of this meeting with Kennedy, Sir Philip also noted that in addition to having the charges officially expunged from the record, he had offered to try and obtain a 'West Indian Administratorship' for him. Diary of Sir Philip Mitchell, 15 February 1944, Mss. Afr.r.101 Rhodes House.

548 About which Sir Peter Buck had reportedly 'expressed alarm'. File note to Chief Secretary, Fiji, 5 April 1951, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, no. 259. Perhaps Buck was protective of the Bishop Museum's interests in the Island, as Kennedy and Grimble had rebuffed their earlier interest in the Ellice Islands. Herbert Gregory to HC, 23 March 1929; Skinner to Maude, 27 July 1931; Kennedy to Maude, 21 February 1932; Kennedy to Grimble, 6 October 1931, Maude Papers, Series B, J.

549 Kennedy to Pops Kennedy, 27 August 1951.

550 Kennedy to Pops Kennedy, 27 August 1951.

month.⁵⁵¹ His *decree nisi* had just been granted and he was feeling despondent, but he did not mention his intention of visiting Kioa. He had been involved peripherally in the purchase of Kioa Island by the people of Vaitupu, but had never set foot there. By going to Kioa, he continued a life that had been bound up with Ellice Islanders, and Vaitupuan in particular. His role there is of great interest as he went there voluntarily, possibly at the request of some of the Islanders, his final attempt to find a place for himself in the island communities he had served for thirty years.

Kioa Island
Fiji Map Series 31
Topographic Map
1:50,000
Sheet S 23
Rabi
Government of Fiji 2010

551 The fourth wave of settlers arrived at Taveuni on 28 September 1951 and presumably completed their journeys within hours of arriving. DO Taveuni to Principal Immigration Officer, Passengers for Kioa and Rabi per *MV 'John Williams VI.'* 2 October 1951, NAF, Kioa Island, Miscellaneous, F128/31.

the *Triona* to Rabi in December 1945.⁵⁵⁴ Lifuka gained the support of the people and wrote to the District Officer on Funafuti outlining their intention to look for an island in Fiji. In January 1946, District Officer R.G. Roberts⁵⁵⁵ wrote to the Resident Commissioner asking for entry permits into Fiji for the magistrate and three chiefs, who proposed to look for a suitable island.⁵⁵⁶ The Resident Commissioner supported the proposal but suggested postponement until the position of the Fiji authorities had been ascertained.⁵⁵⁷ While the wheels of bureaucracy were turning slowly, the upcoming sale of Kioa Island in June 1946 catalysed events.⁵⁵⁸ Kennedy was still on Rabi when Foua Tofinga, a Vaitupuan then living in Suva, drew his attention to Kioa Island coming on the market. He got in touch with Neli Lifuka, who spoke to Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna (Secretary of Fijian Affairs) in Fiji about the possible sale to Vaitupu Islanders, as sales to non-Fijians were generally opposed.⁵⁵⁹ With Sukuna's support for the sale, Kennedy notified the Colonial Secretary of the Vaitupuan's interest and took no further part, leaving the local negotiations to Lifuka.⁵⁶⁰ The government acted surprisingly quickly, in part to prevent undesirables from purchasing the island and in part because they believed Ellice Islanders were good settlers.⁵⁶¹ When the Governor heard of the proposal, he took some convincing that the money really existed, so unusual was it in Western eyes for Polynesians to show 'thrift' and 'foresight'.⁵⁶² The money to purchase the island had been subscribed by Vaitupuan employed by the British Phosphate Company on Ocean Island and from sales of handicrafts to the American servicemen based on the Ellice Islands during the war. Global warming was well below the horizon then, but investment in a high island could not have been more prescient.⁵⁶³ The High Commissioner (Sir Alexander Grantham) delegated the task of bidding for Kioa to Maude, then First

554 Koch, *Logs in the Current of the Sea*, p. 45; Kalaaki Laupepa, Vaitupu, in Hugh Laracy (ed), *Tuvalu: A History*, p. 85. Laupepa incorrectly identifies the ship as the *Triaster*, another of the BPC fleet.

555 Robert Gerald Roberts (1918-). He was a New Zealander from Auckland. Apart from Kennedy, he was the only official in the GEIC to speak both the Gilbertese and Ellice languages.

556 R.G. Roberts to D.C.I. Wernham, 10 January 1946; EAP 110_4557.

557 D.C.I. Wernham to R.G. Roberts, 2 March 1946; EAP 110_4559.

558 Kioa was part of the estate of Austral Verge, a New South Wales grazier, who died in 1939. A copy of the sale notice and a memorandum of sale for Kioa is included in TUV2 F48/7/2 vol. 1; PAMBU (EAP_110 4567 & 4568).

559 Koch, *Logs in the Current of the Sea*, p. 49.

560 Kennedy to Secretary, WPHC, 17 May 1946, NAF, F128/23-1.

561 The undesirables included Indians and Filipinos. File note: H. Cooper, 11 June 1946, NAF, F128/23-1.

562 Koch, *Logs in the Current of the Sea*, pp. 48-9.

563 Don Kennedy has been active in recent years in promoting Kioa as the site for resettlement of the remaining population of Vaitupu when the island becomes uninhabitable due to global warming. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kioa>.

Assistant Secretary to the Colony. Maude told how the Taveuni planters tried to intimidate him at the auction:

[O]ne of the Taveuni planters came along and he stood in front of me and said, 'Your name Maude?' I said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Are you bidding on behalf of natives?' I said, 'Yes, I am.' He said, 'You call yourself a white man?' I said, 'Yes, I do,' and he spat on the ground in front of me. ... And there was a reporter there for the *Fiji Times and Herald*. The next day there was a leading article, saying, that 'Europeans have got to pull up their socks and realize what they are up against nowadays. They have knowledge that this Mr Maude has already bought eight islands from European hands and given them over to the island peoples of the Pacific and if this is going on, what's going to happen to the European planters? We must combine, we must do something',⁵⁶⁴

Kioa was secured for £3,000 Fijian, plus duties and fees. Maude later admitted to feeling very nervous after the sale, as he was committed to pay but did not have the actual money in his hand.⁵⁶⁵ The sale was noted in the *Pacific Islands Monthly* without reference to any threat to the European planters, but the article did note that it would 'help solve the problem of over-population in the relatively barren Gilbert and Ellice Islands'.⁵⁶⁶ In the event, payment turned out to be the least of their problems, as the title to the island could not be vested in the (unnamed) 'People of Vaitupu'. To solve the immediate problem, title was transferred to the Governor of Fiji in trusteeship for the people of Vaitupu. Little did they realize the legal knot they were creating that would take many years to untie and added to the difficulties faced by Kennedy when he was assisting the settlers.⁵⁶⁷

Travel difficulties⁵⁶⁸ meant that it was not until November 1946 that a group from Vaitupu visited Kioa to see what they had purchased. They travelled to Suva, then to Rabi and finally took the short trip to Kioa in the company of Mr Holland (Kennedy's successor on Rabi) with about thirty Banabans. After the visit, Holland wrote a very encouraging report about the island's potential.⁵⁶⁹ Kioa was a thickly wooded, mountainous island of 18.2 square kilometres (almost three times the size of Vaitupu), with a higher rainfall and twelve hectares of coconuts, producing ten tons of copra per

564 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988. He confused purchasing Rabi Island in 1942 for £25,000 with Kioa Island in 1946 for £3,000. The *Fiji Times and Herald* leader has not been located.

565 Ibid.

566 *PIM*, July 1946, p. 5.

567 G.M. White, *Kioa: An Ellice Community in Fiji*, Department of Anthropology, [Eugene], University of Oregon, 1965, p. 4. The legal history of Kioa forms an appendix in Koch, *Logs in the Current of the Sea*, pp. 89-100.

568 As an example of the difficulties travelers experienced in the islands, the Vaitupians spent five months in Fiji waiting for a boat back to Vaitupu.

569 Holland to Secretary WPHC, 4 December 1946, WPHC F48/34/1, vol. 1, item 7.

annum. There were permanent streams and land suitable for gardens and there was already a small established garden with fruit trees near the dilapidated homestead. Taro and tapioca grew well there and about two-thirds of the island was considered suitable for coconuts or agriculture.⁵⁷⁰ All the potential was there, but hard work was needed to establish the community. Settlement took place over a period of years in six groups. Paka was headman of the first group of settlers from Vaitupu and a supporter of Kennedy, as well as the grandfather of Kennedy's son, Tonileti (Don). Paka was later joined by his wife (Samao) and granddaughter Emeline (Eme) Lifa, who became Kennedy's third wife.⁵⁷¹

Kennedy apparently arrived on Kioa on the same boat as the fourth group of settlers from Vaitupu, presumably having joined them at Taveuni.⁵⁷² Writing from Kioa Island in January 1952, he did not mention what he was doing, or when he had arrived.⁵⁷³ Whether he went there by invitation is not known, but he was welcomed by at least part of the community.⁵⁷⁴ A short time after he arrived he was asked by the community to remain as their Adviser and Headman. He accepted and 'his selection was enthusiastically approved by the Fono a Matai.'⁵⁷⁵ This was a significant development as Kennedy had no authority over the community and it can only be interpreted as an expression of confidence in him personally. Except for the brief visit with the *Triona* enroute for Rabi in December 1945, Kennedy had not been allowed to return to the Ellice Islands since leaving there in 1938, so this was an opportunity to see how he would relate to the Islanders unfettered by colonial authority. Things started well, with a series of meetings and committees to decide on what directions the developments should take. Kennedy reportedly warned them not to be too ambitious or they might find 'the system undesirable' when the novelty had worn off. And so it proved. The first project was to build a road to Nasiliva Bay, where it was proposed that a coconut plantation be planted. The produce was to be transported to the

570 Ibid., items 7 & 8.

571 Eme's mother (Mainalupe) and step-father (Sacua) never went to Kioa, and by the time his group was scheduled to leave in 1954, Tonileti (Don) was already in Fiji. Telegram: Officer in Charge, Tarawa, to CS, Suva, 20 September 1954, NAF, BF128/31, p. 109.

572 Bedford gives the following dates for the first three waves of settlers arrived in Kioa: 34 in 1947, 50 in 1948 and a further 39 in 1952. Several returned to Vaitupu, and the population of Kioa when Kennedy arrived was 80. Bedford, *Resettlement*, p. 87.

573 Kennedy to Pops Kennedy, 15 January 1952. Letter in possession of Anne Anderson, Auckland.

574 White, *Kioa: An Ellice Community in Fiji*, p. 12.

575 Ibid., p. 13. The *Fono a Matai o Kioa* (*Fono a Matai*) is the group of Kioa *matai* (shareholders) resident in Vaitupu. This group 'entices, chooses and screens settlers for Kioa.'

village in a truck, which would be purchased when the road was finished. But there were disagreements and factions formed for and against Kennedy.

His supporters said the antagonists were just lazy, but the reasons they gave for mounting disenchantment were two-fold: the first concerned sub-division of the island and the second concerned a cattle lease.⁵⁷⁶ To provide an incentive to the settlers to work hard for their own benefits, Kennedy proposed that the island be sub-divided into five acre blocks. He also wanted a block for himself and for his son Don, which was quite outside the original proposal.⁵⁷⁷ Don remembers his father talking about his aspirations for the island: 'he certainly was hoping that Kioa would be the saviour of Vaitupu and the Ellice Islands. In his mind, he was going to develop Kioa into such a business type of enterprise that they can employ people from the Ellice Islands to come and work in Fiji.'⁵⁷⁸ He also wanted to salvage his reputation: 'I suppose behind his whole motivation was that he wanted to create a name for himself out of all the misgivings that he had from the times in the public service.'⁵⁷⁹

The second reason for disenchantment was a lease for Kennedy to have cattle on the island, for which right he offered to pay with calves from breeding the cattle. The Kioans may well have realized that this signified long term plans by Kennedy to assert his authority over them and they denounced him. He appears to have left voluntarily, but a local District Officer could have been involved.⁵⁸⁰ With his departure, any power his supporters had gained from his presence disappeared, though subsequent events show that his presence was perhaps less important than the continuing factionalism on Kioa. The problems did not disappear with him and the proposed sub-division into five acre blocks was adopted by the *Fono a Matai* in 1958 and the blocks roughly marked out. Again, the problem of not having title to the land stalled the initiative and it was not until the 1960s that the sub-division was carried out under the direction of the Fiji government.⁵⁸¹

Resettlement had not been universally accepted and, indeed, there were difficulties in getting people to volunteer to go to Kioa. To protect their interests, each participating

576 White, *Kioa: An Ellice Community in Fiji*, p. 13.

577 Koch, *Logs in the Current of the Sea*, p. 61.

578 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

579 Ibid.

580 The Taveuni and Labassa District Officers' reports for the period do not appear to have survived in the National Archives of Fiji.

581 Bedford, pp. 89-90.

family sent a representative, who may have been unwilling from the start, and a number returned to Vaitupu. With the question of land tenure unresolved, a close watch would have been maintained to see that nobody stole a march. Traditional rivalries would also have been imported. A recent interpretation of events suggests that the desire for community decision-making was the root cause of dissatisfaction and is quoted here as an independent summary of the events:

Strong local leadership was needed to ensure that the Kioan community continued to effectively work together. Unfortunately, factionalism occurred in various instances as Kioans disagreed both amongst themselves, and with the *fono a matai* back on Vaitupu on who should lead and how the island should be developed. The most notable dispute was in relation to Kennedy (the Palagi who had first proposed the Kioa Island purchase). He had visited Kioa Island and had been asked to remain as development advisor. He invested his own money into the island and proposed plans for land ownership and development from which he too would benefit. Over half of the Kioan residents were suspicious about Kennedy's motives. They also felt that Kennedy was only consulting with the takitaki⁵⁸² of the day about development plans—they wished to participate and be more in control of their own development. This resulted in the Kioan residents asking Kennedy to leave.⁵⁸³

With Kennedy's departure, the work stopped and the factions continued to fight. The District Officer on Taveuni was called upon to mediate and a reconciliation of sorts was achieved. Longer lasting peace came when Kennedy purchased Waya Island off Kadavu and invited interested Kioans to join him. Kennedy left Kioa about March 1952 and told his ex-wife, 'It is unlikely that I shall go back.'⁵⁸⁴ A telegram to the government in Tarawa on 10 September 1952 from the 'Island Council elders', 'unanimously ask[ing the] High Commissioner and Government Fiji that Kennedy live at Kioa',⁵⁸⁵ suggests that even the non-Kennedy faction feared that nothing was going to happen without someone like him to drive it. The request went up the chain of command and advice was ultimately obtained from the Acting Colonial Secretary that they could not stop Kennedy from visiting the island if he was invited.⁵⁸⁶ He also offered the gratuitous advice that Kennedy had divided the community on his last visit and the Government was 'not anxious that he should return.' He was also aware that Kennedy did not wish to return and that he intended to settle elsewhere in Fiji.⁵⁸⁷ As late as 1956, there were concerns about

582 Takitaki = leader.

583 Kathryn Louise Paton, *At Home or Abroad: Tuvaluans Shaping a Tuvaluan Future*, Master of Development Studies, Wellington, Victoria University of Wellington, 2009, p. 142.

584 Kennedy to Pops Kennedy, 27 Nov 1952. Letter in possession of Anne Anderson, Auckland.

585 DO, Funafuti to Secretary of Government, Tarawa, 10 September 1952.

586 H.M. Davidson to Chief Secretary, WPHC, 20 August 1953, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, no. 273.

587 Kennedy to Pops Kennedy, 27 Nov 1952. Letter in possession of Anne Anderson, Auckland.

Kennedy's continuing influence on Kioa, and assurances were being sought that he would not return.⁵⁸⁸ He had been involved in a proposed 'fishing venture' for the island, and it was feared that 'any future interference by Kennedy is likely to come from this direction.'⁵⁸⁹ A few days earlier, the District Officer, Taveuni, had written that Kennedy had said he would only return if there was no opposition and, at that stage, harmony reigned on Kioa.⁵⁹⁰ There was one further twist to this tale: when Nika Taitai⁵⁹¹ was later made headman on Kioa, he tried to persuade Kennedy to return, even visiting him on Waya Island. He was unsuccessful, and eventually those who had gone to Waya Island, except Eme, returned either to Kioa or Vaitupu. Neli Lifuka took over leadership of Kioa in September 1962 and drove hard to achieve change, but the difficulties he experienced with the factions suggests that Kennedy would have had no hope of success.⁵⁹²

Unlike his time on Rabi, no criticisms were reported of Kennedy's behavior on Kioa, only of his aspirations to continue to live amongst the settlers and the implications that had for them. Neli Lifuka was intimately involved in the whole saga, but was not present on Kioa during the time Kennedy was there. Anthropologist Geoffrey M. White,⁵⁹³ who with his wife conducted fieldwork on Kioa during 1962-3, admitted that it was hard to get the full story of Kennedy's involvement or even identify the source of the reluctance. Although the events were only a decade old, what he was told was selective and contradictory.⁵⁹⁴ Was Kennedy not drinking at this time? Was he not after their women? Whilst he was apparently displaying less dominance, were the Islanders showing more dependence, or at least discomfort with their new found freedom? White recognized the considerable influence Kennedy had on the lives of Vaitupuan, whom he says were impressed by his practical skills.⁵⁹⁵ He goes further to say that, for the Kioans, Kennedy was the measure against whom the skills of other Europeans were judged. The welcome he had initially received and the endorsement from the *Fono a Matai* was an indication that he was valued for his abilities. Perhaps the ban on his returning to Vaitupu was

588 File note: 29 June 1956, NAF, F128/55, p. 37.

589 Ibid.

590 DO Taveuni to CS, 18 June 1956, NAF, F128/55, p. 36.

591 Nika Taitai was a dresser (medical assistant) and teacher at the island school. He was the chairman of the community when Neli Lifuka arrived at Kioa in September 1962.

592 Koch, *Logs in the Current of the Sea*, p. 63 *passim*.

593 This was not Professor Geoffrey Miles White, University of Hawaii.

594 Only one of the original Vaitupuan settlers is still alive on Kioa, so the likelihood of obtaining more authoritative opinion than was gathered by G.M. White is remote indeed.

595 White, *Kioa: An Ellice Community in Fiji*, p. 136.

partisan and did not reflect popular opinion. It is possible that the lack of initiative shown on Kioa reflected the traditional approach to change on Vaitupu and the difficulties Kennedy had always had to deal with. On Vaitupu he had his authority as a teacher or administrator, but on Kioa he had influence only. In all probability, Kennedy's timing was bad: the settlers were learning new skills after finding their old ones, like Bonito fishing, were no longer applicable. They had much to adjust to and were forced by circumstance to change. As neighbours they had the dispossessed Banabans on Rabi—with both islands struggling to create post-colonial identities. It took many years for the Kioans to realize that they could not re-create Vaitupu on Kioa for many reasons, and that their attempts to do so held up their development. They were part of Fiji as well as still part of the Empire and were struggling with what Homi Bhabha would term their 'changed political and historical site of enunciation' to form their hybrid identities.⁵⁹⁶ A later case-study of eight Pacific resettlement schemes concluded that 'the seeds for the factionalism that developed around the adviser actually were sown as much by the early years of settlement, as by his personal actions ... In view of this, the "European" [Kennedy] seems to figure less of a cause of the settlement problem, and more as the unwitting focus around which the factional situation developed.'⁵⁹⁷ As White observed: 'It is possible that on Kioa the only type of person capable of leading an energetic development program would not be allowed to do so.'⁵⁹⁸

By the end of 1952, Kennedy had met Hugh Frewen,⁵⁹⁹ who took him to see Waya Island off the south coast of Kadavu, Fiji, in December of that year in his trading schooner *Melanesia*.⁶⁰⁰ Frewen was an adventurer who would have got on well with Kennedy.⁶⁰¹ How they met is unclear, but Frewen's literary interests may have drawn him

⁵⁹⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, 'The Commitment to Theory', *The Location of Culture*, London & New York, Routledge, 1994, p. 38.

⁵⁹⁷ Anne Chambers, 'Resettlement Planning: An Analysis of Eight Case Studies of Resettlements in the Pacific'. Honours Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 1972, p. 80. Post-colonial dialogue offers further insights into the process of identity formation.

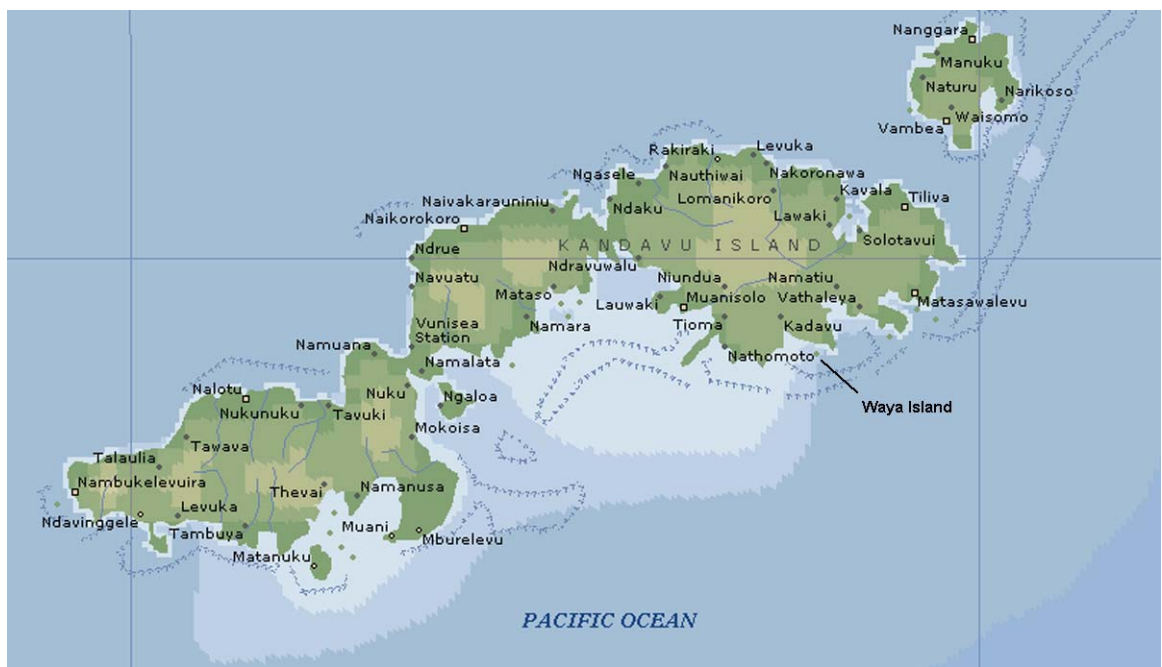
⁵⁹⁸ White, *Kioa: An Ellice Community in Fiji*, p. 20.

⁵⁹⁹ Frewen was the nephew of Winston Churchill and son of Moreton Frewen, known as 'Mortal Ruin' because of his habit of borrowing and losing money on grandiose schemes and who lived in 'every sense except common-sense.' Attributed to Kipling: www.belshaw.blogspot.com

⁶⁰⁰ Kennedy to Ailsa Kennedy, 17 June 1962. Letter in possession of Ailsa Murray, Russell.

⁶⁰¹ Frewen had earlier been touring the Fiji islands in his yacht, *Viking Ahoy*, which he loaned to the makers of the film *The Blue Lagoon* (1949), directed by Frank Launder, so that the star, Jean Simmons, could enjoy its luxurious appointments. Philip Snow, *The Years of Hope: Cambridge, Colonial Administration in the South Seas and Cricket*, London, I. B. Tauris, 1997, pp. 293-4. In contrast to this image of luxury, Frewen described his life and trials in Australia since 1923 in: Hugh Frewen, *Imogene: An Odyssey*, Australasian Publishing Co, Sydney, nd [1945].

to Kennedy's Canadian friend Laurence Dakin,⁶⁰² who had then recently arrived in Fiji. No records of Frewen's time in the Pacific have been located, but a descendant claims that 'for a time he earned his living taking lepers between the Fijian islands.'⁶⁰³ He said he was interested in selling the vessel to buy a copra estate, which would almost certainly have meant following his father's route to ruin, since coconut plantations provided a very insecure income. However, Frewen became ill and returned to Dorrigo, New South Wales, and Kennedy purchased the island.⁶⁰⁴ Perhaps the romance of owning his own kingdom carried Kennedy away, as he was trying to sell the island within a few years. Kennedy's choice of Waya Island for a home can be seen as an expression of ambivalence about his own identity. On an island he is both part of Fiji and apart from it, and in choosing to share it with some of the Vaitupuan from Kioa, he created another boundary between himself and the local Fijian population.



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Kadavu Island, Fiji, lies about 90 kilometres south of Viti Levu.

Source: Microsoft Encarta.

Waya Island lies just a few hundred metres off the coast of Kadavu within the Astrolabe Reef.⁶⁰⁵ With just five and a quarter hectares and almost no level land on which to build, Kennedy also purchased twenty-four hectares on the mainland opposite at

602 Mike Butcher, 'Laurence Bradford Dakin (1904-1972)', MS. Copy in the possession of the author and with Dakin's papers at the University of Alberta and Auckland Art Gallery.

603 Nicola Frewen, 27 July 2009; www.belshaw.blogspot.com

604 Kennedy to Ailsa Kennedy, 17 June 1962. Frewen died at Dorrigo in 1967. Letter in possession of Ailsa Murray, Russell.

605 Not to be confused with the larger Waya Island in the Yasawa Group off Viti Levu, much favoured as a tourist destination.

Burelevu.⁶⁰⁶ At this stage of his life, Kennedy had no contact with his other children, so his thoughts turned to Don, who was still living on Vaitupu. He had not seen Don since leaving the Ellice Islands in 1938 and knew that getting him to Fiji would need an indirect approach. He arranged for the Captain of a trading vessel to take on Don as a cadet and bring him down. When Don sought his mother's permission to go, she warned him of his father's duplicity:

'All right! But you think that the captain wants you, but I think your father is in Fiji, and he's arranged it for you to come over there.' And I said 'How do you know?' She said, 'I don't know, I just had a feeling it wasn't the captain that asked you—it was probably made a deal with your father. I said, 'Oh, rubbish.' So anyway I arranged it and everything was set so I came down, because both of us, you know, this friend of mine, and we were going to go, but it ended up that the captain told this friend, sorry about it, but we can only take one. I thought we could take two. And that's when I started twigging what was happening. First of all he asked us for two of us, then he reneged [on] the other bloke, so he stayed behind and I went on the ship. And that's how I got to Fiji. And guess who was there on the wharf when we arrived—DGK!⁶⁰⁷

The meeting had nearly not taken place, because Kennedy's cutter hit a reef head near the Solo Light en route to Suva in February 1954. The boat sank and Kennedy with two Ellice Islanders and eleven year old Eme Paka swam for over five hours to reach Vanua Kula, about three kilometres away.⁶⁰⁸ They were rescued two days later. The deal Kennedy offered to his son was to come and live with him on Waya Island and then have a year at Suva Boys Grammar School to complete his formal education.⁶⁰⁹ Kennedy worked his son hard and also gave him further education in the evenings. By the time Don Kennedy arrived at Waya, one of the families had already left, leaving only Don's grandparents (Paka and Samao), Iakopo and his wife (Tapeua), and Savea and his wife (Samanu) and their children. Donald soon found out why his father wanted him:

I was his right hand man—put it that way. I was much more educated than the rest of those—Savea and all the others. Savea was a faithful person, but he couldn't—we did all the work. He just directed. We were building houses at Waya. We started with the staff houses. Little cottages of one big bedroom and one sort of eating come what, and the toilets are still outside. The first house was Paka and Samao's house. We finished that and Dad lived in it while we built the other house.⁶¹⁰

606 Province of Kadavu, Certificates of Title 30/2961 and 30/2962, dated 14 April 1953.

607 D.L. Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 16 October 1988.

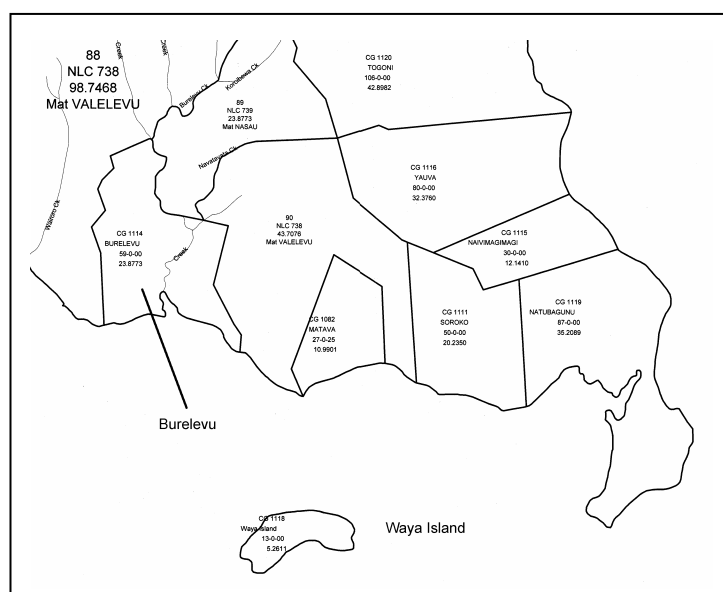
608 Jack Thornton, 'Five hours' Swim: Another Kennedy Escapade,' *PIM*, April 1954, p. 35.

609 Don did enrol at the school, but finding himself in the same Form 3 he had left on Vaitupu, with classmates three years younger than himself, he endured it for only a short time before returning to Waya. Personal communication: D.L. Kennedy to Mike Butcher, 14 January 2010.

610 D.L. Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 16 October 1988.

It was not an easy place to build as everything had to be brought in by boat and manhandled up to the building site.

But where we were is a good position for the ships to bring up cargoes and things but we had to cart all these cargoes up the hill. So we put a flying fox down there and we used to heave everything: gravels, the sand and the things for all the concrete work. Pull it up on the winch. So that was hard work and I worked with them. All I did was—I get the orders in the morning from Dad, ... So I worked as hard as them and I never got paid. The others, their payment goes in their houses, they were building their houses and that was their wages was going there. Dad buys them food and buys them clothes for their family and things like that, but no actual money changed hands. He was clever, very clever in the way the government can't get at him like that as he worked these people like his own household.⁶¹¹



Cadastral Map of Part of Kadavu Island, Fiji, showing Waya Island (CG 1118, 13 acres (5.25 hectares)) and Burelevu (CG 1114, 59 acres, 24 hectares) on Kadavu, both owned by Kennedy between 1953 and 1972.

Source: Department of Lands and Survey Map Shop, Suva.

Another task was typing Kennedy's memoirs: just what was written has been lost, but Don remembers it as his father's autobiography.⁶¹² In 1955, Kennedy wrote to Maude in Sydney, enclosing copies of articles he had published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* and *Fiji Society Proceedings*.⁶¹³ The purpose of the letter was to see if there was any lecturing work going, 'if I can find some institution or learned body anxious to offer me a fat fee for, say, eight or ten lectures on Land Tenures (in which I did considerable research at Oxford and later in the Solomons—all records lost in the war), or village politics in which I have been, of necessity an expert.'⁶¹⁴ He was yesterday's man, especially to Maude, who nonetheless referred Kennedy to Professor Piddington at

611 Ibid.

612 Eme Kennedy burned all her husband's papers before moving from Bayly's Beach to Dargaville after his death.

613 Kennedy, 'Land Tenure in the Ellice Islands', pp. 348-58; Kennedy, 'The Polynesian Outliers of Melanesia', pp. 28-44.

614 Kennedy to Maude, 26 January 1955. Maude Papers, Series J.

Auckland University as a possibility. He also said that he had been hoping Kennedy would write a book about his experiences.⁶¹⁵ This could have been the spur to Kennedy's autobiography that his son typed up at the time.⁶¹⁶

Iakopo and his wife left while Don Kennedy was on Waya, followed by his grandparents (Paka and Samao), leaving only Savea and his family, who were the last to leave, some years after Don's violent departure in 1955 or '56.⁶¹⁷ As the houses being built were not theirs, but being built for Kennedy's use, it is not surprising that they left. Don was scandalized that Eme had been left with Kennedy and he was not prepared to acquiesce in their sexual relationship. Her son, Archie, understands that his mother was given by his grandparents for adoption by Kennedy according to the Tuvaluan custom of *Tamatii*.⁶¹⁸ Kennedy had been writing to his step-son Dallas for a year before he also started writing to his daughters, Ailsa and Alison, in 1958. Many of these letters have survived (and were made available by Ailsa Murray).⁶¹⁹ They reveal the mutual needs and obligations with tenderness and regret as he tried to establish some hold through this irregular and insufficient means. He wrote in 1958 that 'for nearly five years I have been turning my island into a very nice home' and that for the past year he had been building 'a small ship'.⁶²⁰ He had only just been in Suva for the first time in two years and had stayed with his friend, the Canadian poet Laurence Dakin. 'He is a doctor and can speak nine languages & has written about a dozen books of poetry and plays. He is such a nice man.'⁶²¹ We learn from these letters that Kennedy was going to enter for the Reader's Digest 'First Person Award' writing about his Japanese prisoners and that the £500 prize was going to buy a diesel engine for his boat, but he failed to submit the article.⁶²² Most of the early letters were in response to letters from his youngest daughter, Alison, who was possibly most missing her father. There is an underlying dishonesty in Kennedy's replies, as he never discloses that he had a son born in 1959 and Eme was never

615 Maude to Kennedy, 2 April 1955. Maude Papers, Series J.

616 D.L. Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 16 October 1988.

617 See page 160 for a description of the fight that finally ended his stay and relationship with his father.

618 Kennedy describes the *kaitasi* system of land tenure, including the forms of adoption in 'Land Tenure in the Ellice Islands', pp. 354-5.

619 Letters from Kennedy to his daughters Ailsa and Alison, 16 April 1958 to 10 October 1964. Copies are in the possession of the author.

620 Kennedy to Ailsa Kennedy, 16 April 1958. Letter in possession of Ailsa Murray, Russell.

621 Ibid. Dakin has left a number of published works to posterity, as well as a complicated trail of half-truth and deception. His twelve years he spent in Fiji were spent with Nina Gibson, mother of his only child, Marco, who was born in Fiji. MS: Mike Butcher, Laurence Bradford Dakin, 1904-1972.

622 Kennedy to Ailsa Kennedy, 8 June 1958. Letter in possession of Ailsa Murray, Russell.

mentioned. He does mention that Savea and his family were still there in 1960. We know that when Kennedy was away in Suva, ‘There is not much for them [Savea and wife] to do—feed the fowls, tidy up, cut firewood, plant up some gardens on my land at Burelevu which is on the mainland just opposite (600 yards across the water), and cut some copra from the spare coconuts.’⁶²³

Kennedy spent a week in hospital in Suva having his diabetes checked. When first diagnosed, he gave up drinking, but eventually relapsed—a constant theme of his life, as discussed further in Chapter 9. He had two European neighbours in 1958, one of whom was Alan Scott, DO Kadavu, based in Vunisea, who remembers Kennedy with respect and affection.⁶²⁴ They visited each other during the two years he was on Kadavu, and later when Scott moved to the secretariat in Suva, they visited each other on holidays.⁶²⁵

The aviator and author, Sir Gordon Taylor, wrote to Kennedy expressing interest in Waya as a potential retreat for wealthy patrons, as he had heard Kennedy was interested in leasing the island.⁶²⁶ It took some months before Taylor was able to get there, but he spent a week on Waya in February 1961. He chose to travel by coastal trader so as not to cause the attention that would have attended arriving in a flying boat. An agreement was drawn up between them giving Taylor the option of purchasing Waya for £12,000 Fijian and an incomplete boat for £3,000.⁶²⁷ One of Taylor’s books was about his experience flying groups of tourists in the Pacific islands and included a lengthy description of Kennedy, in which he described his career in the Pacific and as a coastwatcher in particular, glossing over the presence of Eme (a ‘Gilbertese’ girl) and her son.⁶²⁸ Nothing further came of the enterprise as Taylor looked elsewhere, but Kennedy sought his assistance in finding buyers for the island.⁶²⁹ He wanted to sell because he found himself ‘with an increasing desire for closer association with what Carlyle called “articulate

623 Kennedy to Ailsa Kennedy, 27 July 1958. Letter in possession of Ailsa Murray, Russell.

624 Alan James Scott, CVO, CBE (1934–), later Governor of the Cayman Islands 1987–92.

625 Personal communication: Alan Scott to Mike Butcher, 12 January 2009; Eme Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 30 September 2007.

626 Taylor to Kennedy, 19 July 1960. NLA, MS 2594, Box 36.

627 Agreement between Donald Gilbert Kennedy and Captain Sir P. Gordon Taylor, 13 February 1961, NLA, MS 2594, Box 36.

628 Sir Gordon Taylor, *Bird of the Islands*, Melbourne, Cassell, 1964, pp. 169–173.

629 Kennedy’s correspondence continued almost until the time of Taylor’s death in 1966. The last letter was from Kennedy to Taylor, 11 December 1965, NLA, MS 2594, Box 36.

speaking men.”⁶³⁰ In December 1961 Kennedy mentioned the death of his mother and a business venture that had fallen through.⁶³¹ Three months later he wrote of having spent a month in hospital in Suva with a ‘bad leg’, possibly ulceration associated with his diabetes.⁶³² More than ever he needed to sell the island so he could ‘get a home where medical help will be more readily available’,⁶³³ but it would be another twelve years before Waya was sold. Many potential buyers were interested, but they were nervous of owning property in Fiji before independence, and Waya had limited development potential.⁶³⁴

The unfinished boat offered to Taylor for £3,000 pounds was the *Mother Goose*, built by Kennedy between 1956 and 1963, when she was finally launched. Over the years, Savea had helped construct the vessel but, when it was nearing completion, John Neale, an Auckland building contractor who had befriended Kennedy, assisted him, especially with the rigging. They had made an Oregon pine mast, but when the ketch *Nina* was wrecked nearby on the Astrolabe Reef, he salvaged the superior spruce masts and booms.⁶³⁵ Kennedy had planned to cruise in the *Mother Goose* when she was finished, but Suva was as far as he went. Archie Kennedy’s later description of the vessel was detailed and affectionate:

Mother Goose was virtually a flat bottom boat with a length of thirty feet and draft of only three feet. She was designed to clear most Astrolabe Reef outcrops at half tide. The yacht was not a good sailing vessel as there was a lot of slippage due to the shallow draft. It was a one piece keel, pit sawn then fashioned to the full length of the vessel by hand with an adze. The hull, minus the actual deck material, was all made from local native timber cut and transported to the island then pit sawn on location. Mum even helped with pit sawing. Rosawa was one of the timbers.⁶³⁶ The mast was made out of spruce, salvaged from a wreck of the *Nina* on the reef right outside Waya. I think the sails were possibly made out of Terylene. There were only three sails: a main sail, a working jib and a Genoa. The Genoa was virtually never used as the deck cleats were not strong enough. The carved handrails completely surrounded the vessel: a point he was extremely proud of. He had a beautiful old compass made from brass from a US destroyer as well.⁶³⁷

630 Kennedy to Taylor, 30 July 1960. NLA, MS 2594, Box 36. It is not known how well-acquainted Kennedy was with Carlyle, but in many ways his life was lived on Carlyle’s beliefs.

631 Kennedy to Alison, 4 December 1961. Letter in possession of Ailsa Murray, Russell.

632 Ibid., 25 February 1962.

633 Ibid.

634 Ibid., 22 August 1963.

635 Personal communication: Archie Kennedy to Mike Butcher, 24 October 2007.

636 Rosawa is a Fijian hardwood that grows to 27 metres in dense forests. Also known as Pacific Teak.

637 Description of Mother Goose from Archie Kennedy, 24 October 2007.

Kennedy had written of sailing to New Zealand in the *Mother Goose*, but in the event flew there, in 1965 to sort out Archie's schooling.⁶³⁸ The previous year he had sent Archie to be cared for by his sister Katherine (Kit) in Alexandra, but she had little experience with children and Kennedy's sister-in-law alerted him to the need for change.⁶³⁹ He visited his eldest daughter Margaret and expressed desperation about what to do with Archie, so she took him into her family. Although he was her half-brother, Archie became one of her 'children' as her own children were about the same age.

Archie was a bit spoiled, actually, when he came. He knocked Johnny on the head with granddad's walking cane and there was a slight scuffle on the first night. I thought, 'We can't have this.' I gave him a few whacks on his behind and said, 'We don't do that in this house: we don't hit each other with things.' Then I put his pyjamas on and [said] you can stay in bed. Dad was looking at the bed with his eyes popping out. I said, 'If he's going to be here, he's going to be one of the children and he's going to do what they do.' We had no worries after that. He was only six and I couldn't have him walking around being my brother. So he became one of the kids. We got on fine.⁶⁴⁰

The arrangement was ideal for Archie, who had an instant, loving family and playmates, but was a source of tension for Margaret and her husband, John Bishop, who was concerned that others might think Archie, a coloured child, was Margaret's son.⁶⁴¹ Considerations of adopting Archie permanently into her family foundered and by September 1969 he was back on Waya, when Jim Boutilier visited. As a teacher, Kennedy had educational expectations for Archie that could not be met on Kadavu. He did not want his son educated in the Fijian schools, and when Archie returned from primary schooling in New Zealand, Kennedy gave him correspondence lessons.⁶⁴² Archie had not suffered from his irregular schooling as he was always ahead of his age group. When he was old enough he attended Waitaki Boys' High School, like his father and brother before him.⁶⁴³ Archie was only there for two years before his father sold Waya and moved to Bayly's Beach, near Dargaville, New Zealand, where, to adopt Greg Denning's framework, his house metaphorically occupied the liminal space between the land of his birth and the remote-islanded sea that had been home to him all his life.⁶⁴⁴ Unable to afford the school fees at Waitaki, Archie finished his secondary education at Dargaville

638 Kennedy to Sir Gordon Taylor, 11 December 1965, NLA, MS 2594, Box 36.

639 Ray Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 20 November 1988.

640 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

641 Ibid.

642 Archie Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 27 September 2006. Archie attended Helensville Primary School.

643 Archie Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 27 September 2006.

644 Greg Denning, *Islands and Beaches*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1980.

High School. Before he left Waya, Margaret Bishop and her son John visited Kennedy at a time when he was not drinking at all.⁶⁴⁵ They travelled both ways between Suva and Waya in the *Mother Goose* and, when they returned to Suva, Kennedy and Eme were married so that she could accompany him to New Zealand, as she had no other family than Archie in Fiji and no place in the communities of Vaitupu or Kioa.

By the time they moved to New Zealand in about 1973, Kennedy had suffered at least two strokes, the first of which took place on the *Mother Goose*.

I was on a visit home, and he had the stroke on the boat – on the *Mother Goose*. He actually—we thought he had just slipped, but he actually fell through the hatch and hit his head on the bunk, down below. ... He actually discovered he had a stroke, because at the end of all that he had the inability to move his left side. It was only afterwards that he realized it was related to the stroke. ... His motor skills had gone on the left side. Much later on, when we lived in Bayly's Beach, I can remember him telling me that nothing [worked] on his left side and his eye, it was a bit like Bell's Palsy type of thing.⁶⁴⁶

After the move back to New Zealand he was visited by Ailsa Murray, whom he had not seen since 1965 and who took advantage of his immobility to 'lay some ghosts':

At the time I met him, the last time, when we stayed with him for quite a while over at Dargaville, he was in a wheelchair then and he could barely speak, which of course to him was living death, because he was such a great raconteur and he had a wonderful command of the English language. That was a hideous thing for him. ... He was a scary figure. I must admit it's a terrible, terrible thing to say, but one of the best things that happened to me was when Dad was in a wheelchair and couldn't talk, because I laid ghosts. I spent time with him and I wasn't afraid of him and I said – I remember standing by his bed once and saying, of all things, you absolutely deserve this, and Dad was so furious with me, but he had intimidated so many people in life, and for him to be in a powerless position was something that was horrific to him. Isn't it awful? I didn't mean it maliciously, either; it was just like it was a justice.⁶⁴⁷

Kennedy died on 12 July 1976 in the Dargaville Public Hospital and is buried in the Mount Wesley Returned Servicemen's Cemetery, Dargaville. His plaque gives his World War I regiment (Otago) and service number (80602), and his rank (Major) and decoration (DSO) from World War II, but there is no mention of his service with the BSIP Force. His death certificate lists the causes of his death as recurrent cerebral thrombosis, generalized arteriosclerosis (of five year's standing) and diabetes mellitus (for many years).⁶⁴⁸

645 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

646 Archie Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 27 September 2006.

647 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

648 Death certificate no. 1976/43557.

Part Two

Kennedy emerges from Part One of this thesis as a determined and competent man who gained a measure of recognition for his abilities but not the reward of a senior position in the administration after the War. His personal life suffered and he retired to Waya Island with most of his dreams behind him, although he still impressed those with whom he came in contact in his isolation, like Sir Gordon Taylor who spent a week with him, and Commodore Stan Brown who made return visits in his yacht.

Several themes have emerged which are explored here in greater depth to give them a context and therefore a sense of whether they were related more to Kennedy personally or to the circumstances of the Colonial Service. The first of these concerns Kennedy's interpersonal relationships, and the role of racism, broadly defined as the belief that races (determined by appearance) are endowed with certain characteristics that group them into a hierarchy of ability that was biologically fixed, with the white races at the top.⁶⁴⁹ During the 19th century, these views were bolstered by pseudo-scientific theories and the experiences of less educated peoples that reinforced such prejudices. Kennedy's interpersonal relationships, especially with the Islanders, were authoritarian, and whether he was racist is given some attention, though the post-colonial understandings of the complexity of the relationships were little understood in Kennedy's time. His relationship with Solomon Islander George Bogese in particular is presented as a case study and re-evaluated as being more complex than the binary option previously proposed. Kennedy's upbringing, schooling and the ethos of the Colonial Service at that time were all underpinned by a belief in the racial supremacy of the White man. Yet he raised his own children to treat the Islanders with respect and spoke their language. His seeming ambiguity tantalises us into further exploration.

To put racism in a broader context, the experiences of John Howard Griffin in the Southern States of America in 1959, published as *Black Like Me*, show that whatever was experienced in the Pacific Islands was benign in comparison.⁶⁵⁰ Black (Afro-American) men could be killed just for being black and most were reconciled to their second-class status, and while organised resistance was already underway in Alabama under the leadership of Dr Martin Luther King, individual acts of resistance were brutally crushed.

649 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, Routledge, London and New York, 2002 (2000), pp. 180-2.

650 John Howard Griffin, *Black Like Me*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin (2nd ed), 1977 (1960)

The second theme covered in Part Two is violence. Violence and brutality merged as traits in Kennedy's behaviour, but the motivation for them and the extent to which they were acceptable at the time requires some understanding of the practices and traditions in the Pacific and other colonies. Lord Lugard, the doyen of Indirect Rule, for instance, condoned violence, and its practice was widespread.

The third theme is sexuality. Kennedy's sexual relationships with Island women surfaced just once as an administrative issue in Part One of this thesis, but he had at least two children by them while he was still employed and this was noted, at least informally, by the administration. Whilst the sexual activities of the officers was generally ignored, tacitly condoned and mostly not on the official record, eye-witness accounts enable us to put together a fuller account of Kennedy's predilections and place them in the colonial context.

Unquestionably the behaviour that determined Kennedy's fate in the Service was his drinking, and alcoholism is the fourth and final theme dealt with in Part Two. The possible causes: isolation, sickness and stress, and the choices made by Kennedy are explored. This confusing scenario is presented here in detail as it is of crucial importance to understanding the man and what went wrong in his life.

Chapter 6: Inter-personal Relationships

The nature of the relationships between the Colonial Service officers and the people they governed has been explored in many ways in the literature—as fiction, autobiography and, to a lesser extent, biography.⁶⁵¹ Many (indeed most) exhibit an implicit racism and projection of European values onto non-European contexts, and one of the most celebrated literary works, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, does not escape the criticism of racism.⁶⁵² In this novel, District Officer Kurtz arrives with ideals, but is transformed by the demands of his situation in the remote Belgian Congo. The theme of changes in both the colonizer and colonized is taken up by Mannoni, as he explores their mutual relationships. Like Kurtz, 'The real colonizer is almost of necessity a man of strong character, a creator rather than an acceptor of relationships, at least at the outset. It is only later that he becomes a colonial.'⁶⁵³ Men are transformed by the process, but the changes serve to bring out the character of the (European) colonizer, revealing 'traits, very often in the nature of a complex, already in existence in a latent and repressed form in the European's psyche, traits which the colonial experience has simply brought to the surface and made manifest.'⁶⁵⁴ One of the most celebrated transformations was the case of Edward Eyre, hero explorer in Australia and brutal administrator in Jamaica. His biographers were troubled by the seeming inconsistency in the man who could manifest such different responses.⁶⁵⁵ Albert Schweitzer noted a marked change in a newly arrived trader in Gabon, who 'was always insisting on kindness towards the natives, and would not allow the slightest ill-treatment of them.'⁶⁵⁶ The following year, his crop of mahogany was lost through the indolence of his workers: this 'experience changed him entirely, and now he laughs at those who think it is possible to do anything with the natives without

651 For comprehensive bibliographies, see: Terry Barringer, *Administering Empire: an annotated checklist of personal memoirs and related studies*, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London, University of London, 2004, and Anthony Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service: A History of HM Colonial and Overseas Civil Services, 1837-1997*, London, I.B. Tauris, 1999.

652 Chinua Achebe, 'An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Africa*', in Robert Kimbrough (ed), *Heart of Darkness: An Authoritative Text Backgrounds and Sources Criticism.*, 3rd edition, New York, W.W. Norton & Co, 1988 (1963), pp. 251-62.

653 Octave Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1964 (1956), p. 97.

654 Ibid.

655 Geoffrey Dutton, *The Hero as Murderer: The Life of Edward John Eyre, Australian Explorer and Governor of Jamaica 1815-1901*, Sydney, William Collins, 1967; Julie Evans, *Edward Eyre, Race and Colonial Governance*, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 2005; Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and metropole in the English imagination, 1830-1867*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002.

656 Albert Schweitzer, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, London, CollinsFontana, 1922, p. 98.

employing relentless severity.’⁶⁵⁷ There are many other examples of the ‘doctrinaire Africa-lover’ whose disillusionment is violent and destructive.⁶⁵⁸ Schweitzer writes of his own disappointments at the seeming intractability of the Africans and concluded that the ‘greater the responsibility that rests on a white man, the greater the danger of his becoming hard towards the natives.’⁶⁵⁹ Perhaps reflecting the greater responsibility carried by him with the advent of war, Kennedy showed greater harshness (or brutality) in the Solomons than he had been the case in the Ellice Islands.

Whether Kennedy saw people of different skin colour as racially inferior is not a conclusion that can easily be reached: he belonged to a Service that allowed racism to develop.⁶⁶⁰ On the other hand, he grew up with Maori friends and punished his children for transgressions against Islanders and saw to it that they grew up fluent in the local tongue. As we shall see, Kennedy was virulently anti-Semitic, but whether this was a subset of racist attitudes or tapped into a deeper psychological vein is open to question.⁶⁶¹ As a teacher and administrator, he developed the abilities of the Ellice Islanders to govern themselves and he respected those who stood up to him, such as Magistrate Neli Lifuka. His attempts to introduce greater levels of self-government in the Solomon Islands were over-shadowed by his subsequent wartime leadership with its attendant brutalities. Whilst no conclusions about Kennedy’s degree of racism are possible here, the focus for further thought could be, as Hall has suggested, on the meaning of Kennedy’s whiteness, the deconstruction of which he has described as a counter to racism.⁶⁶²

The complexity of the dynamic nature of cultural change or exchange that had been taking place between the Islanders and the introduced Western influences of traders and missionaries was accelerated during colonial times by the introduction of formal schooling, administration and opportunities for travel and employment with people from

657 Ibid., p. 98.

658 Ian Brooke (Brimfield) used the term ‘doctrinaire Africa-lover’ to describe those who arrived with a set of values critical of the colonial administration but lacking knowledge of how it was implemented at the local level. In his example, the perpetrator was poorly prepared and rapidly out of his depth. Ian Brook, *The One-Eyed Man is King*, London, Cassell, 1966, pp. 307-9.

659 Schweitzer, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, p. 99.

660 For an introduction to racism, see: John Solomos and Les Back, *Racism and Society*, Houndsmill, Hampshire, Macmillan Press, 1996.

661 From a non-psychological point of view, anti-Semitism was seen as a concomitant of nationalism in Britain during World War II. George Orwell, Anti-Semitism in Britain, http://www.george-orwell.org/AntiSemitism_in_Britain/0.html

662 Stuart Hall, quoted in Solomos and Back, *Racism and Society*, p. 23. Hall was an Oxford educated Jamaican intellectual who co-founded The New Left Movement in Britain. See: Helen Davis, *Understanding Stuart Hall*, London, Sage Publications, 2004.

other cultures. Many Islanders travelled for school and training: initially as missionaries and later as administrators. Some of the changes brought about in individuals challenged the existing colonial order and will be explored further here, because they impacted on Kennedy's sense of the 'natural order'. The process of cultural change had been ongoing in the Ellice Islands through the interrelationships with other Polynesian Islands, especially Samoa, and the Gilbert Islands to the north. In the Solomon Islands, amongst many other changes, hybridity (or the hybrid nature of the product of these cultural exchanges) had resulted, amongst a myriad of other manifestations, in a new language, tok pisin or pidgin English, that made possible communication between Islanders as well as with Europeans.⁶⁶³ Hybridity also resulted in new identities for the Islanders as their horizons expanded, which did not always sit easily with traditional identities. For example, Native Medical Practitioner George Bogese, as we shall see shortly, struggled with his new and traditional identities. These dynamic changes affected all the islands and Ron Adams has explored the new identities which arose from the reciprocity of the exchanges between the island culture and the outside world for Tanna in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu).⁶⁶⁴ Sylvester Lambert's work for the Rockefeller Foundation in the 1920s and '30s has since been placed in the colonial context, whilst recognizing that the hybridity of the cultural encounters was more complex than a binary division between 'colonizer' and 'colonized'.⁶⁶⁵

To assist us in understanding Kennedy's relationships with Islanders, we need to draw on experiences from other colonies. For instance, the sources of mutual misunderstandings between colonized and colonizers have been explored by Mannoni, previously cited, for the settler colony of Madagascar.⁶⁶⁶ He gives the example of a simple gift by a European to a Malagasy, leading to a series of further demands from the recipient, as of right. An unwitting social contract had been blundered into, where the European was ignorant of the mutual expectations created by his action.⁶⁶⁷ As Mazlish

663 There are over 70 languages and dialects in the Solomon Islands, making communication difficult. *Languages of the World*: www.ethnologue.com

664 Ron Adams, 'Experiencing Outside Worlds: Tannese Labour Recruitment in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', in Venena Keck (ed), *Common Worlds and Single Lives: Constituting Knowledge in Pacific Societies*, Oxford & New York, Berg, 1998, pp. 231-250.

665 Annie Stuart, 'We are All Hybrid Here: The Rockefeller Foundation, Sylvester Lambert, and the Health Work in the Colonial South Pacific', *Health and History*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2006), pp. 56-79.

666 Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban*, pp. 42-3.

667 Another solecism often commented on was the apparent ungratefulness of indigenous people, although the lack of expression of gratitude was in fact cultural. To a Melanesian, to thank an adult was considered demeaning as only children were thanked. Charles E. Fox, *Kakamora*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1962, p. 141.

has commented, Mannoni 'sees the colonizer as asserting superiority to overcome his fears of inferiority and projecting his unconscious fears onto the natives.'⁶⁶⁸ This, in turn, leads to a 'dependency complex' among the colonized. Certainly the task of administration in many parts of the colonial world engendered many fears and anxieties amongst officers, who were often young and inexperienced, though whether the consequences were played out as described by Mannoni is not so clear. Mannoni's interpretation is explicitly psycho-analytical, but the more general point he makes about the mutuality of the dependence relationship would seem to apply to all power relationships. Carlyle put it succinctly more than a century earlier: 'There is no act more moral between men than that of rule and obedience. Woe to him that claims obedience when it is not due; woe to him that refuses it when it is!'⁶⁶⁹

Dening discussed dominance in relation to the application of Marxist theory to island existences, quoting Marxist anthropologist Maurice Godelier: 'The power of domination consists of two indissoluble elements whose combination constitutes its strength: violence and consent.'⁶⁷⁰ Dening went on to extend the scope of the mutual elements of dominance to include 'exchange in all the relationships, of services, of material goods, of deference.'

In the exchange there was the acceptance and consent of the dominated to be dominated in return for the benefits they received as well as the evils they avoided. The commitment was more generalized than that, however. It lay in their commitment to and support of their whole metaphor of life. ... That was the totality and the hegemony of their culture.⁶⁷¹

The changes this led to over time in the Marquesas Islands in response to the outside world revealed the 'inconsistencies, ambiguity, contradictions and conflicts' that rule relationships, which, as Dening was at pains to avoid, cannot be reduced to simple cause and effect linearity.

Kennedy's different behaviour in Tuvalu and the Solomon Islands may reflect different levels of acceptance of dependent relationships, as well as changes that had taken place in him because of the War. They were very different places: in the Solomon Islands, the impact of western culture was much less evident until WW II. Christianity was not widely

668 Bruce Mazlish, 'Psychiatry and History', in Silvano Arieti, *The Foundations of Psychiatry*, 2nd ed, 1974, New York, Basic Books, p. 1037.

669 Thomas Carlyle, 'The Hero as King. Cromwell, Napoleon; Modern Revolutionism'. *On Heroes and Hero Worship and the Heroic in History*, London, J.M. Dent, 1973, p. 424. The lecture was delivered on 22 May 1840.

670 Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches*, p. 234.

671 Ibid.

accepted and there was no centralized island authority. Kennedy's reputation after the war was such that he would probably not have been welcomed back, even though the value of his leadership was acknowledged. His relationships with the Methodists and Seventh Day Adventists on New Georgia are discussed on page 155, where it is clear that the latter had difficulty acknowledging his authority. In Tuvalu, ambivalence about the acceptance of outside cultures and identities was less marked and there were the tangible benefits of health services and education. Their Islander culture was already Christian and many of the men had experience working on Ocean Island. Kennedy was antagonistic towards the Samoan pastors as a group and 'deplored the[ir] political, cultural and linguistic hegemony ... and [in contrast] exalted Tuvalu's "traditional" identity.'⁶⁷² Even so, not all his dealings with missionaries were acrimonious and he seems to have got on better with George Eastman from the London Missionary Society, when he made his periodic visits to the Ellice Islands. Kennedy's personal difficulties with Falavi have been discussed in Chapter 2, but the general impression is that Kennedy was respected and valued, to judge from his reception by expatriates in Fiji and later recollection.⁶⁷³ The more complicated situations on Rabi and Kioa have already been discussed (see Chapters 4 and 5).

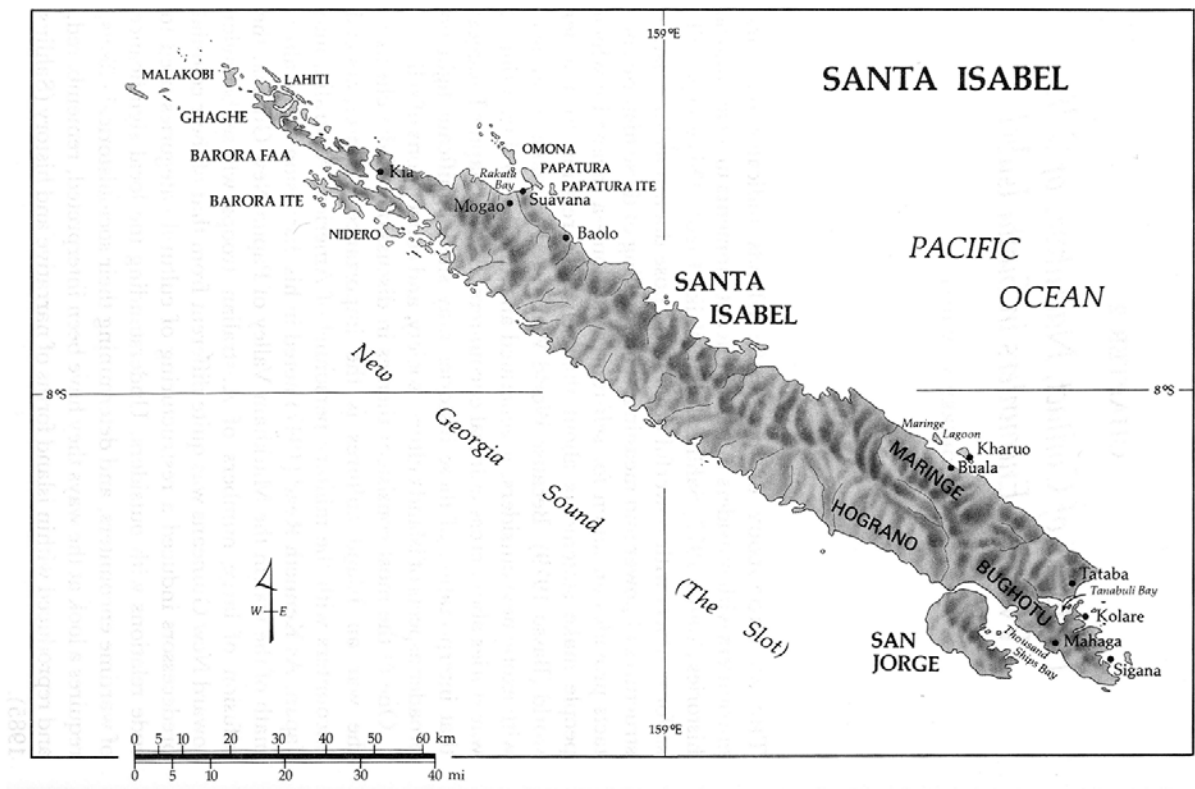
After the war, Kennedy wrote an article on Solomon Islanders that, while redolent of the colonial period, with words like 'native' and 'boy', nonetheless provides a useful context for understanding the individual relationships he entered into while a serving officer. Compared to the 'honey-brown and honey-tongued' Polynesians, he ambiguously described the Melanesians of the Solomon Islands as 'art-loving, cunning and crinkle-haired.'⁶⁷⁴ He also listed 'intriguing' as one of their principal 'diversions'. They were seemingly not to be trusted. These stereotypes are balanced by his experience of them as 'sympathetic and ready to help' when they understood the problems faced by the Protectorate. Kennedy's success and survival are a testament to these qualities. His extensive travels throughout the Solomon Islands gave him a detailed understanding of Melanesia's diversity, including its Polynesian outlying islands. In a paper he delivered to the Fiji Society of Science and Industry in 1945 he commented unfavourably on the

672 Niko Besnier, *Literacy, emotion, and authority: Reading and writing on a Polynesian atoll*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 60; Doug Munro, 'Samoan Pastors in Tuvalu, 1865-1899', in Doug Munro and Andrew Thornley (eds), *The Covenant Makers: Islanders Missionaries in the Pacific*, Suva, Pacific Theological College and Institute of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific, 1996, pp. 124-57 (see specifically pp. 126-7 & 147-8).

673 Doug Munro in the late 1970s found Tuvaluans who remembered Kennedy with gratitude if not fondness.

674 Donald Gilbert Kennedy, 'This is the Solomon Islander', in Robson and Tudor (eds), *Where the Trade-Winds Blow: Stories and Sketches of the South Pacific Islands*, Sydney, Pacific Publications, 1946, p. 168.

behaviour of Melanesians under fire.⁶⁷⁵ With such negative views of Solomon Islanders it is unsurprising that some of his relationships in Melanesia were not harmonious.



Map of Santa Isabel (Ysabel) where Kennedy had a base at Mahaga, overlooking Thousand Ships Bay.

Source: Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom (eds), *The Pacific Theatre: Island Representations of World War II*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1990, p. 44. Reprinted with permission. Copyright Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Cartography by Manoa Mapworks, Inc.

The most fully documented relationship of Kennedy with a Solomon Islander was with George Bogese, who allegedly betrayed Kennedy's whereabouts to the Japanese in May 1942. Bogese was one of just two Solomon Islanders charged after the War with collaboration with the enemy, and has since received attention to reassess the case against him.⁶⁷⁶ Bogese is of particular interest because of the ambivalence he may have experienced as a part-Europeanised islander.⁶⁷⁷ The case files from his trial have not been located, so the evidence has had to be pieced together from those scattered records and reminiscences that have survived. Laracy has questioned whether Bogese's treatment by Kennedy was appropriate and has suggested that his subsequent 'treachery' was motivated more by personal resentment than by disloyalty to the Crown. As this puts

⁶⁷⁵ Kennedy, 'The Polynesian Outliers of Melanesia', p. 34.

⁶⁷⁶ Hugh Laracy, 'George Bogese: "Just a Bloody Traitor"?' in Geoffrey M. White (ed), *Remembering the Pacific War*, pp. 59-75.

⁶⁷⁷ Mimicry describes such ambivalent relationship between the coloniser and colonized, using the post-colonial lexicon, Ashcroft, *Post-Colonial Studies*, p. 139.

Kennedy in a bad light, the background material available on Bogese is considered here in some detail to see whether such a view is justified. Bogese claimed that he was taken prisoner by the Japanese on Savo Island, where he had been sent by Kennedy.⁶⁷⁸ He assisted them by translating propaganda into the local language and some Islanders and Europeans thought he was collaborating voluntarily. Taking his family to live in enemy-occupied Tulagi was seen as evidence of complicity. In his post-war defence, he claimed he had no choice. When the Allies re-took Tulagi from the Japanese in August 1942, Bogese was captured and sent to Australia for internment until his trial in 1946. His most direct action against the Allies was allegedly to guide the Japanese to the place where Kennedy had hidden his boat, the *Waiai*, in southern Ysabel. Kennedy was not captured, but the boat was destroyed in circumstances about which no consensus has been reached.⁶⁷⁹ Bogese was on one of the Japanese barges and his relative (Supa) may have betrayed them, though that is not certain.⁶⁸⁰ Bogese claimed that they just happened to be in the area when the *Waiai* was spotted from the air,⁶⁸¹ but we now know that the Japanese Kure unit was specifically looking for Westerners on that trip.⁶⁸² Bill Bennett was severely burned in the attack and remained adamant that Bogese was ‘just a bloody traitor.’ Martin Clemens, the officer who took him into custody, sent him to Australia for his own protection: ‘My chaps, they’d all fought the Japs, and all George Bogese had to do was turn around and they’d have shot him, so I was responsible for keeping him alive.’⁶⁸³

In Australia, Bogese and his family were detained in Tatura Internment Camp, Victoria, where, ironically, they were persecuted by the Japanese prisoners of war. He fought with them and wrote a number of letters proclaiming his innocence and claiming he had been victimized by Kennedy.⁶⁸⁴ While there, he was visited by the Reverend Goldie, Chairman of the Solomon Islands Missions, who knew him ‘very well.’ The record of his visit offers little support for Bogese, whom Goldie described as ‘a clever

678 Bogese to RC, BSIP, 14 January 1945, NAA, A367/1 C69100 barcode 782424, p. 35.

679 Kennedy puts a forceful case for Bogese’s indictment for treason, based on his understanding of the events and persons involved. He listed more than a dozen witnesses who should be called at the trial. WPHC BSIP 4, FS 66, Kennedy, note on Bogese, 20 January 1945. The author is grateful to Professor Hugh Laracy for a copy of these notes.

680 Bennett, *The Big Death*, p. 138.

681 ‘Bogese’s Story’, 25 March 1943, NAA, A367/1 C69100 barcode 782424 pp 71-4.

682 2nd platoon, 3rd Company, Kure 3d SNLF. Stanley Jersey, ‘The Mysterious Mr Moto of Guadalcanal’, www.pacificwrecks.com/people/veterans/ishimoto/index.html

683 Martin Clemens interview (with Mike Butcher), 23 January 2007.

684 Bogese to RC, BSIP, 14 January 1945, NAA, A367/1 C69100 barcode 782424 p. 35.

medicine man, but hard to get on with.’⁶⁸⁵ He also said that other NMPs had refused to assist the enemy and were ill-treated in consequence, and implied censure of Bogese for his collaboration. When Goldie was asked about Kennedy, he said he knew him but offered a more general opinion that ‘Govt Staff in the SOLOMONS [sic] were generally not suited for the job ... and that officers did not trouble to learn the native psychology.’⁶⁸⁶ Bogese wrote to R.W. Robson, editor of the *Pacific Islands Monthly*, complaining that he did not know why he had been sent as a prisoner of war. He may not have liked what he heard in reply: ‘All the men with whom I have talked about your case, express the opinion that you deserve a more severe punishment than that of internment in Australia.’⁶⁸⁷ An undated anonymous report in the same file observes: ‘European officials in the service who have known him for many years have always considered him untrustworthy. However being such an unmitigated liar he always succeeded in preventing any drastic official action being taken against him.’⁶⁸⁸

Bogese’s career had started well enough but had deteriorated rapidly. Under the patronage of Jack Barley, Bogese had received preferential treatment from the time when he applied for a traineeship at the Central Medical School, Suva, in 1927. He was working as a native clerk in Gizo at the time and Barley sought every opportunity to assist him with additional funding.⁶⁸⁹ In return for the encouragement, Bogese left the Protectorate owing money (which the government paid), then kicked over the traces in Suva, where he was reported for being drunk and disorderly, ‘[t]he tutor reports most unfavourably on his behaviour during the last few months.’⁶⁹⁰ His punishment was six months’ detention in the hospital compound, but within a week he had made such a nuisance of himself with conduct that was ‘subversive to the discipline of the other students’ that they made him a day boy living outside the school, again at the government’s expense.⁶⁹¹ This sequence of continuing demands brings to mind the experience of Mannoni in Madagascar.

685 Report 5 March 1944, NAA, A367/1 C69100 barcode 782424 p. 61.

686 Ibid. Goldie’s comment may have been motivated by a general dissatisfaction with colonial officers.

687 Robson to Bogese, 14 June 1945, NAA, A367/1 C69100 barcode 782424, p. 34.

688 Undated report, NAA, A367/1 C69100 barcode 782424, p. 58.

689 Kane to HC, 15 December 1927; 19 March 1928; 3 March 1928, WPHC F58/1928, items 1, 7 & 22.

690 Harper to Secretary WPHC, 12 July 1929, WPHC 1849/1929, item 1.

691 Acting HC to Barley, 18 July 1929, WPHC 1849/1929, item 2.

Bogese had ability, winning the Barker Gold Medal for attainment when he completed his course in 1930.⁶⁹² He married in 1930, but his wife died in 1931 and in the following year he sought two month's 'refreshment leave' because of a self-diagnosed 'nervous breakdown'.⁶⁹³ When he was examined the following month by Dr W. Crawford Dickie, for the government Medical Officer, he was certainly exhibiting a range of symptoms. Dr Dickie found him physically well, but suffering from neurasthenia.⁶⁹⁴ He got his sick leave and was again in trouble while at home on Ysabel, this time for adultery. He was fined £2 on each of two charges, and two other charges were dismissed.⁶⁹⁵ Barley took a lenient view and recommended no further penalty than that imposed by the court, but transferred him to Guadalcanal where his services were needed.⁶⁹⁶ Presumably the Reverend Richard Fallowes⁶⁹⁷ had these offences in mind when he wrote, 'I trust the authorities will not think of sending Bogese here [Ysabel]. He is not a fit person to be trusted with the medical care of female patients.'⁶⁹⁸ As a suitable punishment Fallowes recommended his own expedient for wrong-doers, the loa cane. It would be interesting to know how Barley viewed his protégé at the time of his Japanese collaboration. Barley had retired just before the War in the Pacific started and was not there when Bogese finally faced the consequences of his actions, though Kennedy believed Barley was still coaching him in his complaints at the trial.⁶⁹⁹ However, there is no evidence of letters between Barley and Bogese while at Tatura Internment Camp. Bogese's complaint that Kennedy had sent him to Savo Island 'because he didn't like him' lacks substance. Well before hostilities began, Martin Clemens met with Kennedy on Guadalcanal in March 1942 to discuss, amongst other things, what to do with George Bogese, whom he described as 'Highly educated, ... a smooth talker and a born politician, but for some years he had been a problem child of the Medical Department, and we did not feel that he was very safe to have about.'⁷⁰⁰ Thus Bogese was already a problem for the service before Kennedy's involvement. They decided

692 Laracy, 'Just a Bloody Traitor?', p. 64.

693 Bogese to Senior Medical Officer, Tulagi, 24 May 1932.

694 Dr Dickey to Government Medical Officer, Tulagi, 7 June 1932, WPHC F2875/1933, item 1c.

695 Barley to HC, 31 March 1933, WPHC F1477/1933, item 1.

696 Barley to HC, 11 April 1933, WPHC F1514/1933, item 1.

697 See pages 156-7.

698 Fallowes to Dr Hetherington, 1 October 1932, WPHC F1605/1933, item 1a.

699 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

700 Martin Clemens, *Alone on Guadalcanal: a Coastwatcher's Story*, Annapolis, Naval Institute Press, 1998, p. 66.

to send Bogese on a mission to Savo Island, which had never had a NMP of its own. There was plenty of medical work to do there and we felt that if he were fully occupied, he would not get up to mischief. It was a decision we would come to regret.⁷⁰¹

Another version of events was related by Kennedy in a 1969 interview. As these events appear to have preceded the meeting with Martin Clements, they suggest that the concern about Bogese was more general than a simple personality clash with Kennedy.

Dr Hetherington was the Chief Medical Officer and he asked me when I went to Ysabel in 1941 to keep an eye on Bogesi [sic] and let him know and see that he didn't do this sort of... see that he didn't load his hospital with young women and make the Administration pay for their food while he just played around with them and pretended they were sick and things like that. And I found that he was... Hetherington was right. Hetherington had no way of proving it. He just realised that all these names coming in on reports, they were the names and he would ask somebody and find out that it was a young woman, a young woman and so forth. Well, I wasn't able to do very much in that line but when wartime came down rations were strictly limited because we had no imports, we had no tobacco and blokes like Bogesi [sic] got down on everything that was worthwhile keeping and stored it away, you see, so I got him on that issue and on one or two other minor things, people complaining that he'd taken them to hospital and they weren't sick and that sort of thing. Their families [were] complaining and I tried to get Marchant to let me transfer him to Malaita where [he] was the Resident Commissioner.⁷⁰²

Marchant did not take Bogese on Malaita and Kennedy was left to sort out the problem of what to do with him. He was sent to Savo Island and was captured by the Japanese when he easily could have escaped. One of the most recent interpretations of how Bogese came to be living amongst the Japanese on Tulagi suggests a voluntary rather than forced engagement.

Bogese had first met the Japanese on Tulagi when he had gone there to demand payment for his services as native doctor to some wounded Japanese seamen that had washed on the shore of Savo Island after their vessel had been sunk, George [Bogese] was considered a turncoat and his word was not trusted.⁷⁰³

This was the opinion of an author who consulted Japanese as well as American records, but he does not give the source of this version of events. Bogese claimed to have been removed from Savo Island by force.⁷⁰⁴ He certainly compromised his position by providing medical care to the Japanese, though he claimed it was his duty as a NMP. He was also disobeying a directive of Kennedy's not to have contact with the enemy.

701 Ibid.

702 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

703 Jersey, *Hell's Islands*, p. 132.

704 'Bogese's Story', 25 March 1943, NAA, A367/1 C69100 barcode 782424, pp. 35 & 71.

A comment on Bogese's dossier in the Tatura camp says, 'this man would invariably find himself on the winning side, and would not hesitate to change sides if to his own advantage.'⁷⁰⁵ It went on to say that through his experiences with the Japanese in the internment camp he had 'nothing in common, either in custom or sympathy.' To find himself on the winning side is not necessarily a bad outcome for someone in a war not of their making. However, the victors make the decisions about who is a traitor. Not all of the Islanders remained loyal to the British and some Islanders believed 'betrayal' was inevitable.⁷⁰⁶ Kennedy understood this danger and strictly, even brutally, enforced compliance. He also led the armed resistance that demonstrated his leadership and maintained the credibility of the British when they had previously been seen fleeing in the face of the enemy. Bogese spoke of the 'fear and loathing' the Islanders felt for Kennedy, but, by their own admission, Kennedy was the man they needed to lead them at that time.⁷⁰⁷ They were denied the opportunity of seeing him in peace time, when he may well have presented himself in a different light. Bogese was returned to the Solomon Islands and put on trial in Honiara in May 1946.⁷⁰⁸ He was cleared of the charges of leading the Japanese to Kennedy's mooring on Ysabel, but was found guilty of association with the Japanese, for which he received four year's jail and was barred from practising as a NMP again. His ability and the manner in which he conducted his defence was impressive. During his internment, he had written a history of Santa Ysabel, which was edited by Professor Elkin at Sydney University and was subsequently published in *Oceania*.⁷⁰⁹ Elkin sought a grant to support Bogese's anthropological and linguistic work, but he was denied access to Australia by the Resident Commissioner.⁷¹⁰

Bogese's treatment by the colonial system might have been expected to radicalize him and make him an implacable enemy of the government. Instead, he appears to have ingratiated himself. When in prison, Bogese wrote a draft open letter to the 'headmen, chiefs and adult men of Bogutu' about Masan (Maasina) Rule, which he forwarded to the

705 Bogese file note, 22 March 1944, NAA, A367/1 C69100 barcode 782424, p. 24.

706 Rhoades, *Diary of a Coastwatcher in the Solomons*, p. 17.

707 Bennett, *The Big Death*, p. 146.

708 Bogese trial report, *PIM*, 19 August 1946.

709 George Bogesi, 'Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands', *Oceania*, vol. 18 (1947/48), pp. 208-232 & 327-57.

710 A.P. Elkin (Professor of Anthropology, University of Sydney) to D.G. Copland (ANU Vice-Chancellor), 22 September 1949; 24 January 1950, FIRTH7/5/17 (Firth Archive, British Library of Political and Economic Science, London School of Economics. Kindly provided by Dr Geoffrey Gray. Laracy, 'Just a Bloody Traitor?', p. 69.

‘Secretary of Government’ for approval.⁷¹¹ It was a very loyal letter that explained the benevolent nature of government, but he was denied permission to send it. It can only be seen as an attempt by Bogese to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of the administration, especially as there was little interest in Maasina Rule on Ysabel.⁷¹² He retired to Ysabel after serving his sentence and although *persona non grata* to the Colonial Service he was visited there by Sir Colin Allan there in 1953, who Bogese offered to assist with his enquiries.⁷¹³ Bogese died in 1959, ‘unlamented and unnoticed beyond his own district.’⁷¹⁴ With increasing opportunities for educated Islanders after the war, Bogese could well have taken an honoured place in his country’s history, had his early escapades been better understood and better dealt with.

The balance of evidence suggests that Kennedy was justified in his condemnation of Bogese’s disloyalty, but he went on to express views about educated Islanders more generally that reveal his own distrust, intolerance and failure to respect (or recognize) their ambivalence about colonialism: Kennedy described Bogese as an ‘educated native at loose, without adequate social control,’ arrogant and lacking in humility, best dealt with by ‘abruptness and direct speech’.⁷¹⁵ His real objection may have been Bogese’s expectation that he be treated with respect, if not with equality, because of his education.⁷¹⁶ Laracy has suggested that both Kennedy and Bogese were dominant men and therefore bound to clash, so the issue may not have been about education at all. A pillar of the missionaries to the Solomon Islands, the Reverend Goldie, expressed contempt for what he termed the ‘religious loafer’, which somewhat parallels Kennedy’s attitude to Bogese:

711 Open letter by George Bogese, December 1946, BSIP 4, FC91 Marching Rule 1947. A copy was kindly provided by Dr David W. Akin, University of Michigan.

712 ‘Maasina Rule never really got a foothold on Isabel, though there were some meetings and the beginnings for an interest among some people.’ Personal communication: David Akin to Mike Butcher, 26 January 2009.

713 Allan, *Solomons Safari*, pp. 57-8.

714 Laracy, ‘Just a Bloody Traitor’?, p. 69.

715 WPHC BSIP 4, FS 66, Kennedy, note on Bogese, 20 January 1945; quoted in Laracy, ‘Just a Bloody Traitor’?, p. 65.

716 An observation by an elected African Gold Coast Councillor may be relevant here. In response to a question from Walter Crocker about the adequacy of French schooling, he replied that with the Englishman ‘the more you know the more he despises you, while with the Frenchman the more you know the more you are accepted as an equal.’ Unfortunately, Crocker does not explore the basis for this belief about the English, which implied an underlying racism. Walter Russell Crocker, *On Governing Colonies: Being an Outline of the Real Issues and a Comparison of the British, French and Belgian Approach to them*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1947, p. 99.

Goldie had nothing but scorn for Islanders who attempted to emulate the life-style of European missionaries. He objected to what he termed the 'religious loafer ... the half-civilized native who loves to strut about quoting passages from the bible, singing hymns, and shaking hands on the slightest provocation, but who learned nothing of industry, honesty or cleanliness.'⁷¹⁷

Such mimicry of the colonizer is now better recognized as an expression of cultural ambivalence and would be more sympathetically perceived.⁷¹⁸ Kennedy and Goldie possibly saw the behaviour more as mockery than as mimicry and responded accordingly. The balance of evidence suggests that Bogese always had an eye to the main chance and his collaboration with the Japanese was more motivated by that than by his antipathy for Kennedy. He remained loyal to the winning side after the War and did not participate in the Maasina Rule movement. A hazard of suggesting he may have been unfairly treated by history became apparent during my discussion of Bogese with Rex Ngegele in Suva in 2010, when he raised the question of financial compensation for wrongs done to his grandfather.⁷¹⁹

Annie Stuart's reviewed of the short career of Mesulame Taveta, a Fijian NMP who served in the more complex political environment of New Hebrides during the 1930s, is instructive.⁷²⁰ His fate was an early death from infectious disease, but his life was tormented by conflicting expectations and is instructive of the climate in which Western-trained Islanders had to carry out their duties. He was frustrated at not being allowed to do the work for which he had been trained and after his death, contributed to by the negligence of a European doctor, the matter was swept under the carpet of administrative convenience. He was the first NMP to be sent to the New Hebrides and had to prove his ability, rather than being accepted as a trained professional. Dr Lambert, who had been

717 Frances Harwood, 'Intercultural Communication in the Western Solomons: The Methodist Mission and the Emergence of the Christian Fellowship Church', in James A. Boutilier, (ed), *Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1978, p. 239. Albert Schweitzer expressed similar views about Christians in Gabon, 'who think themselves too good for many kinds of work ... and no longer willing to be treated as a mere "boy," like other "boys."' Schweitzer, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, p. 114.

718 Ashcroft, et al., *Post-Colonial Studies*, p. 124.

719 Rex Ngegele (with Mike Butcher), 13 July 2010, at the Pacific theological College, Suva. The interview was not recorded as Rex believed it was the place of his still-living Aunt Margaret, (George Bogese's daughter) to answer my questions, which he offered to obtain when he next visited her on Santa Ysabel. Goldsmith briefly touches on the subject of litigation for past wrongs in Michael Goldsmith, 'On not knowing one's place', in Sjoerd R. Jaarsma and Marta A. Rohatynskyi (eds), *Ethnographic Artifacts: Challenges to a Reflexive Anthropology*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2000, pp. 51 & 59 (n 7).

720 Annie Stuart, 'Contradictions and Complexities in an Indigenous Medical Service: The case of Mesulame Taveta', *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 41, no. 2 (September 2006), pp. 125-143.

instrumental in the founding of the Central Medical School in Fiji in 1929,⁷²¹ summed up the issue of trust:

With sympathy NMPs are as trustworthy as Europeans. The more you trust and require of them (really trust) the more you get from them. Trust them as human beings and with respect due to their education and they become trustworthy but they wilt when treated as human cattle.⁷²²

They were also literate and capable of contributing articles to the locally published *Native Medical Practitioner*, though the *Australian Medical Journal* was suspicious that the articles ‘could not have been written by natives without a great deal of re-writing and editing.’⁷²³ Opposition also came from Western medical practitioners in the field, who may have been protective of their territory. How much we can apply this to George Bogese is not clear, but unlike Mesulame Taveta, Bogese had the opportunity to prove his worth in more than one setting.

A part-European Islander with whom Kennedy had a respectful relationship was NMP Geoffrey Henry Kuper from Santa Ana, an island to the east of San Cristobal. Geoffrey’s father was Henry Kuper, a German trader-planter, and his mother, Augusta Kavakamurirongo, of chiefly rank on Santa Ana.⁷²⁴ Her photograph in traditional regalia with her sons was taken on Santa Ana in the 1920s before Geoffrey was sent off to Charles Fox’s school at Pawa.⁷²⁵ He later attended the Cathedral Grammar School, Christchurch, with Jack Charles Barley, the son of the Resident Commissioner.⁷²⁶ After New Zealand, Geoffrey Kuper trained at the Central Medical School, Fiji, to be a NMP, graduating in 1938. He was working for Kennedy on Rennell Island when the war in the Pacific began, and when Kennedy established his base on Ysabel, Kuper and his wife Linda were there. After Bogese’s betrayal, Kennedy believed that it was no longer safe for him on Ysabel, so he set up Kuper as a coastwatcher and left him in charge while he

721 Margaret W. Guthrie, *Misi Utu: Dr D.W. Hoodless and the Development of Medical Education in the South Pacific*, Suva, University of the South Pacific, 1979, pp. 18-19.

722 Stuart, ‘The case of Mesulame Taveta’, p. 141.

723 Guthrie, *Misi Utu*, p. 24.

724 Judith A. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons: A history of a Pacific archipelago, 1800-1978*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1987, p. 180.

725 S.M. Lambert, *A Doctor in Paradise*, Melbourne, George Jaboor, 1942, facing p. 359. Lambert was making the point with this photograph that in just one generation the Islanders had progressed from ‘savages’ to Western-trained professionals.

726 Personal communication: Geoff Cain, bursar, Cathedral Grammar School, to Mike Butcher, 11 February 2008; Geoffrey Kuper, ‘An Initiation Ceremony in the British Solomon Islands’, *The Native Medical Practitioner*, vol. 2 (1937), p. 397.

moved to New Georgia.⁷²⁷ Kuper was given the rank of a non-commissioned officer, while all the other European coastwatchers were commissioned. If Kuper was asked to write an account of his wartime experiences, it has not survived with those of the other coastwatchers.⁷²⁸ His only decoration was the British Empire Medal, even though he operated behind enemy lines, was responsible for a network of scouts who reported on enemy movements, eliminated them when possible and rescued Allied airmen. Unlike Bogese, Kuper appears to have accepted Kennedy's authority, which may have been the key to their mutual respect.

Whilst Kuper could be relied upon to complete tasks unsupervised, the same could not be said of Belshazzar Gina, who came under suspicion on a number of occasions. Gina was something of a celebrity and had been feted as an ordained Minister and spent time in New Zealand training and on the fund-raising circuit to support the Methodist Mission on New Georgia. His whole existence had been bound up with the Mission since birth and later in school, so he could fairly claim respect as an educated and well-travelled man of the world when War broke out. That he did not receive that respect is in some part due to the European-centric view of his behaviour. He must have experienced the ambivalence already discussed in relation to George Bogese, but was judged solely from the Western perspective. He appears to have crossed Kennedy in Gizo, where looting took place, and they had an uncomfortable relationship thereafter. Gina appears to have tried to please Kennedy, but Kennedy found him untrustworthy. Others commented upon this, including Nurse Merle Farland, who knew Gina at the Mission, and Bill Bennett, who knew him during and after the War. In her diary, Merle Farland writes of Gina with suspicion, as for example, when he arrived to collect the *Dadavata* for Kennedy: 'something not quite right-we think Gina is not telling a straight story, & has been up to the old stunt of trying to extort stuff from the Chinese.'⁷²⁹ Later in the diary she noted he was 'still trying to play the big man,' in dealing with various headmen.⁷³⁰ Bill Bennett remembered him with respect for his intelligence, exuberance and an extroversion which led to errors of

727 Walter Lord, *Lonely Vigil: Coastwatchers of the Solomons*, New York, Viking Press, 1977, pp. 155-9.

728 A few letters from Kuper on operational matters have survived in the National Archives: NAA, Series B3476/61. Walter Lord's papers relating to *Lonely Vigil* are reportedly in the History and Archives Division of the Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington, DC, but are not yet accessible. They may include an interview with Geoffrey Kuper, whom Lord visited on Santa Ana.

729 Farland diary, 1 June 1942, p. 32, PMB 1106.

730 Ibid., 12 September 1942, p. 97. The 'big man' would have been a more traditional role for him.

judgment and ‘many silly things.’⁷³¹ Amongst these we may include the abortive raid on the Japanese barges at Viru Harbour that Gina was supposed to have reconnoitred.⁷³² His clear dereliction of duty could have resulted in many deaths, for which Kennedy imposed the sentence of a severe flogging, and later sent him to Guadalcanal for administrative duties, away from the war front. After the War, he worked as a clerk in the Colonial Service and is remembered at Hobuhobu⁷³³ in Roviana by Martin Clemens as ‘quite reliable—quite intelligent, in a sly sort of a way.’⁷³⁴ He had continuing problems with debt, but was awarded an MBE in 1979 in recognition of his long service to his country. One of his sons became a minister in the first government of the independent Solomon Islands nation.⁷³⁵ Gina’s behaviour is consistent with an ambivalence about his position as a Solomon Islander with a European education, although he did not openly resent Kennedy.

Someone who had reason to resent Kennedy was Bill Bennett, the man who claimed to have attempted to kill Kennedy in May 1943. Bennett was the son of a New Zealand father and Solomon Islands mother, and a man of many parts: he was born on Santa Ysabel, educated at Goldie’s Methodist Mission at Kokegolo on New Georgia, then worked as a dresser and teacher before meeting Kennedy in Tulagi after the outbreak of war (but before the invasion of Tulagi). He was Captain of the *Waiai* and he became Kennedy’s right-hand man. He was left in command of Kennedy’s ‘Army’ when Kennedy was away. Bennett was involved in all the guerilla operations undertaken by Kennedy and he was a brave and capable soldier. He remembered Kennedy as a ‘hard man’ who rarely laughed and was ‘quick to mete out corporal punishment.’⁷³⁶ He was punished in a seemingly arbitrary way for even minor infringements, such as lateness or reporting inappropriately.⁷³⁷ Bennett’s attempted shooting of Kennedy is discussed on pages 67 to 68 and needs no further elaboration here. His dependence on Kennedy to keep the ‘Army’ together meant he had to accept humiliation and ill-treatment along with the

731 Quoted in George C. Carter, *Yours in His Service: A Reflection of the Life and Times of Reverend Belshazzar Gina of Solomon Islands*, University of the South Pacific Centre, Honiara, 1990, p. 81.

732 See page 63.

733 Hobuhomu was the district headquarters established at Roviana by Martin Clemens in 1943. When visited by Sir Colin Allan in 1977, the site had been long abandoned. Allan, *Solomons Safari*, p. 43.

734 Martin Clemens interview (with Mike Butcher), 23 January 2007.

735 Lloyd Maepeza Gina, Judith A. Bennett and Khyla J. Russell, *Journeys in a Small Canoe: The Life and Times of a Solomon Islander*, Canberra, ANU Press, 2003. In this autobiography of Lloyd Gina, his father, Belshazzar, receives some attention.

736 Bennett, *The Big Death* p. 135.

737 Ibid., p. 145.

responsibility of command. That Kennedy survived at all is more surprising than that someone took a shot at him. It is likely that Kennedy respected Bennett more than any other Solomon Islander during the War, but they appear not to have kept in touch afterwards. Bill Bennett became a radio broadcaster in Honiara and was well-known in the community.⁷³⁸ Bennett formed the Solomon Islands Wartime Comrades Association, which may have meant that his own exploits were remembered.⁷³⁹ Jim Tedder, one of the new breed of post-war District Officers, respected Bennett, who ‘did a great job in broadcasting though he was no administrator and ... not a good trainer.’⁷⁴⁰ He recalled Bennett describing Kennedy as ‘a hard but fair man and very brave.’⁷⁴¹

During the War Kennedy had provided leadership, which gave him an acceptance among his fellow officers. The Armed Forces hierarchy spoke of him positively, including Commander Eric Feldt (who may not have known him personally), Hugh MacKenzie, Dick Horton and others who knew him well, but he was often a problem to those above him in the Colonial hierarchy. His seven year relationship with Resident Commissioner Jack Charles Barley was probably the most complex one of all his relationships in colonial administration. In his position between Kennedy and the High Commissioner, Barley seemingly represented Kennedy’s interests well, and recommended against his removal when Sir Harry Luke wanted it, and in so doing Barley contributed towards his own downfall. Kennedy, on the other hand, did not have a good word to say about Barley, and accused him of assisting Bogese in his court case. The two men had much in common: both were competent linguists and administrators. Barley had the advantage of good English schooling and a degree from Oxford—benefits Kennedy lacked—but Kennedy had the discipline to write about the language and cultures he studied. Both had illegitimate children with Pacific women, so neither could claim any moral superiority on those grounds. Both had devoted their lives to Pacific communities, Kennedy to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and Barley to the Solomons, and neither had wanted to move away. Less is known of Kennedy’s relationships with his peers, except for Maude, whom Kennedy thoroughly detested at the end of his career. Alan Scott knew Kennedy well over a period of years in Fiji and formed a family friendship with him. It might have been different if they had been serving together, but as a retired officer

738 James L.O. Tedder, *Solomon Islands Years: a district administrator in the islands 1952-1974*, Stuart’s Point, NSW, 2008, Tautu Studies, p. 219.

739 Bennett died in January 1988 at Honiara. *The Big Death*, p. 134.

740 Personal communication: James L.O. Tedder to Mike Butcher, 5 July 2008.

741 Ibid.

Kennedy may not have felt the need to impose his will upon the much younger man. In general, the possibility of meeting other District Officers was very limited, especially under wartime conditions. It is not surprising, therefore, that they did not know or write much about each other. Horton was an exception: he described Kennedy's exploits in considerable detail. Kennedy he described as, 'a large, strong-featured and charming ... born leader, [who] needed a wide screen on which to throw his shadow.'⁷⁴² As a teacher, Kennedy had occasional contact with the Director of Education, Frank Holland, as well as the local District Officer. Resident Commissioner Arthur Grimble had wanted to 'allow him to retire' in 1928, but later came to admire his abilities.

The limited knowledge we have of Kennedy's relationships with his parents and siblings comes from his nephew, who got to know Kennedy late in life, but who knew his grandparents well:

they had an unhappy marriage—she was a very selfish woman, very selfish person, who wanted to be possessive. She fell out with my Dad [Robert Kennedy] because she wanted to possess him. I wonder whether with Uncle Bert [Kennedy] that was the relationship, too—that she wanted to possess the kids and they got to a stage in life where they couldn't hack it any longer, you know, and went their own way. ... Grandfather had the warmth and he loved her very, very much. He had a great love for her, he always had this love for her, but no matter what he did for her, it wouldn't be right. He'd do something for her and after he'd gone to the trouble, it wouldn't be right. That was the sort of feeling I always had. She was at him all the time.⁷⁴³

Kennedy's nephew said Kennedy had told him he never understood women: 'they always want to possess you and he could never understand or accept that.'⁷⁴⁴ It is tempting to associate Kennedy's fear of being possessed with his mother's possession of him, but there is no such statement from him. He had little to say about his father, but when he died Kennedy said, 'I did not get on very well with him, but he was very good to me in his own funny way when I was a boy.'⁷⁴⁵ In contrast, he was drunk for a week when his mother died, which strongly suggests that she was the dominant figure in his childhood.⁷⁴⁶ Kennedy's brother Robert was badly affected by his upbringing and became bitter with

742 Horton, *Fire over the Islands*, p. 42 passim. Horton had known Kennedy before the war and they served together on New Georgia.

743 Ray Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 20 November 1988.

744 Ibid.

745 Kennedy to Ailsa Kennedy, 18 October 1958.

746 Eme Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 30 September 2007. Isabella Kennedy died in 1961.

life. Like Kennedy, he became a teacher, but only an adequate one, according to his son.⁷⁴⁷

Little is known of Kennedy's relationships with women, even those with whom he had children. Kennedy married competent women with sufficient self-esteem to leave him when he became too violent, or because they did not share his enthusiasm for the isolated life in the islands. His first wife, Nell Chapman, was an assured woman who assisted Kennedy in his work by becoming proficient in Morse code, so that she could relay his anthropological work to the Otago Museum. We have glimpses of her through those letters and the eyes of the *Waterlily* crew as a friendly and hospitable hostess. She taught her children and did some work with the Ellice Island women, but she needed Western 'civilization'. After her last visit with the family in 1932-3, she and Kennedy agreed to go their separate ways.

She wasn't going to make things hard for him by divorcing him. She thought he may sicken of that kind of life and come down, but he didn't. And then, after the war, he met Mary Macfarlane, 'Pops'. ... Mum didn't want to divorce him, she always loved him. She just didn't like the islands and she didn't like what happened. He was an alcoholic, really. He said he was a compulsive drinker, but if it was there, he had to drink it. He was an alcoholic. They didn't get on because of the alcohol. The alcohol was non-existent when they married.⁷⁴⁸

He kept in touch with his children and his maintenance payments kept the family going through the Depression. Nell eventually returned to teaching as a house mistress, but never re-married. Nurse Merle Farland, who was one of the few women Kennedy appears to have respected, was not in this category. The suggestion of intimacy is tenuous and it is possible Nurse Farland was not interested, especially as he still had Magiko Sogo with him at Seghe.⁷⁴⁹

In contrast to these cordial relationships, the recriminations started soon after Pops Macfarlane had left. Kennedy accused her of using him to escape from her mother and the difficulties of being a single mother with three children. He could equally be accused of taking advantage of her vulnerable state after the sudden death of her husband. She remembered him fondly half a century later in the following terms:

He was an extraordinary character—utterly charming, with a great presence and tremendous sense of humour, extremely erudite and interesting with it. A very clear-thinking and brilliant brain, but almost paranoiac. If he thought his authority or pride

747 Ray Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 20 November 1988.

748 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

749 See pages 64-66.

were touched in any way he became violent. And, of course, being an alcoholic did not help. His years of isolation in the G[ilbert] & E[lllice Islands] made it difficult for him to adjust to civilized living where his authority could be questioned.⁷⁵⁰

Her daughter said that Pops always tried to give a balanced picture of Kennedy and was never vicious about him. ‘She always gave both sides of Dad. She said he was violent, but when he was charming, he was so charming and so intelligent. Mum reckoned he taught her everything, because she was just a dilettante ... before that and Dad educated her and made her see the world in a completely different light.’⁷⁵¹ She was probably less philosophical at the time, given the extent of his violence towards her. His marriage to Pops was equally desperate for him. He pinned his hopes for stability and sobriety on his marriage, which would have allowed him to return to the Solomon Islands. Pops was a tough person who seemed able to handle his violence, and, as Kennedy apparently threatened to commit suicide if she left, it would seem that his former dominance had largely evaporated. Pops was now in control and alcohol was his last crutch, until he was sent on his way and began to take control of his life again. Without her he was able to get work with ASIO, but when she left again he pursued her to New Zealand and sought her return as his wife.

Kennedy took advantage of the sexual opportunities in the islands, especially the Polynesian Islands, where the opportunities were greater. His sexual relationships with the Ellice Islands’ women seem to have been casual, and he did not settle down to having a ‘native wife’. ‘Going Native’ was the dreaded consequence of too close assimilation to a place and culture.⁷⁵² There is the suggestion that there was affection involved with both Mainalupe (Don’s mother) and Magiko (Catalina’s mother), not just sex. Dominance would have little place in their sexual relations as they appear to have been willingly entered into, and when Kennedy sought to find his son during the visit in December 1945 he was easily outwitted when Don was hidden away from him. Fear of Kennedy seemed to have no place and even Kennedy’s jealousy did not inhibit Magiko, as the dance described on pages 175-6 revealed. Belshaw’s reminiscence of meeting Kennedy at Tulagi, where he had a Solomon Island woman in his boat, is interesting for Kennedy’s comment: ‘You know you have to court them like any other woman.’⁷⁵³ Whilst he no

750 Hugh Laracy, Donald Gilbert Kennedy: an outsider in the Colonial Service. Ms, reproduced with the permission of the author.

751 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

752 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, Routledge, London and New York, 2002 (2000), p. 115.

753 See page 176; personal communication: Dr Cyril Belshaw to Mike Butcher, 17 January 2010.

doubt used his position as Administrative Officer as leverage, he recognised that courtship was a necessary preliminary to achieving his sexual objectives. Eme Kennedy's ambiguous relationship with her husband was probably never resolved. She called him Daddy from childhood and only called him Don in company. Her devotion to him was ultimately rewarded by marriage so that she could accompany him to New Zealand and she remained there after his death. She had been taken from her Polynesian roots and kept in the ambiguous roles of daughter, lover, carer and mother for the rest of his life and she was not consulted when her son was taken to New Zealand. Kennedy's relationship with her was exploitative, though no doubt with a level of caring, and in the end he was dependent on Eme for his physical survival as he became bed-ridden.

The children of his three families were all affected negatively by their contact with him, especially his eldest son, Christopher, in spite of the relatively little contact he had as a child. He drank heavily and towards the end of his own life he became deeply concerned that he had become like his father.⁷⁵⁴ Christopher had launched himself into a successful career as a lawyer, continuing the pathway his father had created through tertiary study. His eldest daughter, Margaret, was the least affected and the most successful in her relationship with Kennedy, possibly because she was able to assist materially by taking Archie into her family. Of Kennedy's second family, only his daughter Ailsa and step-daughter Anne were prepared to be interviewed for this thesis. Both had been affected by Kennedy's behaviour during the short time he had lived with them. The short time his son Don had spent with his father had been marked by Kennedy's dominance and had culminated in violence when his dominance failed, ending the relationship. It is possible that the best time of Kennedy's life was on Waya Island, where he was largely insulated from the pressures of living. His youngest son Archie was born there and he saw more of his father than his elder half-siblings.

When in the Ellice Islands, there were concerns about Kennedy's 'mental state [which] was without doubt due to too many years' isolation and a lack of contact with his own race.'⁷⁵⁵ He had 'not spoken to a European for some months' and was 'unable to express himself freely in English.' Kennedy did speak the language, knew the culture and enjoyed the benefits that come with a liminal existence, but it is doubtful that he had ever lost his sense of being the coloniser, who 'never would forget that [he] was white man, a member

754 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

755 Minute by A.H.B. Pearce, Director of Medical Services, Fiji, 19 August 1936. WPHC Untitled file accompanying 32/1 CPF 51, vols. 1-3.

of the dominant race.⁷⁵⁶ Other colleagues had taken Islander wives: George Murdoch in the Gilbert Islands was a trader before he joined the Colonial Service, eventually becoming a District Officer and serving one term as the Resident Commissioner.⁷⁵⁷ His life had been spent in the islands and after retirement he lived honourably with his Gilbertese wife and numerous children on Kuria. Later cadets sought him out for his advice.⁷⁵⁸ On San Cristobal, Frederick M. Campbell,⁷⁵⁹ the former First Chief of Native Constabulary, became a successful plantation owner with a local wife, named Kapinihari.⁷⁶⁰

Few of Kennedy's recorded comments are positive about his colleagues and he appears not to have kept in touch with school friends. Even his brother did not enjoy his company. He was certainly admired for his skills and cultured manner, and, as Laracy has surmised, 'You would also have respected him for his abilities. This fellow was good, so you've got to trust him or go with him, and sitting down for a drink and a chat you would find him very good company, but if you're working with him, or exposed to him for a very long time, you'll find him very hard to take.'⁷⁶¹ One measure of social and professional success is the number of people that attend a funeral. When Jack Barley died in 1956, 'the church was packed' and people 'came hundreds of miles to pay their respects to a great and very dear gentleman.'⁷⁶² When Kennedy died, just a few of the family were there. Admittedly, Barley died on Queensland's Gold Coast (a retirement haven), just fifteen years after retirement, whereas Kennedy died in Dargaville thirty years after leaving the Colonial Service, so he had time and geography against him. For most of that time he had lived as a semi-recluse in the Pacific, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Kennedy had accumulated few friends during his life. Any letters that might have proved otherwise have been destroyed.

756 J.M. Walsh, 'The last Voyage of the 'Doravi' from Overdue,' in N. Krauth (ed), *New Guinea Images in Australian Literature*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1982, pp. 85-92. Quoted in: Nicholas Thomas and Richard Eves, *Bad Colonists: The South Seas Letters of Vernon Lee Walker & Louis Becke*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 1999, p. 70.

757 Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire*, pp. 85-6; Arthur Grimble, *A Pattern of Islands*, London, The Reprint Society, 1954 (1952), p. 228.

758 Vaskess to HC, 30 September 1936, WPHC 3090/1936. A copy of George Murdoch's death certificate was attached.

759 Frederick M. Campbell (– 1953)

760 Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, pp. 112 & 180.

761 Laracy interview (with Mike Butcher), 12 December 2006.

762 Florence Barley to Jack Charles Barley (step-son), 30 June 1956. Copy in the possession of John Barley, Hastings.

In preceding chapters, we have seen how Kennedy was initially admired for being a disciplinarian at school, but whose violence crossed the boundary into brutality during the War. In the next chapter this transition is further explored and extended to include violence towards his families. The nature and extent of Kennedy's violence and brutality is placed in the context of the time and place, using examples from a number of colonies.



The only known photograph of Tonileti (Don) and his parents, Donald Kennedy and Mainalupe on Vaitupu. It is an intimate family grouping of attentive parents taken a short while after the birth in December 1937. Many children were born to European fathers in the islands, but few allowed themselves to be photographed in a way that openly declared their paternity.

Courtesy: Eme Kennedy

Chapter 7: Violence

The Colonial Service was administered on the ground by District Officers and their assistants, often alone and in remote places. This chapter explores how violence was viewed and used by Kennedy and is compared to other officers in the Pacific and other colonies, where the behaviours and attitudes would be judged as violent by today's standards.

At a personal level, those who met Kennedy found him quietly spoken, cultured and charming, but there was another side—he was also ‘a determined man ... with a strong personality ... one of those to whom command came naturally, a full-blooded, dominant man ...’⁷⁶³ This appraisal came from his war-time commander, but it was also recognized by those who knew him earlier and later. Rowland Cashmore, family doctor to the Macfarlanes and in whose house Kennedy married his second wife, said of Kennedy that he was just the man needed during the War, but ‘God help us if he lives after the War.’⁷⁶⁴ This assessment, spoken with the benefit of hindsight, was amply reinforced when Kennedy was his neighbour in Hawkes Bay until 1949. The War gave Kennedy the opportunity to demonstrate his leadership qualities and personal bravery to the full. After the War he struggled to control his drinking and the consequent loss of opportunities and prestige.

The study of violence involves two principal disciplines: psychology and anthropology (or sociology), where the anthropological perspective examines the impact of social acts on the wider environment.⁷⁶⁵ Of crucial importance is the understanding that existed between the perpetrators of violence and the recipients, especially in the island settings where Kennedy worked. We have the opportunity to apply the anthropological perspective to his leadership, which had developed through his schooling, teaching and administration. His teaching manifested strictness enforced by severe corporal punishment. As an administrator, his word was law and transgressors could expect summary punishment. As a soldier, obedience was maintained by fear of punishment, but his relationships with his families also need to be examined, as they changed over time

763 Feldt, *The Coastwatchers*, p. 107. Kennedy's voice is included at the conclusion of a radio program dramatizing his wartime coastwatching activities. ‘Now it can be told—a Private War’, Australian Radio Productions Ltd, transmitted on stations 3DB and 3LK in January 1951 and NJV Suva, 5 November 1952.

764 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

765 David Riches. ‘The Phenomenon of Violence’, David Riches (ed), *The Anthropology of Violence*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986, p. 15.

and the violence endured by his second family in particular was probably related to the effects of the War and his increasing dependence on alcohol. But to understand the behaviour that alcohol unleashed, it is necessary to go back to his formative years at Waitaki Boys' High School.

We do not know what personal values and aspirations Kennedy brought with him from New Zealand, but we may surmise that some, at least, had been inculcated at Waitaki Boys' High School. Corporal punishment was the backbone of the English Public School system, from which Waitaki Boys' was derived. 'Six of the best' was commonplace for infractions. Sir Harry Luke, later High Commissioner in the Pacific, and Kennedy's *bête noire*, quotes the reminiscence of one of his contemporaries at Eton:

Flogging there, and the endurance of flogging, were as much a form of athletics as compulsory football. There was no particular sense of shame involved, and hardly any of justice and responsibility. The upper boys quite frankly beating the lower ones, and were proud of whatever skill they possessed in doing so as to inflict the maximum pain. ... Any, or no excuse was considered good enough for the command 'Bend over'.⁷⁶⁶

The culture of discipline at Waitaki was designed to instill 'character' into the boys. Cold baths, bracing air and sport were key ingredients of the regime laid down by the Rector, Frank Milner. There is nothing about corporal punishment in the official histories of Waitaki, but Milner's son, himself a Waitaki student, recalled that '[t]he virtue of obedience learned the hard way blended with his [father's] own moral Puritanism to make him a disciplinarian. As headmaster he believed in corporal punishment as natural law'.⁷⁶⁷ Nonetheless, caning was not Milner's preferred punishment and he was more likely to have transgressors working in the school's gardens. Other masters may well have been more summary in their punishments: Kennedy received 'six of the best' from 'Old Mac'⁷⁶⁸ when caught exploding pea rifle bullets in the classroom fireplace.⁷⁶⁹ It is difficult to know how Kennedy was perceived at school, given the paucity of surviving documents: Milner wrote the following reference for Kennedy when he applied for a position at Suva Boys' High School,:

What I especially admire in him is his quiet earnestness and self reliance. For his character I have nothing but respect. I consider that he will exercise an influence for

766 Sir Harry Luke, *Cities and Men: The First Thirty Years 1884-1914*, London, Geoffrey Bles, 1953, pp. 42-43.

767 Milner, *Milner of Waitaki*, p. 126.

768 Almost certainly Malcolm K. McCulloch, First Assistant Master, who served the school for over thirty years. A.R. Tyrell, *Strong to Endure: Waitaki Boys' High School 1883-1983*, Dunedin, Waitaki High School Old Boys Association, 1983, p. 218.

769 Kennedy to Alison Kennedy, 22 August 1963. Letter in possession of Ailsa Murray, Russell.

good on all boys with whom he is associated. He appears to me to have the right disciplinary fibre.⁷⁷⁰

Another of Kennedy's referees was W.E. Atkinson, Headmaster of Hurworth School, Wanganui, who regretted that Kennedy was moving on after just one term in 1919. But he had the opportunity to observe his teaching ability, and referred to Kennedy as 'a good disciplinarian' and noted his '[f]irm but sympathetic treatment [of the boys]'.⁷⁷¹ Again, there is ambiguity in the assessment.

There is no uncertainty about the extent of Kennedy's discipline in the Pacific, where severe corporal punishment was common. Corporal punishment was routine in Western Samoan schools in the 1950s, where the primary students were caned for 'talking or not finishing work ... The long stick, strap and broom were necessary tools of the teacher's trade in those days and no one questioned their frequent use'.⁷⁷² Don Kennedy was told by one of the BPC Accounts Department staff on Ocean Island that punishment with a cricket bat was used in his time at Suva Boys' Grammar.⁷⁷³ In other words, the use of a cricket bat as Kennedy's preferred method of punishment at Elisefou (the Ellice Islands School) may not have been his invention. One of the many 'strict rules' was the prohibition on the boys talking to girls. Anyone caught doing so received 'a dozen thrashes with the cricket bat, which gave you a bruised backside for several days'.⁷⁷⁴ The regimentation of the school was recalled by a student many years later: 'We had nine dormitories in the school and each house was under a house commander who was responsible to keep it up to standard. We also had a drilling squad, under a sergeant with a corporal as his second in command'.⁷⁷⁵ Elisefou was very different to the English public school, and one of those differences was the extent and severity of its disciplinary code. Kennedy was strict in New Zealand, but unrestrained at Elisefou. Neli Lifuka is the only student known to have refused to accept punishment:

It was when he was a sixth former he hit Kennedy back when Kennedy tried to cane him, but he refused to be caned. He took the cane from him and gave him a taste of his

770 Letter of support from F. Milner, Rector, Waitaki Boys' High School, 20 November 1917, NAF, CSO, MP 765/21.

771 Letter of support from W.E. Atkinson, Headmaster, Hurworth School, Wanganui, 5 December 1919, NAF, CSO, MP 765/21. [Hurworth School amalgamated with Heretaunga School (Hastings) in 1927.]

772 For instance, Lonise Tanielu, 'Education in Western Samoa: Reflections on my Experiences', *Bitter Sweet: Indigenous Women in the Pacific*. Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2000, p. 54.

773 Personal communication: Don Kennedy to Mike Butcher, 24 April 2007.

774 Pasifika, *Autobiography*, p. 19.

775 Ibid.

own medicine, so he was kicked out of the school, but Kennedy admitted afterwards that he was a great leader and became the Chief Kaubure of Vaitupu.⁷⁷⁶

In assessing Kennedy's strictness as Administrator, we need to explore the context in which he was working: a colonial outpost populated with few Europeans whose behaviour towards the Islanders was often violent. Hugh Laracy quotes Maude who witnessed aggression that seemed to be unprovoked when he saw Kennedy 'fell an "insolent native" (Kennedy's term) with one punch.'⁷⁷⁷ Apparently, any challenge to Kennedy's absolute authority was defined as insolence and would not be tolerated. Those who worked with Kennedy could expect rough justice for any failure to perform to the expected standard.

Kennedy's attitudes were not unusual in 'tropical' colonies: writing in the 1960s about his life as a District Officer in the first decade of the twentieth century in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Leonard Woolf expressed a curious ambivalence towards violence. He attributed violence to the ways in which different races 'treated the white man in authority.'⁷⁷⁸

The Tamil treated one as someone apart; he would never dream of touching one, for instance. The Arabs, on the other hand, although extremely polite, treated me as a fellow human being ... It was this attitude of human equality which accounted for the fact, oddly enough, that I hit them with a walking stick, whereas in the whole of my time in Ceylon, I never stuck, or would have dared to strike, a Tamil or Sinhalese.⁷⁷⁹

Woolf was clearly worried in retrospect about his selective violence and seemingly puzzled by it. Could it simply have been an assertion of authority against those who challenged it? Doubts about imperialism caused Woolf to leave the Colonial Service and pursue a successful literary career.⁷⁸⁰ George Orwell was another literary figure with experience as a colonial officer who forsook imperialism for the insecure life of a writer. He was appalled by the gratuitous as-of-right violence used by his fellow officers towards the peaceable Burmese,⁷⁸¹ but he had also struck his servants 'with my fist in moments of rage (nearly everyone does these things in the East, at any rate occasionally).'⁷⁸² If

776 Stan Brown interview (with Doug Munro), 1 August 1997.

777 Laracy, Donald Gilbert Kennedy: an outsider in the Colonial Service, p. 1.

778 Leonard Woolf, *Growing: An autobiography of the Years 1904–1911*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962.

779 Ibid., pp. 94-5.

780 His wife, Virginia Woolf, was the better known author.

781 Bernard Crick, *George Orwell: A Life*, London, Secker and Warburg, 1980, pp. 79 & 88.

782 George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier*, Ringwood, Vic., Penguin, 1969 (1937), p. 129.

colonized people had been inclined to strike back, they would have discovered their essential inequality before the law as discussed by Rabindranath Tagore:

It is quite easy for an Englishman to hit an Indian [because] he stands for the power of the state. ... but if I hit an Englishman ... it is an attack on the authority of the state, ... [so] I cannot be tried for anything as simple as common assault.⁷⁸³

The 'treatment of natives' was a common source of less introspective polemic in the pages of the *Fiji Times* and the *Pacific Islands Monthly (PIM)*. The former had come into existence when the planters and other commercial interests held sway in Fiji and always supported European interests over the Fijians. The latter was a Sydney based journal created in 1930 to cater for Europeans in the Pacific more generally. Under such banners as 'Cheeky Natives—When the Master must be Firm', physical violence was advocated as the appropriate antidote.⁷⁸⁴ The article went on to lament that twenty years previously, 'they respected the manly white man.' Since that time, vested interests, including missionaries, had disturbed what they believed to be the natural order and there were dire warnings about what would happen if firm control was not taken. It also argued that the British meted out more lenient treatment than the Germans, but that this had produced a decline in respect. According to *PIM* the root of the problem was a government that wanted 'to treat the natives as whites.'⁷⁸⁵

In contrast, German policy was designed 'to convert uncivilized stone-age men into docile but energetic workers.'⁷⁸⁶ Sanctions included casualties inflicted by armed police officers and the burning down of villages. Even Dr Albert Hahl, celebrated for his wise and humane government, had led punitive missions against recalcitrant villages when required.⁷⁸⁷ That the Germans were more callous than the British or Australians is admitted as being the price of their greater achievements.⁷⁸⁸ They were stricter disciplinarians, using the stick and whip and exacting higher casualties in the hostile exchanges in the Pacific, but this was a generation or more before Kennedy's involvement.

783 Quoted in: Evans, *Edward Eyre, race and colonial governance*, p. 105.

784 *PIM*, 23 March 1933, p. 17.

785 *Ibid.*, 24 April 1933, p. 15.

786 J.A. Moses, 'The German Empire in Melanesia 1884-1914: A German Self-Analysis', *The History of Melanesia: Second Waigani Seminar*, University of Papua and New Guinea and The Research School of Pacific Studies, Canberra, ANU, 1969, p. 54.

787 Peter Biskup, 'Hahl at Herbertshoehe, 1896-1898: The Genesis of German Native Administration in New Guinea', *Ibid.*, p. 83.

788 Stewart Firth, *New Guinea under the Germans*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1982, p. 174.

It is likely that Kennedy progressed from discipline to violence when he found that he could do so without retribution. His remote setting left him very much in charge of his kingdom. An example of how an individual's behaviour can change when given unfettered control is provided by Eric Muspratt, who spent six months managing Waiboroni plantation on San Cristobal, Solomon Islands. He warmly appraised the abilities of those he knew personally, but nevertheless believed that 'One could only control them by strength, courage and determination; then by justice, generosity and cheeriness one could gain their affection.'⁷⁸⁹ Applying these principles, he 'found that in being able to do exactly as I liked, without any of the usual civilized restrictions, I became a much better person. I became healthier, more industrious, more ambitious, more self-reliant and much more dominant.'⁷⁹⁰ With this dominance came rage and pugnacity when his authority was questioned—all qualities later exhibited by Kennedy. The euphoria of having his own kingdom was short-lived: fever prostrated Muspratt and he spent weeks lying helplessly, with paranoid delusions brought on by his vulnerability. When he had recovered and was on the point of leaving his island solitude, he was 'in a rather tense and strained state of mind as a result of six months' solitude and strangeness. The affect of it was a sudden and violent plunging into extremes of temper upon apparently slight provocation.'⁷⁹¹ He might have been describing Kennedy.

Whatever forms of control were used by Muspratt, he was sufficiently impressed or revolted by how he saw the bossboy of the coastal vessel *Hart* assert his authority that he described it in detail. What is recounted here may have been a typical way to gain the ascendancy over the Islander recruits they were carrying to Tulagi.

Louis was out to make an impression, and with fine generalship he sought out the biggest man in the crowd....The big man began to answer belligerently and looked uglier than ever. Louis leapt forward, catching up a wooden batten from the deck in his stride, and smashing the other man across the head with it. It was a three by one inch batten about two feet long and it snapped short in Louis' hand as he struck. He then dropped his weapon and seized the big man's throat and banged his head back against the mainmast. In another second Louis had hurled him over backwards into a coil of rope and stamped on his upturned stomach. The speed and ferocity of the onslaught had defeated the big man utterly.⁷⁹²

789 Eric Muspratt, *My South Sea Island*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1931, p. 53.

790 Ibid., p. 102.

791 Ibid., p. 201.

792 Ibid., pp. 243-4.

Newcomers were ritually tested in this way, in what was a traditional way of proving that they ‘had a right, by might, to be an authority over labourers.’⁷⁹³ Violence of this nature may have been commonplace, but was rarely reported. Overseers with bad reputations found it harder to recruit workers. Rarely were the Islanders able to retaliate as they understood the consequences. An extreme example of violence and retribution came from John Cameron, a twenty-three year old plantation overseer in the Manning Straits, Solomon Islands.⁷⁹⁴ After a frenzied attack on one of the workmen, Cameron was struck dead with an axe blow. The cause of the attack remains a mystery despite being witnessed. After a few days, the murderer hanged himself in a remote location, but his body was taken by a crocodile and was never recovered.⁷⁹⁵

Kennedy’s best documented expressions of violence occurred during the war. One complaint concerned his treatment of four men at Gizo, and another concerned the thrashing given to Kato Ragoso, a Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) minister (see pages 155 to 156). Kennedy reinforced discipline by flogging with a loa (or lawyer) cane over a forty-four gallon drum. The views of some of the Islanders involved during these times have been recorded thanks to the efforts of Geoffrey White and his colleagues.⁷⁹⁶ With the unseemly departure of the Europeans after the fall of Rabaul in January 1942, looting broke out at Gizo, in the Western Solomons, and it was Kennedy’s responsibility to restore law and order. The situation was grave and the prospect of Islander defection to the Japanese posed a dire threat to the Allied effort and he would have none of it. This long quotation from Kennedy’s interview is included as the only record of the event:

they’d torn down the flag and they defecated on it and it was just a mass of shit, deliberately shitting on it, and everybody said it was these people. Well there’s a man I haven’t mentioned yet, ... Belshazzar Gina was his name, ... He was the Pastor of this island, Simbo. He had put them all up to it. He had advised them, when I came there and demanded they give up their loot, I was going to take it over here, not to give it up. So I simply said ‘OK’ I couldn’t say if it was he who did it, he said he’d help me, you see. But it was obvious that they were taking advice from him. He had already travelled round, had been as far, he’d been onto Ranongga here, he’d been to Gizo, he’d been down here, he’d been travelling down the coast. These were the days, the in-between days before the Japanese arrived. He had threatened Chinese with murder if

793 Judith A. Bennett, “‘We do not Come Here to be Beaten’: Resistance and the Plantation System in the Solomon Islands to World War II”, in Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro and Edward D. Breechert, *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1993, p. 138.

794 The Manning Strait lies between Choiseul and Santa Ysabel Islands.

795 WPHC 3423/1927; Bennett, ‘We do not Come Here to be Beaten’, p. 153.

796 Geoffrey M. White, David W. Gegeo, David W. Akin, Karen Watson-Gegeo, *The Big Death: Solomon Islanders Remember World War II*, Suva, Solomon Islands College of Higher Education and the University of the South Pacific, 1988; Hugh Laracy and Geoffrey White (eds), ‘Taem Blong Faet: World War in Melanesia’, *O’O: A Journal of Solomon Islands Studies*, no. 4, 1988.

they didn't give him anything they wanted out of their stores. I got a lot of Kudos by the Chinese by taking Gina off the place altogether and then getting the Chinese evacuated to Malaita, where the Resident Commissioner was, and he sent them down to San Cristobal where they made a camp. But on this place, I said 'we'll burn every second house and give you people something to think about. It doesn't matter what's in it, I don't care whose house it is, every second house, that'll just leave enough houses for you to cram into and you have to do the hard way to building your village again', it was a fairly big village. Well, they sort of looked down, looked up, ... I had nothing, I had a revolver in my belt. I think it was empty. I think Geoff Kuper, who was a half-caste AMO [Assistant Medical Officer] had a rifle, but [I don't know] whether it was loaded or not. There was nothing else; there was no armed force or anything. We had a policeman, Sergeant Major of Police with us. I gave him the orders to burn every second house. He started and then I looked and I saw there were a number of kids and I've got a soft spot for kids, I just couldn't think of them bloody adults probably crowding the houses and driving the kids out. So I said, 'every third house Sergeant Major.' He burnt every third house. We stayed and watched them burn. The whole damn crowd was standing there, shivering, so I changed my mind and burned half of them or more. Well that story went all round the islands to Guadalcanal, everywhere, and my word was law wherever I went after that. Knowing that, well, there could have been an inquiry about it, what right had I to create my own court and proscribe and punishment like their not provided for, but you don't have to go on and proscribe punishment. These people were enemies. They'd shat on the King's flag and they had done everything to indicate that they would be the first people to join the Japanese, actually not one of them joined the Japanese and that was the reason, I'm satisfied. But had I been weak with them they would have. But you can't write that in reports.⁷⁹⁷

This reluctance to report fully, even at the time, may be one reason that the official history is reticent, but in 1977 Boutilier confirmed these events with Belshazzar Gina, who identified the villages as Patusogara, Nusasibo and Riguru.⁷⁹⁸ In the past, reprisals took many forms: Naval bombardment of villages, summary executions and the burning of villages were common ways of administering fear, if not justice, when the administration lacked the infrastructure to pursue the normal processes. Under wartime conditions, Kennedy had the authority to be both judge and executioner. However, it was not the burning of the villages that formed the basis of an official complaint, but the act of striking some of the villagers at Gizo. Ian Hogbin, anthropologist and fellow member of the BSIPDF, forwarded the complaint on behalf of the Islanders, though not at their request.

The natives charge him with beating four men with a stick, slapping three others on the face, threatening a whole village with his revolver, and attempting to rape a young woman. ... It is alleged that George Butokuma, Silus Loli, and Wilson Burue, all of Toga, were beaten, while Mr Kennedy brandished a revolver and threatened to shoot anyone who interfered, that Isaac Biku was beaten at Haroro, and that Simon Vua,

797 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

798 Gina interview (with J.A. Boutilier), 25 April 1977.

Benjamin Tapone, and a third man, now deceased, had their faces slapped at Toga. The alleged attempt at rape occurred at Nango, Small Gela, a sub-district which I did not visit.⁷⁹⁹

It was not until October 1943 that these complaints were laid before Colonel O.C. Noel, the Resident Commissioner, even though the events had taken place over two years earlier. Hogbin was the first Officer in a position to do so after the hostilities had moved northwards towards Japan. Noel, who was aware that the Gela people were prone to exaggeration and were from an area that was critical of the government, had to decide whether to proceed. It is interesting that the attempted rape should rank last, behind slaps across the face.⁸⁰⁰ Sir Philip Mitchell, the High Commissioner, ordered an investigation, though he thought that, 'even if Kennedy did strike four men with his walking stick and box the ears of three others, it cannot be said to be a desperately serious matter.'⁸⁰¹ He dismissed the attempted rape allegation as 'the commonest form of 'fitina'.⁸⁰² Kennedy was on leave at the time and by the time he returned it was all over. No further mention is made of the rape allegation and the High Commissioner was able to inform the Secretary of State in January 1944 that no further action was necessary and the people assaulted considered that they had received 'fair punishment and had made no complaint to any officer.'⁸⁰³

It is unclear why Hogbin took up the case on the behalf of the Islanders, when they had made no complaint and, indeed, were more concerned that they would be punished for their admitted looting.⁸⁰⁴ At the time of these allegations, the Service was receiving plaudits for Kennedy's actions as a coastwatcher, so it may have been a poor time for justice on what were relatively minor offences (except the alleged rape). It seems likely that Hogbin took up the issue on his own initiative as part of the process of reintroducing the accountability that had been in abeyance for the duration of hostilities.⁸⁰⁵ As an anthropologist, Hogbin had earlier advocated flogging as an appropriate punishment for

799 Ian Hogbin to RC, 30 October 1943, WPHC, CPF 51, vol. 3, no. 177a.

800 RC to HC, 3 November 1943, WPHC CPF 51, vol. 3, no. 177.

801 HC to RC, 23 November 1943, WPHC CPF 51, vol. 3, no. 180.

802 Fitina is a Swahili (East African) word for 'making trouble'. Mitchell had previously served in Uganda, and returned from Fiji to Africa as the Governor of Kenya.

803 RC to HC, 1 January 1944, WPHC, CPF 51, vol. 3, no. 185.

804 The relationship between Hogbin and Kennedy may have got off on the wrong foot, when Hogbin sought Kennedy's assistance in 1931 with a proposed anthropological survey of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands on behalf of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu.

805 Hogbin knew of Kennedy's anthropological writing in the Ellice Islands and had corresponded with him there in 1931, and it is likely they met on Gela after the war.

Solomon Islanders because imprisonment was ineffectual and the sentences were sometimes inadequate, especially for adultery, where the traditional punishments were more severe.

The deterrent function of punishment would be achieved better if prisoners had to work harder, and if flogging and whipping were used more. Malaita natives, I think, would be quite satisfied with a penalty of six months imprisonment for adultery if only the offender was also flogged. Of course, flogging would have to be supervised.⁸⁰⁶

What was possibly Kennedy's most celebrated wartime exploit also involved the flogging of a SDA pastor, making an implacable enemy of that denomination. The 'Battle of Marovo Lagoon' in May 1943, when Kennedy was shot at by Bill Bennett, has been outlined on pages 66 to 67. Kennedy had been in the Marovo Lagoon either looking for Pastor Kata Ragoso, because he had been accused of collaborating with the Japanese, or happened to come across Ragoso when the presence of nearby Japanese soldiers had not been reported to him. More dangerously, Ragoso believed his service to God took precedence over Kennedy's authority. He was arrested and taken back to Seghe for incarceration and punishment. In Seghe the following morning, Ragoso was punched and pistol whipped by Kennedy in fury at his intractability and was then whipped with the loa cane by his men across 'the drum'. The incident, which was undoubtedly violent, has been given a surreal quality by Ragoso's SDA biographer, who claims that Kennedy ordered Ragoso's execution, but through super-natural intervention the rifle misfired twice and Kennedy was unable to give the order a third time.⁸⁰⁷ Another version states, 'A merciful God prevented his committing murder, as on three occasions he attempted to count, but could not say a word, so Ragoso was returned to gaol.'⁸⁰⁸ It has been authenticated that Kennedy's mistress, Magiko Sogo, intervened on Ragoso's behalf.⁸⁰⁹ After ten days or so, Ragoso was allowed to leave. A scurrilous version of these events was written in 1985 as the reminiscences of a veteran missionary, Pop Martin.⁸¹⁰ In fact, Martin was not there, and he telescoped the story for brevity and effect. He notes that 'his [Ragoso's] faithful church members would never forget that he was the man who could never be killed by Officer Thomas [Kennedy]'.⁸¹¹ Boutilier attempted to find out the truth

806 H. Ian Hogbin, 'Culture Change in the Solomon Islands: Report of Field Work in Guadalcanal and Malaita', *Oceania*, vol. 4, no. 3 (March 1934), p. 265.

807 Were, *No Devil Strings*, p. 74-8.

808 Reuben E. Hare to HC, 22 January 1946, WPHC, CPF 51, vol. 3, no. 226.

809 Boutilier, Kennedy's 'Army', p. 346.

810 Pop Martin, 'Reminiscences of a Veteran Missionary-2: The Man They Couldn't Kill'. *Australasian Record*, 18 May 1985, p. 12.

811 Ibid. Even Kennedy's name was in error.

of the encounter, but was puzzled by the accounts given in Ragoso's own diary. The day after his thrashing across the drum and scheduled 'execution', his 'miraculous reprieve' receives no further mention.⁸¹² Kennedy committed no summary execution of this kind and at worst was probably guilty of intimidating Ragoso with the threat of execution. On the contrary, when Belshazzar Gina was found guilty of treachery, it was Kennedy who saved his life, although his men wanted Gina's blood, as described in Chapter 3.⁸¹³

Corporal punishment was administered in other colonies as well, though the 'flogging' administered in Nigerian prisons, for example, was no more severe than the canings given to boys in English schools.⁸¹⁴ The worldwide trend towards more humane punishment was not universally welcomed in the Colonial Service, as they denied the use of a viable option. In any case, flogging was often accepted by the recipient, for instance, an offender attributed his giving up 'wickedness' to the caning he received.⁸¹⁵ In the Pacific, 'Physical violence was the order of the day on most plantations'.⁸¹⁶ When writing about the unrest in another part of Melanesia in 1933, the editor of *PIM* lamented that 'I see no reason whatever why a District Officer should not be allowed to flog natives for certain offences.'⁸¹⁷ *PIM* championed District Officer F.B. Filose⁸¹⁸ when he was fined for his violent treatment of Santa Ysabel Islanders. He was considered 'our most competent District Officer', and 'there is noted nowadays far too great a tendency to use the velvet glove with classes of natives who only understand the cane, coupled with firmness, fairness and justice.'⁸¹⁹ Filose was shortly afterwards dismissed from the service. Support for Filose came from an unlikely direction, Anglican missionary Richard Fallows. Fallows had himself received censure for whipping members of his congregation with the loia cane without their consent.⁸²⁰ The significant thing is that the loia cane was seen by Fallows as an appropriate instrument for corporal punishment and may have been used quite extensively.⁸²¹ The matter was, of course, more complicated than this on

812 Boutilier, Kennedy's 'Army', p. 350.

813 Ibid., p. 344.

814 Brook, *The One-Eyed Man is King*, p. 171.

815 Ibid., p. 172.

816 Bennett, *The Wealth of the Solomons*, p. 154.

817 *PIM*, 24 April 1933, p. 15.

818 Francis Bartholomew Filose (1890 -)

819 *PIM*, 23 March 1933, p. 6.

820 Memorandum from P.C. Hubbard, Legal Adviser, to the RC, Tulagi; WPHC 1605/1933.

821 Coastwatcher 'Snowy' Rhoades describes the use of the lawyer cane for thrashing offenders on Guadalcanal. Rhoades, *Diary of a Coastwatcher*, pp. 15-16.

several levels: the Reverend Fallowes was treated with a great deal of suspicion by Bishop Baddeley and to some extent the charges were trumped up. The offenders were guilty of adultery and had confessed their guilt to Fallowes, who gave them the choice of 6-8 strokes with the loa cane or temporary expulsion from the congregation. Of the thirteen charges against Fallowes, he was acquitted of ten, but three of the transgressors were found to have agreed to the caning out of fear and he was found guilty of assault.⁸²² When Fallowes took up a petition in favour of the reinstatement of Filose to his position, it led to recriminations from the Acting Resident Commissioner and accusations that Filose and Fallowes had been 'working in close co-operation in the District of Ysabel and that both were imbued with similar ideas regarding the treatment of 'natives'.⁸²³ Filose was not reinstated and Fallowes was later expelled from the Colony by the High Commissioner, Sir Harry Luke. Whether this course of action should have been taken has been questioned by David Hilliard, who believed Luke was not justified in doing so.⁸²⁴ Sir Harry Luke's precipitate action in removing Kennedy from the Ellice Islands has already been commented upon (see pages 45 to 46).

Under Kennedy's command, many Japanese were killed, though he personally admitted to having killed only one man.⁸²⁵ He was probably a Japanese airman brought in by one of the scouts, who tried to escape from the canoe.⁸²⁶ The Islander had taken great care of his charge and was distressed by his unnecessary death. Kennedy was also responsible for the death of Timothy Togaka, one of the Rennell Islanders, by hitting him with a rifle butt on the back.⁸²⁷ No details of the incident are known nor was any enquiry made as he was operating behind enemy lines at the time. These punishments need to be seen in the context of the war taking place around him. Atrocities were being committed on both sides with no calls for justice for the slaughtered soldiers, which put any of Kennedy's activities in the shade.⁸²⁸ Of his own part in punishments, Kennedy had the following to say

822 Memorandum from P.C. Hubbard to the RC, Tulagi, 26 June 1933, WPHC 1605/1933, no. 4a.

823 RC to HC, 11 March 1933, WPHC 1605/1933, no. 1.

824 Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, pp. 281-5.

825 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

826 Recounted by George Jamokolo to Graeme Baines at Kavolavata Village, Nggatokae Island, 1981. Copy in the possession of Dr James A. Boutilier.

827 Boutilier, Kennedy's 'Army', p. 343.

828 See: John W. Dower, *War Hates and War Crimes: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1986. pp. 64-5, passim.

I've never myself beat a man, oh, sometimes I've smacked a man, but with my fist, several of them, it's the swiftest way of getting them to come to reason if you take a clout at them because, well if you've got my temperament once you've given the clout you've got no more ill-spirit or whatever. If you've forgiven them and warned them you're always watching them. And they began to appreciate that. Better than an inquiry or anything else. But the chief thing is that if a man had been seriously offending, like Belshazzar Gina did once, ... was to put them across a drum...⁸²⁹

The Islander men interviewed by Boutilier in the 1970s remembered the drum and their fear of Kennedy.⁸³⁰ It was Bill Bennett, Kennedy's most trusted lieutenant, who best summed up Kennedy nearly forty years later: 'during the war we were more afraid of him than we were of the Japanese. ... But I think his behaviour during the war was very appropriate, because there were a lot of young Solomon Islanders in our army who could innocently have gone over to the Japanese and befriended them ...'⁸³¹ Offenders received sixty lashes across the drum. From a twenty-first century perspective, flogging sounds inhumane and a relic of the transportation of criminals. Yet, as we have seen above, it could be the punishment of choice, as used by the Reverend Fallows, or one of the few options available to Kennedy in the war situation. Lord Lugard similarly refers to flogging being appropriate where imprisonment is either not effective or unavailable and the punishment is a deterrent.⁸³² He went further, asserting, 'There is nothing inhumane in consecutive floggings, inflicted at considerable intervals, with every formality and precaution.'⁸³³ Lugard's *Dual Mandate* became the Colonial Bible when published in 1921 and remained influential while the Empire existed.

Strain theory provides an insight into violent behaviour.⁸³⁴ Though based on peace time stressors, the theory's profile of an individual most likely to cope with strains through violence fits Kennedy well under those wartime conditions, namely: he had limited alternatives; the right personality traits; the authority to act in this way; no constraints; beliefs that support violence; and the assessment that the benefits outweighed the costs. These were the qualities that helped him survive for more than a year behind enemy lines.

829 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

830 Boutilier, Kennedy's 'Army', p. 343.

831 Bennett, *The Big Death*, p. 143.

832 Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, Frank Cass, London, 1965 (1922), pp. 560-1.

833 Ibid., p. 561.

834 Robert S. Agnew, 'Strain Theory and Violent Behaviour', in Daniel S. Flannery, Alexander T. Vaszonyi, Irwin D. Waldman (eds), *The Cambridge Book of Violent Behaviour and Aggression*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 519-29.

Kennedy carried this attitude of strict authoritarianism into his marriages. His eldest daughter, Margaret, described the way Kennedy executed a favoured pet dog to make an example for the villagers on Funafuti (as discussed in the introduction to this thesis), but she could provide no examples of physical violence towards either herself, her mother or her siblings. On the other hand, she had never dared to challenge his authority.⁸³⁵ A cordial relationship existed between Kennedy and his first wife, although they were separated from 1933 until their divorce in 1944. In contrast, Kennedy's second marriage to Pops Macfarlane was remembered by his daughter, Ailsa, for its violence. This coincided with his return from active service, where it was recognized that the stress of working behind enemy lines had exacerbated his drinking and had brought him near to mental illness.⁸³⁶ One of his daughters, then aged four years, recalled:

[M]y only living memory of my father at Glen Aros, and it's not a nice one: Mum having her hair pulled out by the plaits and Dallas and Marty⁸³⁷ and Anne trying to whack at Dad with a brush and shovel to get him off her and me just sitting there watching the whole thing. I can still see the fireplace and the couch upside down.⁸³⁸

There was other evidence, recalled by Harry and Honor Maude in 1988.

Honor: But he was very cruel to Pops—I mean we knew that—and he was cruel to the children too.

Harry: And he beat her up terribly.

Honor: She came up to morning tea one day and it was quite obvious that she had been knocked about, but she wouldn't say anything. But she thought that she was going to—he'd been to one of these courses to help you to stop drinking and I think she thought that she was going to reform him.⁸³⁹

Ailsa described how her mother had to hide from public gaze at times to conceal bruises, although 'Pops' remained reticent about her husband's violence, even to her closest friend, who only discovered the truth after her death.⁸⁴⁰ Anne Anderson remembers her mother talking about his violence when drunk: 'according to Mum's [Fiji] diary, he went on a bender pretty often: finished the sherry; finished the beer. He was an alcoholic and beat her up, although I have no memories of that.'⁸⁴¹ Sometimes Pops would fear for her children's safety and '... she must have had another car—because she'd get us out of bed

835 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

836 Boutilier, Kennedy's 'Army', p. 347.

837 Anne Anderson believes Ailsa is mistaken in this as Martin was with his grandparents at the time.

838 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

839 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988

840 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

841 Anne Anderson interview (with Mike Butcher), 5 October 2007.

and put us in the car and we'd go "round to a friend's for a night or two."'"⁸⁴² The children were frightened of him and when Kennedy visited his daughter Alison after fifteen years of separation, she fainted with anxiety.⁸⁴³

After the failure of his second marriage and his ejection from Kioa Island, Kennedy purchased Waya Island off the south coast of Kadavu in the Fiji group, as described on pages 113 and 114. There he intended to set up a small community with some of his supporters from Kioa. He also had his son Don brought down by boat from Vaitupu to Suva, where they met for the first time.⁸⁴⁴ Don agreed to return to Waya with his father and during the two or three years he stayed there he experienced violence at his father's hands, which culminated in the following scene:

He sort of blew up and came at me with his umbrella, the only thing he was holding. He spoke to me and then he hit me, and of course he hit me and I put up my arm there and the umbrella broke right in half and then he turned around the hook of the umbrella there and he bashed me on top again and every time he bashed me my elbows were the first – the ones that sort of took all the blows. And he got his temper on and he stepped up to me and he chucked that thing out and he came at me with a straight left, and that got through my defence and struck me straight on my nose there. And all I knew was that my nose was bleeding then at that time I was – how old was I? – 18 or 19? Anyway all I knew at that time was I was angry and I was going to have a go at him and I stood up there, when he punched me and I fell backwards like that and I came back and everything is forgotten. I came at him, I came at him and he said 'All right! Come on', then, all of a sudden, I decided not to, not because I was afraid of him, but it's just that last thing: if I reach that and sort of had a fight with my father, that means there is no more reconciliation. So he came at me again and that time I just walked out of the door and he said, 'Come back!' I said 'You can stick it up', I didn't say those words, but I just—I said 'I'm leaving.' So I walked out that door, he ducked in and he came out with his 303 rifle, and said 'You take another step and you are dead!' And I just didn't pay any attention and kept on walking. And I was waiting for that shot. Somehow he didn't shoot, he didn't fire one shot, not even one overhead or anything like that to frighten me. And anyway, I just kept on walking and as soon as I passed his house I took off in a run ...⁸⁴⁵

Don left the island and stayed on Kadavu for three months until a boat took him to Suva. He saw his father once more in Suva and had a letter from him at the time of his marriage, but they never saw each other again.⁸⁴⁶

842 Ibid.

843 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

844 See page 114.

845 Don Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 16 October 1988.

846 Ibid.

By far the longest female relationship in Kennedy's life was with Eme Paka. She had gone to Waya Island from Kioa Island in about 1953 with her grandparents, Paka and Samao, who returned to Kioa Island or Vaitupu in about 1956, leaving Eme to be educated by Kennedy and to act as his servant. In 1959, she bore him a son, Archie. Eme describes how Kennedy disciplined her and how she accepted his abuse until eventually she threw boiling water at him and, on another occasion, she told him she would kill him in his sleep if he did not stop.⁸⁴⁷ Perhaps the vulnerability of his situation awoke him to the reality of that possibility. Eme remained with him until his death in 1976. Archie had the disadvantage of his father's undivided attention, but as Kennedy became less mobile through filariasis and strokes, Archie's agility meant he could often avoid summary punishment. He remained emotionally close to his father.⁸⁴⁸

It seems likely that Kennedy's violence, which was so marked in his school teaching days in the Ellice Islands, was both an expression of his personality and his determination to instill 'character' into the boys, as had been taught to him at Waitaki Boys' High School. Above all, Kennedy thought the boys needed to learn a European work ethic that he considered to be generally missing from their culture, and without that work ethic, his mission would be abortive. He employed the best students as his assistants, but continued to maintain a social distance from them. Frank Pasefika, who studied and worked under Kennedy for many years, developed little liking for him.⁸⁴⁹ He was a quiet conscientious man 'like a shy bird',⁸⁵⁰ the very antithesis of Kennedy, and it may have been reticence that dissuaded him from joining Falavi in complaining about Kennedy 'always [being] after the native women and girls.'⁸⁵¹

In discussing the changes that took place in the Colonial Service in the twentieth century, from the 'imperial masculinity' to the anti-hero of Maugham, Barbara Bush has linked womanizing with other working-class characteristics of men who lacked imperial masculine virtues and who 'were simultaneously weak, pathetic, neurotic, insecure, [and] brutal'.⁸⁵² Whilst Kennedy's forebears were proudly working-class, Maugham's characterizations fall short of encapsulating the complexity of a man whose career began

847 Eme Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 30 September 2007.

848 Archie Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 27 September 2006.

849 Pasefika, *Autobiography*, p. 24.

850 Iremonger, *It's a Bigger Life*, p. 65.

851 Vaskess, file note 18 July 1939, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, 1898/1936.

852 Barbara Bush, 'Gender and Empire: The Twentieth Century', in Philippa Levine (ed), *Gender and Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 84.

with imperial masculinity and struggled to adapt to the changing role. Kennedy's womanizing behaviour is looked at more closely in the next chapter to see if it brings us closer to understanding him.



Happier days on Waya Island. Don Kennedy (left), and his grandmother, Samao (second from right) with Savea, his wife Samano and children.

Courtesy: Eme Kennedy

Chapter 8: Sexuality

Awareness of Kennedy's sexual reputation is probably the principal reason for his family's reluctance to delve too deeply into his past, but it needs to be considered because it was an aspect of his behaviour that was much commented upon and was arguably a profound motivation for his career choice. It may also have been the reason Sir Colin Allan suggested to Hugh Laracy that Kennedy's story was best left untold.⁸⁵³ Whilst the record of his sexual activities in the islands is sketchy, sufficient has been recorded to at least show his orientation and proclivities. When Kennedy arrived in Suva for the first time, he was already married and it is not until he was in the seclusion of Vaitupu, with his wife away in New Zealand, that his sexual behaviour was brought to official notice. As Kennedy himself revealed, 'unless you know what a man's sexual life is, you don't know what animates him. He's not animated by the holy ideas or the great traditional things; he's animated more than anything else by his own sexual condition.'⁸⁵⁴ Kennedy's own 'sexual condition' must be placed in the context of the Western Pacific under colonial rule.

The sexual practices of the officers of the Colonial Service were considered to be a personal matter, unless they became notorious and required official intervention. But even without notoriety and intervention, the sexual exploitation of people by Europeans overseas does require our attention.⁸⁵⁵ Professor Kirk-Greene considered three different deterrents to sexual relations with the Islanders worth pursuing in this thesis: duress—the pressure an officer might expose himself to from the family of a concubine;⁸⁵⁶ disease, and; disgrace.⁸⁵⁷ Duress appears not to have been a factor for Kennedy in sexually permissive Polynesia, but more so in the Solomon Islands, and disease is never mentioned. Disgrace, on the other hand, with all its temporal and cultural values, would have been an issue for some of the relatives of Kennedy's 'conquests' and one of the reasons Luke barred him from returning to the Ellice Islands.

853 Laracy interview (with Mike Butcher), 12 December 2006.

854 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

855 For a recent contribution to the debate see Ronald Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

856 Fear of blackmail deterred some officers in the Ceylon Service from establishing 'normal friendships with Ceylonese people.' Leonard Woolf was not deterred. Victoria Glendinning, *Leonard Woolf: a biography*, Berkeley, Counterpoint, 2006, p. 78.

857 Personal communication: Anthony Kirk-Greene to Mike Butcher, 21 May 2008.

Unlike French colonial rulers, who advocated concubinage for their officers in their own interest and the Empire's, the British had officially discouraged the same practice since 1909, when the Colonial Office had been forced to address the issue.⁸⁵⁸ The problems unique to the Indian Civil Service, occasioned by the large standing army, required more formalized solutions and there were various attempts to regulate the sex trade.⁸⁵⁹ The issues in other parts of the Empire were small enough to be ignored at the official level, most of the time. Before 1909, the sex lives of the men were of no concern unless they brought the Colonial Service into disrepute. This, naturally, changed over time as the frontiers became more settled and mores changed. Whilst there was greater sexual opportunity in the colonies, the prevailing morality in Britain set the standards to which the colonial officials were supposed to adhere, at least in public. In the Solomon Islands, the wives of labourers sometimes became concubines for unmarried planters, but no coercion was used and payments were made to the husband.⁸⁶⁰ Other colonial officers and settlers took advantage of the opportunities: one East Solomons planter and trader boasted that 'his score of local virgins was higher than Don Bradman's record number of runs.'⁸⁶¹ It is also reported that a District Officer on San Cristobal had to pay compensation for his adultery, but for the most part such occurrences evaded the official records.⁸⁶² The shortcoming of archival records in the study of sexuality, especially homosexuality, has been noted previously.⁸⁶³

However, the Colonial Office was forced into taking an official position when Hubert Silberrad took up his post in Kenya during May 1903 and acquired two young girls as concubines from a colleague, who left to be promoted to District Commissioner.⁸⁶⁴ Within Masai culture, there was nothing necessarily unusual in the arrangement. What caused a problem was that he took another thirteen year old girl from his police sergeant. The incident became an administrative issue and, fanned by a local antagonist, the matter ultimately reached the House of Commons in Britain.

858 Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1992.

859 Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1980.

860 Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, pp. 182-3.

861 Ibid., p. 183.

862 Ibid.

863 Anjali Arondekar, Without a Trace: Sexuality and the Colonial Archive, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 14, no. 1 (January 2005), pp. 10-27.

864 Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, p. 160.

The upshot of the enquiry into Silberrad's case was a formal notice of disapproval of concubinage in the Service, known as the 'Crewe Circular.'⁸⁶⁵ So prevalent was the practice that the Service could not have kept running if all the offending officers were dismissed, so it was decided to target recruits and warn them off following the example of their predecessors. As more women joined their husbands in the Service, there was a natural decrease in the practice anyway. Uncirculated copies of the circular were found by Philip Snow in the Secretariat safe in Suva in 1939.⁸⁶⁶ No doubt successive governors had seen the folly of issuing it to young men living in isolation on Polynesian islands. Perhaps the most significant result of the policy change was to drive the practice underground.

The French were more pragmatic in their attitudes to sex in West Africa and official policy encouraged temporary liaisons and acceptance of individual and collective responsibility for the children from such unions, with special schools being provided in some places. Silberrad's situation was not uncommon, with '[t]emporary wives ... practically inherited by newly arrived colonists when the previous husband had gone, with procurers offering women to French men as they got off the boat that had brought them to Africa.'⁸⁶⁷

During the House of Commons debate on the Silberrad case, few people in Britain seemed concerned that the girls were so young. This must be put in context: the age for female consent in Britain had only been raised from twelve to thirteen years of age as late 1875, and then to sixteen years in 1885. It was generally accepted that sexual activity began earlier in African cultures, and even in British colonies of white settlement. In 1927 the age of consent for girls in New Zealand (and in Italy) was still twelve years.⁸⁶⁸ Thus, twelve and thirteen-year old girls may have been seen as too young for sexual activity in Britain in 1903, but there was a widespread assumption that this did not apply in colonial territories. During Kennedy's adolescence there were clear differences between Britain and New Zealand about the age at which female sexual activity was considered acceptable if not legal. Hyam's male-centred study on *Empire and Sexuality* has attracted some criticism from feminists, one of whom was irritated by 'his limited exploration of the coercive and exploitative colonial context in which much of the sexuality he describes

865 Ibid., pp. 160-70.

866 June Knox-Mawer, *Tales from Paradise*, London, Ariel, 1986, p. 19; Snow, *Years of Hope*, pp. 93-4.

867 Owen White, *Children of the French Empire: Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa 1895-1960*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999, p. 22. Official condonation resulted in better records of the prevailing practices and a wealth of detail for the author.

868 Hyam, *Empire & Sexuality*, p. 66.

took place.’⁸⁶⁹ His lack of fieldwork to address these shortcomings was also found wanting, although how he would have gone about this is not discussed. The sexual exploitation of people by Europeans overseas does receive Hyams’s recent attention, if not his fieldwork.⁸⁷⁰

In the Pacific, where the number of colonial officers was small, a laissez-faire attitude towards sexuality was widespread. As the BSIP Resident Commissioner commented of the young men in his charge, ‘In the full vigour of their manhood they cannot be expected to lead an entirely celibate life.’⁸⁷¹ On the other hand, if an officer wanted to marry an island woman, his career was effectively ended. Jack Barley, District Officer in the Solomon Islands, wanted to marry the Ontong Java woman who was carrying his child, but his colleagues intervened. They dissuaded her from joining him at KiraKira with an untrue story about Barley’s fiancée being on her way from Sydney, so she returned to Ontong Java.⁸⁷² She reputedly died when her son was two years old, during an epidemic that devastated the population of Ontong Java.⁸⁷³ Having learned from his administrative experience over the Ontong Java woman, Barley was more circumspect about revealing his other liaisons. When Barley was in Fiji he sought solace from two young Fijian women, one of whom was Nakesa Luisa Naite from Namoli village, Lautoka. Both bore him children. Lucy de Bruce, the granddaughter of Nakesa, has written about the part-European offspring of the settlers, plantation owners and administrative officers.⁸⁷⁴ Jack Barley’s children were raised as Fijians in their home villages, and he reputedly kept a watch on his Fijian children from afar, because to admit to having fathered them would have ended his career. His daughter Adi Rosa Barley, became an athlete like her father, but they never met.⁸⁷⁵ What he did for the other children born in the Solomon Islands is

869 Margaret Strobel, ‘Sex and Work in the British Empire’, *Radical History Review*, vol. 54 (1992), p. 179.

870 For a recent contribution to the debate, see: Ronald Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

871 Astley to HC, 10 August 1930, F348/1930, item 14.

872 Manuscript biographical notes in the Lambert papers, University of California, San Diego (copy supplied by David W. Akin). Kennedy told another story of Barley being kidnapped to Fiji to stop the marriage. Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutillier), September 1969.

873 The boy, Jack Charles, was then raised in the family of Henry Kuper on Santa Ana. He was educated at Charles Fox’s school followed by Canterbury Grammar, Christchurch. After serving in the war, he went on the land in New Zealand. Jack Barley kept in touch with his son until his death in 1956. His grandchildren live in Hawkes Bay.

874 Lucy de Bruce, *A View from the Border: Colonial Narratives of Ambiguous Fijians*. PhD Thesis, Sydney, University of Technology, 2004; Lucy de Bruce, ‘Histories of Diversity: Kailoma Testimonies and Part-European Tales from Colonial Fiji (1920-1970)’, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1 (February 2007), pp. 113-28.

875 Lucy de Bruce, *A View from the Border*, p. 64.

not known.⁸⁷⁶ The number of offspring identified by Barley's descendents illustrates how incomplete the official records were.⁸⁷⁷

The sexual preferences of the serving officers mostly avoided official notice, but it is possible to glean some details from the records.⁸⁷⁸ Most were careful to avoid the subject in their biographies, but occasional references exist. For instance, Philip Snow managed to slip into his memoirs that Henry Vaskess (Secretary to the WPHC for a record period) lived with a part-European woman.⁸⁷⁹ Kennedy made allegations against a number of his colleagues in his 1969 interview, which suggested that concubinage was a frequent if not common practice.⁸⁸⁰ Officers' wives were fair game and many marriages failed in the islands. When Doris Podmore complained to the High Commissioner about the inappropriate advances that had been made by Acting Resident Commissioner Major Swinbourne, she was warned not to make the complaint official.⁸⁸¹ When she did make it official, the case was not proven and her husband's contract as an engineer on the *Nimanoa* was not renewed.

Popular literature and anthropology have created an image of Polynesia as a sexual paradise of willing women.⁸⁸² Even Margaret Mead's studies in Samoa, subsequently tarnished, gave credence to the picture.⁸⁸³ Kennedy's own ethnology endorsed her views: 'The description given by Margaret Mead of the life of children in the islands of Eastern Samoa, insofar as it regards their mental development, might have been written about Vaitupu.'⁸⁸⁴ He went on to say that sexual experimentation begins early in adolescence, with members of the opposite sex 'of the generation above'.⁸⁸⁵ That 'temporary liaisons

876 Hugh Laracy provided some details of these children.

877 John Barley phone interview (with Mike Butcher), 17 January 2008.

878 Hugh Laracy claimed that Hector McQuarrie was homosexual; Kennedy that Forster was as well, and Doug Munro was aware of Hogbin's gay reputation in Sydney (alluded to in Geoffrey Gray, *A Cautious Silence: The politics of Australian anthropology*, Canberra, Aboriginal studies Press, 2007, p. 223).

879 Snow, *Days of Hope*, p. 235.

880 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

881 Doris Podmore to Sir Murchison Fletcher, 10 October 1933, WPHC 3436/1933, item 3.

882 A selection of these descriptions by Melville, Stevenson and Gauguin can be found in: Gavan Daws, *A Dream of Islands: Voyages of Self-discovery in the South Seas*, New York, Norton and Company, 1980.

883 Derek Freeman, *The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead: A Historical Analysis of Her Samoan Research*, Colorado, Westview Press, 1999, p. 177.

884 Donald Gilbert Kennedy, *Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu: Polynesian Society Memoirs*. vol. 9, New Plymouth, Thomas Avery and Sons, 1931, p. 298.

885 Ibid.

between boys and girls from puberty onwards are the rule'⁸⁸⁶ begs the question of what happened to the resulting unwanted pregnancies. Kennedy mentions birth control measures in his book on Vaitupu: abortions could be brought about by pressure massage or by lying with a heavy stone resting on the abdomen.⁸⁸⁷ He also mentions that such information was difficult to come by, as it was an offence punishable by up to five years imprisonment under the colonial regime. In pre-Christian days, all children born after the second child, were drowned at birth to keep the population at a sustainable level.⁸⁸⁸ On Ontong Java, sex with girls before marriage did take place, but was objected to by their parents. Any resulting pregnancy would be aborted and infanticide was rare.⁸⁸⁹

Whether Kennedy was drawn to Polynesia by the possibility of sexual experiences is not known. He was married when he arrived with his wife Nell, but the Polynesian Ellice Islands captured his heart:

I didn't want to leave the Ellice Islands. It was Polynesia. It was nothing like Fiji. It was ... Oh! ... it was a nice existence. I began to lose my ambition for anything while I was in the Ellice because I had a full life. I was tied up with poetry and the story of the islands ... I had support on every island.⁸⁹⁰

It is hard to reconcile this claim with the efforts he made at the time to leave Vaitupu because of filariasis infection and loneliness, but he did choose to return to Funafuti when he could have continued in the Gilbert Islands. Kennedy and the family returned to New Zealand from Vaitupu in 1925 for the birth of their next child, Joan.⁸⁹¹ They returned to the islands in July 1925 and Nell and the two children left Vaitupu again in August 1927, taking the *Aorangi* from Suva, and did not return to the islands until September 1931.⁸⁹²

Mum had only the midwife up there [Vaitupu] and she felt that for the sake of the children it would be safer. I was born up there [Ocean Island], then when Joan was coming we came down to Oamaru. She had Dr Fitzgerald, I think, anyway, they stayed long enough for Joan to be right, then we went back up to the islands. About three

886 Ibid., p. 304.

887 Kennedy, *Culture of Vaitupu*, p. 264.

888 Ibid.

889 H. Ian Hogbin, 'The Sexual Life of the Natives of Ontong Java (Solomon Islands)', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 40, no. 157 (1931), pp. 24 & 34.

890 Kennedy interview (with J.A. Boutilier), September 1969.

891 Joan Kennedy, born 21 February 1925 and Christopher Kennedy, born 29 March 1928, both in Oamaru.

892 Vaskess to Mrs Kennedy, 9 August 1927, WPHC F2152/1927, item 4a; Kennedy to Acting RC, 18 November 1932. WPHC F1964/1932, item 3a.

years later, I suppose, ... [we] came down again from the islands and we couldn't even speak English.⁸⁹³

A paternity allegation was made against Kennedy in 1927 by the local magistrate, Laupula. This is presented here in some detail because the trail of responses it generated reveals the attitudes to Kennedy and the Ellice Islanders; and the prevailing administrative priorities.⁸⁹⁴ It was alleged that Kennedy fathered the child of Muniara, who had been in his employ before he sent her back to her village on the grounds of promiscuity with the senior boys. This was an administrative matter, because of a possible charge to the Service for maintenance and because the reputation of the Service may have been jeopardized. In the event, the child was stillborn, so the administrative concern largely evaporated. However, it was reported that Kennedy had admitted to the local DO, S.F. Anderson, that he had fathered the child.⁸⁹⁵ Kennedy later denied the child was his and provided a written statement from Muniara in which she denied his paternity and claimed she had been pressured into making the claim by the local magistrate. When pressed for clarification, Anderson added to the suspicions by saying that, rather than admitting paternity, Kennedy 'had not given me an official statement.'⁸⁹⁶ This was scarcely a retraction, but meanwhile the Native Magistrate had been dismissed for other reasons and Anderson had confirmed Muniara's statement.

There the matter may have remained, had it not been for the visit of Captain Holland, Kennedy's superior in the Education Department, which was prompted by a confidential letter from Anderson. Holland immediately pushed the matter up the line to Grimble, the Resident Commissioner on Ocean Island, who was apparently only too ready to accept the allegation and its possible effects on the school. He looked at this as Kennedy's 'latest escapade', which again demonstrated Kennedy's lack of judgment. Fortunately for Kennedy, Grimble considered that 'the Ellice Islanders are, sexually speaking, thoroughly loose and so not likely to suffer great harm, or think less of the Administration, as a consequence of [alleged] Kennedy's behaviour.'⁸⁹⁷ He added this new incident to a list of Kennedy's infractions and, still keeping the matter confidential and unofficial, sent a letter to the High Commissioner, Sir Eyre Hutson, suggesting that Kennedy be moved to

893 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

894 S.F. Anderson to Holland, 15 October 1927, WPHC F3794/1928, item 1a.

895 Stanley Farmer Anderson (1883-1939).

896 Telegram: S.F. Anderson to Kennedy 25 May 1928, WPHC F3794/1928, item 11d.

897 Grimble to Holland, 8 November 1927, WPHC F3794/1928, item 1c.

another colony or allowed to go on leave and resign.⁸⁹⁸ Taking unofficial action gave the administration the opportunity to discuss possible courses of action in an age when other informal means of communication, such as telephone or face to face chats, were unavailable. They needed to balance the advantages and disadvantages of keeping Kennedy in the Service.

Grimble felt himself to be in somewhat of a dilemma: on the one hand he acknowledged ‘Kennedy is not an ordinary man. He is clever (even exceedingly clever); he is an excellent teacher; he has qualities of heart and head that lift him well above the average officer and seem to mark him out for success—yet he has a poor record.’ He went on add, ‘He has striking intellectual gifts, which might, under fitting supervision, be used to the profit of the Empire.’ The down-side was Kennedy’s unwillingness to toe the line with administrative procedures which would ‘involve both himself and the Administration in continual bickerings, interspersed with occasional troubles of a more serious nature.’ In this he was quite correct. Some of the unsanctioned initiatives taken by Kennedy have been mentioned above (pages 33 and 180) and it is clear that, to an administrator, Kennedy was always going to be a challenge. Grimble also pointed out that Holland had ‘a strong distaste for liaisons between persons of white and brown race.’⁸⁹⁹ Holland would therefore have been critical of Kennedy’s liaisons and may have believed this outweighed Kennedy’s strengths. In these circumstances, Holland’s assessment of Kennedy is curious:

It is true Kennedy lacks certain virtues: say, devotion to service and common sense; he is young and might acquire some balance with advancing years. He has certain virtues, [such] as loyalty to superiors and willing obedience. In school, he is failing in an absence of much interest in character training, but otherwise he is a good disciplinarian and teaches with increasing success. His great inherent weakness, which unfortunately influences his official work, is a casual attitude towards handling life.⁹⁰⁰

It is hard to reconcile this description with Grimble’s, from the same time. By November 1928 Grimble had conceded defeat and recommended that Kennedy’s evidence be accepted and his position confirmed. However, in doing so, he stated that he had documentary evidence (unspecified) to show that Holland had not been hasty in his judgment, suggesting, but not specifying, that there was fire as well as smoke.⁹⁰¹ By August the matter had reached the Colonial Secretary in London, who saw straight away

898 Grimble to Sir Eyre Hutson, 10 January 1928, WPHC F3794/1928, item 1.

899 Ibid.

900 Holland to Grimble, 28 November 1927, WPHC F3794/1928, item 1d.

901 Grimble to the HC, 5 November 1928, WPHC F3794/1928, item 29.

that Anderson's statement that 'Mr Kennedy does not deny the allegations against him' was misleading, since Kennedy had refuted the allegations, and blame for the escalation of the incident was focused on Anderson.⁹⁰² By the following February the dust had finally settled and Kennedy was confirmed in his position with the Colony's Education Department, backdated to 26 April 1928 and the position was made pensionable.⁹⁰³ Kennedy had met with the High Commissioner in Suva when on his way to New Zealand on leave and had impressed him as 'a keen and intelligent officer who took considerable interest in his work.'⁹⁰⁴ Such first hand impressions were important in assisting the High Commissioner to make decisions about the Service staff.

This incident demonstrates how irrefutable evidence was needed for official action to be taken. The unofficial correspondence kept others informed and elicited 'off the record' opinion. There was also the practical matter of finding a replacement for Kennedy if he were dismissed, and the apparent awareness that no harm had been done to the reputation of the Service, so eventually it was hosed down. Nevertheless, the records leave a suspicion that Kennedy was already a *bête noire* to his colleagues and superiors.

In Barrie Macdonald's history of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, he refers to the 'bevy of "house-girls" who ministered to [Kennedy's] needs'.⁹⁰⁵ His informant was probably Maude, who visited Kennedy on Vaitupu in 1931 and talked to Macdonald a great deal about Kennedy when he was his post-doctoral student at the ANU. Kennedy 'had seven girls with him: and very nice girls they were too.'⁹⁰⁶ Maude went on to describe how Kennedy's 'bevy' were trained as 'honey-pots' to catch the unwary. They were:

[t]rained to crawl into your mosquito net about midnight or one in the morning. And then they'd lie along beside you and when you got going, Kennedy or somebody would come along and say 'Huh! My goodness! I never thought that! How dreadful! How did you get hold of that girl?' It was standard practice. I remember the Director of Public Works getting caught like that. He'd come down—once you'd been caught like that—excuse me talking about it like this, but your [Don Kennedy's] father would have him in his hand, absolutely.

Maude made good his escape when this happened to him and avoided possible repercussions, but he did not condemn those who succumbed in those lonely islands.⁹⁰⁷

902 J.S. Amery to Sir Eyre Hutson, 19 October 1928, WPHC C9/28.

903 Sir Eyre Hutson to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26 February 1929, WPHC C19/28.

904 Ibid.

905 Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire*, p 135.

906 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

907 Ibid., 23 September 1988.

The incident recounted in chapter one, in which Paddy the dog was executed for biting Wong the cook, may suggest that by 1932, when Kennedy had been posted to Funafuti as the Acting District Officer, he was having sexual relations with the local women. A later member of the ‘bevy’ is believed to have been Mainalupe, a young woman with whom Kennedy did have a child. The birth did not give rise to any official correspondence, although, seemingly off the record, Maude kept an eye on part-European children in the Colony and \$1,500 was the sum paid in compensation to mothers of children born of Allied servicemen based in the GEIC during World War II.⁹⁰⁸ Kennedy’s child was to be left as a responsibility of the Vaitupu community because he was well accepted and no claim had been made. This child would have been Don Kennedy, born on 13 December 1937 (and incorrectly identified as Malcolm Kennedy by Maude, who had no first hand knowledge of him).⁹⁰⁹

Don Kennedy was raised as an Ellice Islander by his aunt, in full knowledge of the identity of his father. A photograph of his father and mother with Don as a small baby in his mother’s arms suggests that he was a welcome child for both of his parents.⁹¹⁰ Mainalupe went on to have two husbands and thirteen children, including Emeline Lifa Paka, who later became Kennedy’s third wife.⁹¹¹ As we have seen, Kennedy left Funafuti in 1938 and was not allowed to return to the Colony until after the War (see Chapter 2). Possibly the only time he met Mainalupe again was during a short visit of the *Triona* to drop off Ellice Islanders when he was taking the Banabans to Rabi in December 1945.⁹¹² He may have wanted to see his son, but Don had been hidden at the other end of the island in case Kennedy took him away.⁹¹³ Almost another decade passed before he saw his son.

The deputation of Ellice Islanders that met with the High Commissioner, Sir Harry Luke, when he visited Funafuti in 1939 complained about Kennedy being ‘always after the native women and girls.’⁹¹⁴ When questioned, it was admitted that Kennedy never

908 Maude to Raymond Firth, 23 May 1964: Maude Papers, Series J. A ‘tacit arrangement’ for compensation was in existence in the Ellice Islands in 1927. Holland to Grimble, 21 October 1927, WPHC F3794/1928, item 1b.

909 Don was present at the interview with Harry Maude on 24 September 1988.

910 See page 145. Photo in the possession of Eme Kennedy, Dargaville.

911 Eme Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 30 September 2007.

912 Williams and Macdonald, *The Phosphateers*, p. 367.

913 Don Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 16 October 1988.

914 See pages 45-6. D.G. Kennedy—Conduct of, deputation, Funafuti, 18 July 1939, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, 1898/1936.

forced any of them and that 'some girls were content to go with Mr Kennedy.' As no other sexual transgressions were reported, it seems likely that Kennedy had no concubine at that time and was indulging in casual sex with a number of young women.

Kennedy's best recorded concubine was a young woman from Rennell Island, Magiko Sogo, who stayed with him on New Georgia. Kennedy's service in the Solomon Islands has been described in Chapter 3. While there he fathered two children with Magiko, the first of whom died at birth on New Georgia and the second, Catalina, born on Rennell Island, who died from malaria at two years of age.⁹¹⁵ According to Solomon Islands historian, John Innes, there was affection between Kennedy and Magiko and relatives say Kennedy sent her money regularly after the War.⁹¹⁶ Their relationship began controversially. Kennedy created a supply dump on Rennell Island to be used if the more strategic islands became untenable through Japanese occupation. In early 1942, he ran foul of the local SDA Minister, Moa, on Rennell Island, but the issues could not be taken up until peace had returned to the islands. Then, Reuben Hare, Vice President of the Australasian Union Conference of SDA, wrote a scathing letter of complaint about Kennedy, which included allegations about Magiko's abduction.

Major Kennedy took a girl called MAGIKO from Moa's village to be his mistress. This girl was with him in the Marovo Lagoon, and numbers have witnessed to the fact that she was taken against her will. This girl, Magiko, is now back on Rennell at White Sands [Kangava], with a half-caste child, of whom she claims Kennedy is the father.⁹¹⁷

A similar report had earlier come from Lieutenant John Burke, USNR, following a visit he made to Rennell Island in 1945.⁹¹⁸ He went on to say that the Rennellese 'tell us their way of life has been much enriched during the war years.' This was too much for Kennedy's fellow-coastwatcher, Alexander Waddell (later Sir Alexander), who retorted:

It would appear that he [Lt Burke] takes especial delight in attacking Major Kennedy. Natives do not volunteer such information and I do not doubt that one can frame questions in such a way as to get the required answers. Moreover, U.S. personnel are in no position to start mud slinging with regard to activities on Rennell. ... There have in fact been depredations by Allied servicemen on Rennell. If ... Lt. Burke [believes this to be] 'enriching the native way of life' he must use standards quite incompatible with his self appointed role as Santa Claus to the Missions.⁹¹⁹

915 Magiko was interviewed by Jim Boutilier on the sands at Kangava, Rennell Island. Boutilier also interviewed Bill Bennett on 24 April 1977, when he stated that Magiko had two children by Kennedy, one of whom died at birth. This may suggest she was already pregnant when she left Rennell Island.

916 Personal communication: John Innes, Honiara historian, to Mike Butcher, 7 September 2008.

917 Reuben Hare to HC WPHC, 22 January 1946: WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, 226.

918 John Burke to Colonel Noel, 20 August 1945: WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3, 224a.

919 Ibid.

Rennell Island was never in the war zone, apart from a US Marines' lookout station that was there from November 1942 until January 1943.⁹²⁰ Australian Petty Officer Andresen, who accompanied the Marines as interpreter and for liaison, had trouble keeping the peace: 'women, of course, being the main trouble. ... believe me, they met the Marines half way, but that did not always meet the approval of their boy friends.'⁹²¹ Rennell Island was used for Rest and Recreation by American servicemen flown into Lake Tengano by amphibious aircraft. The depredations referred to by Waddell were the sexual services provided by the local women to the servicemen.⁹²² Eventually they became notorious and the island was put off limits. We may therefore conclude, as did Waddell, that Lt Burke was not a disinterested informant. The SDA church also had grievances from before the war, when the Colonial Service attempted to keep them off Rennell Island. Jack Barley, as First District Officer, had visited there in 1933 to report on the desirability of opening the island to the SDA church.⁹²³ Barley, supported by others, opposed the move and possibly caused resentment in doing so. Kennedy's violence to Pastor Kato Ragoso on New Georgia was the other outstanding matter for which the SDA Church sought Kennedy's scalp.

A great deal of trouble can be created for officers falsely accused of criminal offences. An example of a fallacious claim against an innocent man was provided by Ratu Finau in Fiji. He had taken a dislike to the newly arrived Headmaster, David Hoodless, and sought to have him removed by making scurrilous and fictitious claims, which were investigated and found baseless.⁹²⁴ Had he not led a blameless life, Hoodless's career could have been damaged at an early date.

The paternity of Kennedy's child, Catalina, was never challenged, but the forced removal of Magiko from Rennell Island was. According to Kennedy, he was on the island to recruit a new crew for his boat.⁹²⁵ He had returned the previous crew to Lord Howe

920 Jersey, *Hell's Island*, p. 337; Report by Lieutenant Commander H.A. Mackenzie, RAN, (Deputy Supervising Intelligence Officer, North Eastern Area), on Coast-Watching in the South Pacific Area Covering the Period 1st June 1942 to 21st April 1943, p. 34. NAA, B3476/46.

921 Petty Officer A.M. Andresen, Report, p. 4 (attached to Report by Petty Officer A.M. Andresen of Services with RAN CW Organisation from 8/10/42 to 1/10/43), NAA, B3476/38.

922 Waddell may not have known that the Marines also stole Kennedy's emergency stores left concealed in 1942.

923 Barley to HC, 22 February 1933, WPHC F632/1933, item 1.

924 Guthrie, *Misi Utu*, p. 7.

925 Kennedy to Secretary WPHC, 22 October 1945, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 3.

Island⁹²⁶ and, having found Melanesians would not sail north of Ysabel, believed he would be more successful at the other Polynesian outlier, Rennell Island, south-west of Guadalcanal, which he had visited in 1940.⁹²⁷ He had been sent there to collect the census and was delighted to find they could understand his Ellice dialect.⁹²⁸ The Rennellese women had the reputation of willing sexual participation and they showed ‘an intense but friendly scrutiny of all and sundry—particularly the ladies, who were fascinated by Kennedy’s size and wished to test his capacities in other directions.’⁹²⁹ He recruited six men and Magiko asked to leave the island with them, for which she had her father’s permission. With Kennedy on the boat was Geoffrey Kuper NMP and his new wife, Linda, and Kennedy contended that he agreed to take Magiko along as a companion for Linda.⁹³⁰ The story loses some credibility given that Geoffrey and Linda Kuper stayed as coastwatchers on Ysabel and Kennedy moved to New Georgia, taking Magiko with him. There was no evidence of coercion, only extreme jealousy on Kennedy’s part, as Magiko was the only woman amongst many men.⁹³¹ In May 1943, Kennedy sent the five surviving Rennell Islanders and the heavily pregnant Magiko home by Catalina seaplane.⁹³²

A curious twist to this tale was recorded by the Reverend Clarence Luxton, a missionary and Methodist historian. He described the post-war festivities celebrating the forty-third anniversary of the arrival in the Western Solomons of the Methodist missionary J.F. Goldie. Included in the three day celebrations was a lengthy dance/play which enacted various incidents connected with Kennedy’s stay at Seghe. In what was still a culture of oral traditions, important events were portrayed and remembered by incorporating them into plays and dance. As well as depicting his brutality to his men, for humour they included Magiko’s exploits:

A lengthy play depicted the various incidents connected with Capt Kennedy’s residence on the neighboring plantation, his methods of maintaining law and order, his

926 Also known as Ontong Java or Luangiua. The population is Polynesian, like that of Rennell Island.

927 Horton, *The Happy Isles*, pp. 182.

928 Jack Barley had also discovered that his Ontong Java dialect was close enough to make himself understood. J.C. Barley, Rennell and Bellona Islands, BSIP: Report by Acting RC on visit of inspection to, WPHC MP 1920/1933 (BSIP).

929 Horton, *The Happy Isles*, p. 182.

930 Kennedy to Secretary WPHC, 22 October 1945, Reply to Lt. Burke’s allegations regarding a Rennell girl from the Lake District, WPHC 32/1, PCF 51, vol. 3.

931 Boutilier, Kennedy’s ‘Army’, p. 342.

932 Ibid., p. 350; In Walter Lord’s account the baby had already been born and was in Magiko’s lap when the Catalina took off. Lord, *Lonely Vigil*, p. 220.

preparation for scouting activities against the Japs. He was revealed as a bully, who threatened all natives and cruelly treated them. Striking with fist or rifle butt, threatening with pistol having them laid across a petrol drum and thrashed—when one fainted, his fear of having gone too far was very apparent; all the time he was busy his native woman, a Rennell Islander, was making free with his orderly, cook and radio operator—humour lightened the play, but it was a terrible revelation of what had occurred—the natives said that everything in the play was based on fact, and that only part of the story of brutality was told.⁹³³

It seems that Kennedy was not so paranoid in his suspicions of Magiko or above being parodied by the Islanders. The depiction of Kennedy would have had the effect of nullifying his violence and the humour revealed him as human and fallible. The Reverend Luxton had arrived back in the Solomons just a month before this performance and probably had a missionary's abhorrence of violence. Having been absent during the war, he may also have lacked an appreciation of the context in which it took place. This is not to say he was wrong, just that the events were recorded through the filter of his experiences. He did not include these significant celebrations in his history of the Methodist Church in the Solomon Islands.⁹³⁴

In exploring what impact Kennedy's womanizing had on his subordinates, and the consequences, we again need to refer to George Bogese, who claimed to have had differences with Kennedy over his affair with a young girl early in 1942.⁹³⁵ The young girl could have been Magiko in April 1942, just weeks before Bogese had been captured by the Japanese and had betrayed Kennedy's position on Ysabel (see pages 60 and 61). Belshazzar Gina was reportedly shamed when a relative was procured for Kennedy. We do not know how many women were actually involved, but a graphic image of Kennedy is provided in the recollection of Cyril Belshaw, DO Tulagi, when Kennedy visited him in 1943 or 1944. It was probably on the occasion of his visit to Gela to investigate anti-government disturbances.

He invited me aboard for a drink and I found there was an island woman wrapped in blankets on the hatch. Kennedy smirked at my embarrassment and said something like 'You know you have to court them like any other woman.' I was more embarrassed by the sheer lack of any redeeming features I could see in the woman who was quite ugly than at the fact he had a woman on board, for Kennedy had a reputation for sleeping with the locals.⁹³⁶

933 George G. Carter, *Yours in His Service*, p. 69; Rev. C.T.J. Luxton: diaries, correspondence and related papers 1945-47, pp. 20-1, 24 May 1945, PMB 1099, PMB, ANU.

934 Rev. C.T.J. Luxton, *Isles of Solomon: A Tale of Missionary Adventure*, Auckland, Methodist Foreign Missionary Society of New Zealand, 1995.

935 Bennett, *Big Death*, p. 138.

936 Personal communication: Dr Cyril Belshaw to Mike Butcher, 17 January 2010.

The incident leaves an image of sexual exploitation of women by a man immune to the opinion of others, but also one who did not see island women as less deserving of attention in a liaison than any other. Professor Belshaw believed the woman was embarrassed at having her presence discovered.⁹³⁷

Turning to the problems within his marriages, Pops Kennedy brought three children into her marriage with Kennedy. The eldest step-daughter, Anne, was his constant companion in Fiji and travelled with him to Rabi in 1945. Anne's memories are dark: she remembers the night her father attacked her mother when drunk and she fought him off. She was also sexually abused by Kennedy. When Pops discovered this, she protected Anne until she could be sent to boarding school shortly afterwards to ensure it did not happen again.⁹³⁸ Boarding school for Anne was a welcome escape from the abuse.

I was sent to boarding school and he managed to keep it quiet for a long time, as he said Mum would give me a hiding if she found out, if I told her. So there was a real streak of cruelty there. Weird! Sometimes I've thought about it—it's that sort of accepting it as your God-given right to abuse and attack, I guess. I've thought about what you said, perhaps the Civil Service making him what he was, but I think, and my view of course is biased, that there must have been those elements of cruelty and desire to hurt, or whatever, and arrogance [inaudible] and maybe were exacerbated by the War and the frustrations of the Civil Service, but they must have been inherent in him anyway for him to do what he did and to keep doing it.⁹³⁹

Little is known of the intimate details of his marriages. His third wife, Eme, bore him a son, Archie Bairn, in 1959, when she was seventeen and Kennedy was sixty-one years old. Whilst such age differences were unusual, they were not rare. Living in isolation presented few alternative sexual opportunities for Kennedy, although Stan Brown, former Commodore of the Fijian Navy, recounted that when he called there with a group of visitors, 'we had to get up in the middle of the night and steer him away from the women passengers.'⁹⁴⁰ This occurred shortly before Kennedy sold his island and moved back to New Zealand.

Although Kennedy's womanizing was notorious, the reasons for it may not be straightforward. He may have had a particularly strong sex drive or a need to dominate. Whilst having what was generally recognized as a dominant personality, his relationships

937 Ibid., 26 January 2010.

938 Personal communication: Anne Anderson (by phone with Mike Butcher), 14 September 2010. The allegations were never taken to court, but the emotion that accompanied this revelation during the face to face interview on 5 October 2007 left no doubt about its truth.

939 Ibid.

940 Stan Brown interview (with Doug Munro), 1 August 1997.

with his wives, or at least the second and third wives, were less dominant. Pops Kennedy had wanted to end the marriage for years, but was deterred by his threats of suicide, and she was miffed to find the threat was hollow when she did finally end it. A particular confidence Pops shared with her daughters concerned the size of her former husband's penis: 'For a very huge man, and for a very tall, big, man, he was very "not-endowed" in the sexual department.'⁹⁴¹ She said that probably a lot of the rage and frustration was due to that.⁹⁴² This is an unusual confidence and possibly arose during a discussion about what motivated Kennedy's behaviour. It may also account for his preference for young girls able to bolster his confidence or over whom he could assert his dominance. His youngest son testified that Kennedy remained sexually active into his seventies, as evidenced by the nocturnal pleadings he overheard.⁹⁴³ Pops tried to rationalize his interest in young girls in the following way:

[Pops] said to me, (it was probably her way of making it easier), she said that when he was very young, he was over there in the islands, the chiefs gave him their nubile daughters and he thought he could get away with that sort of nonsense when he came back into the real world. He thought it was just part of life.⁹⁴⁴

It is tempting to link Kennedy's liking for young and therefore inexperienced girls to the reputed diminutive size of his penis and to further link his activity/promiscuity to the frustration remarked upon by Pops. Drawing a longer bow, we might conclude that his drinking was related to feelings of sexual inadequacy. Whether these are causal links is entirely speculative except for the fact that the information comes from a woman who knew him well. However, his pattern of drinking suggests a more complex causation and the final chapter considers the role of alcohol as one of the factors that ultimately determined the outcome of his career.

941 For data on penis size from the Kinsey report, see: Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire*, p. 406.

942 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007; Personal communication: Anne Anderson (by phone with Mike Butcher), 14 September 2010.

943 Archie Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 26 September 2006. There is no privacy on Pacific islands.

944 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007.

Chapter 9: Alcoholism

There can be little doubt that Kennedy's drinking cost him the promotions and place of honour he expected after the War, when men with his experience were needed to lead the post-War expansion of the Service. It was his most public failing. The use and abuse of alcohol was endemic in the tropics and was the cause of much trouble in the early days of exploration, trading, missions⁹⁴⁵ and colonial administration.⁹⁴⁶ The problems were not confined to the Europeans, as one of the first of the *Native Laws of the Ellice Islands* (1894) concerned drunkenness and the prohibition against drinking sour toddy.⁹⁴⁷ For some, the popular image of the District Officer was 'a whisky-swilling red-necked man who walked about in riding breeches, with a hunting crop in his hand, beating hell out of Africans.'⁹⁴⁸ Whilst this image was not true in that instance it must have had some basis in popular mythology. Certainly, the depredations of alcohol in the Pacific furnished writers with ample material with which to illustrate its harmful effects amongst traders, beachcombers and the odd missionary.⁹⁴⁹ From writers within and about the colonial administration, the portrait of a colonial officer was more likely to be of a heroic figure, 'bold and alone in lonely places, and having to keep his wits about him 24 hours a day.'⁹⁵⁰ In relation to Kennedy, both the Colonial Service and the medical profession had trouble pigeon-holing his drinking, especially as those sitting in judgment were probably all on the alcohol consumption continuum themselves.⁹⁵¹ Nonetheless, Kennedy did have a problem with alcohol and this chapter will review the evidence relating to Kennedy's alcohol-affected behaviour and place it in the context of the Colonial Service at the time.⁹⁵²

945 Niel Gunson, 'On the Incidence of Alcoholism and Intemperance in Early Pacific Missions', *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 1 (1966), pp. 43-62.

946 Former DO Ian Brinkworth (nom de plume Brook) identified all DOs as having two things in common: 'a devotion to the people they served and a capacity for alcohol well beyond the ordinary.' Brook, *The One-Eyed God is King*, p. 85.

947 *Native Laws of the Ellice Islands* (British Protectorate), 1894. Law No. IX.

948 Brook, p. 175; quoted in Kirk-Greene, *Symbol of Authority*, p. 247. Kirk-Greene largely ignored the problem of alcoholism in the Colonial Service.

949 For instance, Becke, Melville, O'Brien, Stevenson, Maugham and Waugh.

950 A. Kirk-Greene, 'The Colonial Service in the Novel', in Smith (ed), *Administering Empire*, pp. 19-45.

951 Jack Barley, RC and Kennedy's superior for several years, was dismissed for, amongst other failings, his excessive drinking and failure to control Kennedy's drinking behaviour.

952 The literature on the use and abuse of alcohol is vast. A useful introduction to the history of the temperance movement that developed as a response is: Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*, London, Faber and Faber, 1971.

Maude was loathe to condemn his colleagues, including Kennedy, who did drink to excess, because of the nature of the work they undertook in the isolation of the islands. Our recorded history of Kennedy's drinking begins with Maude's recollection of his first visit to Vaitupu in 1931, when conducting a census of the Ellice group. Kennedy was very hospitable, but he also demonstrated his binge-drinking behaviour, which already seemed well-established:

The trouble was that the schooner ... brought along a full case of whisky on board, so Kennedy sits down ... and starts to polish off the first bottle, then the second bottle and after that he is just lying there. I was getting terribly edgy about this. ... I couldn't get him to the wireless set to get going on this message which I had in code ready for him for Fiji. After two days I said to one of the girls, 'What do you do to Mr Kennedy when he gets like this?' One of the girls said, 'We mostly tickles [sic] him under the arm with a feather.' So I said, 'For God's sake get tickling him ... so we can get going on this wireless set,' which eventually they did and eventually we got him around to the set.⁹⁵³

For the 'girls' it was clearly no unique experience. By then, Kennedy had been on Vaitupu for seven years, including time spent on tour or leave. The inappropriate use of alcohol only arises as an issue once in those early years, when he offered alcohol to four 'natives' on Vaitupu and was reported by a missionary.⁹⁵⁴ He was reprimanded and no further breaches were recorded. Kennedy's binges, paradoxically, stemmed from an effort to impose a measure of control on his drinking. In 1928 he had become concerned about his alcohol intake, and as Maude relates he sought medical advice:

[Kennedy] told me that he had been to see the doctor about this question of drink, because it worried him. And the doctor said 'The people who get into real trouble in the islands are the ones that go on drinking day after day after day, and too many of them: but if you feel that you've got to have a drink, well then get a certain amount of that drink and have it all at once, have a binge. And when that is over, settle yourself and be sober. And Kennedy has stuck to that, partly because he blooming well had to, because there weren't ships coming every five or six days to Vaitupu, but partly because he said he believed the doctor. I think the doctor was quite right: much better to go on the occasional binge than be a solid toper, which can't—and certainly Kennedy was many times sober for many months on end after he had finished all the whisky that had arrived on the last schooner.'⁹⁵⁵

It would appear that Kennedy rationalised this advice as tacit approval of his drinking and continued to do so. It was clearly helpful to Kennedy's compliance with the doctor's advice that his supplies of whisky were limited by the infrequent visits of trading vessels, otherwise he may well have lapsed into a heavy continuous intake. Kennedy may have

953 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

954 Kennedy to Grimble, 7 May 1928, WPHC F3794/1928, item 11e.

955 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

resorted to drinking sour toddy between visits, as his daughter remembers its adverse effect on him.⁹⁵⁶

A captain who had a trading boat in the islands died on his boat, I don't know whether it was Vaitupu or Funafuti, but he had been known for making [sour] toddy. There was a still he had on this boat, coconut toddy, and Dad couldn't wait to rush round there and get this still, but this toddy had a most unfortunate effect upon him. He became a different person.⁹⁵⁷

It is possible that Kennedy seized the still in his capacity as Administrator because the drinking of sour toddy was forbidden, but it is also possible he was motivated purely by the desire for alcohol.

The question remains: why did Kennedy feel the need to drink alcohol to excess? Maude saw a lot of drinking in the service and attributed it especially to the isolation of service on remote islands and the frustration of working in the Colonial Service. He also appeared to believe that being highly intelligent exposed Kennedy to additional stresses beyond those of the ordinary man. This explanation was given by Maude to Don Kennedy in 1988:

But the reason why Kennedy took to drink was simply because of this isolation, that he had to put up with conditions of isolation with which no other European has had to put up in the government service. And it didn't worry everybody. The kind of person it affects most is the kind of person I would describe as brilliant, and your father was an extremely brilliant person. He had the brains and the capability far ahead of any of us in the Colony to my mind he was the cleverest person in the service, by far. Cleverer than any of the Resident Commissioners, though Grimble would have been the nearest, I guess. And the person highly strung and very brilliant and at the same time isolated, but feeling, as isolated people do, in the Gilbert and Ellice, and in other parts,—Cook Islands—I've seen exactly the same, feeling that everybody's hand is against them.⁹⁵⁸

What is not clear is whether the isolation caused the problem, or those with the problem sought the seclusion in which their behaviour might pass unnoticed. DO Santa Cruz, Nesbit Heffernan⁹⁵⁹ had several prolonged periods of sick leave before he was 'allowed to retire on the grounds of ill-health', when in fact he was 'taken out in 1926, a raving lunatic and alcoholic'.⁹⁶⁰ Clement Bryer,⁹⁶¹ who joined the service in 1928 as a school

956 Sour toddy was made by fermenting toddy, obtained from the top of coconut palms. What was produced from its distillation is not known, but perhaps that was what caused the 'unfortunate effect' on Kennedy.

957 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

958 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

959 Nesbit Seeley Heffernan (1883 -)

960 Judith A. Bennett, *Pacific Forest: A History of Resource Control and Contest in Solomon Islands, c.1800-1997*, Leiden, Brill Academic, 2000, p. 97.

master on Ocean Island, was observed by Maude much the worse for drink when he was acting DO on Butaritari in the Gilbert Islands in 1929:

Bryer had only been in a few years when we had the King's Birthday celebrations, and they were going to have this big march right through the middle of Butaritari. Bryer to lead the march to the King's birthday and up to the flag there. When the time came he was completely drunk and they had to put him upside down in a wheelbarrow and they wheeled him at the head of the procession.⁹⁶²

More prominently, Dr Charles Maitland Pattison's alcoholic career took him from East Africa to Fiji, the Solomon Islands and Palm Island, Queensland, where he and his wife survived a determined attempt on their lives by the demented superintendent, Robert Curry.⁹⁶³ His drinking in the Solomon Islands at times prevented him from carrying out his responsibilities, but a petition was taken up by the local European settlers in Gizo in favour of his retention.⁹⁶⁴ In general, drinking was tolerated among colonial officers if they could still do the job.

The intimate detail of a drinker's behaviour is not usually available, as it was often only made public in adversarial circumstances, but Maude's recollections of Kennedy assist us to develop a picture of his consumption. What puzzled Maude was that Kennedy did not seem to need much alcohol to become drunk:

We went to Ocean Island, once, and he [Kennedy] was there. We shared a room. He had beer he could order up, being the Residency, that beautiful new Residency, and we were upstairs. ... He'd lie just drinking beer. He'd just lie there, and I said, 'How can you be so comatose all the time, just on the few little bottles of beer that are coming?' And he had a theory: he said, 'Because I'm always topped up, I'm always on the edge. I only need another bottle of beer and I'm over it again.'⁹⁶⁵

Maude also recollected how, 'one day when we were on Vaitupu ... he said, at night sometimes, his spirit, his soul, used to go over the coconut trees and he'd know it and he'd go with it, over the trees and away in the distance and he said, "It's a very funny sensation, you know: to see, to go up there over the trees and see the whole of Vaitupu

961 Clement Wyndham Bryer (1902-1991).

962 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988. Bryer transferred to the Fiji Service and later to New Zealand. His subsequent history would be of interest in understanding the effects of isolation.

963 Joanne Watson, *Becoming Bwcolman: Exile and Survival on Palm Island Reserve, 1918 to the Present*. PhD Thesis, St Lucia, University of Queensland, 1993, pp. 127 & 130.

964 RC to HC, 23 April 1926, WPHC 1253/1926. While in London the previous year, Kennedy had been examined by Dr A.E. Horn, a Harley Street specialist, who found 'no enlargement or tenderness of the liver.' A.E. Horn to Under Secretary of State, 4 May 1925, WPHC 1656/1925.

965 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988. Once intoxicated, it is only necessary to drink at the rate alcohol is metabolized (three standard drinks per hour) to remain intoxicated.

there and all that.” He said, “I’m lying here in bed, but I’m really up there going over.”⁹⁶⁶ While the ‘out of body experience’ is well known, it is not usually associated with drinking and was attributed by Maude to Kennedy’s psychic ability.⁹⁶⁷

A consistent picture emerges of Kennedy’s general capacity to function in spite of his drinking. On occasions, however, he was prostrated by over-indulgence. Once he was asked by Maude to talk about the Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme. He wanted a quorum from Nanumea and Niutao to be part of this scheme and much depended on Kennedy’s ability to convince them. Seven hundred or more people had gathered in the maneapa on Nanumea, all waiting for Kennedy, who said,

‘I need a little drink’ and he poured out what he called a little drink, which was over half a tumbler of neat whisky. And he just poured that down his throat and he walked on with me and he talked about this and that and everybody stood up when he came into the maneapa. He gave them a rousing talk—very fine it was, and just as he was getting towards the end of the thing, he dropped down on the floor absolutely dead [drunk].⁹⁶⁸

The visit to Nanumea was probably late in 1937, when Maude was investigating the extent of the over-population and collecting delegates to accompany the expedition to the Phoenix Islands. In the event only two people from Nanumea and four people from Niutao volunteered to go.⁹⁶⁹ Maude then describes the sorry immediate aftermath, which additionally indicates a degree of intimacy between Kennedy and the local girls from earlier visits to the island:

There was nothing for it, we carried him off. We put him on a canoe: we laid him across the outrigger. The two people were paddling the canoe and we put him across the outrigger. He stayed – he never stirred. When we got out, it was night time. Oh! Yes, the girls came along the beach, and I remember them shaking him by his legs, which were standing out the back of the outrigger and saying ‘lofa Kenti! lofa Kenti!’⁹⁷⁰ So we went out and we got about half way to the schooner, and I looked underneath [and saw] a great big white shark absolutely underneath, and I thought to myself, ‘If only Kennedy wakes up and starts to move around as he will, we’ll go in

966 Ibid.

967 Stuart W. Twemlow, et al., ‘The Out-of-Body Experience: A Phenomenological Typology Based on Questionnaire Responses’, *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 139, no. 4 (April 1982), pp. 450-55. In this study, only one percent of the sample experienced an out-of-body experience when drinking alcohol. For a practitioners guide see also: William Buhlman, *Adventures Beyond the Body: How to Experience Out-of-Body Travel*, San Francisco, HarperSanFrancisco, 1996. Neither drugs nor alcohol played any part.

968 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

969 H.E. Maude, *Of Islands and Men: Studies in Pacific History*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 321-2.

970 ‘Goodbye Kennedy!’

for sure.’ ... We got him on board and put a sort of winch thing down and laid him up and put him into bed. He was all right in the morning.⁹⁷¹

After Kennedy returned from Oxford in 1939, Sir Harry Luke ruled that he could no longer serve in the GEIC and he was anxious that Kennedy be retired as unfit because of his periodic alcoholism, amongst other things.⁹⁷² He described his problem as ‘periodical fits ... of deep and prolonged drinking, during which he loses complete control of his powers of inhibition [and] who becomes a complete beast who scarcely knows what he is doing and has probably forgotten, when he comes to, what he has done during those bouts.’⁹⁷³ This was a graphic description from a man who had never met Kennedy, though Maude was presumably his principal informant. He called for a medical board to assess Kennedy on Ocean Island, as a first step towards having him retired from the service. The doctors, however, formed a different picture. With no evidence of the usual signs of alcoholic degeneration (enlarged liver, peripheral neuritis or cardio-vascular degeneration), they concluded that he suffered, not from ‘true alcoholic dipsomania, but ... pseudo-dipsomania.’⁹⁷⁴ The treatment recommendation came from Dr D.C.M Macpherson,⁹⁷⁵ who had lived on Funafuti with Kennedy in the early 1930s and who appears to have had personal knowledge of current psychiatric treatment in Scotland.⁹⁷⁶ He recommended ‘treatment by Professor D.K. Henderson,’⁹⁷⁷ Royal Hospital, Edinburgh, and the final report [to be] given by this Physician in consultation with Doctor Angus Macniven [sic],⁹⁷⁸ Royal Hospital at Glasgow, after six months treatment.’⁹⁷⁹

971 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

972 See page 45.

973 Luke to Secretary of State, 6 December 1939, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, 1898/1936, item 78, p. 4. Barley similarly believed that Kennedy ‘has no conscious recollections of his actions when he is really “on a bender.”’ Barley to HC, 8 March 1940, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, 1898/1936, item 98. If these are ‘blackouts’, they are indicators of an advanced stage of alcoholism.

974 Drs McGusty, Macpherson, Hercus and Thomson to RC, 1 January 1940, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51, vol. 2, 1898/1936, item 85a. Pseudo-dipsomania appears to describe Kennedy’s drinking well, as he did indeed have long periods of sobriety.

975 Duncan Campbell McEwan Macpherson, (1900-1943).

976 A textbook on psychiatry by Henderson and Gillespie, published in Scotland, may have been the source of their knowledge. A later book by Henderson on the history of psychiatry in Scotland did not give details of the treatment offered, but he gives an interesting definition of disease: ‘[A]bnormality of mind is synonymous with disease.’ Using this broad definition, he included juvenile delinquency and crime as diseases. Sir David Kennedy Henderson, *The Evolution of Psychiatry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, E & S Livingstone, 1964, p. 5.

977 (Sir) David Kennedy Henderson was Physician-Superintendent at the Royal Edinburgh Hospital for Nervous and Mental Diseases from 1932-54 and Professor of Psychiatry at Edinburgh University. Obituary: *British Medical Journal*, 1 May 1965, p. 1194.

978 Dr Angus MacNiven was Physician-Superintendent of Gartnavel Royal Hospital, Glasgow and Lecturer in Psychiatry at Glasgow University. Obituary: *British Medical Journal*, vol. 288, (11 February 1984), p. 495.

Henderson's approach was not that of the moralist, but of a physician who believed that 'it is essential to help the patient to understand himself, to become more philosophical, to appreciate that his ideas of reference, and his sense-of-inferiority, can be compensated in other healthier ways than by boosting his ego with alcohol to gain temporary satisfaction and a sense of superiority.'⁹⁸⁰ The recommendation of a six-months' treatment in Edinburgh on full pay did not move Sir Harry Luke to reconsider his determination to be rid of Kennedy.

Luke's views were closer to common nineteenth century attitudes, when drinking (synonymous with alcoholism) tended to be seen as a moral problem for which abstinence was the only cure, as a crime, or evidence of insanity. We now know that most people do not become alcoholic or go mad from drinking alcohol. Later in the nineteenth and particularly the twentieth century, medical science turned its gaze on the problem and differentiated a (large) number of types of alcoholism, amongst which was periodic alcoholism or dipsomania, the least known species of alcoholism.'⁹⁸¹ There was also pseudoperiodic alcoholism, the characteristic of which was the ability to resist drinking for periods of months before ultimately relapsing.⁹⁸² A tentative link between dipsomania and mental illness was claimed in 1942, when it was stated that 'periodic inebriety occurs largely in persons suffering from manic-depressive psychoses or those who border on this condition.'⁹⁸³ The drinker would drink in either the manic or the depressive phase, but not both. Faced with the likelihood of dismissal after his return from Oxford, Kennedy knuckled down on Ocean Island and was considered fit for transfer to the Solomon Islands. However, shortly before leaving Ocean Island he was visited by the Colonial Secretary, Henry Vaskess, who saw that Kennedy was still drinking and concluded that his record on Ocean Island 'gives little confidence in any resolution on his part, or in his

979 Drs McGusty, Macpherson, Hercus and Thomson to RC, 1 January 1940, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51 vol. 2, 1898/1936, item 85a

980 Henderson, *The Evolution of Psychiatry in Scotland*, p. 238. Rational Recovery is based on these principles. See Reid K. Hester and William R. Miller, *Handbook of Alcoholism Treatment Approaches: Effective Alternatives* (Second edition), Needham Heights, Mass., Allyn and Bacon, 1995 (1989), p. 169.

981 E.M. Jellinek, *The Disease Concept of Alcoholism*, New Brunswick, NJ, Hillhouse Press, 1960, p. 39. Jellinek called this form of dipsomania 'epsilon alcoholism'. The disease model was not welcomed by the Temperance movement and conflict between the medical and moral models persisted. Jay L. Rubin, 'Shifting Perspectives on the Alcoholism Treatment Movement 1940-1955', *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, vol. 40, no. 5 (1979), pp. 376-86.

982 Jellinek, *The Disease Concept of Alcoholism*, p. 39.

983 Howard W. Haggard and E.M. Jellinek, *Alcohol Explained*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran & Co, 1945, p. 219.

ability, to reform.⁹⁸⁴ Neither mania nor depression were diagnosed in Kennedy and his only recorded suicidal thoughts (often associated with depression) appear to have been half-hearted. The first was to Pops, who complained that after years of threatening to commit suicide if she left, when she ‘finally did leave him for good, she was absolutely furious that he hadn’t even attempted to kill himself, but went off quite happily into the distance.’⁹⁸⁵ The second occasion was in 1965, when Kennedy was despairing about what to do with his son Archie. Margaret Bishop recalled, ‘I met him in Orewa and he was talking of committing suicide. ... He said. “I’ll just go off in a boat and I’ll just keep sailing.”’⁹⁸⁶ In both situations the threats brought about the desired compliance. His former dominance appears to have evaporated and he relied on manipulation to achieve his ends.

Kennedy’s access to alcohol was often restricted during the War, but not always. When apparently under the influence (and possibly hallucinating) at the end of his coastwatching duties on New Georgia, he machine-gunned the jungle, believing the enemy to be present.⁹⁸⁷ Colonel Noel, Resident Commissioner in the Solomons, who wrote a report on Kennedy in which he stated that Kennedy was mentally ill, believed him to be a dipsomaniac and that ‘the evil that besets him is probably not his fault.’⁹⁸⁸ However, Noel had no professional knowledge upon which to base that assessment. Kennedy was the guest of the Governor in Suva after he left the Solomons, where allowances were made for his behaviour:

Donald Kennedy, who had spent many months commanding a private war against the Japanese in New Georgia, was called to headquarters to meet the governor [Sir Philip Mitchell], who was his commander-in-chief. An appointment was made, but he was too drunk at the time to keep it. The governor understood what the effects of relief from a long period of great strain might be and merely postponed the meeting and invited Kennedy to stay at Government House while he was on leave, then took no notice when Kennedy fell asleep one night at dinner.⁹⁸⁹

Sir Philip may have been willing to overlook these lapses, but he also ordered Kennedy to attend the Queen Mary Hospital in Hanmer Springs, north of Christchurch, or be

984 Vaskess to HC, 9 October 1940, WPHC 32/1, CPF 51 vol. 2, 1898/1936, item 127.

985 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007. He did not go ‘happily into the distance’, but did not attempt suicide either.

986 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006.

987 See pages 68-9.

988 Noel to HC, 10 May 1944, WPHC Untitled file accompanying 32/1 CPF 51, vol. 1-3.

989 Richard Frost, *Enigmatic Proconsul: Sir Philip Mitchell and the Twilight of Empire*, London, Radcliffe Press, 1992, p. 171.

dismissed from the Service.⁹⁹⁰ Kennedy readily complied, but the discharge report from Hanmer Springs only adds to the confusion about Kennedy's drinking:

There is nothing in his physical condition to confirm a history of alcoholism. On the psychological side he has at all times appeared normal and has been devoid of the restlessness and the plausible explanations thereof which almost invariably characterize cases of alcoholism.⁹⁹¹

The hospital at Hanmer Springs had been pressed into service during WW I to cater for shell-shocked soldiers, and was part of the transformation of psychiatric services in New Zealand.⁹⁹² Alcoholism was rife among the servicemen, but there was no agreement that it had been caused by the War, as many were already heavy drinkers. The treatment of returned soldiers with symptoms of mild mental illness comprised 'sunshine, music, walks, gardening, simple vocational instruction ... encouragement, and activities generally calculated to keep men busy.'⁹⁹³ Perhaps some form of psychotherapy had been added by the time Kennedy attended.⁹⁹⁴ Whatever the treatment at Hanmer Springs, he was not cured. While Kennedy was on leave after his treatment, he visited Oamaru and was to give a talk to the pupils of his old school, where his son Christopher was still a student. He failed to turn up because he was drunk and caused his son great embarrassment.⁹⁹⁵ His daughter reported his episodic drinking while at Glen Aros in the late 1940s: 'he was a dipsomaniac—he would go for—he would drink socially for months, or years even, then something would trigger it and he would go and get a bottle of scotch and go and lock himself up in a room 'til it was gone.'⁹⁹⁶ His drinking exploits while living at Glen Aros have been outlined earlier and culminated in his removal by ambulance while unconscious. We have no record of his drinking while in ASIO or on

990 Diary note, 19 August 1944, Diary of Sir Philip Mitchell, Mss. Afr.r.101, Rhodes House. A specialist unit for the treatment of alcoholism in ex-servicemen was established during the war. Ian Rockel, *Taking the Waters: Early Spas in New Zealand*. Wellington: Government Printing Office, 1986, p. 72.

991 A.H. Christie to HC, 28 October 1944, WPHC Untitled file accompanying 32/1 CPF 51, vol. 1-3.

992 John Weaver and David Wright, 'Shell Shock and the Politics of Asylum Committal in NZ, 1916-22,' *Health and History*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2005), pp. 17-40.

993 Ibid., pp. 31-2.

994 From 1962 the Queen Mary Hospital became the principal treatment centre for alcoholism in New Zealand. A study that attempted to identify predisposing factors was undertaken from 1969 to 1970. It concluded that 'it might seem to more profitable to consider alternative [treatment] approaches to alcoholism than try to resolve conflicting models and theories.' A.J.W. Taylor and T.W. Harrison, *Study of Alcoholic patients at Queen Mary Hospital Hanmer Springs New Zealand 1969 & 1970*, Wellington, National Society on Alcoholism & Drug Dependence New Zealand, Inc, August 1973, p. 18.

995 Ray Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 20 November 1988. Kennedy's exploits were recorded in the school magazine after he had been awarded the DSO, during Christopher's time at Waitaki. *The Waitakian*, vol. 38, no. 2 (December 1943), pp. 156-7.

996 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007. This would not have been her personal recollection as she was a young child at the time.

Kioa Island, but after he purchased Waya Island the personal recollections of his family fill the gap. Don Kennedy stayed with his father on Waya in the mid-1950s and remembers a notable bender after a year of sobriety:

I thought he gave up drinking, because when I worked with him almost twelve months solid, ... I never saw him in drink or ... smoke. ... then all of a sudden, because I do the typing of all his orders that goes to Suva, so this order came ... [for] a case of whisky, a case of brandy, and a case-no! half a case of brandy and half a case of gin—so all those three spirits. I thought he must be going to have a party of some Europeans coming up. And it came, and anyway when it arrived, and he said, ‘I couldn’t spare the time to go to Suva for my tooth and I’ve got a toothache.’ Anyway, that was his excuse, but that whole week he polished off the whole lot. And we never saw him at work or anything, he just got drunk continuously. And he was fifty-nine [years old] at that time.⁹⁹⁷

The pre-meditated nature of this relapse supports the idea of Kennedy’s condition being of the pseudoperiodic type, in which the relapses are voluntary and not part of a disease process.⁹⁹⁸ There is nothing to suggest that, once started, Kennedy had the ability to stop drinking while alcohol was still available. Other eye witnesses to Kennedy’s drinking included Commodore Stan Brown, who knew of Kennedy during the war, when he used to provision the coastwatchers in the Solomon Islands, but did not meet him until after the war, when he occasionally sailed to Kadavu to visit him in the 1950s and 60s:

Kennedy is reported as being a heavy drinker, having been a drunken wreck at the end of the war. I’d like to point out that he was under intense pressure all the time and it was when the pressure eased that he was a shambling man, but he recovered very well. When I knew him a few years later he was perfectly all right, but he obviously couldn’t stand a lot of alcohol.⁹⁹⁹

Possibly Brown’s understanding of being ‘perfectly all right’ meant that Kennedy’s drinking was under control, though he appears to have lost his tolerance for alcohol. Brown’s experience of having to restrain Kennedy when he had a boatload of female visitors has already been mentioned. Alan Scott remembered, ‘D[onald] K[ennedy] and Eme stayed with us in mid 1969 when he was in Suva for some medical treatment ... While with us, he had a binge and the morning after we fed him very cold beer, lying on a lounge, very slowly, while he recovered. He was, actually, ashamed! They broke the mould after DK, I w[ould]d say.’¹⁰⁰⁰

997 Don Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 16 October 1988.

998 Jellinek, *The Disease Concept of Alcoholism*, p. 41.

999 Stan Brown interview (with Doug Munro), 1 August 1997.

1000 Personal communication: Alan J. Scott to Mike Butcher, 12 January 2009.

Kennedy's daughter Ailsa remembers the shame of meeting her father in 1965, when he spent six weeks settling Archie into Margaret's family at Helensville. He was also put up (at Chris's expense) for a few nights at a motel in Orewa, to be accessible to the family and visit Alison at Woodford School:

I was nineteen, I think, and Dad had come out from Fiji and was at this motel, Blue Waters Motel, Orewa. I'll never forget it, and Chris was with him then. And I can remember meeting with him in pyjamas. I was absolutely terrified of him. It was not a good meeting, that one. I think he was absolutely hung over and drinking at nine in the morning and was quite horrifying. I couldn't wait to get out of there. I think he went to see Alie [Alison] at Woodford [House School] and she fainted. She didn't want to see him at all. She did not want to know. Well, she'd never known him, she had never met him. She had no recollection of him at all.¹⁰⁰¹

However anxious he may have felt about the meeting, he had completely failed to understand how difficult it was for his children. Anne remembers how 'he came back at one stage in my late teens, or maybe a bit later and he wrote to me and suggested I go and visit him, and I know I felt absolutely ill for weeks. I didn't, of course, and I didn't respond, so, not a very happy relationship.'¹⁰⁰² When Archie returned to Waya in about 1969 after three or four years in New Zealand, he found his father 'virtually inactive, in the sense that he was more alcoholic than sober. He was on a bender and he used to have these benders all the time.'¹⁰⁰³ In 1971 or '72, he was dry when visited by Margaret on Waya Island. 'He wasn't drinking—he didn't drink anything at all while we were there.'¹⁰⁰⁴ Later, his ability to manage without alcohol was limited. If the steamer bringing supplies was more than a couple of days late, his son was sent over to 'The Chinaman' for rum.¹⁰⁰⁵ Archie, who spent more time with his father than any of his siblings, witnessed the final alcohol-dependent stages of his life in New Zealand:

[W]hen he was awake he would have been drinking. He was fairly well incapacitated: the filariasis would play up and his feet would swell up and he couldn't stand up. Some days he couldn't get out of bed. Some days he couldn't get the piddle bottle to piddle in, so he'd just piddle in the bed. I think Mum had about four years of that.¹⁰⁰⁶

Throughout the course of his career, Kennedy appears to have drunk to excess, more or less regularly, when alcohol was available, but with notable exceptions. When on Waya

1001 Ailsa Murray interview (with Mike Butcher), 29 September 2007. Alison was born on 13 June 1948, so she was almost too young to remember him except from the letters they exchanged.

1002 Anne Anderson interview (with Mike Butcher), 5 October 2007.

1003 Archie Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 27 September 2006.

1004 Margaret Bishop interview (with Mike Butcher), 13 December 2006. She had her son, Johnny, with her.

1005 Personal communication: Archie Kennedy to Mike Butcher, 12 May 2010.

1006 Archie Kennedy interview (with Mike Butcher), 27 September 2006.

Island, Kennedy was found to be an insulin-dependent diabetic and advised to give up drinking, which, according to Maude, ‘he did to a large extent, after that.’¹⁰⁰⁷ But overall there seems to have been an increase in his reliance on alcohol, for which the medical profession appears not to have afforded him much assistance. In the half-century since Kennedy was at Hanmer Springs, assessment has been refined and many different treatment modalities tried.¹⁰⁰⁸ However, even if they had been available at the time, it is unlikely that Kennedy could have received appropriate treatment while he was in the Colonial Service. Even if he had been offered the treatment course under Professor Henderson in Edinburgh, the possibility of post-treatment support and follow-up would have been minimal in peace-time conditions, and impossible in the conditions Kennedy endured during the war. The isolation, lack of trained practitioners, lack of peer support and the existence of a culture of heavy drinking made relapse likely. According to modern opinion, a ‘disease does not cause the observable signs and symptoms, but rather the disease *is* the lawful pattern of observable signs and symptoms.’¹⁰⁰⁹ In terms of this model, Kennedy’s reported paranoia, jealousy, violence and bullying would not disappear when not drinking, unless he also had experienced the ego-deflating effects of genuine self-assessment.¹⁰¹⁰ An example of ego-driven alcoholism is provided by Sir Maurice Scott, a lion of Fijian Society, whose intimate portrait by his son reveals in awful detail the devastating effects of his drinking on his family and ultimately his own health. There were periods of sobriety, even prolonged ones, but inevitably there were the relapses. The fact that his son preferred his ‘quick-witted, irascible, hot-tempered, wicked [alcoholic] father’ to the ‘sad, sloth-like’ sober and sedated one, suggests he had little support to change, however much suffering he had caused.¹⁰¹¹ Perhaps Sir Maurice had sufficient insight to see that his drinking had taken him past the point of no return with his family. He died the death of a confirmed alcoholic, ‘in reclusive squalor: his hair long; his fingernails untrimmed; his bed soiled. ... no longer mobile but still drinking whisky out of a glass through a straw’ and abandoned by his family.¹⁰¹²

1007 Maude interview (with Mike Butcher and Don Kennedy), 24 September 1988.

1008 For a comprehensive overview, see Hester and Miller, *Handbook of Alcoholism Treatment Approaches: Effective Alternatives*, (2nd ed.), Needham Heights, Mass., Allyn and Bacon, 1995 (1989).

1009 Irving Maltzman, *Alcoholism: Its Treatments and Mistreatments*, Singapore, World Scientific Publishing, 2008, p. 2.

1010 James Graham, *The Secret History of Alcoholism: The Story of Famous Alcoholics and their Destructive Behaviour*, Brisbane, Element, 1996.

1011 Owen Scott, *Deep Beyond the Reef: A True Story of Madness and Murder in the South Pacific*, London, Penguin, 2004, p. 129.

1012 Ibid., p. 150.

The onset of alcoholism is insidious and it has been estimated that a spouse might take nine years to make the diagnosis, whereas others are not aware until the late stage manifestations, such as turning up drunk at work, are evident.¹⁰¹³ A common cause is the application of their own experience as non-alcoholics to all drinkers. They do not realize that for alcoholics the experience is different. Then there is the reluctance to pass judgment on someone who vehemently denies their alcoholism.¹⁰¹⁴ It has been called the invisible disease or the disease of denial, and Kennedy's denial was confounded by the reluctance of the medical profession to unequivocally recognize his condition.¹⁰¹⁵ More recent studies suggest that 'early in life people who develop alcoholism displayed problems of impulse control and problems of not conforming to authority'—both qualities that were later evident in Kennedy.¹⁰¹⁶



Pops White/Kennedy/Campbell/Macfarlane at Glen Aros in 1958. Kennedy had been taken from here by ambulance almost a decade earlier in a drunken stupor, never to return. He exchanged the uncertainties of farming and 'civilisation' for the uncertainties of island life in the Pacific. Courtesy: Anne Anderson

1013 Graham, *The Secret History of Alcoholism*, p. 29.

1014 Ibid., p. 27-36.

1015 The author has had the personal experience of conducting a therapy group with alcoholics in a treatment centre where all those present spoke of alcoholism being a disease that affected others, but not themselves.

1016 Albert Ellis, John F. McInerney, Raymond DiGiuseppe, Raymond J. Yeager, *Rational-Emotive Therapy with Alcoholics and Substance Abusers*, New York, Pergamon Press, 1988, p. 23.

Conclusion

Bruner posed the question, ‘How do we cobble stories together to make them into a whole of some sort?’¹⁰¹⁷ The records and oral accounts of Kennedy’s life collected here, for all their imperfections of methodology, recollection, lack of verification and failings of interpretation, do build a picture of a man on a journey, from which he emerged a changed person. Each individual story complements the others until we have a portrait of a human being who is more than a stereotype. We know too little of Kennedy’s motivations (or ‘intentional states’) to do more than interpret what was observed. If Kennedy’s successes had been highlighted and his personal behaviours ignored or concealed, nobody’s interests would have been served and any pleasure derived from his glorification would have been mitigated by knowledge and doubts about what wasn’t said. There are several narratives here to which meanings have been tentatively attributed in the context of their happening and their ‘truth’ pursued. The cobbled image that emerges may represent other colonial officers whose stories will never be told, or he may be different. At least his life is now accessible to others for comparison.

In bringing together the differing aspects of Kennedy’s life in an attempt to understand his character, it is important to recognize the richness and diversity of the man and to avoid reductionism. He was inspired by his soldier grandfather to believe in Empire and he attended a school that reinforced those values. Imperialists were resolute men who knew their place in history as bringers of civilization to the dark corners of the world. This was a jingoistic view that barely survived World War II and it was ill-suited to the development of nations for independence. The coloniser/colonised dichotomy gave way to the more nuanced concepts of hybridity and ambivalence that better represented the world views of the ‘colonised’. Kennedy was brave, resourceful and determined in pursuing his duties as a coastwatcher, and he was definitely a man to have around in times of war, when the roles were clearer. He was awarded the DSO, and his popular reputation rests largely on that brief and violent segment of his life. He lived for over a year behind enemy lines, reporting on troop movements and harassing the Japanese while maintaining the loyalty of the Solomon Islanders to the Crown. Going back further in time, Kennedy’s education of the Tuvaluans enabled them to govern their nation independently from Kiribati. His ability as a teacher is attested to by his colleagues in the Colonial Service and by Tuvalu historians, and the timeliness of his teaching meant that there were Ellice

1017 Bruner, ‘The Narrative Construction of Reality’, p. 18.

Islanders sufficiently proficient in English to be ready for higher education and training to take control of government. Maude's claim that 'no man did more for Tuvalu than Kennedy' is apposite. His contribution to the education of Ellice Islanders was made in the face of official obstruction and it is to his credit that his school survived into the 1930s and beyond. Although originally supported by Reginald McClure, the Resident Commissioner, he was later thwarted by the successor to that role, Arthur Grimble, who was by then bitter and disappointed over his too-long stay in the islands and separation from his family. When Tuvalu celebrated its independence from Great Britain in 1978, it would have been appropriate for Kennedy to have been invited to the celebrations, if he had not died two years previously. Many of those who were in power had been his students, so he was not forgotten.

While in Tuvalu, Kennedy researched and recorded the material culture of the island of Vaitupu, during his stay of some seven years. His *Field Notes*, for which he was awarded the Percy Smith medal for his outstanding contribution, was published by the Polynesian Society and received critical acclaim. Having satisfied that anthropological need, he took a less active role in further material culture work, but published a Handbook of the Ellice language. His sojourn at Oxford University was a reward for his willingness to go beyond the requirements of the position of District Officer and to give him a chance to benefit from the intellectual stimulus of study at the highest level. Guidance was offered by eminent academics, but he was unable to put the learning into practice in the Ellice Islands when he was denied the opportunity of returning there.

Certain character traits appear to be indicative of Kennedy's dominant personality: his anti-Semitism is clear from his interview, his son's recollections, and from remarks in some of his letters. It is possibly not related to specific instances in his life, because it is recognised that the symbolism of anti-Semitism taps into a psychologically deeper core, and a psychoanalytic interpretation relates anti-Semitism to unresolved complexes related to his father (and authority figures).¹⁰¹⁸ We know he had a poor relationship with his father, so this has a resonance.¹⁰¹⁹ Additionally, as has been commented on throughout this thesis, Kennedy resisted authority when he could, and generally tested limits to see what he could get away with: accordingly, an anti-authoritarian interpretation of anti-Semitism seems reasonable in his case. His ambivalence is striking, however, because

¹⁰¹⁸ Adorno, et al., *The Authoritarian Personality*, p. 759.

¹⁰¹⁹ Erikson relates it more simply to projection: 'people see over-clearly in Jews what they do not wish to see in themselves.' Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, Triad/Granada, Bungay, Suffolk, 1977 (1950), p. 319.

whilst he tested the authority of others over him, he brooked no challenge to his own authority over others.

Kennedy expressed racist views of the men serving under him, but he also had high expectations of them to develop. He lived with the Pacific Islanders as his sole companions and availed himself of their women, had children with three of them and showed no fear of miscegenation, which was often a concomitant of racism.¹⁰²⁰ He learned their languages and culture, but always retained a position of authority as a European and retained European dress as a symbol of this. His knowledge was such that he could think like them (at least in the Ellice Islands) and was accused of having ‘gone native’ on one occasion, because, through lack of contact with Europeans, he had difficulty speaking English. His relations with Solomon Islanders George Bogese and Bill Bennett have been discussed in this thesis in some depth because they illustrate the ambivalence these men expressed while serving the Empire, or as an extension of it. Both rebelled against Kennedy’s authoritarian rule.

In explaining why Kennedy returned to the Pacific Islands from retirement in New Zealand, it would be a mistake to assume it was solely because he could no longer adapt to European ways of living. He had always sought a leadership role and when on Rabi revealed ambitions of being an ‘Apolosi’ to the Banabans and later wanted a place for himself (and his son) amongst the expatriate Vaitupuans on Kioa.¹⁰²¹ Many well-intentioned whites had taken on the role of the ‘good white leading the poor black out of the jungle,’ only to find themselves rejected as ‘the poor blacks’ took over their own leadership.¹⁰²² Many whites were offended by such rejection, but understood the necessity.¹⁰²³ In Kennedy’s case it is likely that there were mixed motives for his ambitions on Rabi and Kioa. He finally opted for the isolation of Waya Island, symbolically an ambivalent location on the edge of Fiji and far from white ‘civilisation’. Eventually the isolation and poor health caused his return to New Zealand, to another ambivalent location at Bayly’s Beach.

1020 Kennedy’s insistence that his youngest son, who had an Ellice Island mother, attend the same prestigious school in New Zealand as his eldest school suggests his expectations were no lower for him.

1021 See page 85 for more about Apolosi.

1022 Griffin, *Black Like Me*, p. 206.

1023 In another context, the rejection of Alick Jackomos after a lifetime of work in the interests of Australian Aboriginals was felt keenly by him, but understood as a necessary step in their self-development. Unlike Kennedy, Jackomos continued to represent the interests of Indigenous people in the white community. Richard Broome and Corinne Manning, *A Man of All Tribes: The Life of Alick Jackomos*, Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press, 2006.

Too little is known of Kennedy's intimate life to draw any conclusions about the motivation for his widely observed 'womanising'. His second wife suggested that his pursuit was driven by the frustration of inadequate sex rather than high libido. She was in a position to know, but do we trust her unsupported opinion? She also excused his abuse of his step-daughter by suggesting he had developed tastes in the islands that he thought he could continue in his family, so her reasoning may be suspect. There were no accusations that his sexual partners were other than consensual (although possibly coerced by his position of power), and, as he admitted to Cyril Belshaw, he saw himself as courting Solomon Islands' women the same as any others. The objections to his womanising came from the island men and without further detail, we do not know the extent to which objections were raised. Kennedy's nephew believed his uncle always had a strong sex drive, but his sources of information may have been biased. He did not meet Kennedy until he was in his seventies and he admits that his father did not talk about his brother.

The highest position attained by Kennedy in the Colonial Service was acting Resident Commissioner (in the field) and acting Assistant Colonial Secretary (in the Secretariat), when he could have expected more after the war. That he did not has been presented as being due to his failure to get his alcoholism under control. His drinking was a puzzle to all – under control at times and out of control at others. He demonstrated his ability to stop drinking when he had to, but relapsed when safe to do so, although towards the end there was little control. The failure of the Colonial Service to accept responsibility for his alcoholism or of the medical authorities to prescribe appropriate treatment compounded Kennedy's problems and the rift between the medical and moral models left him firmly in the cracks between. By war's end he was probably suffering from Traumatic Stress Disorder, then undiagnosed, and left to work out his own cure. He sought that cure through marriage to Pops Macfarlane, but it was impossible. He brought his drinking under control sufficiently to be given the opportunity to re-settle the Banabans on Rabi Island, but relapsed once there. Even so, it is likely that it was the wider political issues associated with phosphate mining resulted in the decision to replace him. After Rabi, Kennedy realised that he could not continue in the Service and retirement was his only option. His life as a Hawkes Bay farmer did not bring about the hoped for rehabilitation and he returned to the Pacific.

Kennedy's recollection about the cause of the ending of his marriage to Pops is at odds with the other versions: Pops blamed his drunkenness, Anne, his abuse, whilst Kennedy

blamed his mother-in-law for interfering. All are probably correct. For Pops, in retrospect, it ended when Kennedy left the family home, not when she left him in Australia. For Anne, it was important that her mother believed and supported her. Kennedy needed someone to blame and it is likely that his mother-in-law was critical of his farm management and more particularly of his alcoholism and treatment of the family. The decision about whether he was an alcoholic is largely semantic—although by the medical standards of the day, he did not conform to the most prevalent form of alcoholism, he had problems with alcohol for most of his adult life. That he was able to stop drinking, seemingly at will, masked the reality. Having established early on that he was not a toper (continuous drinker), but the supposedly less harmful binge-drinker, Kennedy never again appears to have considered that alcohol was a cause of his problems.

Similarly, Kennedy would not have considered himself to be brutal. While he is remembered as being brutal in the Solomon Islands, his use of violence was to some extent justifiable to meet the ends of victory in the War. His punishments were often severe in a culture with a history of violence. Whether this justified the means is partly answered by his deputy, Bill Bennett, who believed Kennedy was the man they needed at the time. He had no post-war opportunity to explore less violent relationships in the Solomons. In the Ellice Islands (Tuvalu) he used corporal punishment as a school master, but is remembered more for his teaching and leadership. Most of his predecessors had been dominant, even violent, men, and Kennedy was no exception. With increased communication, it is possible that Kennedy became more accountable than them, rather than different. They had been administrators, not teachers, so he was unique in his contribution before himself becoming an administrator.

Our story ends where it began, with Kennedy better explored, but still an enigma. The killing of the dog remains unresolved and a metaphor for the incomplete knowledge we have of Kennedy's life. Whatever his shortcomings in the Ellice Islands, when he visited Suva during the war he was feted by the expatriate Ellice community and he was eagerly supported by many when he visited Kioa. That these arrangements did not last was due to a number of factors, of which Kennedy's personality was just one. He was sought by the Banabans as someone they trusted, but again the outcome was due to factors beyond his control. His personal letters to his children provide a glimpse of a remote but concerned father, and if his autobiography had survived it is possible that the curtain may have been lifted. But that is not certain, as those writings that have survived, notably to his family, show little reflection. His own children were shown little consideration when they were

small and some do not wish to remember him well, but his three wives, because they saw other sides to him, defended his memory. But the memory defended is always partial, as is aptly captured in the *New Zealand Herald*'s obituary—which mourned the loss of a 'War Hero' but did not spare a thought for his Islander offspring, or for their mothers.¹⁰²⁴



The plaque on Kennedy's headstone in the Mount Wesley Returned Servicemen's Cemetery, Dargaville, gives his World War I regiment (Otago) and service number (80682), but his rank (Major) and decoration (DSO) are from World War II. There is no mention of his service with the BSIP Force in the Solomon Islands, for which he is best known.

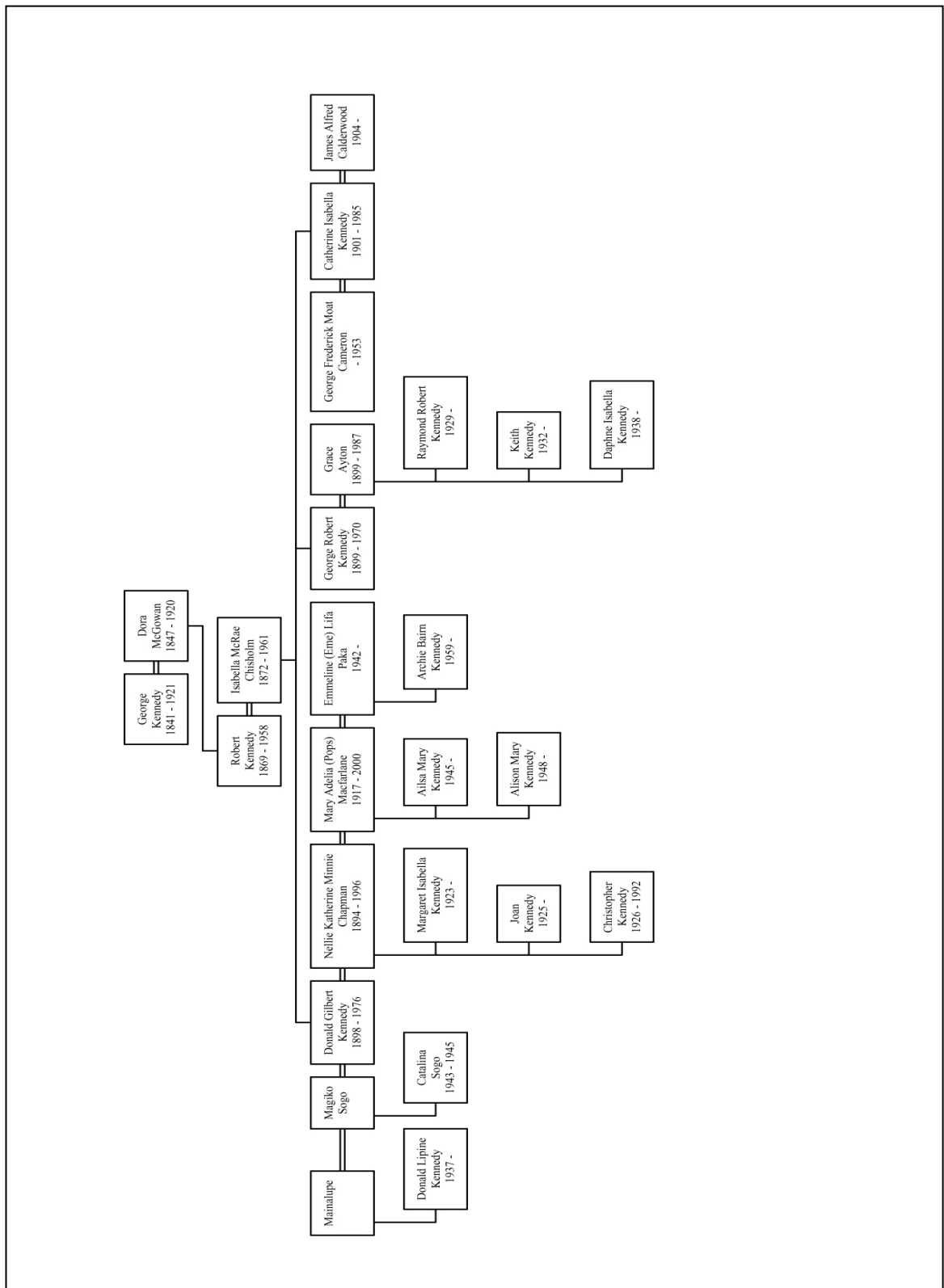
¹⁰²⁴ 'War Hero Dies, Aged 77', *New Zealand Herald*, 17 July 1976.

Appendix 1

KENNEDY'S MOVEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR II		
Date	Place(s)	Activity
26 Jul 1940	Tulagi	Assumed duty as DO BSIP. Appointed DO Gela and Acting Inspector of Police
9 Oct 1941 Ysabel 1 July 1942 Gizo	Western Solomon Islands	Responsibilities were expanded to include Western Solomon Islands as well as some preparations for the defence of Tulagi, in the event of a Japanese invasion
Jan 1942	Ysabel	Establishes base at Mahaga
Apr 1942	Rennell Island	Sets up a secondary base
Feb - Apr 1942	Central Solomons	Collects indentured labourers from abandoned plantations and returns them to their home islands. Instructs the villagers to move away from the coast into the mountains to avoid the Japanese
3 May 1942	Tulagi	Japanese occupy island
17 May 1942	Ysabel	Japanese attack on <i>Waiai</i> , with the probable intention of capturing Kennedy
Aug 1942*	Ysabel, Vella Lavella and New Georgia	Sets up Geoffrey Kuper as a coastwatcher, initially overlooking the Japanese amphibious aircraft base at Rekata Bay, while he toured the islands of Vella Lavella and New Georgia in the <i>Marara</i>
Jul 1942	Seghe, New Georgia	Establishes base
6 Aug 1942	Guadalcanal and Tulagi	Retaken by the Allies
	Viru harbour	Attack called off because of treachery by Gina
19 May 1943	Marovo Lagoon	Engages and sinks Japanese whaleboat in <i>Dadavata</i>
Jul 1943	Seghe	Seeks assistance from Americans to secure Seghe against Japanese attack
Jun 1943	Patutiva, Vangunu	Moves to a quieter locale across the Njai Passage at Patutiva; visited by Harold Cooper
23 Sept 1943	Suva	DSO Gazetted
Sept 1943 – Feb 1944	New Zealand	On leave
Feb 1944	Solomon Islands	Acting District Commissioner, Central District, BSIP
1944	Ontong Java	Carries out census on island
July 1944	Hastings, New Zealand	Takes leave to marry Pops Campbell
Sept 1944	Hanmer Springs	Rehabilitation treatment for alcoholism
25 Dec 1944	Suva, Fiji	Arrives at Secretariat
5-27 Sept 1945	Rabi	Carries out inventory of Rabi and reports on requirements
Oct – Dec 1945	Nauru, Gilbert and Marshall Islands	Collects Banabans and takes them to Tarawa
15 Dec 1945	Rabi	Banabans arrive at Rabi on <i>Triona</i>
Aug 1946	Suva	Kennedy leaves Rabi for Suva
10 Sept 1946	Suva	DSO Presented by Sir Alexander Grantham
Sept 1946 – Apr 1947	New Zealand	On leave pending retirement
Apr 1947	New Zealand	Retires from Colonial Service
May – Dec 1950	Australia	Serves with ASIO
Aug - Oct 1950	Papua-New Guinea	Establishes security service in Territory
Aug 1951	Auckland	Decree Nisi awarded
Sept 1951- early 52	Kioa Island	Assists Vaitupuans to develop island
April 1953	Waya Island	Purchases freehold
1972	Waya Island	Leaves for retirement in New Zealand

*Geoffrey M. White, 'Histories of Contact, Narratives of Self: Wartime Encounters in Santa Isabel', in Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom (eds), *The Pacific Theatre: Island Representations of World War II*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1990, p. 49.

Appendix 2



Family tree of Donald Gilbert Kennedy including his father, grandfather, siblings, children, nephews and nieces.

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