

Artifacts of War: Art, Exchange and Politics in World War II Solomon Islands¹

DAVID AKIN AND GEOFFREY M. WHITE

In the Solomon Islands the Japanese said that the Americans fight for souvenirs and the Japanese fight for their Emperor (Smith 2013: 230).

I got a jeep and drove up in the hills looking for a native village and found one. The price of the clubs was US\$5.00 each and he had change for a twenty ... his hut had a sliding door (U.S. Marine Corps Lt. Col. Alex Sharpe to Akin 1988).

Officer Sharpe's recollections of buying carvings on Guadalcanal could be multiplied thousands of times with examples of the trade in artifacts that developed between Solomon Islanders and military personnel when the Solomons became the first battleground of the Allied offensive in the Pacific War. Historians have delved deeply into how the Battle of Guadalcanal changed the course of the war, but less known is how the war also changed the course of Solomon Islands history. Key to the latter were social and exchange relations Islanders formed with soldiers, which inspired many to challenge the longstanding discriminatory nature of black-white relations in the Solomons and the colonial system generally. In this, the sale and gifting of art played a notable role.

American Marines first countered Japanese military forces in the archipelago with a landing on Guadalcanal and neighboring islands on 7 August 1942. The six months of fighting that followed brought more than 100,000 troops to Guadalcanal, nearly seven times its official native population, and once the fighting ended the island became a major transit point for Allied troops and supplies headed to fronts further west. Even as

¹ Published in French as "Les Artefacts de la Guerre: Art, Échange et Politique Pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale," in Magali Mélandri and Sandra Revolon, eds., *L'éclat des Ombres: L'art en noir et blanc des îles Salomon*. Paris: Musée du Quai Branly, 2014, 62–72.)

the Solomons campaign raged, U.S. forces began building airfields, roads, and wharfs, and transformed sparsely populated stretches of coastline into small cities complete with hospitals, factories, farms, movie theaters, and vast acres of tent camps and storage facilities. Though most Solomon Islanders fled combat zones, the sprawling military bases on Guadalcanal, and later in Russell Islands and the Western Solomons, were magnets for those recruited into the Solomon Islands Labour Corps and others simply curious to learn more about the military newcomers.

These cultural encounters were marked by uncertainty and miscomprehensions on both sides. American GIs, carrying Hollywood images of South Seas paradise or primitive savages, found instead many Christian Islanders, and people already sophisticated in dealing with European missionaries, traders, and colonial officers. For their part, Solomon Islanders, whose understandings of Western ways had been molded by a colonial system that rigidly separated “natives” and “Europeans,” “blacks” and “whites,” were surprised to find military personnel with little understanding of or investment in colonial hierarchies, and some mistook them for potential liberators from colonial oppression. From the start, exchange practices mediated wartime interactions, allowing all parties to acknowledge and validate their value according to their own systems of significance.

On Guadalcanal, members of the Labour Corps used native materials to construct a monumental church in the center of the American military cemetery and presented it to the U.S. armed forces in a ceremonial dedication just one year after the 1942 landings. Elaborately decorated with inlaid carvings and woven designs in the thatched walls, the church was, in the words of one observer, “the finest known example of Solomon Island

artistry and craftsmanship” (Van Dusen 1945: 44). In Vella LaVella to the west, once home to notorious “headhunters,” villagers constructed a “memorial chapel” at the site of an Allied cemetery and gifted it to American and New Zealand forces fighting in the area (Lindstrom and White 1990: 170).



Photo 1. Members of the Solomon Islands Labour Corps and Allied servicemen dedicate a memorial chapel constructed by the laborers as a gift for the U.S. forces, at Lunga, Guadalcanal, September 1943. National Archive, U.S. Marine Corps 59510.

In their utilization of state-of-the-art native skills in the architecture, decoration, and furnishing of the memorials, these dedications amplified exchange practices that communities had long used to welcome missionaries, government officers, and foreign dignitaries, practices described in numerous Europeans’ diaries that record departures

loaded down with baskets of food, shell money, weapons, decorated walking sticks, and so forth. Indeed, the origins of the Solomon Islands National Museum lie in the many artifacts bestowed upon colonial officers visiting rural communities (Foana`ota and White 2011: 277). These practices, in turn, had been adapted from customary means of displaying respect or enacting exchange relations between powerful leaders from different regions, symbolized by presentations of such items as shell pieces worn only by chiefs or inlaid ebony walking sticks. Walking sticks were also among of the most popular items produced for the World War II souvenir trade, and are evident in photo 2, of an American supply officer buying souvenirs in 1943 in New Georgia, where the sticks were then selling for US\$5–25 each (Chapman 1949: 76; see also photo 5).

Solomon Islanders had long exchanged various art items among themselves as commodities, some of which had set values in local currencies or barter. Importantly for the souvenir trade that blossomed during the war, they had also previously traded or sold art to Europeans when ships' crews and the occasional tourists sought it out starting in the nineteenth century, and in the early twentieth century when missionaries sponsored sales of carvings and shell monies, donated by their flocks, to European collectors abroad to raise funds (see Burt 2013). But these transactions were fleeting and smaller in scale, and the war created for the first time a vast European market for indigenous artifacts, a thriving cash economy that native art producers and sellers could engage (Akin 1989–1990; 2014; Bennett 2009; de Burlo 1989; Douglas 1996; Mallon 2012).

At the same time as they proved themselves able craftsmen and businessmen in this new economic world, Solomon Islanders opened up new social worlds through their interactions with military outsiders who radically disrupted the old colonial order. They



Photo 2. An American Army supply officer bargains with three Solomon Islanders who have brought canes, grass skirts, baskets, and carvings to sell, New Georgia, 2 December 1943. National Archive 80-G-56673.

found their exchanges with many American soldiers a refreshing change from those they they had with white people before the war. To understand why these wartime found their exchanges with many American soldiers a refreshing change from those transactions impressed them so, one must grasp both the crucial importance of exchange in Melanesians' social relationships and the highly restricted nature of their prewar relationships with Europeans. Among Solomon Islanders, the most vital transactions were formal and informal gift exchanges that stressed the social relationships of the exchangers more than the items exchanged per se. They also had a long history of trading commodities, sometimes for local currencies, often in regular markets. These two sorts of exchange are difficult to fully separate since often a goal of commodity exchangers was to accumulate resources to give as formal gifts. Fundamental to understanding gift exchange in Melanesian societies is that gifts do not merely express social relationships;

they establish, define, and maintain them, and when necessary, repair them. Of key importance, most always, are presentations or sharing of food. Every adult must give gifts at various times, and refusal to do so, or do so properly, can define someone as incompetent, selfish, or otherwise “a rubbish person.” Especially problematic are people who possess abundant resources but will not engage in proper exchange.

Before the war, this was a realm in which Solomon Islanders had found white people most inept, enigmatic, and troubling—whites clearly enjoyed great material wealth, and yet most refused to take part in genuine social exchange with Melanesians. Most glaring was their common unwillingness to share meals (or sometimes even to let Islanders other than servants watch them eat). Underlying the colonial racial code was a belief that “familiarity” with natives had to be avoided if white prestige and superiority were to be preserved. The result was what government geologist John Grover called a “supercilious isolationism which some Europeans call dignity” (1958: 1). Many colonists blamed their coldness on Islanders themselves. Thus onetime plantation manager Snowy Rhoades wrote, “The average Solomon Islander has no sense of gratefulness whatever and kindness is wasted on him” (1982: 59), and when in 1929 one Malaitan community presented government medical worker Charles White with a generous gift of food, he credited a local missionary since, as he explained, “The Malaitaman generally wants as much as he can get for anything he has to dispose of and giving things away he looks on as sheer madness” (1929: 15 Feb.). Some Europeans before the war seemed intent on suppressing proper exchange even between Melanesians themselves. Christian missionaries prohibited their flocks from taking part in mortuary, compensation, and other social exchanges, and forbade or sharply limited their giving or receiving

bridewealth in marriage exchanges. Colonial officers, too, at times blamed both mortuary and marriage exchanges for depopulation and various social problems, and tried to curtail them (Akin 2013: 114–28).

In the realm of the market, Europeans often denied Islanders competitive roles. In trade stores, for instance, Islanders were long charged higher prices than whites for the same goods and were paid less for identical produce. Most men, particularly on the island of Malaita—home to most early Labour Corps recruits—could earn money only as indentured laborers for abysmal pay. One senior officer believed the Protectorate was violating the international Forced Labour Convention (Lambert 1933: 29 May), and another charged that its economy was based on, “in fact if not in theory, forced labour at very low rates of wages—forced by the imposition of a poll tax, by the desire for trade goods, and the total lack of other means of earning money, and organized on a system of two years indenture based on severe penal sanctions ... the system is a vicious circle leading only to progressive impoverishment and discontent” (in Allan 1951; see Akin 2013: 231–37).

Many Solomon Islanders had come to accept as a tragic truth that most white people were incapable of normal social relations or kindness, at least with them, and that they would always suffer economic discrimination. This was the socioeconomic scene that the war interrupted. When Islanders met American soldiers, they discovered among some of them opportunities for radically new sorts of exchange relationships with white people, ranging from gift exchanges to competitive entrepreneurship. Solomon Islands art played an important role in both.

A common method for marketing art and other things to Americans was for individual Solomon Islanders to visit the military camps (see photo 2). Sometimes large groups traveled to bases together; in May 1943 Father Emery deKlerk, a Catholic missionary near Tagarare in western Guadalcanal, saw “a whole fleet of native canoes traveling toward Lunga to trade with the American soldiers” (1941–1944: 26). Selling art, vegetables, or labor was not the only reason for such visits, since in addition to hospitality American sometimes gave Islander friends gifts of food, tools, clothing, and even rifles. Many Islanders felt compelled to reciprocate, and in the process build more lasting and personal exchange relationships. A problem was that beyond their labor they had little that Americans wanted, a crucial exception, and solution, being gifts of artwork. In 1982, Ma`aanamae told of carving bird-shaped dance sticks (used in Malaitan mortuary rituals) for various Americans while he was in the Labour Corps, but when Akin asked how much he had charged, he insisted that he never made them to sell, but as gifts, “because the Americans were our friends,” and others did likewise. Such gifts soon took on political significance when, in 1943, perhaps inspired by the early contributions to mission fundraisers, Islanders presented a large gift of food, money, and art to U.S. officers at Tulagi. Anthropologist and government advisor Ian Hogbin reported that these were given as “evidence of goodwill” or as a “bribe,” and were part of a general movement, the thrust of which was: “We don’t want the government back at Tulagi” and “The Americans must stay” (1943).

While some gave art as gifts, others were keen hawkers of it. Another Malaitan Labour Corps veteran, Sulafanamae, told Akin how he sold his fine plaited combs (see Quai Branly combs 71.1954.20.243D; A.1931.543), and even invented a new, fancy type

that he earned US\$15 apiece for and artists still make today. Initial Labour Corps recruits were paid £1 per month, just over US\$3, but, wrote Wilbert Chapman, who worked in the Western Solomons in 1944, “It was not unusual to have a native make change for you from a roll of American bills an inch or more thick” (1949: 77). Soldiers sometimes commissioned specific art pieces either in exchange for goods or favors or for purchase.



Photo 3. A carved comb sold to an American soldier, inscribed “South Malaita” and nearly three times normal size (length 33 cm.). Collection of first author, photo by Pi-Ping Savage.

Many fine Solomon Islands artists of later years first learned their skills and developed their talents during the war, but Americans wanted some things that anyone could make, the most obvious being the ubiquitous grass skirts mentioned by so many

veterans, “‘the number one item’ on servicemen’s shopping lists” (Brawley and Dixon 2012: 90; see Bennett 2009: 253–55). The skirts were largely an invention to meet the new market’s demand; American tastes had been molded through Hollywood images and the popularization of Hawaiian music and hula dancers in the 1930s (see *ibid.*). Solomon Islanders, most of who came from places that had never had grass skirts, learned to produce them quickly in large quantities. In some villages women formed production lines to make them, or other woven or plaited items like mats and baskets.

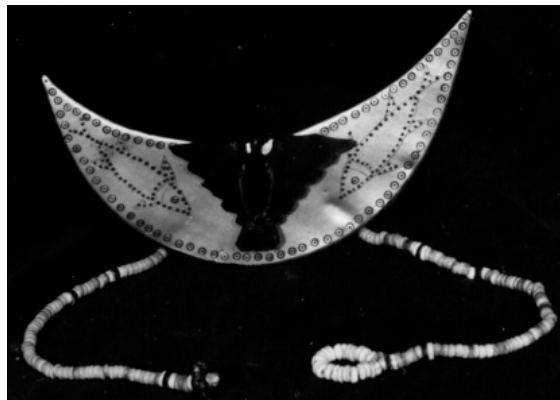


Photo 4. *Dafi* pearlshell pendant from north Malaita, with attached turtle shell eagle designed after American military insignias (compare Mallon 2012: 337–39) instead of the usual frigate bird. The pendant itself likely predates the war. Length 24 cm. Photo in first author’s collection, photographer unknown.

Another adaptation to the new market was the miniaturization of desired objects to make them more portable—especially small clubs and bows and arrows—early versions of Pacific “airport art.” Of other things artists made giant versions, such as combs too large to be functional. Some began to carve, inlay, or plait place names into wooden and fiber items (see photo 3; Akin 1989–1990: 11). Artists quickly incorporated military designs into work of all sorts—stars, flag patterns, and American eagles with wings spread appeared on carvings, bag designs, and beadwork produced for soldiers, as well as

on things made for home use (photo 4; see Akin 1989–1990: 11). Also learned was the trick of treating wood with bootblack or battery carbon to make it look like black ebony.

In some cases, as among Labour Corps members who served in base areas for one-year stints, interactions continued long enough to develop friendly relationships, indicated by exchanging names, eating together, playing music, and so on. Men returned home with a repertoire of American popular songs such as “You Are My Sunshine” and other favorites still evident in today’s string band repertoires. Given the symbolism of sharing food, and especially of sitting down and eating together—a basic marker of mutual relationship among family and friends—these small actions of daily life around the bases, camps, and villages turned out to be the most subversive to the colonial social hierarchy. The words of Jonathan Fifi`i, who worked with Americans and after the war became a major political leader, sum up sentiments widely shared among the wartime generation, especially men who worked or served alongside the American and Allied militaries: “They invited us inside [their tents], and when we were inside, we could sit on their beds. We got inside and they gave us their glasses so we could drink out of them, too. They gave us plates and we ate with their spoons. That was the first we had seen of that kind of thing. We talked about it like this, ‘Those people like the British and the whites before, it was terrible because they were not kind to us! These people here are really nice to us. We can all sit on one bed, and we all eat together’” (1988: 224). Solomon Islanders were also much impressed when black troops of the 93rd Army Infantry Division arrived on Guadalcanal in early 1944, and appeared to them to be free of many of the inequalities they themselves suffered (see photo 5).



Photo 5. Islanders bartering local products with U.S. Navy Seabees off Gela, September 1943. U.S. Government unnumbered photo, Naval Construction Battalion Center, Port Hueneme, California.

Camaraderie around wartime exchanges could evoke ironic comments and satire acknowledging that parties to these transactions understood the fictions of ‘primitive’ or ‘cannibal’ that haunted the stereotypic expectations of the newcomers. Thus, a young Lt. John F. Kennedy made this side remark in a letter home: “Have a lot of natives around and am getting hold of grass skirts, war clubs, etc. We had one in today who told us about the last man he ate” (Bennett 2009: 254). Colonial control was also being undermined more directly; Islanders’ relationships with some Americans transcended casual friendship when individual soldiers gave them political advice, counseled labor strikes, and even incited them to rebel, in some cases at weekly discussions.

While many Solomon Islanders welcomed the opportunity to explore relations with and learn from powerful, new outsiders, colonial authorities saw that prospect as a serious problem—from the start they worried that unregulated interactions with foreigners would spoil or corrupt a relatively compliant native population. Responding to their requests, U.S. Major General Alexander Patch in 1943 issued an order to his commanders on Guadalcanal to more strictly control soldiers’ interactions with natives, noting that military personnel were “permitting casual natives to wander through camps and military areas and encouraging this latter bad practice by feeding or making gifts to these casual natives.” The order, composed with British spellings, upended reality by warning that natives saw gift giving “as weakness on the part of the giver,” echoing Rhoades’ and White’s portrayals of stingy Islanders quoted earlier. Attached was a “schedule” of proper (that is, lower) prices for labor, specific foods, and walking sticks of ebony and coconut wood, inlayed and not (US\$.50–2.00 for the sticks) (Patch 1943).

Instructions like these were repeated often in official communications as colonial authorities, accustomed to a sharp separation and subordination in native relations found themselves surrounded by interactions that violated those conventions. In 1943, Papua’s government anthropologist F. E. Williams, with direction from colonial officers and planters, wrote a booklet to guide armed forces in New Guinea; *You and the Native*, which was also issued to American soldiers in the Solomons, put the matter simply: “Always, without overdoing it, be the master. The time may come when you will want a native to obey you. He won’t obey you if you have been in the habit of treating him as an equal” (Allied Geographical Section 1943: 4; on such “guides” for soldiers, see Brawley

and Dixon 2012: 86–88). Later in the war the U.S. Command fenced some camps, which barred many Americans from meeting any Solomon Islanders.

The fifteen white officers in charge of the Labour Corps, many of them former plantation managers, were dismayed by the economic and social changes brought on by the war, particularly the growing disregard with which Islanders treated them and the palpable slipping away of white control. They moved to reassert their authority. In the Labour Corps camps men collected things they had salvaged, received as gifts from Americans, or earned as casual labor or by selling artwork or produce. While they were away at work, officers with police squads ransacked their tents and seized clothing and equipment—which they labeled “loot”—or formally burned their goods in a heap in front of them when they returned in the evening. Such shortsighted bullying inflamed resentments already rife, and just after the war many Solomon Islanders cited these episodes, and political counsel Americans gave them, as key inspirations for the Maasina Rule movement, which brought colonial administration on Malaita to a virtual halt for several years through a labor strike and organized civil resistance (see Akin 2013).

Given the profitability of wartime souvenir sales, entrepreneurs of all kinds moved into the trade. Soldiers could purchase art through various channels besides Islanders visiting their camps, the most organized being expatriate-owned stores. A Chinese family opened one to sell curios in Honiara, and, it is said, made ‘native curios’ of their own (Curios Satisfy 1992: 90; see Bennett 2009: 258), and in the Western Solomons one man later recounted selling for a store on Vella Lavella: “They would make crafts like carvings and grass skirts for the American soldiers to buy, and we were the middlemen” (Kevesi in King 1985). Some American installations had official “trading posts” that sold

curios, and there were “native trading posts” run by Islanders, like that where Alex Sharpe bought his clubs.

Colin Allan’s view of “the ordinary G.I.” was shared by many of his fellow colonial officers: “He was kindly, generous but naive. With little to purchase with his dollars he cheerfully paid fabulous prices for walking canes, grass skirts, leaf mats, and all manner of curios both real and bogus” (1950: 82). From 1943–1944, the Protectorate tried to run a system to buy up art in quantity around Malaita to sell to troops on Guadalcanal at fixed prices. This was already being done on Makira, and a similar system had supplied the Americans with Malaitan thatch and vegetables. The art scheme had obvious appeal for the government, since it would ensure “reasonable” prices were paid; government officers rather than Americans would gain prestige from paying out money; and it might help put more distance between Malaitans and soldiers. In the end the initiative failed—while some Malaitans were willing to sell their art, officers lacked the time or staff to run it properly. When a notorious alcoholic placed in charge of collections botched them, officers faced angry, frustrated art sellers (see Akin 1989–1990).

There were other efforts to “normalize” wartime exchanges of artifacts by restrictive policies, standardizing prices, and creating controlled outlets. But much of the exchange that worried authorities evolved as an uncertain, informal mix of gift giving, bartering, and buying in both directions. Thus, the caption of a photo showing two young Solomon Islanders sitting with an American GI holding a flashlight reads, “Young traders offer money to buy a Marine’s flashlight after he refused to swap it for two grass skirts” (Lindstrom and White, 1990: 141). Members of the 61st United States Navy Construction Battalion (“Seabees”) bargained often with Melanesians, although, “To the dismay of

most Seabees, these natives proved to be more shrewd in their bargaining than they themselves. Despite this, a multitude of Yankee gadgets and food were exchanged for native war clubs, miniature boats and statues, ornamented wooden combs, ivory nut rings, and mother of pearl” (*Sixty-First* 1945: 11; cf. Mallon 2012: 331).

Some soldiers wanted souvenirs not as keepsakes but rather to resell. Some spent their spare time seeking out souvenirs, visiting villages and sometimes hopping rides aboard barge ferries to other islands like Savo, Gavutu, Isabel, and Malaita in search of fresh fields for collecting (see *Sixty-First* 1945: 10). The best markets belonged to those with access to the thousands of troops who passed through, and especially to the Merchant Marine and other ships’ crews who were eager for curios (e.g., Cline and Michel 2002: 167). One Australian veteran told of Americans and Australians brawling over art-marketing territory on Bougainville to the north (Michael Quinnell 2003 personal communication to Akin).

The most prolific white entrepreneurs in the Solomons were the Seabees. They not only bought art; they produced their own “native artifacts” to sell to troops. Stationed in the same areas as the Labour Corps, some more enterprising members learned what kinds of objects American buyers preferred, and they had access to tool shops in which they made carvings with industrial efficiency. Before this they had had been running what Chapman called a “regular factory” making fake Japanese swords, flags, and the like (1949: 76–77; see Akin 1989–1990, 28: 11–12; Bennett 2009: 244; Mallon 2012: 332).

Some soldiers saw their acquisition of souvenirs as continuing longstanding traditions of “collecting” native art. Collecting during the war ranged from small-scale efforts of individual GIs to museum-scale projects. One of the latter was carried out by

Lt. John Burke, who enjoyed U.S. Navy sponsorship to gather artifacts representing the naval war in the Pacific (Bennett 2009: 260–62). In this respect, military agencies carried forward activities that had once been the province of Christian mission and colonial authorities interested in collecting and preserving traditional arts deemed rare or disappearing. Of course, given the creative endeavors of the Seabees, some of the Solomon Islands “native art” that now resides in American Museums, donated by war veterans or their families, was no doubt fabricated by Americans (or perhaps Chinese).

The last handful of Americans departed the Solomon Islands on 25 May 1950, most having left long before. The war had brought the largest invasion of visitors the country had ever seen or is likely to see again. Today, a few thousand tourists come each year, many to visit World War II battlefields. Honiara shops sell 1940s Coca-Cola bottles and rusted war paraphernalia alongside Solomon Islanders’ arts and crafts. The tourists who buy art today are quite different from the wartime soldiers, though some seek the same sorts of Pacific exoticism they did, and an ever-dwindling number are returning veterans. But the war period has had a lasting impact on the work and perspectives of Solomon Islands artists. Its influence is still palpable in newer pieces: the wartime motifs that 1940s artists adapted to their work remain part of local art styles, and one can still purchase miniature weapons, faked ebony, and carvings or bags adorned with place names. Many of today’s artists were first taught their skills by people who learned them during the war so they could sell to Americans.

When Akin began to help Malaitans sell their artwork in 1979 many assumed it would all be sent to America. Those too young to remember the war had heard about the high prices Americans paid, and stories are still told of the war years as a golden age of

art making and marketing. The wartime experience revealed to people for the first time that there were large and lucrative foreign markets for things they made, but for most artists those markets moved out of reach with the soldiers' departure. For Solomon Islanders, this was merely one facet of the broader political and economic expectations raised by the war experience but left unfulfilled when it was over (see Akin 2014).

While the military history of World War II in the Solomon Islands is heavily documented, with such famous incidents as the sinking of Kennedy's PT-109 patrol boat, the same cannot be said for the wartime experiences of Solomon Islanders and their interactions with the military forces of the United States, its Allies, and Japan. And yet, as ethnographic and historical work is now bringing to light, this was a crucial time in the formation of Solomon Islander aspirations for future political change. What proved to be most influential was not the war itself so much as the seemingly mundane, quotidian interactions between Islanders and military personnel. In this realm of ordinary encounters, the exchange of native artifacts, whether as gifts or commoditized souvenirs, was a primary element in a much broader transformation that would unfold over the decades to come as the Solomon Islands moved toward independence in a global Pacific.

REFERENCES

- Akin, David. 1989–1990. World War II and the Evolution of Pacific Art. *Pacific Arts* 27: 5–11; 28: 11–12.
- Akin, David. 2013. *Colonialism, Maasina Rule, and the Origins of Malaitan Kastom*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Akin, David. 2014. Regenerating Local Arts at the Kwaio Cultural Centre. In Ben Burt and Lissant Bolton, eds., *The Things We Value: Culture and History in Solomon Islands*. Herefordshire: Sean Kingston Publishing.

- Allan, Colin. 1950. The Marching Rule Movement in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate: An Analytical Survey. MA thesis, Cambridge University.
- Allan, Colin. 1951. Malaita District Commissioner report. 13 June. Solomon Islands National Archive, BSIP 1/III/S[ecret]185.
- Allied Geographical Section [F. E. Williams]. 1943. *You and the Native: Notes for the Guidance of Members of the Forces in Their Relations with New Guinea Natives*. Brisbane: General Headquarters, Southwest Pacific Area.
- Bennett, Judith A. 2009. *Natives and Exotics: World War II and Environment in the Southern Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Brawley, Sean and Chris Dixon. 2012. *Hollywood's South Seas and the Pacific War: Searching for Dorothy Lamour*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burt, Ben. 2013. Tracing Artefacts from the Melanesian Mission. In Lissant Bolton et al., eds., *Melanesia: Art and Encounter*. London: British Museum Press.
- Chapman, Wilbert. 1949. *Fishing in Troubled Waters*. New York: J. B. Lippincott.
- Cline, Dennis with Bob Michel. 2002. *Skeeter Beaters: Memories of the South Pacific*. Elk River, MN: DeForest Press.
- Curios Satisfy the Marines' Curiosity. 1992. Anonymous article in Des Dugan, ed., *Guadalcanal, 1942–1992*. Chatswood, NSW: Mace Marketing, 90.
- de Burlo, Charles. 1989. Islanders, Soldiers and Tourists: The War and the Shaping of Tourism in Melanesia. In Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom, eds., *The Pacific Theater: Island Representations of World War II*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 299–325.
- deKlerk, Emery. 1941–1944. Diary. Washington, D.C.: United States Naval Historical Center, file 34(19)(A).
- Douglas, Ngaire. 1996. The Pilgrims. In *They Came for Savages: A Hundred Years of Tourism in Melanesia*. Alstonville, NSW: Southern Cross University Press.
- Fifi'i, Jonathan. 1988. World War II and the Origins of Maasina Rule. In Geoffrey M. White, David Gegeo, David Akin, and Karen Watson-Gegeo, eds., *The Big Death: Solomon Islanders Remember World War II*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, 97–103, 220–26.
- Foana`ota, Lawrence and Geoffrey M. White. 2011. Solomon Islands Cultural Policy? A Brief History of Practice. In Edvard Hviding and Knut M. Rio, eds., *Made in Oceania:*

- Social Movements, Cultural Heritage and the State in the Pacific*. Wantage: Sean Kingston Publishing, 273–99.
- Grover, John. 1958. Geological Survey of the B.S.I.P. “Plans for Visit of HMS ‘Cook.’” 30 Mar. First author’s files.
- Hogbin, H. Ian. 1943. Report to Resident Commissioner Owen Noel, “Big Gela and Olevuga-Vatila Subdistricts, Florida.” 30 Oct. First author’s files.
- King, Robert, ed. 1985. Untitled collection of World War II accounts by people of Western Province, Solomon Islands. MS. Western Provincial Government, Gizo.
- Lambert, Sylvester. 1933. Diary of his Solomon Islands visit, May–June. Lambert Papers, Tuzin Archive for Melanesian Anthropology, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego, MSS 682.
- Lindstrom, Lamont and Geoffrey M. White. 1990. *Island Encounters: Black and White Memories of the Pacific War*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Mallon, Sean. 2012. War and Visual Culture 1939–1945. In P. Brunt et al., eds., *Art in Oceania: A New History*. London: Thames & Hudson, 326–47.
- Patch, Alexander M. (U.S. Major General). 1943. Memo on “Native Labor.” 29 Mar. Solomon Islands National Archive, BSIP 5/I/1/3.
- Rhoades, F. Ashton (“Snowy”). 1982. *Diary of a Coast Watcher in the Solomons*. Fredericksburg, TX: Admiral Nimitz Foundation.
- Sixty-First Sea Foam: A Log Book*. 1945. Compiled by members of the Sixty-First U.S. Naval Construction Battalion. Baton Rouge: Army & Navy Pictorial Publishers.
- Smith, Frank A. 2013. *The Travels of a Happy Hooligan*. Bloomington: AuthorHouse.
- Van Dusen, H. P. 1945. *They Found the Church There: The Armed Forces Discover Christian Missions*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons.
- White, Charles Gordon. 1929. Medical tour diaries. Lambert Papers, Tuzin Archive for Melanesian Anthropology, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego, MSS 682.