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PACIFIC STUDIES

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COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN GENEALOGIES IN THE BISHOP MUSEUM

by Kenneth P. Emory

The Polynesian genealogies housed at the Bishop Museum have been gathered from many parts of Polynesia. They have been collected and studied especially for what they could reveal of history and social organization. Among the most extensive collections at the Museum are those from Hawaii, the Society Islands, and the Tuamotu Archipelago. It is with these that I have worked in the attempt to judge their reliability in reconstructing the prehistory of their possessors, and it is with these that I will deal in this present essay aimed at understanding their nature.

Genealogies which reach back any great length of time in Polynesia are those of the chiefs, whose claim to power derives from being descended from mythical beings or gods. These genealogies can only be properly understood against a background of Polynesian mythology, a knowledge of Polynesian intrarelations and of the origin and spread of the Polynesians throughout the islands of Polynesia.

Aboriginal Polynesia is divided culturally into East Polynesia and West Polynesia. East Polynesia comprises Hawaii, New Zealand, the Society Islands (including Tahiti), the Marquesas Islands, Easter Island, the Tuamotus, Mangareva, the Cook Islands, and the Austral Islands. West Polynesia comprises Samoa (and adjacent islands) and Tonga (and adjacent islands). The language of these groups is such that the Polynesians are able to understand each others' speech after only a short contact. The comparative ease with which all Polynesians understand each other is due to the Polynesian-speaking people having moved through the area comparatively recently and rapidly without encountering another language. Had this not been the case there would have been irregularities in the otherwise very close linguistic relationships among the islands. Further, it has been demonstrated that the language

moved from West Polynesia to East Polynesia¹ as did the culture, along with their carriers, the Polynesian people.²

Using the new tool of radiocarbon dating, recent archaeological investigations make it possible for us to judge the time when islands of Polynesia first became occupied, and clearly indicate that this first occupation was by people bearing a typical Oceanic culture. No convincing evidence of an earlier substratum of non-Polynesian culture has been uncovered in any of the islands. This does not exclude influence from South America, from where the sweet potato was somehow introduced early in Polynesian history.

Recent research indicates that the Polynesians had their immediate origin in the islands of adjacent Melanesia to the west, where it has been discovered that Fijian and the Polynesian languages have a common origin.³ Present radiocarbon dates allow for Fiji being inhabited as far back as 1,500 B.C., Tonga 1,000 B.C., Samoa 500 B.C., the Marquesas Islands A.D. 100, the Society Islands A.D. 400, Easter Island A.D. 600, New Zealand and Hawaii A.D. 750, with Hawaii receiving new arrivals from the Society Islands about A.D. 1250. The above reinforces quite well a conclusion I had reached a decade ago:

It seems, therefore, erroneous to consider that there ever was a migration to Polynesia of a people physically identical with the Polynesians as we know them, and as already possessing the distinctive features of Polynesian language and culture. What now appears most likely is that people of somewhat diverse origins came together in a western archipelago in the Polynesian area about B.C. 1500 [1000 B.C. is the present estimate], and, in comparative isolation, their descendants, their language, and their culture took on the features which the Polynesians now share in common and which give them their distinctive characteristics.⁴

Hawaiian Genealogies

At the start it was most important for us at the Bishop Museum to learn the basis on which the *ali'i*, or those of chiefly rank, and more especially, the ruling chiefs, derived their hereditary positions. The geneal-

¹ Bruce Biggs, "The Past Twenty Years in Polynesian Linguistics," in G. H. Highland and others, *Polynesian Culture History: Essays in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1967), pp. 303-318.

² Roger C. Green, "The Immediate Origins of the Polynesians," see Highland, pp. 215-240.

³ G. W. Grace, *The Position of the Polynesian Languages within the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) Language Family* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1959), p. 65.

⁴ K. P. Emory, "Origin of the Hawaiians," *JPS*, 68, No. 1 (1959), 34.

ogies of many of the ruling chiefs of the eighteenth century have been preserved and recorded. In Hawaii all go back to the primal pair Wakea and Papa, in whom we can recognize the personifications Sky Father and Earth Mother of East Polynesia--and from whom their chiefs also trace descent.

The publication of the Kumulipo genealogical creation chant by Queen Liliuokalani in 1897⁵ provided the genealogical ancestors of Wakea and Papa back to their earliest beginning in the PO, or the formless period of darkness. David Malo, who completed his manuscript about 1840, presented a genealogy from Wakea down to chief Liloa who lived sixteen generations before 1900.⁶ He also names the parents of Wakea, Kahiko and Kupulanakehau, and refers to important names such as: Paliku, Ololo (Lolo), Puanue, Lailai, through whom the genealogy can be traced back to Kumulipo⁷ born in the Po. When Samuel Kamakau published the genealogy of Keopuolani, wife of Kamehameha I, in 1868, he extended the genealogy back in time before Wakea and Papa to Kumuhonua, a descendant of Ololo, and to Hulihonua, a descendant of Paliku. Ololo and Paliku were brothers in the Kumulipo chant.⁸

With the Kumulipo chant and Kamakau's Keopuolani genealogy, it is possible to construct a genealogical framework of Hawaiian chiefs leading from Kumulipo down to the descendants of the ruling dynasties on Kauai, Oahu, Maui and Hawaii, as I have done in Chart I: Genealogical Framework of Hawaiian Chiefs. From Kumulipo, Source of Deep Darkness, to Wakea and Papa, the important names are given in Chart I, Part I. These fall into what we now recognize as the Cosmogonic Period. Although the Hawaiians came to regard Wakea and Papa simply as superhuman people, a study of concepts of creation in East Polynesia and of the beginnings of many of their genealogies makes it very plain that Papa (Foundation) and Wakea (Space) and those who preceded them were mythical beings, many of them poetic personifications.⁹

Depending on which of the chiefly lines the counting is based, it is possible to obtain a count of sixty generations before 1900 to Wakea and seventy-three generations to Papa. Ki'i stands at sixty-one gener-

⁵ Martha Warren Beckwith, *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

⁶ Beckwith, p. 238.

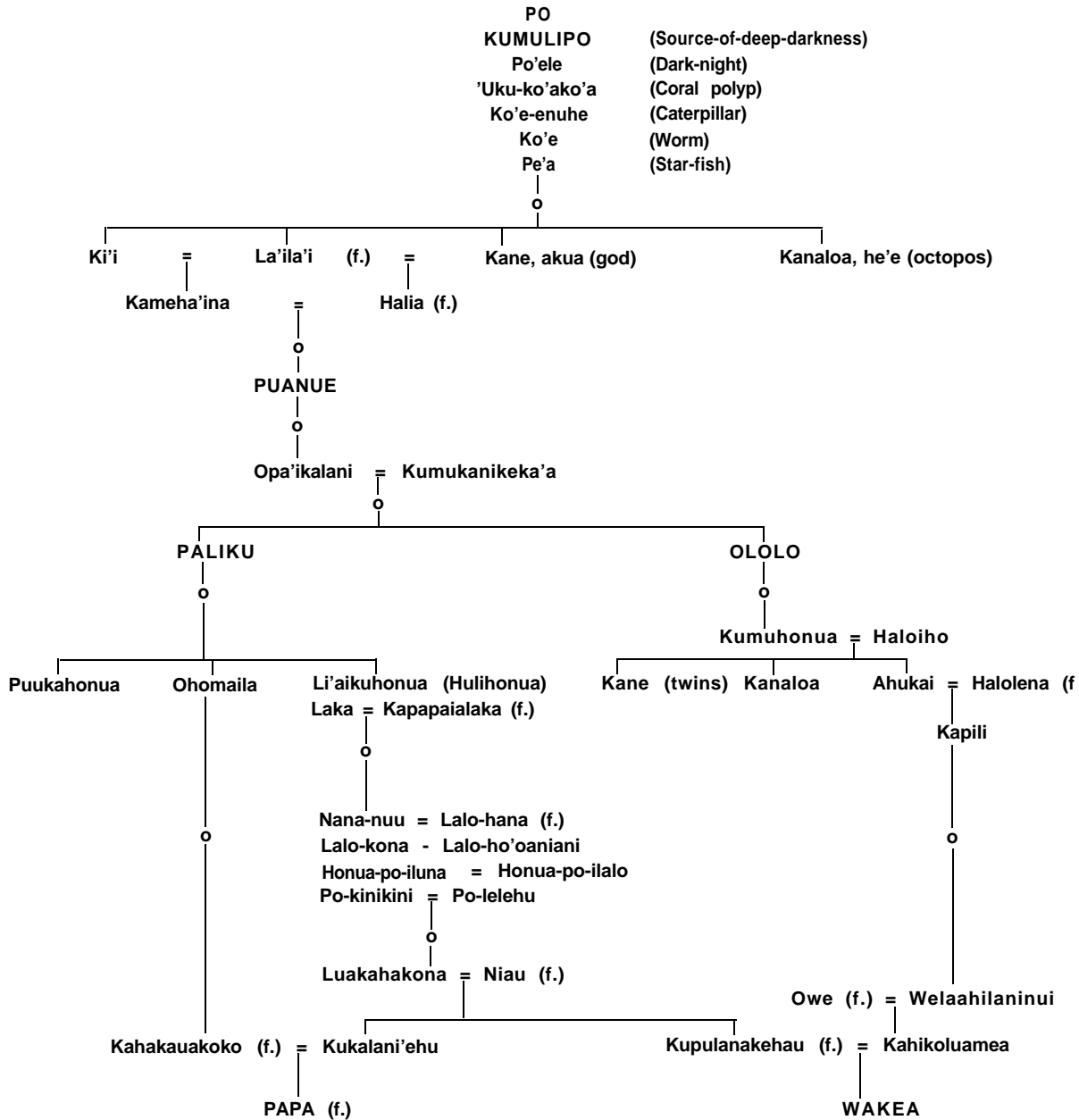
⁷ Beckwith, pp. 2, 4, and 238.

⁸ Samuel M. Kamakau, *The Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha School Press, 1961), p. 433.

⁹ K. P. Emory, "Tuamotuan Concepts of Creation," *JPS*, 49 (1940). See also Dorothy B. Barrère, "Revisions and Adulterations in Polynesian Creation Myths," in Highland, pp. 103-119.

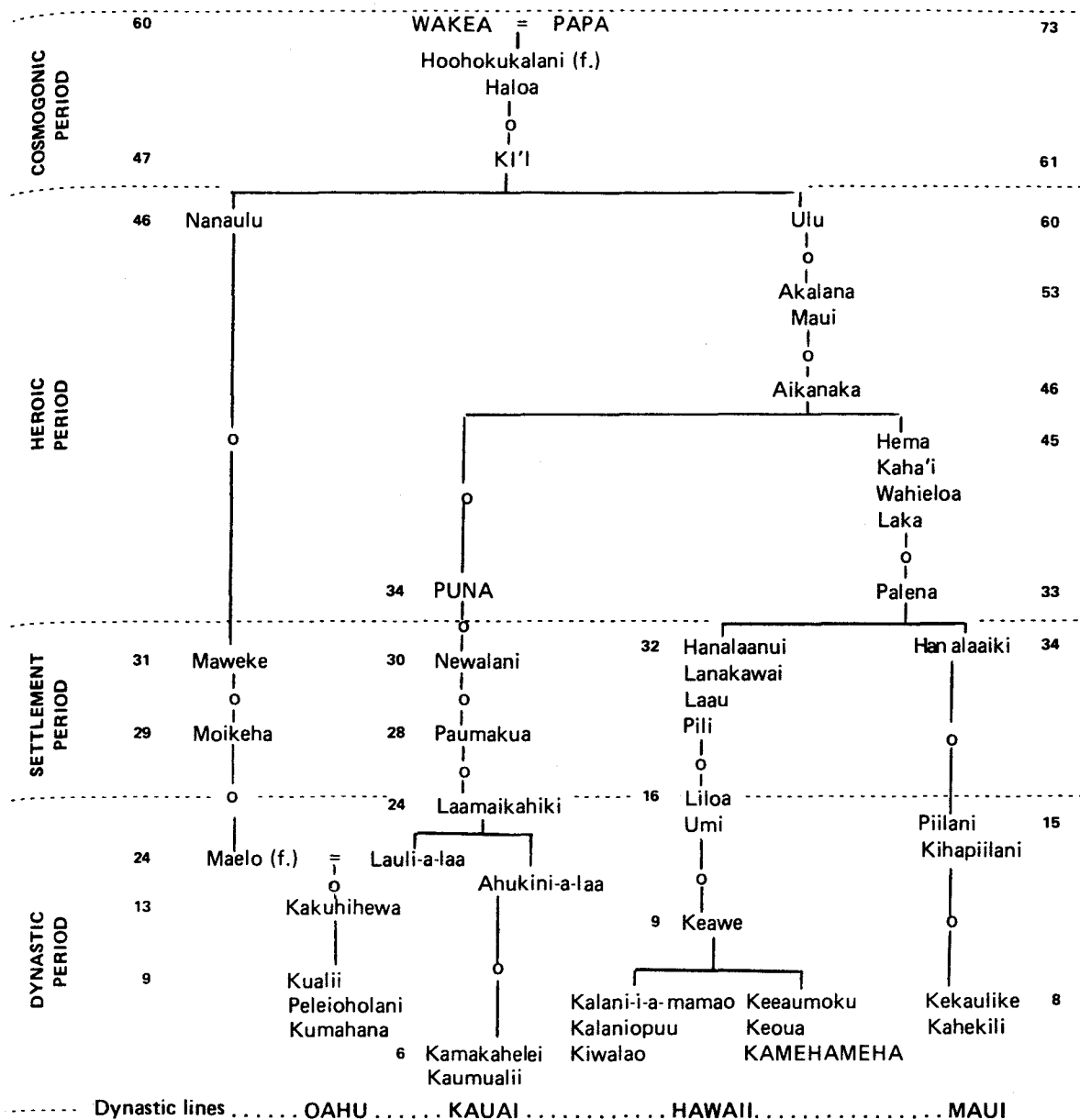
CHART I - Genealogical Framework of Hawaiian Chiefs

Part I : Cosmogonic Period



Important names are capitalized. The symbol "o" represents the omission of more than one generation and "f." indicates female. The above chart was compiled from *The Kumulipo, a Hawaiian Creation Chant* by Martha Beckwith, 1951 (lines 13-1726, 1732-1734), and from *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* by Samuel Kamakau, 1961:433 (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 22, 1868), and *Polynesian Race* by Abraham Fornander, 1878, 1:184-185. The names occur in *The Kumulipo*, except for Hulihonua who is Li'aiukuhonua. The following names occur in the lines given: Kumulipo (13), Pe'a (18), La'ila'i (612), Kameha'ina (712), Halia (684), Puanue (1566), Opa'ikalani (1633), Paliku (1710, 1735), Ololo (1711), Li'aiukuhonua (1754, 1814), Kumuhonua (1713), Kapili (1716), Nananuu (1820), Luakahakona (1840), Owe (1732), Haumea or PAPA (1794), and WAKEA (1795, 1847).

CHART I - Genealogical Framework of Hawaiian Chiefs
Part 2: Heroic, Settlement, and Dynastic Periods



Important names are capitalized. The symbol "o" represents the omission of more than one generation and "f." indicates female. Numbers refer to the number of generations before 1900. The generation count to Papa is through Ulu and Hema. The count to Wakea is through Nanaulu. Compiled from *Polynesian Race* by Abraham Fornander, 1878, 1:188-196.

ations through the line of one son, Ulu, and forty-seven generations through the line of his other son, Nanaulu.

The Cosmogonic Period in the genealogical framework reflects the concept of creation of the Hawaiians at the end of the eighteenth century. This authentic Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogy has long been obscured by what Judge Abraham Fornander called the Kumuhonua genealogy, and which he published to support the Hawaiian stories of creation and origin contained in his Kumuhonua "legends".¹⁰ It is most unfortunate that Fornander's Kumuhonua genealogy has been widely accepted as authentically ancient by Hawaiians and foreigners alike, because this has led to untenable views as to ancient Polynesian beliefs concerning their creation and early history.

Dorothy Barrère, associate in Hawaiian culture at the Bishop Museum, was the first to point out that Fornander's genealogy from Kumuhonua to Papa and Wakea was a revision of the one his informant, Kamakau, published in 1868.¹¹ The revision consisted of omissions and interpolations made in an attempt to reconcile Hawaiian mythology and genealogy with Old Testament teachings. His revised genealogy also has been used to establish that the first Polynesians were called Menehune, after the interpolated ancestor Kalani-Menehune, and that his descendant, Hawaii-Loa, discovered and settled Hawaii eighty generations before 1900--that is, before the time of Wakea and Papa. The Bishop Museum has just published Barrère's more detailed study of the background and development of the Kumuhonua "legends" and accompanying genealogy, under the title, *The Kumuhonua Legends: Late Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Stories of Creation and Origin*.¹²

The names appearing after Ki'i and before Newalani, Hanalaanui, and Maweke, are in a period which we have termed the Heroic Period. It contains the names of such cultural heroes of Polynesia as Maui and Kaha'i and their parents. We still do not have a real genealogy. We cannot say on the basis of this genealogy that Maui lived fifty-two generations ago and Kaha'i forty-four generations ago. But, commencing with the names of Maweke at thirty-one generations and Newalani at thirty generations, we are encountering traditional names of chiefs who, it is claimed, migrated to Hawaii. From Liloa of Hawaii at sixteen generations before 1900 and Pi'ilani of Maui at fifteen generations, we are

¹⁰ Abraham Fornander, *The Polynesian Race* (London: Trubner & Co., 1878), I, 181-183.

¹¹ Dorothy B. Barrère, "Cosmogonic Genealogies of Hawaii," *JPS*, 70 (1961), 423-425.

¹² Dorothy B. Barrère, *The Kumuhonua Legends: Late Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Stories of Creation and Origin* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1969), see especially Appendix II which compares the genealogies.

meeting with historic characters, the founders of dynasties in the Hawaiian Islands.

Society Islands' Genealogies

In the Society Islands, as in Hawaii, the lengthy genealogies handed down from the past and recorded in family books are those of the ruling chiefs. The Bishop Museum is fortunate to have copies of probably all those kept in the hands of the last of the Pomare dynasty, and also those of Tati Salmon, the last of the principal rival chiefly family. They embrace ruling chiefs of all the islands: Tahiti and Moorea in the windward group, and Huahine, Raiatea, Tahaa, and Borabora in the leeward group. A good number were published by Teuira Henry in *Ancient Tahiti*.¹³ I assembled all the separate genealogies we collected in a manuscript entitled *The Traditional History of Maraes in the Society Islands*.¹⁴ In many of the manuscript books of the Tahitians, the place of origin and name of the *marae* (temple) of individuals is noted. The remains of these *marae* exist except when destroyed by developments subsequent to the conversion to Christianity. It was with the aim of determining the antiquity of certain of the *marae* that I brought together this unpublished data. Since I compiled it in 1932, the whole work needs now to be revised, particularly the interpretations of the genealogical records.

In comparing these genealogies one finds gaps, inconsistencies, and examples of padding in the early introductory form of the genealogies, but they are genuinely traditional genealogies. How far back they are true genetic genealogies is a matter of judgment after study. Branches and cross matings provide some control.

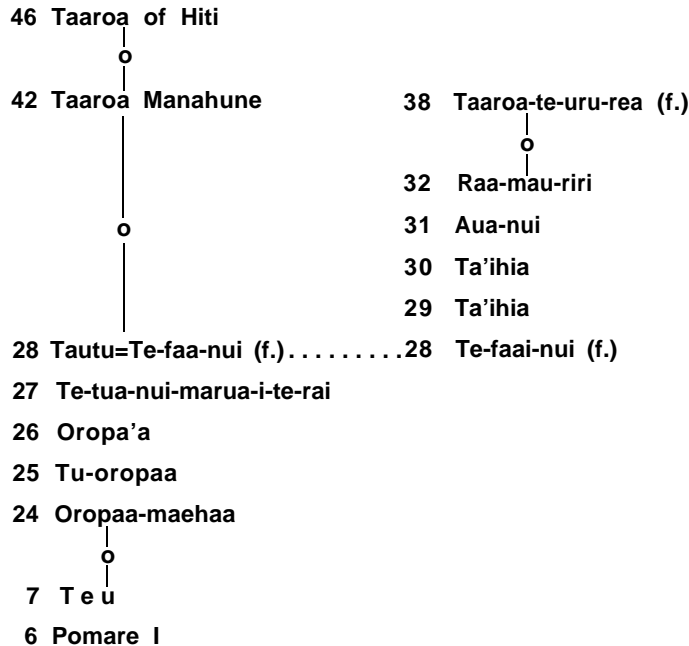
One Windward Island genealogy and one Leeward Island genealogy stand out among all the others, and, as generations went on, they unite at many points so that in the end all the ruling chiefs were closely related and formed a cooperation known as the hui *ari'i* which lasted until the French Government took over the rule of the islands in the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century.

a. Windward Society Island Genealogies

The genealogical chart of the Windward Islands starts with Ta'aroa of Hiti (means an ancestral land) forty-six generations before 1900, comes down to an Oropa'a at twenty-six generations, and then down to Pomare I, through his father Teu as shown on Chart II.

¹³ Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1928), pp. 247-272.

¹⁴ K. P. Emory, "The Traditional History of *Maraes* in the Society Islands," an unpublished paper in the Bishop Museum.

*Polynesian Genealogies Compared***CHART I I - Pomare's Genealogy, Tahiti****Salmon's Version**

Henry gives a version of the genealogy in chant form, the spouses being omitted.¹⁵ The Bishop Museum has the full genealogy with all its ramifications. One collateral line which comes down to the grandmother of Oropa'a, identifies her as the daughter of Ta'ihia, son of 'Aua-nui. It begins with Taaroa-te-uru-rea at thirty-eight generations. There is a famous Tangihia-ariki of Rarotonga, whose father is Kaua, who happens to stand, by one count, at thirty-one generations before 1900,¹⁶ and I thought that here we had a cross between the Society Islands and Rarotonga genealogies, but the antecedents of father and son proved not to be the same. I have concluded, therefore, that this is an example of interpolating a famous chief and his father into one or the other of these genealogies. The name Oropa'a at twenty-six generations before 1900 is equivalent in Hawaii to the name Olopana, a chief who accompanied Maweke in his traditional voyage to Tahiti twenty-nine generations ago. (See Chart I, Part 2). I thought, perhaps, here we had a Hawaiian cross with a Tahitian genealogy through the names Oropa'a and Olopana, but now I am convinced we have simply a sharing of a traditional name.

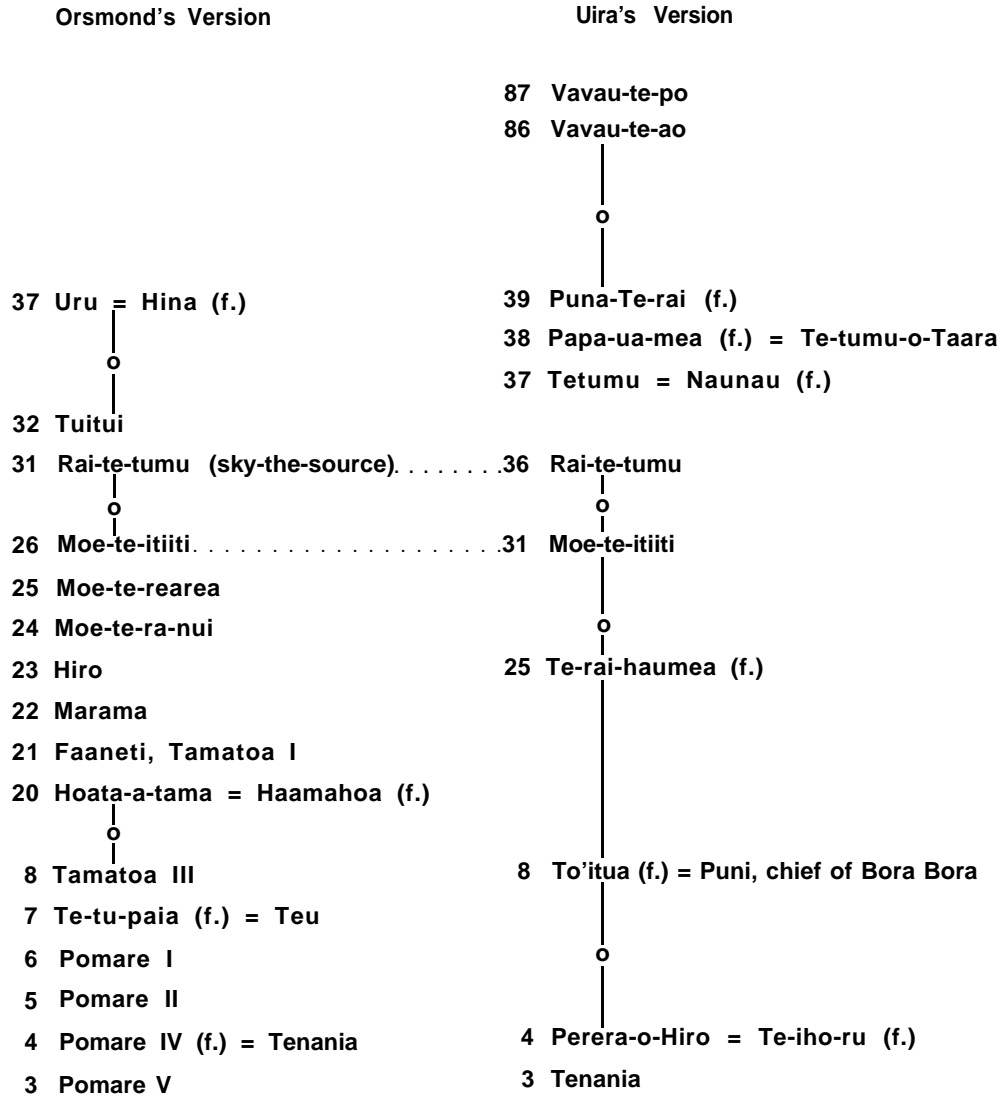
¹⁵ Henry, p. 265.

¹⁶ S. Percy Smith, *Hawaiki: The Original Home of the Maoris* (London: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1921), Appendix.

b. Leeward Society Island Genealogies

The Leeward Island genealogies (See Chart III) go back to Ra'i-te-tumu (Sky-the-Source).

CHART III - Tamatoa's Genealogy, Raiatea



In Henry's genealogy,¹⁷ this name stands at thirty-one generations; on the Uira manuscript genealogy in the Bishop Museum, it appears as the thirty-sixth generation. All these genealogies come down to Moe-te-raruri, father of Hiro of great renown in Tahiti and the Tuamotus as a navigator and adventurer. Hiro's grandson Faaneti, starts the Tamatoa dynasty as Tamatoa I, whose son Hoata-a-tama, by several wives, established the chiefly blood of Raiatea on Moorea in the Windward Islands

¹⁷ Henry, p. 247.

and on Borabora in the Leeward Islands. The line goes down to Te-tupaia, the eldest offspring and daughter of Tamatoa III, and the mother of Pomare I. This genealogical connection gave to Pomare the prerogative of wearing the sacred red-feather loin girdle, the *maro 'ura*, at his *marae* on Tahiti, a symbol that he stood above all the others in the Windward Islands, and could enter the famous ancestral *marae* of Taputapuatea at Opo'a, Raiatea, where the Tamatoas were invested with the *maro 'ura* at the time the ruling chieftainship was conferred upon them.

It is the appearance of the name Hiro in the Rarotongan and Maori genealogies with three or four immediate ancestors all of whose names begin with Mo or Moe¹⁸ that has been taken as a link between these three groups in presettlement times. But again, the ancestors beyond the Moes are not the same, except for those in the genealogies of New Zealand and Rarotonga, and here we are dealing with a cultural hero of fabulous deeds who was carried in story form to these other groups where he now appears as an ancestor on the legendary part of their genealogies.

The Raiatea genealogy beginning with and extending beyond Ra'i-te-tumu enters the Cosmogonic Period. It continues back for six generations, to Uru and his wife Hina in Henry's rendering of the genealogy.¹⁹ In the Uira manuscript, the parents of Ra'i-te-tumu are given as Te-tumu and Naunau. Te-tumu's parents are Papa-ua-mea-o-ruea, female, and Te-tumu-o-Taaroa, male. Beyond them the ancestors are Puna and Te-ra'i. The genealogy then continues in chant form, which gives a succession of fifty names until it arrives at the name Vavau-te-po. Vavau is another mythical homeland of the Tahitians. This addition is obviously a composition to lend mystery and sanctity to the genealogy.

Tuamotuan Genealogies

In the western Tuamotu archipelago some cosmogonic genealogies begin with the pair Tumu-po (Source-of-night) and Tumu-ao (Source-of-day) and end with Fakahotufenua (Fruitfulness-of-the-earth, representing the Earth Mother) and Atea (Space, representing the Sky Father), as the tenth pair.²⁰ (See Chart IV)

¹⁸ W. A. Cole and E. W. Jensen, *Israel in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society, 1961), p. 402.

¹⁹ Henry, p. 247.

²⁰ Emory, "Tuamotuan Concepts," pp. 72, 73, and 78.

CHART IV - Tuamotuan Genealogies

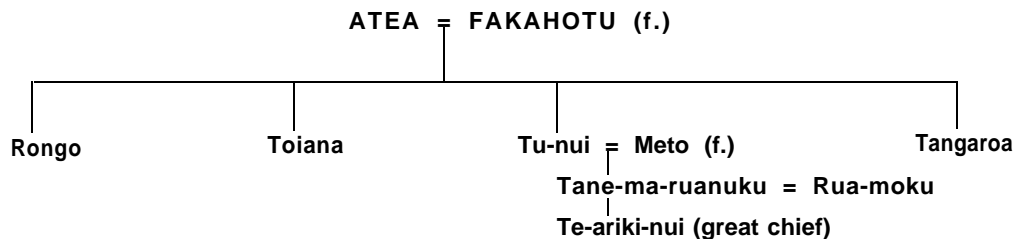
32	Tumu-po = Tumu-ao
	Tumu-haruru = Tumu-ngatata
	Tapatapaiaha = Te-fatu-moana
	Te Pou-henua = Rangitake
	Matau-heti = Te Kohu-ariki
	Orovaru = Turi-hono
	Kororupo = Te-tumu-Kuporu
	Tuaraki = Tu-rikiriki
	Havaiki = Peaka
	Fakahotu-henua = Atea

This genealogy of the Sky Father and Earth Mother which begins with Tumu-po was delivered in chant form.²¹ There are similar cosmogonic chants in the Tuamotus which reach down to Atea, such as the one from Fangatau which begins:

*E moe ana Tumu-po i raro i te
 Tumu-po sleeps below in the non-existence
 kore o te henua, te vare o te henua. . .
 of the earth, in the slime of the earth. . .
 Puta ranga o A tea. . .*²² Atea Emerges. . .

From Father Sky and Mother Earth the major gods are born and from them the chiefs descend, as illustrated in the beginning of the genealogy of the high chiefs of Hao atoll in the central Tuamotus. This genealogy was written in many of the genealogy books we copied.²³ In these genealogies Atea stood somewhere between twenty-eight to thirty-four generations before 1900.

CHART V - Hao Atoll Genealogy, Tuamotus



In the above we see the major gods Tane, Tu, Tangaroa, and Rongo, of the East Polynesians.

²¹ Emory, "Tuamotuan Concepts," p. 76.
²² Emory, "Tuamotuan Concepts," p. 76.
²³ Emory, "Tuamotuan Concepts," pp. 85-86.

Many of the presently preserved Tuamotuan genealogies start with a first settler from whom descent is traced. A typical example is a genealogy from Takapoto atoll in the northwest Tuamotus (Chart VI).

CHART VI - Takapoto Atoll Genealogy

		Tumu-nui = Tumu-iti	22
		Vahitu-ma-tagata = Tumu-o-vahitu (f.)	21
20	Honga-piri-take (f.)	Te-papa-o-vahitu (f.)	20
19	MATAPO	TAKAARO of Takaroa	19
		5 Sons	

In their traditional history the first person to dwell on Takapoto were Honga, his wife Piri Take and their son Matapo. Honga stands at twenty generations before 1900 or about A.D. 1400. Their son Matapo married Takaaro of the neighboring atoll of Takaroa. They had five sons, between whom the land was divided.²⁴

The sons had to take as wives, daughters from other neighboring islands. With the many intermarriages on the island of Takapoto itself the genealogies carry on, providing cross-checks which prove these genealogies to be true genealogies. But if we go beyond the twenty generations, as we can with the parents of Honga's wife, Takaaro who was from the neighboring island of Takaroa, we immediately enter the genealogy of mythical individuals. The mother of Takaaro is Te-papa-o-Vahitu (The-rock-foundation-of-the-Vahitu-clan) who is daughter of Tumu-o-Vahitu (Source-of-Vahitu), wife of Vahitu-ma-Tagata, said to be a *tuputupua*, or mythical person. Further than that Vahitu-ma-Tagata is represented as the son of Tumu-nui (Great-foundation) and Tumu-iti (Little-foundation) dwelling in the Nether World (Po).

From genealogies, chants and notes collected in the Tuamotus, I have already written up sketches of the traditional history of Anaa atoll²⁵ and of Takaroa, Takapoto, Faite, Fakarava, Hao, and Vahitahi atolls, presenting genealogies of the leading 'ati or *ngati*, or named localized descent groups.²⁶ Paul Ottino, in his penetrating essay on "Early 'ati of the Western Tuamotus" gives the genealogies of the original 'ati of Rangiroa atoll.²⁷

²⁴ K. P. Emory, *Tuamotuan Stone Structures* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1934), p. 36 and fig. 22.

²⁵ K. P. Emory and Paul Ottino, "Anaa: Histoire Traditionnelle d'un Atoll," *J. Soc. Océanistes*, 23 (1967), pp. 29-57.

²⁶ Emory, "Traditional History."

²⁷ Paul Ottino, "Early 'Ati of the Western Tuamotus," in *Highland*, pp. 451-481.

Maori and Hawaiian Genealogies Compared

Agreement between Hawaiian and Maori genealogies as shown in Chart VII is striking in the names shared and in the same order of the primal Hawaiian pair, Wakea and Papa; Ki'i (in New Zealand mythology the first human being); Ulu; Nanaulu; the cultural hero Maui and his parent Akalana; the cultural hero Kaha'i, his father, grandfather, son, and grandson.

CHART VII - Shared Names in Hawaiian and Maori Genealogies

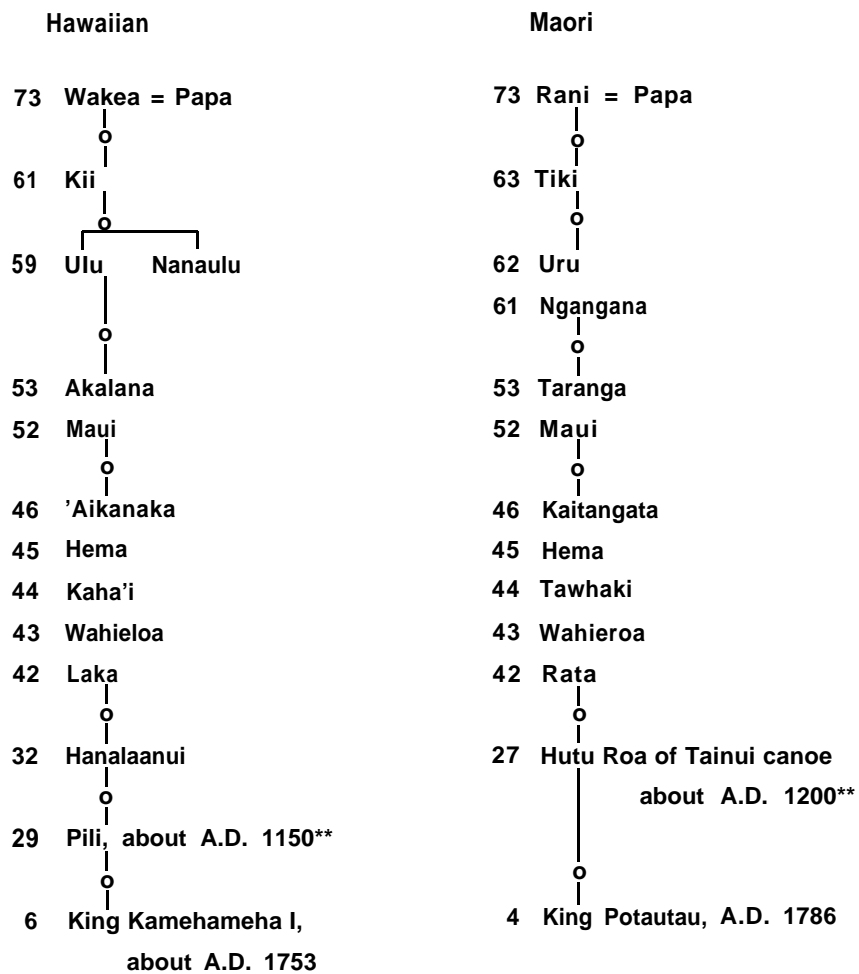


Chart compiled from Cole and Jensen, 1961, Chart 1, p. 397, and 2, pp. 398-399. The Hawaiian is based on Fornander, 1878, pp. 190-191.

**Dates allow 25 years to a generation.

But the names in between are not the same. This is because we are dealing with a mythical genealogy. The fact that both the Hawaiians and the Maoris share these same names in the same order is proof that, to this extent, this mythical genealogy existed in their Tahitian homeland before dispersal. It is not surprising that the genealogy after the mystical names evidences no agreement, because it covers the period after the ancestors of the Hawaiians and Maoris had separated. Since we have not found this genealogical agreement among those in Tahiti, but only the myths of the primal pair Tumu-nui and Papa, Ti'i (= Kaha'i) family,²⁸ we must assume that it has been lost in Tahiti.

The Maori genealogy enters their period of authentic traditional history with the name of Hotu Roa of the migrating Tainui canoe at twenty-eight generations before 1900 or about A.D. 1200. The Hawaiian genealogy enters their traditional history with Hanalanui, a contemporary of Moekeha, who was from Tahiti, at thirty-two generations, or about A.D. 1100. In addition, Hawaiian tradition states that Pili (at twenty-nine generations, about A.D. 1175) was brought to Hawaii by priest Paa'o from Tahiti.²⁹ The period of settlement indicated by this genealogy is in accord with radiocarbon dates obtained from archaeological investigations in New Zealand and Hawaii.

The above comparison between Hawaiian and Maori genealogies illustrates how it is possible to determine a genuinely traditional genealogy, and the usefulness that can be derived from Polynesian genealogies in the reconstruction of prehistory. It shows that they do reach a point beyond which the names cannot be accepted as those of actual ancestors, but which names do indicate a sharing of common traditions. They are names to link the mystical past to the present and transmit its power and glory.

Bishop Museum

²⁸ Henry, pp. 338, 402, 476, and 552-565.

²⁹ J. F. G. Stokes, "Whence Paa'o?" *Pap. Hawaiian Historical Society*, 15 (1928), pp. 40-42 and 45.

“WE SEEM TO BE NO LONGER FIJIANS”
Some Perceptions of Social Change in Fijian History*

by Timothy J. Macnaught

The resplendent chiefs in English cutaways and Fijian *sulus* who led the welcome ceremonies for their Queen on her Silver Jubilee visit to Fiji in February 1977 were the undisputed leaders of the whole nation. It was not the first occasion Fijian chiefs have been glad to acknowledge their debt to Great Britain. Has there been any other former colonial territory in the world that celebrated--as Fiji did on October 10, 1974--the anniversary of independence on the centenary of the day it was lost? The point Fijians seem to make through these royal pageants is that their hegemony was never seriously threatened by colonial rule, which they continue to view as a long and beneficial partnership during which the British substantially honored the guarantees made when the chiefs ceded their islands to Queen Victoria. Similarly the constitution of independent Fiji provides extraordinary safeguards for vital Fijian interests. Section 68 reserves the previous acts of the colonial government regulating Fijian affairs and land as entrenched measures of which any modification or suspension requires a three-quarters majority of each house to pass. Embodying the magnanimous suggestion of the Indian-led National Federation Party, any modification that “affects Fijian land, customs or customary rights” must also have the approval of six of the eight senators nominated by the Great Council of Chiefs.

Perhaps the force of these legal safeguards is not appreciated by those Fijians who responded to the hypnotic rhetoric of the Fijian Nationalist Party leader, Sakeasi Butadroka, in the elections of March-April 1977. Butadroka capitalized on the rural villagers’ general feelings of neglect with cries of betrayal. In his view the Fijian chiefs failed to ensure, for instance, that the Prime Minister and Governor-General would always remain Fijians.¹ It almost seemed that he wanted to put the Fijian-led Alliance government out of power just to make his point, and by garnering a quarter of the Fijian votes for his own small party,

*This article was made possible by the permission of the Fiji government to use the records of the colonial government up to 1940. Unless otherwise stated, all references are to documents or collections in the National Archives of Fiji, Suva. The help of the archivist Mr. S. T. Tuinaceva and his staff is gratefully acknowledged.

¹ *Nai Lalakai*, 10 March 1977, p. 4. Butadroka argues here that no non-Fijians should be in Parliament just as the 3.5 million blacks in the U.K. have no member in the British Parliament. See also the statement of Ratu Mosese Tuisawau, *Nai Lafakai*, 17 March 1977, listing various ways in which outsiders rule Fiji.

he nearly achieved what had seemed impossible under Fiji's complex electoral system: a Federation government under an Indian Prime Minister. Only the indecision and disunity of the stunned Federation party victors and the bold exercise of viceregal prerogative by the Vunivalu of Bau and Governor-General, Ratu Sir George Cakobau, enabled the former Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, to form a minority Alliance government pending new elections.

Yet ultimately, as these elections proved, Fijian power depends on more than legal safeguards or electoral victories: it has always rested implicitly on the capacity of Fijian political leaders, many of them traditional high chiefs, to mobilize the entire people behind them. The threat to this power today probably comes less from the activities of Indian politicians than it does from the disintegrating effects of the breakdown of Fijian communal structures in the countryside, the decay of the villages, and the radicalization of the urban unemployed. The curious thing is that the breakdown of village discipline has been a theme for chiefly anxiety in Fiji for over a century. What is new in the present situation, it could be argued, is not the experience of rapid social change but the loss of a sense of participation in government that once maintained the habits of solidarity and loyalty on which a powerful Fijian presence ultimately depends.

Fiji saw the most ambitious attempt in the Pacific to buttress a traditional-type village life against the eroding example of immigrant lifestyles and the ravages of the free enterprise system. From 1875 Fijian affairs were contained by a semi-autonomous administration directly supervised by the Governor. The European-dominated legislature could damn the system that made it so difficult for Fijians to be exploited, but there was little it could do to change it without British consent. The essential thrust of the Fijian administration--and where it was reasonably successful--was to guarantee a place in the colony for a strong Fijian community life without too much interference by European officials, traders, planters, labor recruiters or even missionaries. A three-tiered system of local government provided a Fijian official and a Fijian-style council at village, district and provincial level.² The provincial governors, styled *Roko Tui*, were usually men of chiefly rank in the province and were personally accountable to the Governor or to his deputy, an official always known to Fijians as the *Talai*. From time to time, in theory annually, these *Roko Tui* met with the delegates of lower officials in the Council of Chiefs (*Boseuakaturaga*) to advise the Governor on all matters of Fijian concern and to celebrate their growing sense of unity as one people.

² The original form of the Fijian Administration is discussed exhaustively in J. D. Legge, *Britain in Fiji 1858-1880* (London: Macmillan, 1958), pp. 151-283.

There were some obvious criticisms of this unique structure, and of the Native Regulations and Fijian courts which regulated the lives of the people within it. It prevented Fijians from exercising the “dignity of British subjects” by denying them democratic processes; it was said to be paternalistic, antiquarian and racially divisive; it slowed Fijian entry into the commercial economy, and entrenched the privileges of a chiefly elite not always remarkable for its dedication to the welfare of the people. On the other hand it effectively halted the alienation of Fijian land and did sustain a leadership that has easily achieved a dominant position for Fijians in the government of independent Fiji. Fijian leaders have been able to cultivate the spiritual bonds that bind them to the people and the land. Yet these bonds are vulnerable to social change. Even when the commands of the chiefs had the force of law, they were powerless to shape the aspirations of youth or to arrest those changes they regarded as destructive of the Fijian way of life.

At the early meetings of the Council of Chiefs there was already some alarm over the new and freer life-style developing amongst young people contemptuous of cultural restrictions associated with “the time of darkness.” Men and women were performing *meke*, action-songs and dances, previously reserved for one or other sex. The regulation restricting women from imbibing *yaqona* (kava) was ineffective--even young women were casually indulging the ceremonial liquid and strolling about openly with the young men. And as for wives, they had “none of that modest delicacy and respect for their husbands which they formerly had.” The single men’s sleeping houses in the villages had been abandoned--and not, it was hinted, for the sanctuary of well-disciplined Christian households. “The evil is that our former customs in these matters have been named *vakatevoro* [devilish] and have therefore been abandoned without the institution of anything better.” In 1894 when the chiefs were discussing the curriculum for a New Native Technical School, a magistrate wanted old customs to be taught as one of the subjects. “Our customs have already begun to be forgotten amongst us,” agreed the *Roko Tui* of Bua, “and in many ways we seem to be no longer Fijians.”³

The number of men and women absent at any one time from their village, district and even province was seen by the chiefs as one of the greatest threats to village life, a running sore in society because it represented the indifference of the young to the common good of the community and the stricter but legitimate demands of traditional authority. A man had not been free in former times to come and go at will; nor was he free under the Native Regulations to leave his village without

³ Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1878, 1879, 1894.

permission for longer than sixty days. Yet as early as 1887 there was a small colony of Ra men living in Suva where, the chiefs complained, "facilities are afforded for vagabonds to congregate and sometimes conceal themselves. Our women also too often wander from their homes and fall into bad habits."⁴ They were alluding to women who drifted to the towns or who were seduced by Chinese storekeepers and Europeans with outrageous ease.

The numbers of absentees were small in the nineteenth century, though still too many for the authorities of the time. In the first decade of the twentieth century, when the chiefs began to lose their grip on the Fijian Administration at the provincial level to English magistrates, there were frequent complaints from the district chiefs (*Buli*) of Tailevu, Rewa and Kadavu about their young men: "They come to Suva and put on no end of 'side' amongst the women and wear collars and ties and smart coats, sport crook walking sticks and turn up in great force at church--the Suva Methodist Jubilee Church on Sundays. They all do a minimum of work and when any trouble arrives away back they go to the Mataqali or the village and so make sure of shelter and food."⁵ To avoid prosecution in the district courts, many returned home on the fifty-ninth day then left again a few days later. In the new regulations of 1912 absenteeism ceased to be an offense for men; only women needed permission of their parents or guardians to be absent more than sixty days--a provision very hard to enforce.⁶ Furthermore European employers could take advantage of the Fijian Employment Ordinance of 1912 to ignore the main safeguards of the former legislation (the Fiji Labour Ordinance of 1895 and the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1890) and sign on a married man before any magistrate in the colony who could be satisfied that the man had made provision for his dependents. Secondly they could sign on any man without reference to his home authorities if he had been voluntarily absent from his village for two years. Then finally any Fijian could renew his contract on expiry so long as the employer paid his rates and taxes.

The way was again open for recruiters to go into Fijian villages with the time-dishonored "*yaqona* money." After the cancellation of Indian indentures in January 1920, there was a great demand for Fijian labor. The Australian sugar monopolist, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, paid Fijian recruiters for each man they produced in Lautoka for engagement under the Masters and Servants Ordinance (under

⁴ Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1887.

⁵ W. A. Scott's memorandum, 4 January 1910, Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO) 10/1242.

⁶ Native Regulation IV of 1912.

which no licenses were required for recruiters).⁷ The men were taken without reference to the Buli of the district or the situation of the village. Communal and family obligations were easily evaded and at the end of the term of indenture, usually six months or a year, the men often returned to their villages penniless. Having planted no garden, they had no food and depended on the strained charity of relatives. Some did not return for months if in lieu of a passage home they were paid a cash sum enabling them to holiday a while in the village of their choice, meeting no obligations of any kind. For the first time in the history of Fiji there were reports of food shortages in good years, while the villages entered upon a steady physical decline from the settlements of substantial, high-built heavily-thatched houses of old Fiji towards the uninsulated, ill-drained coffins of wood and iron that house most contemporary Fijians. By 1927 Islay McOwan, the Secretary of Native Affairs, noting that the government considered "a supply of labor for agricultural purposes was of greater importance than the welfare of the natives themselves," expressed his fear that the Fijian Administration could collapse.⁸

There was no real danger of collapse; erosion might be a better word for the effects of the policy the Colonial Office rather meaninglessly prescribed as "a careful regulation of the communal system accompanied by a gradual loosening of its bonds."⁹ The term "communal system" was used as if there were some entity superimposed and separable from Fijian society which could be modified at any time without drastic modification of the groups--the households, villages and federations (*vanua*)--comprising that society. The semantic comfort of such phrases as "loosening the bonds" concealed a woolly imprecision, a cliched liberalism of "certain certainties" about the nature of man and society. One of these certainties in twentieth-century colonial Fiji was that any restriction on the personal liberty of Fijians was an "obstacle" to their becoming "full British subjects" in the sense that Maoris were understood to be in New Zealand. Governor Sir Everard im Thurn, for instance, sincerely believed that the inability of Fijians to alienate their land robbed them of their potential dignity and that "the interminable little personal services" rendered to the chiefs (and enforced by the Native Regulations) hindered "the creation in the Fijian of that individuality which would, I believe, be the only thing to save him and his race from extinction."¹⁰ Disillusioned by the defeat of his attempt to

⁷ CSO 23/2576; 27/1115.

⁸ McOwan's minute, 21 March 1927, CSO 27/1115.

⁹ Colonial Office to Sir Henry Jackson, 8 May 1903, CO 83/76, Public Records Office, London.

¹⁰ im Thurn papers, MS2, item 10.

ease the alienation of Fijian lands, he left Fiji with the hope that by gradual replacement of the Native Regulations with English laws Fijians would one day "for the first time become British subjects in the ordinary sense of the term"--in other words they were to become more like hard-working, thrifty, go-ahead Anglo-Saxons were supposed to be, with civil liberties enshrined in a democratic parliament and the common law as in the United Kingdom.¹¹ Reforms in the system were quite few. A new code of Native Regulations in 1912 abandoned "the endeavor--not hitherto successful--to shepherd the native flock into the fold of morality by means of regulation."¹² Fijians could now fornicate fearlessly provided they maintained their "children of the path" where they refused to marry the mother. Divorce could be obtained more easily on the grounds of cruelty, adultery, or desertion. The regulation regarding chiefs--III of 1877--was rescinded so that it was no longer an offense for Fijians to disobey their chiefs "in all things lawful according to their customs." However, the crucial *lala* or personal service rights of the chiefs were still authorized for house-building, garden planting, supplying visitors with food, cutting and building canoes, supplying turtle and making mats, *masi* cloth or other traditional manufactures. Chiefs were obliged--as they were by custom--to feed or pay those performing such services. A village could arrange for the commutation of personal services by making an annual payment in cash or kind. This provision was never acted upon, which suggests that personal *lala* was still accepted by the people as part of the customary order of things and not found overburdensome.

The cornerstone of the "communal system" remained--the Communal Services Regulation (7 of 1912). Individualism was fine as a slogan but when it came to the provision of essential day-to-day services such as the clearing of bush tracks between villages or of land for planting, the constant repairing of thatched houses, the housing of newly married couples, or the supplying of visitors with food, the villages needed the co-operation of the able-bodied men for at least two or three days a week. The government accepted, for want of a practical alternative, that if village leaders were deprived of physical sanctions against the lazy, they needed the support of a regulation. With less justification communal services were extended to include the transport of government officers on duty, the carriage of official letters, and the assistance of Native Lands Commission surveyors.

In a sense the British were stuck with a system for which they professed strong disapproval; at least its self-help aspects saved a consid-

¹¹ im Thurn to CO, 22 September 1909, Governor's Dispatches.

¹² Enclosures, May to CO, 17 May 1912, Governor's Dispatches.

erable expenditure of central revenue. To salve the progressive conscience, Fijians were encouraged, from 1917, to take advantage of a Provision in the new regulations allowing the Governor to grant exemption from communal services if an individual wanted to take up commercial agriculture or some business activity. The applicant had to apply through his district council for the *galala* exemption, as it was called, and pay in advance a fee of £2. 10s. He had to be able to show evidence of his enterprise. There was no provision for credit of any kind, loans or technical advice, nor any guarantee that after a year's exemption the privilege would not be revoked. When it was easy to leave a village for wage employment there was not much to encourage a man to undertake the effort and risks of commercial agriculture. Until 1929 only about 200 to 300 applications were granted each year, just sufficient for the government to be able to reassure itself and Downing Street--in the face of the visible disintegration of village life and the profound dismay of Fijian leaders--that it was making efforts "through a process of education and training, to create in the native an incentive to energy, and to grant him more individual liberty." Henceforward it was understood that where individual interests conflicted with "communitistic demands" the wish of the individual would be given priority.¹³ Unimpeachable sentiments, these, from a British colony in 1920, or was it a veil of cant drawn over a period of avoidable social disruption?

Although Fijian village communities were not hostile to all individual farmers who wanted some temporary relief from their obligations in order to raise money, successful entrepreneurs were few. A major problem was that with the abolition of the nineteenth-century system of taxation in kind and the government marketing organization that had enabled Fijian producers to realize the highest market price for their produce, farmers were now at the mercy of local traders. In copra provinces, many Chinese storekeepers encouraged Fijians to *morketi* (mortgage) articles for about a third of their value with one to three weeks to redeem them. Payments might be made in nuts (at forty for a shilling in 1927) or with immature nuts and the balance made up by working for the storekeeper at low wages. Traders also took liens on growing nuts--a pernicious credit system that swelled the profits of firms like H. Marks or Burns Philp.¹⁴ In 1932 when Ratu J. L. V. Sukuna, the emergent Fijian statesman, became the first Fijian District Commissioner and was appointed to Lau, he tried strenuously to break these hand-to-mouth habits of the people, especially the cutting of small lots of copra to sell locally at deflated prices for grossly inflated trade goods. In 1934

¹³ Fiji Annual Report, 1920, pp. 9-10.

¹⁴ See the Lau Provincial Council Book.

yaqona bought in Suva for 2d sold in Lakeba for 6d; canvas shoes 3s 6d in Suva were 6s 6d in Lakeba; black *sulus* rose from 2s each to 6s: "The native told all this will politely agree that the remedy is to sell and buy in Suva. If the initiative is left to him, nothing further will happen, for the average native prefers the certainty of the bird in the hand, bony and tough though it may obviously be, to better nourished ones so far away."¹⁵ A direct consequence of the low produce prices obtained locally was that to meet the payment of provincial rates, the native tax, and the educational expenses of their children, the men had to leave their wives and children in the care of others to go and work on plantations or, in the 1930s, the gold mines--"and for this Fijians will be counted virtuous; their industry will be on men's lips as a sign of Fijian progress."¹⁶

While the government consoled itself that the development of individualistic tendencies was "bound to be slow" and that "it would be dangerous . . . to force such tendencies by artificial means,"¹⁷ the Fijian chiefs fought a spasmodic rearguard defense of their threatened way of life. Without directly challenging the ethos of the day, lest they appear disloyal, the high chiefs urged specific measures to stem absenteeism, strengthen the control of the district chiefs, regulate recruiting activities, and ensure the return of laborers on expiry of their contracts. In 1917, for instance, the Council of Chiefs urged the government to give district chiefs the power to compel men to return-home if they were living in European towns and not in regular employment. To this and similar requests the Governor replied that it was not policy to restrict any further the freedom of the individual. In 1920 the chiefs requested that provinces should be allowed, if they wished, to revert to the payment of taxes in kind, the only scheme that had ever succeeded in ensuring that Fijians would be substantial producers while retaining the full value of their produce and the benefits of a cash income, yet without having to be dependent on European employers.¹⁸ The Colonial Secretary opposed the resolution "on general grounds" as a "retrospective step involving difficulty"--presumably to current employers of Fijian labor, though the argument he advanced was pitched to the vaguer certainties of the liberal ethos: "The basis of the inertness of the Fijian is, to my mind, due to . . . an overburden of communalism, and the difficulty of individual Fijians to assert and maintain individualism." The Acting Receiver General picked up the tune, protesting that the resolution was "a negation

¹⁵ Sukuna to CSO, 23 March 1935, CSO F15/1.

¹⁶ Sukuna to CSO, 17 March 1939, CSO F15/1.

¹⁷ Rodwell to CO, 27 June 1922, Governor's Dispatches.

¹⁸ Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, 1917 and 1920.

of the recognition of the Fijian as an individual--it insists in an unmistakable manner upon the perpetuation of the communal system."¹⁹

The new orthodoxy was unshakeable. Nothing the chiefs could say would be interpreted other than as reactionary conservatism and, knowing this, they tried again for smaller measures. In 1923 they asked permission to increase provincial rates for men absent from home longer than twelve months, (about one-seventh of the taxpayers or 3,000 men, of whom 840 were in permanent employment), and repeated their request that no man be indentured without the approval of his Buli. Both resolutions were rejected. An official in the Secretariat added privately: "I realize that the foundations of the 'communal system' are being undermined, gradually but surely. Evolution is the natural and philosophic order of things."²⁰

In retrospect it seems obvious that for all the pre-war British hopes and chiefly fears of change, Fijians maintained a remarkable degree of community cohesion through World War II and the 1950s. The Fijian Administration was actually strengthened after the war but in the era of decolonization it began to seem ever more out of keeping with western democratic norms. It was subject to such devastating critiques that in the 1960s the chiefs saw the writing on the experts' wall and authorized a fatal series of reforms.²¹ Provincial councils were reorganized so as to be elected by universal suffrage: henceforward a new kind of politician could replace the traditional spokesmen of the people. The sub-provincial organization of districts, which admittedly had not been functioning well since their post-war amalgamation into larger units, was scrapped. The small districts ("old *tikina*") in the pre-1946 system had been the cornerstone of Fijian communal life: on the agenda of their councils the "things of the government" and the "things of the land" were inextricably mixed. Their idiom was that of custom, so they had been familiar, comfortable forums close to the people. (Many of them had as few as 200 constituents.) The new provincial councils are expected to work with a civil-servant *Roko Tui* and assistants appointed by a central ministry of Fijian affairs in Suva. These men retain the title but none of the mystique of the old *Roko Tui*, nor have they been able to lead villages as well as local chiefs once could. If the rate of collection of provincial rates is any indication--it is so low that figures are not published--Fijians do not identify strongly with the reformed system. There is a widespread feeling that the bottom has gone and the heart, too. The best energies of Fijian villagers are reserved for church functions

¹⁹ T. E. Fell's minute, 10 November 1920, and others, CSO 20/7813.

²⁰ J. S. Neill's minute, 27 January 1925, CSO 23/2576.

²¹ The period is reviewed by G. B. Milner in his introduction to G. K. Roth, *Fijian Way of Life*, 2nd edn., (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1973).

and district festivals, perhaps the main institutional means of keeping alive a dynamic community sense not only in the provinces but in Suva itself.

Forty years ago Ratu Sukuna could look at the rate of social change in the “semi-feudal, semi-self-sufficing society” of Fiji and dare to doubt the “omnipotence of the great octopus of the modern world.”²² He was aware though of the strong fences that were keeping the octopus at bay. They are rotting now; the octopus has every island in reach of his tentacles. Time to mend those fences?

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²² Sukuna to CSO, 29 September 1934, CSO F15/1.

KO E FAKALĀNGILĀNGI: The Eulogistic Function of the Tongan Poet¹

by Eric B. Shumway

Visitors to the Tongan Islands have long noted the beauty and power of the Tongan performing arts, *faiva faka-Tonga*. Especially in recent years, hundreds of outsiders (*kau muli*) have enlarged the audiences at Tongan national festivals and have been overwhelmed by the spectacle of energy, precision, indeed the artistic sophistication of their dances: the *mā'ulu'ulu* the *tafi*, the *kailao*, the *me'etu'upaki*, the *sōkē*, and the majestic *lakalaka*. What few foreigners realize, and what has not yet been adequately elucidated by serious students of Tongan language and culture, is that Tongan *faiva* is more than high entertainment. Besides fulfilling a psychic need or giving therapeutic emotional release to performer and spectator through musical harmony and rhythmical movement, Tongan *faiva* is a ritual reinforcement of the fundamental values that bind the Tongan society together.² These values are the worshipful regard for the Royal House (*Fale 'Alo*) of King Tupou IV, the maintenance of the sovereign prerogatives of the nobility (*hou'eiki*), the love of country and church more than self, and the insistence that Tonga is the best of all possible worlds.

¹ Research by the author was conducted during four different excursions to Tonga, beginning in 1974. The major informants who have contributed to the contents of this paper are Semisi 'Iongi, Nau Saimone, Peni Tutu'ila Malupō, Malukava, and the Honorable Ve'ehala. These are five of the most renowned contemporary poets in Tonga today. I am also indebted to Alamoti Taumoepeau, chief of the Tongan village at the Polynesian Cultural Center, Laie, Hawaii.

² Tongan *faiva* as used in this discussion refers simply to the Tongan performing arts which include mainly poetry, music, and dancing. Separated generally in Western culture, these arts in Tonga are symbolically interwoven into highly sophisticated forms. So far the most careful studies of Tongan *faiva* have been those of Adrienne Kaeppler. Her research, however, has focused primarily on Tongan dance. See her "Preservation and Evolution of Form and Function in Two Types of Tongan Dance," *Polynesian Cultural History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1967), pp. 503-536; "Folklore as Expressed in the Dance in Tonga," *Journal of American Folklore*, 80 (December, 1967), 160-168; "The Aesthetics of Tongan Dance," *Ethnomusicology*, 15 (May, 1971), 175-185.

³ Actually the word "poet" is a narrow English translation of the Tongan word *pu-nake*. Many Tongans fail to make the distinction between a *pu-nake* and a *pulotu*. *Pulotu* means composer or creator. A *pulotu fa'u* is a composer of poems or *ta'anga* which, according to the nature of Tongan *faiva*, will inevitably be put to music. A *pulotu hiva* is a creator of melodies and a *pulotu haka* is a creator of dance, a choreographer. When a single person can excel in all three of these creative activities, he achieves the distinction of *pu-nake*. However, for the purposes of this discussion, I use the term "poet" to signify *pu-nake*.

If Tongan *faiva* is essentially socially didactic, then a principal function of the poet³ is to preserve and restate the most urgent social and political imperatives of both past and present. His role is analogous to that of the *matāpule* (chief's spokesman) in the *kava* ceremony and in a general way to that of the *faifekau* (minister) in the church. The poet has a special tribal mission. He composes not so much out of an inner struggle or private vision, which inspires so much of Western literature, as out of a sense of public duty and a desire for personal acclaim within that duty.

The primary responsibility of the poet is to aggrandize and glorify the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, the Royal Family, and the *hou'eiki* (nobility) of the kingdom. This responsibility has not been arbitrarily imposed by the aristocracy, but rather has grown naturally out of centuries of the people's veneration for the ancient royal houses of Tonga. The eulogistic tradition among the poets no doubt derives partly from the ancient king worship of the Tongan people. As the head of the original royal dynasty, the *Tu'i Tonga* was both King and high priest, and therefore the object of devotion. Being descended from the god, Tangaloa, he was the supreme spiritual as well as temporal power in the land. The most intense worshipful feelings were directed toward him in the form of songs and dances and religious ceremonies.

With the demise of the *Tu'i Tonga* and the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* dynasties and the rise of the present dynasty of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, there was a transfer of devotion to the new universal monarch, George Tupou I (r. 1845-1893). The new king, who became a Christian, succeeded in uniting the kingdom under his leadership, winning the allegiance of the people for himself and for Christianity. He espoused a political course that kept Tonga for Tongans, freed the commoners from bondage to the chiefs, established a constitution, and guaranteed plantation land for every adult male in the kingdom.⁴

Thus, for these social blessings, as well as for his royal birth, King George Tupou I and his descendants have been the objects of intense praise. There is an insistence even yet among the Tongan people that it was through divine intervention that the Kingdom of Tonga was established and has remained to this day free and safe, the only autonomous Polynesian state. To miss this collective testimony of the Tongan people is to miss the active principle of their patriotic feeling which resounds in their poetry and music.

Perhaps the best known modern poem among Tongans, which epitomizes the Tongan regard for royalty, is Nau Saimone's *Ko 'Ene*

⁴ For an account of Tongan history, see Sione **Lātūkefu's** book *Church and State in Tonga* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974).

'Afio mo e Kaha'u 'o Tonga (Her Majesty and the Future of Tonga):⁵

- 1 *Pupunga lose teunga e tafengavai 'o taimi,*
Cluster of roses decorating the stream of time,
- 2 *Tauhia he ta'au 'o e 'ofa fakapalovitenisi.*
Nurtured in the wake of providential love.
- 3 *Polepole ai pe motu 'oku lau 'e he himi,*
On this proud land, praised by the hymn,
- 4 *Kei toka e monū ki he palataisi 'o e Pasifiki.*
Sweet fortune still rests--the paradise of the Pacific.
- 5 *Tu'unga'anga ia 'ete hūmataviki,*
This is the substance of my worshipful praise,
- 6 *He ko e laukau'anga 'o Ha'a Tongafisi.*
The source of all beauty for the *Ha'a Tongafisi*.
- 7 *Malimali loto ai pē fine fine 'o e Halapaini,*
The woman of Halapaini continually smiles in her heart,
- 8 *Tafe sino'ivai e kalonikali e 'otu feleniti.*
In her flows deep the history and culture of the Friendly Islands.
- 9 *Kuo fihī e kakala he tofi'a siueli,*
Fragrant abundance, enshrining this jeweled estate,
- 10 *Taufā 'ene ngangatu fakamo'oni'i 'o e palomesi.*
Is wafted abroad, an emblem of the covenant.
- 11 *'Oku fotu 'o hangē ko e takanga (sola sisitemi),*
It now appears as a mighty solar system,
- 12 *Pe ngaahi huelo e maama lahi e 'univeesi;*
Or the rays of the universe's largest light.
- 13 *'Oku 'ikai malava hano fakatataua*
No apt comparison can capture
- 14 *'A e koloa fungani 'a Tonga ma'a e kaha'u na.*
The crowning treasure of Tonga's future.
- 15 *Pea mo'oni e lau 'a e 'ipiseli 'a Paula:*
How true Paul's words in his epistle:

⁵ Nau Saimone is a farmer-poet living in the village of Ha'alalo on Tongatapu. This is the first appearance of his poem in print, by his permission. My translation is by design more literal than poetic.

16 He 'ikai fakamāvae 'a e 'ofa pea mo ki taua.

We will never be separated from God's love.

Refrain:

17 Tué tué tué tué ki he la'ā tupu'a,

Hail, hail, hail, hail to the eternal sun, (i.e. the Queen)

18 Tué tué tué tué ki he huelo koula.

Hail, hail, hail, hail to the golden beam. (i.e. the Royal Family)

19 Kai 'utungaki ai pe me'avale e fonua,

For even the lowliest people of the land eat freely

20 Hakailangitau 'o 'ikai tukua.

They dance in an ecstasy which ceases never.

The most visible poetic quality of Nau's poem is its hyperbole, which strikes the Western mind in much the same way a Tongan feast does, sumptuous yet overwrought. To the Tongan mind, the excess of emotion is not only excusable but desirable, because the poem is meant to be rapturous flight, not a reasoned statement. The poet does not mind that his rose cluster in line 1 suddenly becomes a constellation of stars or the solar system in line 11. He finally decides Tonga's future glory is too great for comparison.

The profusion of Tonganized English words throughout the poem (at least twelve) is partially explained by this tone of lavish praise. Tongan poets usually disdain the use of English words in their compositions, except those that have long been assimilated into their language, such as *taimi* (time), and *palataisi* (paradise). But Nau has pulled out all stops. He hopes that foreign words such as providential (2), chronicle (8), jewel (9), and promise (10) will evoke a freshness and power for his already gilded altar of praise.

Composed and put to music for Queen Salote (r. 1918-1965) in 1964, Nau's poem includes all the basic social doctrines which for Tongans will insure stability and peace for their country. Line 1 gives the poem a cosmic setting and a serious tone. Since direct address of royalty is forbidden in Tongan poetry, the poet addresses a cluster of roses which alludes to the Royal Family. This symbolistic technique is known as *heliaki*, hiding one's specific meaning in references to natural objects and places. Nau, who for some takes too many liberties with poetic convention, actually violates this principle in the title. Many poets would have entitled the poem, "*Pupunga Lose*" (Cluster of Roses).

In line 2 the poet establishes the divine sanction for the rule of Queen Salote and her children. God has blessed Tonga through the

Royal Family. Lines 3 and 4 remind us that Tonga is a choice land above all other lands of the Pacific. Lines 5 and 6 state precisely the fundamental impetus for Tongan creative arts, namely, gratitude for the Royalty. The *Ha'a Tongafisi*, or the tribe of *Tongafisi*, alludes to the poets and orators of the kingdom. Presiding over the cluster of roses, the paradise of the Pacific, and the *Ha'a Tongajisi* is the “woman of *Halapaini*” (woman of the road of Pines)⁶ or Queen Salote herself.

Stanza two of Nau's eulogy repeats the tone of the first, addressing the glories of Tonga's past and future. The covenant mentioned in line 10 is King George Tupou I's promise to free all Tongans from the bondage of the chiefs, which came to pass in 1862. The allusion also embraces the famous scene in Tongan history where, in an assembly of chiefs and cabinet members, King Tupou raised toward heaven a Bible and a handful of soil and “gave” his kingdom to the guidance and protection of God. From this event comes the national slogan, “God and Tonga are my heritage.” Finally, in the refrain Nau attempts to capture the unrestrained *māfana* or warmth that informs the highest artistic moment in Tongan *faiva*, when all elements of a performance come together into a gestalt of feeling known as “*kuo tau e langi*” (the singing has hit the mark).

Since so much of Tongan poetry is adulation, one may wonder if it ever sinks into sentimentality and clichéd ornamentation, even for Tongans. The answer is yes. Cliches are always a danger within a fixed poetic convention. The better poets avoid this danger by clever *heliaki* which keeps the spectators guessing about the meaning of a work. Or they may borrow non-Tongan phrases and melodies to augment the traditional ones. One of the most interesting poetic techniques which gives life and energy to Tongan poetry is known as *fetau* or repartee between competing poets. There is always in Tongan *faiva* a fierce but friendly rivalry between poets, who specialize, among other things, in throwing covert insults at one another. This delights the crowd and, in the Tongan mind, heaps greatness upon the presiding chief. Thus, *fetau* is an important part of good eulogy.

From time immemorial, competition has been essential to the best in artistic creativity. Anciently the *pō sipi* (night recitation) was the battleground for poets and others who would engage in impromptu, poetic verbal combat. This spirit of competition has infiltrated nearly all aspects of *faiva*, even the *ta'anga* (poems) of the grand *lakalaka* dances.⁷

⁶ The palace grounds are surrounded by stately seventy foot pine trees.

⁷ The *lakalaka* is the grandest of the Tongan performing arts. Made up of several long rows of perhaps 150 dancers, the *lakalaka* (meaning literally “to stride back and forth”) is one of the few truly indigenous Tongan dances. A single *lakalaka* may have as many as ten verses of poetry with a different melody for each verse.

The late Queen Salote, who more than anyone else has nurtured Tongan *faiva* over the last fifty years, fostered this competition by inviting dozens of villages to bring various performances to public festivals as well as her own private family celebrations. It was not uncommon on these occasions to see three large troops of singers and dancers performing simultaneously on the north, west, and south lawns of the palace grounds. Here the poets studied each others works, especially the poetry, and composed their jibes and rebuttals for the next festival. The Queen would occasionally reward a certain poet with money or a "title." It was to the great poet Malukava that she gave what might be called the laureateship. In his *lakalaka* performed at the Centennial Celebration of the Tongan Constitution (1975), Malukava says in one line that "with lock and key" he has put away all other poets. It is still true that under his direction the *lakalaka* from Mu'a concludes every major Tongan festival. Semisi 'Iongi argues that the first duty of the poet is to "look, act, talk, and walk" like a poet. No matter how careless, naive, or obscure he might be, he must "perform to get people to feel he is better than all other poets."⁸

It is important to note again that poetic repartee among the poets is intended to bring them personal acclaim only by their exalting the presiding chiefly dignitary, usually the monarch. In this sense, the *fetau* of a composition, especially of a *lakalaka*, is analogous to the *tālānga* in the *kava* ceremony. The *tālānga*, a warm debate among chiefs' spokesmen or *kau matāpule*, is usually provoked by a concern for ceremonial protocol. But it also serves to show off the oratorical powers of the *matāpule* whose speech very frequently follows the format of a *ta'anga* (*lakalaka* poem). The format begins with the *fakataputapu* (formal recognition of all dignitaries present), then proceeds to the *kaveinga* (particular subject or theme), then the *fetau* (verbal "blast" against rivals), and finally the *tatau* (the conclusion). It is precisely in the controversy and heated debate that the *lāngilāngi*, or the glory of the paramount chief, is established whether directly or by innuendo.

To illustrate how *fetau* gives spice to a poem as well as exalts a chiefly personage, one need go no further than two celebrated rivals in Tonga's recent past--Fineasi Malukava from Mu'a and Fakatava from Leimātu'a, Vava'u. Malukava was considered by many to be the supreme poet of the kingdom, living on the estate of the high chief Tungī Mailefihi. Fakatava, talented and egocentric, wanted to depose the laureate from Mu'a. According to an account by Alamoti Taumoepeau who knew Malukava intimately, Fakatava came into favor with King

⁸ Mr. 'Iongi is a vast repository of information about Tongan language and culture. Well into his eighties, he is still an active member of the Tongan Traditions Committee.

Tupou II around 1912 because of a magnificent *lakalaka* he composed and performed with a large group of dancers from 'Eua. So deeply moved by this performance, the King bestowed upon the poet the little island of Kalau just off the southern end of 'Eua island. Since land seemed to be a more tangible reward than just a name, Fakatava assumed that the King's gift gave him the privilege to challenge or *tālanga* with Malukava. Shortly thereafter, Vaea, a chief of the Ha'a Havea clan, invited Fakatava to prepare a *lakalaka* for the citizens of Houma to perform. With characteristic audacity or *fie lahi*, Fakatava composed the *fetau* of his lyrics as follows:

- 1 *Sīlongo 'a e 'Otu Tongatapu,*
Silence all of Tongatapu,
- 2 *'Oua e ngū, 'Oua e vātau.*
Neither groan nor wrangle among yourselves.
- 3 *'Oku kei tu'u 'a e motu ko Kalau,*
The island of Kalau still stands,
- 4 *Ko e fai'anga 'o e fakatalutalu.*
The only performing ground for things traditional.

Could the long deserted, tiny island of Kalau, through the energy and talent of Fakatava, now challenge the authority of Mu'a, capital seat of ancient Tonga, repository of Tongan culture, abode of the divine kings, the *Tu'i Tonga*, and the home of Tuku'aho, the inventor of the modern *lakalaka*? Incredible! When the rumors of Fakatava's bid for glory spread to Malukava, the Mu'a poet was irritated by such conceit. He quickly dispatched a spy to scout the Houma practices and write down the *ta'anga*. The rumors were true. Malukava responded to Fakatava's presumption in a famous *fetau*:

- 1 *Ne u tupu Tonga pea u pēhē*
As a Tongan I grew up knowing
- 2 *'Oku 'ikai lau 'a e kakala vale,*
That common flowers are never mentioned,
- 3 *'A e maile mo e siale.*
The maile bush and the gardenia.
- 4 *Pea kuo mahino hota founa,*
Our assigned places are perfectly clear,
- 5 *He ka ta folau 'i he vaka,*
When we sail in the double canoe,

6 'E 'o'oku 'a e fakalakepa,
Mine is high on the upper deck,

7 'E 'o'ou 'a e tākota fā.
Yours is low on the tākota fā.

Malukava's *fetau* is devastating because he pulls rank on Fakatava, not his own, but that of his patron, Tungī. Vaea, Fakatava's patron, being descended from a very recent stock of new chiefs, is ceremonially speaking far inferior to Tungī; Tungī is the direct descendant of the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, the head of one of the three royal Tongan dynasties. Thus Malukava reaffirms in this repartee with Fakatava a fundamental principle of Tongan social and political stability--rank and caste. Fakatava comes off as a radical and irreverent upstart simply because he had the misfortune of writing from Houma, Vaea's estate. It is his rank not his merit that is challenged.

Line 1 in Malukava's *fetau* is a sneer at Fakatava's home in Vava'u. Fakatava is a foreigner to Tongatapu, the "real" Tonga. Otherwise he would have known that a true poet will never presume (lines 2 and 3) to consider the *maile* and the gardenia as equal to the flowers of rank used to gild the names (in poems) and the bodies (in costumes) of royalty.⁹ That is, while the *maile* and gardenia might be appropriate for Vaea, they are much too lowly and common for Tungī. By the same token, Fakatava can never talk to Malukava as an equal.

Malukava pursues the theme of established rank in line 4 to the end of the *fetau*, shifting his setting from the garden to the ocean. If he and Fakatava were ever to sail together with their patrons, clearly Malukava would be high and dry with Tungī on the highly decorated and comfortable upper deck; Fakatava would be down wiping salt spray off his face, sitting on the rough platform (*tākoto fā*) connecting the two hulls of the double canoe.

Besides the elaborate themes of praise in Tongan poetry, which are heightened by clever *heliaki* and scintillating *fetau*, perhaps the most powerful reminders of the importance of rank and the people's obligation to cherish their aristocracy lie in the opening *fakatapu* and the closing *tatau* of most *lakalaka* poetry. The *fakatapu* is a stylized acknowledgment of the principal dignitaries on any given occasion. In the *fakatapu* that precedes an oration, the order in which recognition is given signals the rank of each person mentioned. In the *fakatapu* of a poem, which is not as lengthy or detailed as that of an oration, rather than calling the chief by his title, the poet normally recognizes his clan or *ha'a*: "*Tapu mo*

⁹ All Tongan flowers or *kakala* have assigned rank in the Tongan poetic convention. Those appropriate for reference to royalty are the *heilala*, the *mohokoi*, the *nukonuka*, and the *tetefa*.

e *Ha'a Mohefo*" (acknowledging the *Mohefo* clan). Usually he refers to the monarch symbolically as does Peni Tutu'ila in the opening lines of three typical *fakatapu*: "*Te u fakatapu mo e la'ā*" (I will respectfully acknowledge the sun); "*Ke tulou mo e lupe he taua*" (I bow to the dove in the tower); "*Tuku atu e fakatapu 'o Pangai*" (Put forth reverence to Pangai).¹⁰

Not only is the *fakatapu* the poetic recognition of rank, it is also a formal request to perform with abandon and immunity from punishment in case of an accidental breach of protocol. Peni Tutu'ila's well known *fakatapu* comes to mind:

- 1 *Ke tulou mo e lupe he taua*
I bow to the dove in the tower
- 2 *Mo e laione 'i Mala'e Kula.*
And the lion in *Mala'e Kula*.
- 3 *Ka hala ha lea ko u hūfanga*
If ever a word is wrong, I take refuge
- 4 *He kolosi he 'akau fakalava.*
In the holy cross.¹¹

Following the *fakatapu*, the poet embarks on his *kaveinga* or theme which may require several verses to amplify. The concluding verses, or *tatau*, normally contain not merely a farewell statement and the adulation of one's own village, but also a covenant and promise that the poet, representing the people, is ever ready to perpetuate his sacred obligation to his country and his king. He returns to his village or island to await some future command for him to return and perform. Hardship means nothing, only the satisfaction of knowing he has pleased the royal house and the nobility. For the poet has been imbued with the ancestral wisdom that "*Oka lōlōfia ki he tu'i, ko 'ene tonu ia 'a e fonua.*" (When the king is pleased, there is order in the land.) The *tatau* from a *lakalaka* composed by Alamoti Taumoepeau illustrates this concept and promise:

- 1 *Te u ngata hē ka u foki au*
I will stop here and return (home)
- 2 *Ki hoto fātongia fakatalutalu,*
To my immemorial responsibility;

¹⁰ *Pangai* is wherever the king presides at a *kava* circle. Specifically, it is the large field by the palace in Nuku'alofa where all national ceremonial functions occur.

¹¹ The "*lupe he taua*" is perhaps the most frequent symbolic reference to Queen Salote in Tongan poetry. The *Mala'e Kula* is the royal cemetery in Nuku'alofa. A large sculpted lion watches over the grave of George Tupou I. Importantly, the poet will invoke the cross and remind everyone that, after all, Christian charity is superior to cultural ceremony.

3 *Ko e fai 'anga 'ete laukau*

The source of my deepest pride

4 *'A e fakaongoongo mo e talifekau.*

Is awaiting instructions and receiving commands.

Thus ends the ritual reaffirmation of the Tongan society's basic traditional values. Typically, this reaffirmation comes at the moment of "*kuo tau e langi*"; and the *faiva* concludes with all the performers standing, as they began, at attention with their hand across the chest.

Much is yet to be said about the Tongan poet and his craft. The tensions of change, which are everywhere apparent in Tonga today, are no doubt influencing his subject matter and his style. There are already signs that he may be becoming a social critic or will design his compositions more and more to fit the tastes of foreign audiences. Nevertheless it is highly unlikely that he will ever forget his first responsibility or *fātongia*. And it is precisely the exercise of his responsibility that helps constrain any radical tendency to rebel against the existing order of society. Whatever else he is privately, as a poet he is the social conscience of the past, reminding the people of their heritage and their implacable duty to sustain and enrich that heritage.

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STEPS TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A
WRITTEN CULTURE IN ORAL CULTURE COMMUNITIES:
THE ROLE PLAYED BY A UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII
BILINGUAL PROJECT FOR MICRONESIANS

by Suzanne E. Jacobs

It is only recently that the governments and peoples of the United Nations Trust Territory have come to realize the crucial role native Micronesian cultures and languages must play in the lives of Micronesians. In one way the people of Truk, Ponape, Palau, the Marshall Islands, the Carolinian Islands, Yap and Kusaie--the seven districts of Micronesia--are like the people of medieval England, Germany, and France. Their languages are spoken but rarely written down. Not until recently were there grammars, dictionaries, and systems of standardized spelling. Portions of the Bible, prayers, and hymns were translated quite some time ago, but these were few in number and they varied in details of the writing system, depending on the missionaries who translated them.

English has served a function not unlike that of medieval Latin. Since the end of World War II it has been the language of reading and writing. In Micronesian schools teaching for literacy has been the teaching of skills in English. These skills have been and will continue to be necessary to those who want college degrees or careers in trade or tourism. Similar arguments could be presented for another major language, Japanese.

But, as of now, English is not normally used for business and political affairs within island groups. For news broadcasts, religious services, commerce, and for almost all communication with the exception of secondary teaching, vernacular languages are used. For many Micronesians their command of English will never be adequate to express fully what they want to say, yet for purposes of reading and writing, English has been the only available language. Most Micronesians need command of a writing system for their vernacular for those times when a record of words is important--for wills, letters, and business transactions--and for creative purposes where writing is an aid to shaping an art form, exploring and evaluating ideas, and recording human experience. Tape recorders are useful adjuncts, especially for preserving the oral quality of stories but are less efficient than writing for distribution and storage.

In schools there are specific needs for stories and materials written in the vernacular language. Without such materials it is difficult to teach young children the decoding strategies required for reading. Since all reading matter has traditionally been printed in English, children have had to wait until they knew a fair amount of English before they

could start learning about sound and symbol relationships. There has been little use learning to decode letters and words if these letters and words were part of a language that could not be understood by the children. With materials written in the vernacular language (according to several studies in Engle, 1975), children would find it easier to learn basic reading skills that could then be applied to the reading of both the native language and English.

In 1974, faculty members from the University of Hawaii worked together with Micronesian administrators, teachers, and curriculum writers to plan a federally-funded project in bilingual education. Funds for the initial year were provided by the Trust Territory Government in Saipan from Title I funds already allocated. The project, called Bilingual Education Project for Micronesia #604990, continues presently under Title VII funds. In its first year the project was to include instruction for Micronesian teachers and curriculum specialists not only in the grammar and writing of English but also in the grammar and writing of Chamorro, Palauan, Ponapean, Trukese, Marshallese, Yapese, and Kusaiean. A major aim was to teach people who had never (or rarely) written their native language to write at a fairly advanced level, and for them to produce written stories and teaching units with reading material in science and local history. My role in this, as a teacher of writing with a background in linguistics, was to serve as consultant on the teaching of vernacular composition, and to work during the materials production phase of the project by talking with the vernacular writers about the content of their materials.

The bulk of the present article 1) outlines the project method of teaching writing in the vernacular to people who have never before written their own language, 2) describes the problems encountered by these writers, and 3) describes the results of, and reactions to, this part of the project effort.

The Method

The instructor of the vernacular composition course, Dr. Roderick Jacobs, now a linguist and specialist in Pacific and American Indian languages, had formerly taught composition to elementary, high school, and college students both in England and North America. He had worked with Native American groups on language materials for children. But he was a product of British classrooms, where he and all the other pupils had once produced a story or account of personal experience nearly every week. On the project he did what came naturally, asking the project participants to write in their own language a description of a person in the class, a detailed description of a food, a descrip-

tion of a place, then a descriptive narrative account of an experience they could recall. In class he read out in English samples of good professional and student writing. At one point he had everyone translate an English version of a Pacific legend into their own language and add details that were fitting for their own particular island culture. For this assignment, and for all the assignments, the writers met in language groups to compare what they had written, to give each other suggestions, and to talk about the problems of wording, spelling, paragraphing and such, as these were encountered. The instructor examined what the members of the class wrote by reading their interlinear, morpheme-by-morpheme translations. Graduate students specializing in each of the languages could read and understand the vernacular compositions. They conferred with the writers in some detail, usually once a week.

After their vernacular composition course, the participants spent a summer seminar working with Frederick Jackson, a project staff member, looking at literature (usually children's) written within European, Asian, and some Pacific cultures, this to stimulate their thinking about the kinds of material they did or did not want for their schools back home. Here they also discussed what children learn from literature.

In the final semester of the project's year-long first phase, the participants spent a good deal of their time writing materials in the vernacular languages. They met once a week as a group to compare rates of progress and once a week to discuss the instructional purpose of their materials: what kinds of instructional questions should accompany the material? what would students learn from these? and so on. The requirement for the materials-production course was quantitative: forty pages of material or ten instructional units. Again the graduate students conferred with individuals on the grammar, style, and orthography of their writing. The materials of each participant were typed on mimeo stencils and run off on thick seventy-pound text paper, some on a small offset press by David Bird, a staff member with some technical expertise. All of the work of a single individual was bound into a 5 x 8 inch booklet of which seventy copies were made. Each participant came up with a cover design and silk-screened the seventy covers. The final cost was close to eighty cents per copy. Those who returned to their Micronesian schools at the end of the year took with them thirty-five copies of their work ready for classroom trial, perhaps revision, then reprinting in larger numbers by the Trust Territory education facilities.

The kinds of material produced were of three types: materials for teaching grammar, material for teaching reading in grades 1-3, for which vocabulary was controlled, and more advanced reading matter for children of grade 4 and up. For these older children a variety of material was produced, but the greatest quantity was prose fiction--a

translation of *Charlotte's Web* and some of Grimm's fairy tales into Palauan, local stories and legends written in Ponapean, a short autobiographical novel written in Marshallese. In the non-fiction category there were historical accounts focussing on the Marianas, written in Chamorro, and a story written in Trukese that included information about navigation, the stars, and weather.

Problems Encountered by the Vernacular Writers

To discover the processes and problems involved in learning to write a heretofore spoken-only language, I did several things. I sat in on the class sessions of the materials writing class (materials for Grade 4 and up) during the final semester. I spent several hours in the large project office, where most of the final student typing was being done, and where students came to talk to each other and to consult with graduate assistants who had offices there. I talked with the instructors of the courses in vernacular grammars, the course in English grammar, and the two courses in writing--one in English and one in vernacular writing. Finally I taped six in-depth interviews with participants--two Trukese, three Palauans, one Chamorro, one Ponapean, one Mortlockese, and one Mokilese--about their experience with writing and learning to write. In most of the interviews I made some attempt to engage the person in conversation about the writing he had done in elementary school, in high school, at the university, and on the project, how he perceived the need for vernacular materials, and how he perceived his own growth.

We should anticipate that the Micronesians interviewed would not be critical of the program. As teachers they have an investment in learning and would be inclined to say only kind things about the host institution, its professors, and program. They would be likely to agree that they had learned whatever skills had been explicitly set out as goals. However, this paper is not an evaluation of this project but rather a look at what may be fairly common problems people have when they engage in writing what has previously been an unwritten language. This is an important part of the whole bilingual education effort.

The Problem of Detail

Several of those interviewed talked about the writing they had done in the past as too short, too thin, and too skimpy. Not only did they think their present writing was fuller and more detailed, but also they said that they had never previously thought about detail being of value,

for example in the development of characters. As one participant said about her earlier work:

I just sort of told it. I didn't give the reader a good picture of what was really happening, just a sequence, first I did this, second I did this . . .

The writing of fully-developed, interesting prose--the goal for the present course--was something quite new. This participant was able, for example, to give essential information about a food but, as the English version below shows, unable at first to write a full-page description of *experiencing* the food.

This food is made of unripe green papaya. When you bite it, it's crispy and has a salty, sour and hot taste. Its color is sometimes red, yellow, or white, depending on the personal choice. Sometimes the papaya is grated or sliced thin and long. You mix it in with salt, vinegar, accent, garlic, and a little bit of hot pepper.

Compare the above writing with the following description, which was written by another member of the same language group, someone who possessed an obvious gift for clear observation and a fine memory for sense impressions.

Chamorro Fina "Denne" (Chamorro Appetizer)

To make a *Fina "Denne,"* use two juicy half ripe green small and round sweet-smelling [sic] lemons. Cut it open in half which some juicy white substance runs down the blade of knife and onto the cutting-board. Squeeze each half on a small white round saucer, until all the halves are squeezed out of its juicy substance. Then add dashes of salt until gradually mixed with the white juicy and watery liquid till you get the taste just right like little bit sour and little bit of saltness. Then you add enough red small hot pepper crushed to the white substance. Now you will see a beautiful juicy red watery and sour-salty liquid in a small, white, round saucer.

Chopped about three small stalks of leafy green onions to give a sweet likeable aroma of a true native appetizer. Then take a piece of roasted meat, or roasted fish, cold sliced in small sizeable bites of fresh tuna and dip in the red juicy watery sour-salty and aroma of leafy green onions, then put it in your mouth and feel that juicy red sour-salty hot liquid and aroma of leafy green fresh onions, with cold soft piece of fresh tuna or meat and chew it. You will experience the taste

that your saliva keeps squirting out in your mouth that it becomes full you starts to swallow it down little by little down your throat. Then you said, “MMMMMMMM. Mmmmmm. It’s delicious.”

The more it stings your tongue the more you keep on eating, until the watery white substance in your nose is running down and you have to run and blow it out. It was so good that you start to puff out air through your mouth trying to cool off the stinging of the red hot pepper.

When you can’t stand it anymore you take a glass of very cold ice water to quench the tongue of flame coming out from the mouth. That feels better--whistling air out and taking air in through the mouth as fast as you can. Now you can feel that the fire is out and white smoke is coming out. That means that if you want to start another fire keep dipping your piece of meat or fish in the sweet smell of leafy green aroma of onions and sour-salty watery red liquid. Nevertheless, a very cold water or a piece of ice cube is the answer.

The native *Fina* “*deene*” shows who is the stout-hearted men, who can fight the small red hot pepper.

(The original in Chamorro by Teresa Taitano)

The first writer, who had earlier written the very short piece, was now able to learn from her friend’s example, for on the next assignment she too included the descriptive and narrative details that make the following piece lively and evocative:

Morning on Rota

The roosters on the kamachili trees around my house are already crowing. From a distant I can hear the church bell ringing. This wakes up the people early in the morning to attend morning mass. It never fails for the old rusty bell to ring every morning at four o’clock, three times every half hour.

I got up from where I was sleeping because I could hear my grandmother and grandfather talking to each other. My grandmother already finished folding their mat, and is fixing herself to go to mass. I can hear all her movements in their room because the walls in our house are old and thin. There are also some parts where there are small holes in which we

love to peep through. Their room is not pretty, kind of bare. There's only the bed, the few statues of saints on the shelf. There are also some boxes against the wall in which their clothes are put. The floor mat is placed standing against the corner of the room where it will not be in the way.

My grandfather is already outside the house taking down his fishing net where it was hanging against the wall. He has become very dark from the sun. His hair has only a few gray strand compared to his age, his body is well built. He is still a very strong man, and healthy too. He can do almost anything. He is a farmer, a fisherman, and he can also make rope out of tree bark.

I love to go fishing with him because he makes me carry the fish pail. He usually scolds me for being very active and running in the water where I chase the fish away. He will often say to me, "Stay behind me and walk slowly and quietly. If you keep on misbehaving, I will have to send you home and you can work at home."

Every morning when we leave to go fishing, we would start on the beach below our house, going either south or north till the end of the village. Sometimes we would be late and we would find a lot of fishermen on the shore. It is not year round that people go net fishing for these particular fish. They have seasons when they will appear on the sea shore. They are long, (probably the same size as our fingers) sort of silver in color, and very easy to scale. They have very fine bones. We eat the bones if my grandmother fries the fish. If she fixes it as fish *kelaguin*, she would scale the fish, cut the stomach and remove the insides, then she would remove the bones. She mashes them up very fine and she then mixes in lemon juice and salt. Sometimes she will put soy sauce instead of salt and make it hot with red hot pepper. How delicious it taste with hot steaming rice!

(The original in Chamorro by Rita Iños)

The Problem of Style

Acquiring a natural and lively style in the vernacular was more difficult than acquiring a sense of detail because no "authority" could offer the writers suggestions. They had to rely on other speakers of their own language, equally inexperienced in writing. There were no models to

guide them--no books beyond the vernacular translation of the Bible and a very few other materials. As one Ponapean speaker commented:

In English I can see examples. I can see it in the books.
From there I can try to do the same. But in the vernacular,
it's impossible.

The initial tendency for most of the participants was to imitate English structure. In fact, when they wrote their first assignment in the vernacular-writing course, a description of their home village, four of the six I interviewed had begun by writing an entire English version first, then translating it back to Palauan or Chamorro. (This was not true for the Trukese speakers.) It was not until the instructor told them they must think first in their own language that they had any doubts about their method. Up until then, writing to them--almost by definition--meant English writing. Their own language, like the writing of the Bible, was to be arrived at through translation. It had not occurred to them that as native-speakers they had a quicker access route. One of the participants verbalized this when she said she had to teach herself to "hear" her language in her head. It took an extreme act of will, she said, to do this, so apparently this was something she had not done when she wrote English. It was a technique she was now having to learn for the first time.

The Problem of Translating Culture

For those doing translation from English into the vernacular, there were various minor kinds of problems. In Palauan, for example, almost every spoken utterance is preceded by a word something like "and," which also functions as a connective between utterances. Should this be inserted in the translation even though the English had no such equivalent? And if so, should the written version look like one enormous sentence whose parts are connected by these conjunctions? Should commas as well as the conjunction be used? Should direct quotations be used even though the speakers had never heard direct quotations used in vernacular *speech*? (The Palauan writers decided to use direct quotation.) Should the names of the characters be changed to ones more familiar in the language? If so, should the animals in *Charlotte's Web* be changed to animals more familiar to the children? (The translator decided "no" on both counts, deciding to retain the foreign flavor of the book.)

How much would be lost in translation because of cultural differences? In Palau, where flowers are part of the landscape year around, would children miss the essential point that flowers beginning to bloom are associated with the important awakening of the earth and being

able to play outside? To the translator of *Charlotte's Web* it seemed that E. B. White went on an inordinately long time about flowers blooming and that her readers would be bored.

Should the English words "king" and "queen" be used in translating "The Lady and the Tiger" or would substitutes like "chief" and "chiefs wife" be preferable? Would children know what a tiger was? In all these cases, the writers decided that stories, even if in the vernacular language, should retain much of the foreign culture from which they were derived, and that this in itself would not affect the children's growing feeling for their own culture.

Results and Reactions

Almost every interview contained an unelicited expression of the writer's feeling that his own writing was really quite remarkable, and this from men and women for whom the cultural norm is generally self-deprecation about one's own accomplishments. A Pingalapese (Palau district) reported that he had read aloud his stories to other speakers of the language, people on campus not connected with the project. For them it was the first time they had heard anything at all read in their language (a spelling system and dictionary are only just now being developed), and their reaction had been one of tremendous excitement. He was eager to hear the reactions of children in his home area. This same participant, a language arts supervisor in his area, said he would have school children write in the future starting, as he himself had done in the project, with the description of a house. He would have them do a first version to be handed in, not for grammatical correction but for suggestions as to where detail could be added. Then the children would have the chance to add more and hand it in again.

Another claimed, "The way I look at this writing that we have done, I think I really learned something. I believe we can improve the kind of writing that we have done before to our children."

Another mentioned that a tape-recorded portion of her story, sent back to the islands, had not yet reached the classrooms because the adults working in various offices of education were playing it for themselves.

Another told me, "I really like my stories, the stories I'm working on, I really do, and I think, I believe, readers will enjoy them very much."

The ultimate evaluators of their work are not the faculty from whom they took credit courses but the children and school community who have been using their first sets of thirty-five sample copies. These are being tried out, and then the teacher-writers will find out whether

other people think them interesting and useful enough to be reprinted in larger batches.

Conclusion

It has been a basic assumption of this article that having a written literature is inherently valuable. Written literature extends the range of experiences shared by a group of people and so creates more opportunity for cultural unity and strength. While oral literature has a similar function and in an era of isolation is a powerful instrument for transmitting cultural values, island oral literature may stand little chance of surviving against the competition of European and Asian written literatures. Children in Micronesian schools, told that reading skill is tremendously important to their future, do not fail to get the underlying message that cultures with written literatures are important. It seems natural for them to conclude that cultures without written literatures are inferior.

The Micronesians we interviewed sought to preserve the cultural richness and uniqueness of their own island districts while at the same time they wanted to see a developing economy based not on U.S. government jobs but on trade, local industry in fishing, crafts, agriculture, and perhaps on expanded tourism. Preserving their culture calls for new literacy skills in the vernacular. Developing the economy calls for greater skill in second languages for use between the districts and outside Micronesia. Cultural goals call for written stories, poems, drama, historical accounts, religious writing and song, not only at the children's level but also for adults, while economic goals depend on writing and speaking skills in English and perhaps other languages, skills for writing business letters and reading materials in science and technology as well as manuals for maintaining equipment or ordering parts. The two kinds of goals, cultural and economic, are necessarily competitive for people's time, but each goal seems necessary to the other. A strong economic system controlled by Micronesians would depend, in part, on a strong sense of cultural values. A strong economy helps make it possible to spare people from the work force to do vernacular writing and thus facilitates the sharing of cultural values.

Since the target date for Micronesian independence from the American trusteeship is 1980, it seems clear from the viewpoint of economic need that children should learn to read and write both first and second languages. Realistically they cannot be expected to become equally proficient and productive in both. Some would need special proficiency in one language, while others would find their way in the other. (And for some, full writing proficiency may not really be necessary in either lan-

guage.) The danger is that writers in the vernacular and all artists will find it difficult to support themselves if the economy becomes entirely cash based. Paying jobs will go to those in commercial and industrial occupations but not to those who write, draw, act, dance, and sing.

At present, through the participation of universities and the granting of federal funds, there has been a certain modest amount of patronage for the creative arts. In effect, the present federal project, emphasizing vernacular writing, has been an instrument of this patronage. The funds for this project, administered by the Trust Territories, have paid and encouraged Micronesian educators to be creative and to produce in written form. Even the translations of American and European works can be thought of in terms of Micronesian culture. Somehow first steps must be taken towards a written literature, and at this point the medium of the vernacular language is more significant than the proportion of nativeness and foreignness in its content.

Perhaps the most important result of the project effort is the collection of bound journals and books produced by the participants. In the future the focus of activity should not be exclusively on the young, and those who produce should not be exclusively teachers and curriculum writers. Members of the community at large should be invited to participate.

The products of writing are a gift to the culture as well as an expression of it. Ideally, perhaps realistically, writers should be paid for their toil, they should have status within the community, and there should be public occasions for recognition of their efforts. To establish a new function and niche in the social structure, difficult as this seems, may not be impossible if teachers take care to single out students who write well in the vernacular, if local radio stations broadcast writers' work, and if cash or other kinds of recognition are awarded promising writers. The churches, community councils, or other strong institutions could create or use existing salaried positions for writers-in-residence, much as large universities do now, and medieval churches once did. This would take over, or at least augment, the role now played by the present bilingual project and other federal efforts. As I see it, this would be an important step toward building a body of written literature. This literature in turn would affirm the various Micronesian cultural identities and help keep Micronesia as a whole from being swamped by other cultures of the world.

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AMERICAN SAMOA: Which Road Ahead?

by James Bishop¹

Seven tropical islands 2,400 miles southwest of Hawaii, American Samoa, was annexed by the United States at the turn of the century during America's brief imperial phase. Left largely to themselves throughout fifty years of naval administration, inhabitants of the territory preserved their traditional culture until the 1960s. Then greatly increased spending by an embarrassed U.S. government brought affluence and social change. Respect for traditions hallowed by a three-thousand year history, and unwillingness to jeopardize their federal subsidy, kept American Samoans behind their neighbors in moving toward self-government. But by 1976, an economic crisis and dissatisfaction with the behavior of recent appointed governors finally persuaded Samoans to approve what they had rejected in three earlier plebiscites--the election of their own governor.

Local issues, primarily economic and social, are expected to dominate the gubernatorial campaign this year. The voters are split roughly in two groups. Those who favor the old style politics of family and regional contests for the honor of electing a member or ally to prestigious position are pitted against modernists who are more concerned about the competence and impartiality of the candidates. As American Samoans move toward responsible government they are united in their opposition to independence and little attracted by the possibility of reunification with Western Samoa. Statehood is viewed as impractical. Commonwealth status has appeal, but the incompatibility of the U.S. constitution with essential elements of Samoan culture is an impediment.

Since the early sixties the stated policy of the U.S. Government has been to respect the political wishes of the American Samoan people. On November 18, 1976, this commitment was expressed in the following terms by the U.S. spokesman during the Fourth Committee's discussion of American Samoa at the United Nations General Assembly:

¹James Bishop, a representative of the U.S. State Department, wrote the following report this year as a result of his research in the Samoan communities on the U.S. mainland, in Hawaii, and in both American and Western Samoa. Besides the standard printed works on Samoa, Mr. Bishop personally interviewed a large number of important and concerned individuals in the above mentioned areas. The results of all these interviews were then compiled into a report for a Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy sponsored by the U.S. State Department. His candid and forthright discussion of American Samoa's problems and future warrant its publication in our journal.

The United States is fully aware and freely acknowledges the obligation regarding non-self governing territories which it administers specified in Chapter 11 of the United Nations Charter, and the U.S. is fully committed to the principle of self-determination.²

Simultaneously, as has been described, the United States has furnished sufficient economic assistance to enable American Samoans to enjoy a substantial improvement in their standard of living. While many Samoans resent the obvious skepticism of some Interior and Government of American Samoa (GAS) officials that they will be able to manage their own affairs, and Interior is not yet willing to allow the Samoans unsupervised control of the funds flowing from Washington, no Samoan complains that the U.S. is blocking movement toward self-government or has been stingy in recent years.

The subsidy from Washington currently amounts to \$45 million annually, approximately \$1,500 for each resident of American Samoa, almost half of whom are aliens. With the possible exception of phosphate rich Nauru, per capita Gross National Product (GNP) consequently is much higher than elsewhere in Polynesia. There is universal free education through secondary school, and a community college in which 900 of the territory's 30,000 residents are enrolled. Each school-child is eligible for two free meals a day. The elderly can receive social security pensions and one free meal a day. Everyone in the territory has access to free medical care at the best hospital in Polynesia and at dispensaries located throughout the Islands. GAS employs 10% of the population, which, given the median age of fifteen, means the majority of the adult work force. Import duties are levied on only a handful of products, and less than 10% of the population pays income taxes. There are approximately 3,000 privately-owned vehicles in a territory with only seventy-six square miles of terrain, most of it mountainous. Ninety-six percent of the population has access to the 3,800 privately-owned television sets, and over a third of the territory's residents watch television in color.

The problems which call for some redefinition of policy are not those of neglect but of administration. Development and the manner in which it was undertaken have created a new set of problems, and the response by all concerned has been inadequate. These major problems are:

- 1) Out-migration: The estimates vary widely, but a conservative figure for the number of American Samoans now in Hawaii and West

² Statement made by Jay Kenneth Katzen on American Samoa, November 18, 1976, U.S. Mission to the United Nations.

Coast states is 45,000. This is almost three times the number residing in the islands. Samoans leave home primarily because they perceive better economic and educational opportunities in Hawaii and the mainland. Others are attracted by what they know of U.S. life styles. Several sub-problems exist under this rubric. They are:

First, Maladjustment. Poor English and little vocational education back home make it difficult for Samoans to find work. They also experience the disorientation common when members of communal societies find themselves in the impersonal environment of a modern city. Samoans are very physical people, and this tendency, when combined with frustration and alcohol, leads frequently to brawling and custody. These same problems recently have led some Samoans into organized crime. By misfortune or intent, many Samoan migrants eventually apply for welfare payments.

Secondly, Brain Drain. The majority of male high school students not going on to college enlists in one of the U.S. military services. The Army takes 200-300 per annum and maintains a recruiting office in American Samoa. Many of the enlistees extend their commitments, a substantial portion remaining twenty years in the service. A high percentage of those Samoans receiving college degrees seek employment in the United States after deciding that GAS salaries are not competitive or that promotion within GAS will be too slow.

Thirdly, Agricultural Production Falling. A rural exodus fuels this migration, draining men off the land. Food imports, many of non-traditional varieties, are replacing local production.

Fourth, Labor Shortage. Although the unemployment rate is estimated by GAS to be 16%, lack of an adequate labor force limits production at the canneries. American Samoans prefer to seek employment in Hawaii and the West Coast rather than accept the lower wages paid for the unattractive task of cleaning fish. Samoans also are unwilling to tolerate the primitive living conditions and long absences from home endured by the Koreans and Chinese who man the two hundred fishing boats which supply the canneries. For American Samoa this means a substantial loss in potential upstream benefits from the canning industry.

2) Another major problem facing Samoa is that of in-migration. According to GAS figures from a 1974 census, American Samoa's estimated 30,000 population then included 14,704 aliens; 13,667 of these foreigners were Western Samoans. Their labor is essential for the canneries where Western Samoans comprise roughly half the work force. However, they drain the economy of several million dollars per year, which is mailed home to their families, and few earn enough to pay in-

come taxes. Nevertheless, Western Samoans enjoy most of the social benefits received by American Samoans. They comprise 17% of the public school population and frequently come to Pago Pago for the purpose of obtaining free medical care.

Recent revision of New Zealand's visa procedures is believed by unskilled Western Samoans to have choked off their entry to the New Zealand labor market.³ Given this perception, the American Samoan economy can be expected to attract even more Western Samoans, some of whom eventually will join the Samoan communities in Hawaii and the western states. Currently ineligible to vote or to hold public office, Western Samoans resident in American Samoa may constitute too large a portion of the population to accept political impotence docilely when greater self-government becomes a reality in American Samoa.

Other expatriates include Tongans, for whom there is historic ill will dating back to the years before the arrival of the Europeans when warriors from Tonga conquered Samoa. With the Tongan economy in the doldrums, and few other outlets for the islands' rapidly expanding population, American Samoa can expect more Tongans to seek admission and employment. The most recent emigrant group is drawn from oriental fishermen who have married Samoans and established themselves in business. Cultural antipathy toward Asiatics and business competition suggest these Orientals eventually may find their status precarious.

3) The deficient education system poses another problem. The attempt to use ETV to hurdle the barriers to rapid development of a quality educational system has not met Samoan expectations. Regardless of the reasons stated--some Samoans believe the entire scheme was a mistake in which their children were used as guinea pigs, while others state that ETV could have accomplished its objectives if given more time and support by teachers and politicians--it is a fact that the average reading comprehension of applicants for admission to the community college is at the fifth grade level. In 1976, only 25% of the candidates for admission to U.S. colleges scored well enough in the test of English for foreigners to merit further consideration.

In the view of many technically qualified persons, including some senior members of the Education Department, the principal flaw has been reliance on English as the language of instruction throughout the school system. Few Samoan teachers were fluent in English when ETV was introduced. Samoan children were and are discouraged from speak-

³ The New Zealand government says it intends to accept over a thousand Western Samoan emigrants per annum and is establishing procedures to facilitate the temporary employment of Western Samoans. The New Zealanders also point out that thousands of Western Samoan "over-stayers" are being allowed to regularize their status.

ing English at home. Imperfect English makes it very difficult to transmit course content in other subjects. Belatedly, an effort is being made to introduce more Samoan into the schools, with use of the vernacular increasingly emphasized in the early years.

4) Growth without Development. American Samoa is a textbook example of a state growing in terms of per capita GNP without becoming more self-reliant. In fact, as the U.S. subsidy has grown, so also have American Samoa's dependence and vulnerability. There is no serious development plan. Investment priorities reflect the preferences of the governors, none of whom in recent years has had any background in economic development. Not only direction but thrust has varied with the governors. Haydon accelerated public spending, while Ruth and Barnett have sought to economize. In the opinion of some Samoan businessmen, the frequent shifts in GAS priorities have been a major deterrent to outside investment.

The phantom of industrialization has captured the imagination of several governors, but the territory's industrial park stands largely vacant, a mute reminder of American Samoa's distance from both raw materials and markets, as well as of the shortage of vocationally-educated workers. Tourism's potential has been exaggerated by those who ignore the territory's climate and modest attractions. Basic services, e.g. water and power, have been poorly managed. Despite almost 200 inches of rainfall per annum, as well as the investment of over \$8 million in recent years, water shortages limit production at the canneries and have compelled their closure. As these plants are by far the major employers in the private sector, and they provide the largest portion of local government revenue, their needs for water, power (despite the installation of army generators to cover a shortage which developed several years ago, there are frequent outages), and a marine railway staffed to handle demand have not received sufficient attention. The *Fono* (legislative assembly) has been as unsystematic as GAS in its approach to development, frequently adopting a pork-barrel attitude toward public investment.

5) Swollen Bureaucracy. There is an enormous amount of government in American Samoa. As mentioned earlier, GAS employs 10% of the population. This polity of 30,000 has almost two score legislators whose salaries and expenses consume \$500,000 in public revenue. The Governor's office costs almost an equal amount to run. GAS recruits by newspaper advertisement and occasionally by placement of friends of the governor or of the administration in power. Most of those hired have no experience with the frustrations of life in a developing country environment. Almost no GAS contract personnel speak Samoan. Their

turnover rate is high, and social relations with their Samoan colleagues frequently are stiff.

6) Disorientation. Predictably, the process of modernization has undermined adherence to traditional values. Consensus has given way to some polarization on generational lines, but the impact has been too ragged to describe so neatly. Some young Samoans have returned from the United States with an ethnic consciousness which glorifies the traditional system many of their peers would abolish. The award of *matai* titles removes some of the reformers from the debate. Some influential Samoans advocate policies regarding *fa'Samoa* which are inconsistent.⁴ Dissatisfaction is not limited to the young--many older Samoans advocate restricting the power of the *matai*. Meanwhile, some high chiefs call for restoration of the greater powers they once exercised.

The Education Department encourages traditional arts and handicrafts, but it does not suggest to teachers how they respond to questions about the obvious conflict between the political equality of the American model and the privileges embodied in the *matai* system. The Office of Samoan Affairs promotes traditional sports but it has not defined the desirable blend of Samoan and modern mores. In fact, no one in the Samoan community has proposed a formula which has won wide acceptance.

Conclusion. The urgency and magnitude of more vital issues have left little time for senior U.S. Government officials to focus on American Samoa's problems. Benign neglect and *fa'samoa's* flexibility preserved the integrity of Samoan folkways during the initial phase of western impact. But the equalitarian ideal and the seductive influence of American affluence now prompt many Samoans to reject much of *fa'Samoa*. A culture with a three-thousand-year history is being abandoned by a people who will live an uncomfortable length of time at the margin of the society many find more attractive. As long as the federal subsidy remains generous, those in American Samoa will enjoy a standard of living quite satisfactory from a material standpoint. But even for those in the islands, the psychic costs of cultural conflict are becoming evident in higher incidents of hypertension, suicide, etc. Samoans in the slums of Hawaii and the West Coast suffer both material and emotional deprivation. There is a worrisome possibility that a portion of the Samoan community eventually might follow the American Indian down the path to cultural disintegration and alcohol-laced despair.

U.S. interests in American Samoa are insignificant from any national perception. However, commitments to the Samoan people, and

⁴ Uncertainty and ambiguity are compounded by the fact that Samoans differ considerably in their interpretation of the content of *fa'Samou*.

international undertakings oblige the United States to search with greater imagination and energy for a humane resolution of the dilemma which appears to make prosperity and cultural integrity mutually exclusive. Federal spending can aggravate the problems it is intended to resolve and, as American Samoa's experience illustrates, create new and more serious challenges to the well-being of those it is intended to assist. The scarce resources are attention, sensitivity and imagination. These must be forthcoming if the United States is to discharge conscientiously its obligations to the Samoan people. They must be allowed to assume rapidly greater responsibility for management of their own affairs, with the recognition that their performance may be as spotty as that of many youthful polities.

U.S. State Department

EDITOR'S FORUM

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: AN EDUCATOR'S PERSONAL POINT OF VIEW*

by Jay Fox

Ladies and Gentlemen, Aloha. As I begin my brief task this morning, I feel very much like the novelist E. M. Forster must have felt when a friend once told him, "One must face facts." "How can I," he replied, "when they're all around me?" In the area of intercultural communication one wonders which of the many "facts" one should face. Quite frankly, one wonders what the facts really are.

It has only been within the last two decades that substantial research into intercultural communication has begun, and even today, compared to many other disciplines, there is not a great deal of enlightening material on the subject. I often ask those pulse takers of the trends in higher education--the book salesmen--what they have for college students on the subject and they have had little to recommend. The field is rapidly growing, however. Ironically much of what has been done is available in scholarly journals in a jargon that doesn't communicate very well to the uninitiated. An example of the problems of the style of such writing was brought painfully to my attention last week when I was skimming an article in the new Britannica on semantics in communication. For a few moments I did not realize that I had passed on to the next alphabetized entry and was reading an article on semi-conductor devices in electronic transistors. The diagrams on input and output looked very much the same as the previous article and the text seemed similarly abstruse. Since I have already started off on this ostensibly critical note I must digress to share with you a definition of input I read recently in a copy of Yale Alumni Magazine in a doctor's office:

Input n. (fr. in+put): Ideas solicited by deans, department heads and the like from colleagues assumed to have expertise in a given field. Upon receipt, input is converted into feedback. Feedback is then reconverted into input, the two processes thereby forming a cycle which is sometimes terminated by action.¹

I wrote this definition, by the way, on the back of the only paper available in that office, a leaflet which carried the heading, "Today in Hawaii there are some 2,500 blind or visually handicapped people. Are you one of them?" and I suppose that leaflet has something to do with

*Reprinted from an address delivered to the World Educator's Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii, July, 1976.

¹ *Yale Alumni Magazine*, October 1974, p. 23.

this conference, too, because many people are blind to the complex problem that is intercultural communication.

Hopefully, I can share with you--not as an expert in the field but as a sympathetic observer--my personal point of view as a teacher and administrator in international education.

Perhaps you need to understand what I have in mind when I use the term "intercultural communication." A definition of communication itself could lead to a long discourse, but for the sake of brevity I will use the definition that "communication is the act of understanding and being understood by the audience."² Other dimensions are added too if we think of communication as an art and as a process. By culture I mean the sum total of experience, knowledge, values, attitudes, and world views acquired by a group of people living together. Thus when someone in one culture sends a message to a receiver who understands in another culture we have intercultural communication. Although there are other terms being used today, such as "interracial communication," I prefer "intercultural" because I believe differences in culture often have little to do with differences in race. Then, too, race has always been a very elusive system of categorization to me.

As you might suspect, communication problems develop because of the variances between cultures. I have always been surprised that there are not more overt clashes on our Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus considering the variety of cultures we have represented. Assuming that culture and country are somewhat related (although not necessarily so) we have, according to our registrar, on campus this year students from the following countries:

The United States, Canada, Brazil, England, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, The Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, South Vietnam, Tahiti, Tonga, Western Samoa, New Zealand, Fiji, Australia, American Samoa, The Marshall Islands, The Caroline Islands, Laos, and Indonesia. There are represented at BYU-Hawaii Campus, then, students coming from at least twenty-five different cultural backgrounds. There are even more when you consider that the United States, for example, represents different cultural groups itself. The state of Hawaii is certainly culturally different from the state of Utah, for instance. How successful are the local people here in Hawaii for example in keeping shoes on your children--or yourself for that matter--when you visit the mainland?

Each group has its own perceptions, its own world view, its own concepts of time, and its own need for certain ways to use and organize

² K. S. Sitaram, "What is Intercultural Communication?" In *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*, ed. Larry A. Samover and Richard E. Porter (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing; 1972), p. 19.

space. Each takes offense at some gestures and, of course, the intercultural differences are multiplied by all the idiosyncrasies of individuals in each cultural group.

We do not say enough about the burden this places on teachers who must have culturally different students in their classes. Just last week I received a firsthand report from a faculty member who had a Japanese student come up to him after a class to ask the faculty member to please stop being so "passionate"-- that was the word he used--in teaching certain principles in the classroom. The Japanese student was reacting to what seemed to him to be an overbearing attitude of having the subject "crammed" down his throat. The instructor was condemned because the student felt it was offensive to someone of his culture. The teacher, feeling very introspective after the discussion, was then approached by a Fijian student who claimed that the power and zeal of this teacher was just what the Fijian students needed to motivate them. The teacher was in that unenviable position of being, as one of my friends is so fond of saying, "damned if you do, and damned if you don't."

I wonder what we can do to make students sensitive to the fact that a teacher dealing with different cultures may have to be simply himself in the classroom and it is they, the students, who must adapt to his culture and personality. I wonder, too, how often students appeal to their culture as a sanctuary from things they personally dislike.

In case it might console the Japanese members of the audience, I should tell you about a faculty member from another college in the state who misjudged a Japanese waitress recently. We were seated at a round table at which there were two men, myself and this other faculty member, and seven women. When the main course was served, it was given first to this other faculty member who quickly questioned why he was first. He just as quickly answered his own question by theorizing that it must be because he was the oldest male member at the table and that Japanese women respect and defer to their male elders. Knowing I would be given this presentation this morning, I asked the waitress why she had served him first, to which she replied, "He was the only one who had moved his salad plate out of the way so I could put his dish down."

All too often each of us is guilty of this type of misjudgment based on a particular cultural group. In such instances the problem is the word *is*. General semanticists have warned us for years of saying "He is a Jew," "She is a Negro," with the assumption that we can equate a person with an abstract label. They remind us that Jew₁ is not Jew₂ is not Jew₃ etc., nor is Jew₁₉₅₀ Jew₁₉₆₁ or Jew₁₉₇₅. People are individuals after

all and no amount of similarity among members of one group ever exceeds the differences among the members of that group.

Yet we persist in using labels. I have heard faculty members say, "She is a Polynesian and must be told everything to do because they all come from authoritarian homes," or "He is a loud Samoan and I embarrass him in front of the class to discipline him because he expects it." Yet these very students have come to me and said that they neither expect nor appreciate such treatment.

Several years ago we interviewed groups of Samoans, Tongans, Chinese, and American students to see if they all felt similar problems in learning English on campus. I recall coming away from those sessions with the distinct impression that each person had his own problems in responding to and learning a language that superseded any pattern shown in his cultural group. Just last fall I had an experience which made me feel as if I were fitting someone's label. I was out cutting my grass when a very noisy car sped down my street. I instinctively shouted "Slow Down!" to the fellow driving. He looked at me but increased his speed even more. About a half an hour later as I was cutting the lawn on the side of the house, I could hear over the roar of the mower someone calling. I looked up and saw the same car stopped in front of the house. The driver was yelling, "Hey, you damn Haole (a Caucasian)--you don't own the streets! Hey, you damn Haole--you don't own the streets!"

I very reluctantly walked to the car and met a very big Polynesian fellow who quickly told me that the streets in Laie used to be private but now they belonged to the city. He said, "I don't like you yell at me that way." Well, my mouth had gone dry at that point and I actually felt a little weak all over. I thought "this guy is going to beat me up, or if he doesn't do that he will be back to rob our house." The only way we were able to conclude the argument that developed was for me to plead mercy for our four children whom I did not want to see mangled by a speeding car and to offer him my hand while saying "No offense intended." Never exchanging our personal names, we slapped the palms of our hands together in the local way and he left.

We had both done what semanticists call reification; we had attempted to "thingify" abstract labels. We had in fact come to the confrontation with the label "Haole" and "Polynesian" in our minds and had looked on one another as the thing that fit the label. I to him was an arrogant Haole and he was to me a ruthless Polynesian. In allowing ourselves to act this way we had both deluded ourselves as do all those who confuse words and things, or in this case words and people.

Reflecting on this experience later, I wrote this little poem to remind myself to avoid this confusion in the future.

TO THE NEW ARISTOTELIAN

You have the fallacy of is.
 A Filipino is
 A Samoan is
 A Haole is or isn't.
 But what is he after all
 But you and me and
 One of us.

Thomas Carlyle, in *Heroes and Hero Worship*, commenting on our confusion with words and things when we attempt to label "components" in our own personalities says this:

What indeed are faculties? We talk of faculties as if they were distinct, things separable? as if a man had intellect, imagination, fancy, etc. as he has hands, feet and arms. That is a capital error. Then again, we hear of a man's "intellectual nature," and of his "moral nature," as if these again were divisible, and existed apart. Necessities of language do not perhaps prescribe such forms of utterance? We must speak, I am aware, in that way, if we are to speak at all. But words ought not to harden into things for us. It seems to me, our apprehension of this matter is, for most part, radically falsified thereby. We ought to know withal, and to keep forever in mind, that these divisions are at bottom but names: that man's spiritual nature, the vital Force which dwells in him, is essentially one and indivisible? that what we call imagination, fancy, understanding, and so forth, are but different figures of the same Power of Insight, all indissolubly connected with each other, physiognomically related; that if we knew one of them, we might know all of them.³

I am often disappointed in the way in which we look on people as things, as labels, when we criticize and find fault with people who date or marry "interracially" as it is often termed. I do not mean to say that we should not carefully consider the advice given by counselors who warn us of the serious adaption problems that often come when two people from different cultures come together, but I hope we do not confuse so called "race"--what is often nothing more than the phenotype of color--with culture. If we do we are guilty of a reification process I call color coding. Color equals race equals different cultures equals problems

³ (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1890), pp. 118-119.

is the logic we often follow. When we do this we are truly fitting the description of the way in which man sees as recorded in I Samuel 16:7. "Look not on his countenance, or on the height of his stature" the Lord said unto Samuel, "for the Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart."

Of course there are many intercultural and intracultural communication problems that result from a misuse of words, "the old, old words worn thin, defaced by years of careless usage,"⁴ as Joseph Conrad reminds us. As often, however, I suspect that it is not only the misuse but the misunderstanding of words that is one of the problems. What is going on in a student's mind who doesn't interpret the very sounds of the utterances he hears? He ends up asking where "The Virgin of Menace" is playing instead of *The Merchant of Venice* as one student recently did. Or he nods his head in class, seeming to understand and agree, but is often in the situation of a little friend of mine who hearing a lecture in elementary school on the dangers of taking things from strangers or getting into their cars only appeared to have understood. The lecture was reinforced at suppertime by his parents and he nodded in agreement that he would never take anything from or do anything with strangers. At bedtime he said "Daddy, I have only one question about what I heard today." His Dad said, "What is that Tim?" And Tim asked, "What is a stranger?" Teachers have a responsibility to explain and students have a responsibility to inquire. Culture and language are so closely intertwined that it is extremely difficult to separate them if indeed they can be.

Another of our problems at many United States institutions is the attempt to respect the cultural backgrounds and languages our students bring to our campuses while recognizing the need that most of us see to have students perform well in English because it is the language of instruction. As far as I'm concerned one language is about as good as another. Each language has its own system, its own way, and I am no imperialist about English. What I say here about English applies to any language which is the medium of instruction at an educational institution. But I also strongly believe that success in learning at U.S. schools is directly related to the ability the student has in English because it is the medium for all but our modern language classes. I hope we are not hurting anyone psychologically or culturally when we ask him to use English on campus, because many of us believe that ability in the language will increase as it is used. Why not look on the years spent at schools which use English as an opportunity for non-native speakers of English to learn and use English.

⁴ "Preface," *The Nigger of the Narcissus* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1960), p. 27.

Lest I say too much on this subject, let it suffice to say that if you accept the premise above, our special challenge is to find ways to motivate students to want to learn English and yet preserve the cultural ties they fear they are breaking when they use English with their friends who do not speak English as a first language. It is perhaps our greatest challenge when we remember that people usually learn a language well when they wish to be identified with the culture of that language. Yet we are not ready nor do we necessarily want our international students to be Americans and we are thus in a definite way working against ourselves.

In all of these considerations we must be careful not to let our own ethnocentrism of regarding our culture as superior to others carry us too far and distort our perception of things. J. Reuben Clark, Jr. has pointed this out very well:

We must give up this idea too many of us have that our way of life and living is not only the best, but often the only true way of life and living in the world, that we know what everybody else in the world should do and how they should do it. We must come to realize that every race and every people have their own way of doing things, their own standards of life, their own ideals, their own kinds of food and clothing and drink, their own concepts of civil obligation and honor, and their own views as to the kind of government they should have. It is simply ludicrous for us to try to recast all of these into our mold.⁵

We all need time to reflect on these things, yet even here in the multi-cultural milieu of Hawaii we are victims of a time conceptualization that constantly interferes with our communication effectiveness. Many of us are participants in a Western view of time that divides the world of events into past, present, and future, in which Time moves toward an end goal goaded by the desire for more and more production, in contrast to some Asian beliefs in a never-ending cycle in which things do not move toward some "far off divine event"⁶ as the Judeo-Christian tradition teaches. Surely we could find out a great deal about how powerful this concept is in encasing us if we compared it to a non-Western tradition.

On this subject of time and culture, I had that Thoreau-like experience of dating "a new era in life from the reading of a book" a few months ago when I read Friedman and Rosenman's book published in

⁵ *Dialogue*, 8 (1973), back cover.

⁶ Tennyson's closing to *In Memoriam*.

1974 entitled *Type A Behavior and Your Heart*. I wish I had time (ironically we must hurry) to review it for you. The principles of this book "may do more to prevent premature cardiovascular disease than any modern text book of medicine or health book written for the general public,"⁷ is the claim of Dr. George C. Meredith, past president of the American College of Cardiology. Briefly the book postulates a pattern of behavior found particularly among Americans which if present will cause premature heart disease even though we eat a low cholesterol diet and exercise vigorously.

What is Type A behavior? It is a special, well defined pattern marked by a compelling sense of time urgency--"hurry sickness"--aggressiveness and competitiveness, usually combined with a marked amount of free-floating hostility. Type A's engage in a chronic, continuous struggle against circumstances, against others, against themselves. The behavior pattern is common among hard-driving and successful businessmen and executives--but it is just as likely to be found in factory workers, accountants, even housewives. About half of all American males--and a growing percentage of females--are more or less confirmed Type A's.⁸

The book lists thirteen behavioral traits for you to assess in your own life. Over one hundred years ago, Matthew Arnold spoke prophetically of his and our time in describing "this strange disease of modern life, / with its sick hurry, its divided aims, / its heads o'ertaxed, its palsied hearts,"⁹ and this book describes this condition in American culture. It reminds us that "the fundamental sickness of the Type A subject consists of his peculiar failure to perceive, or perhaps worse, to accept the simple fact that a person's time can be exhausted by his or her activities," and then prescribes guidelines for reengineering life by remembering that "life is always an unfinishedness," and that the only way to " 'finish' all the events of life at the end of every day" is "by bullet, poison, or a jump from a high building or bridge."¹⁰

My feeling is that an understanding of a pattern such as Type A, a type based on a philosophy that things worth having are more important than things worth being, will aid us greatly in improving intercultural communications. How often we encounter "Hawaiian time" or

⁷ Meyer Friedman and Ray H. Rosenman, *Type A Behavior and Your Heart* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), dust cover.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ "The Scholar Gypsy," *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1965), p. 342.

¹⁰ *Type A Behavior and Your Heart*, pp. 70, 230.

"Polynesian time" here in the state. A realization that we have different cultural clocks programmed into our heads can take some of the frustration out of the incongruity that may result because of different life styles.

At times many of us seem to be caught in this frenzy, and I am sure we could make greater contributions to such things as intercultural communication research if we were not so fragmented in our activities. There certainly is a need for this research because our knowledge in this field is very inadequate. We have here in this audience a great resource for such research. I hope each of us will cooperate and strive to produce conditions that will allow this needed creative research to take place.

The least we can do is to sensitize ourselves "to the kinds of things that need to be taken into account" in an intercultural situation without worrying about the specific things of "what to expect" with a specific culture. "Margaret Mead rates this way as superior . . . because of the individual differences of each encounter and the rapid changes that occur in a culture pattern."¹¹

In summary, then, we need to be sensitive to the variances between cultures because it is out of variances that the problems arise. We need to avoid the fallacy of *is* and accept a non-Aristotelian view of the world. We need to avoid the fallacy of reification and color coding-judging by appearances only. We need to remember that language and culture are so intertwined that they defy separation. Finally, we need to recognize ethnocentrism for what it is--an illusion that our way is best. Remember that the Type A in many of us says that a man's life consists of the abundance of things he possesses--a view not shared by many cultures. But you may say, all of this is so obvious that it goes without saying. My own personal view, however, is that it is often the most obvious concepts that go unlearned and un-lived in this world.

What we might find in our research may be very close to a statement made to me several years ago by a social anthropologist from Cambridge University when I asked him what he thought social anthropologists would come up with in their search for the "cultural or social laws" which he so often said were the quests of the social scientists. He said "I think they will resemble very closely the fundamentals of Christian living."

I would find it difficult to dispute a claim that faith in a just and merciful creator which leads to love for one another, to reverence for life, to belief in the freedom and dignity of people, to humility, and to

¹¹ LaRay M. Barna, "Stumbling Blocks in Interpersonal Intercultural Communications," in *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*, p. 242.

honesty, sets a pattern for living that transcends cultural differences and provides the value structure to lessen intercultural problems.

Perhaps then the problem of intercultural communication is already answered in the works of those who have grappled with the problem in earlier times. "These same questions," Thoreau says, "that disturb and puzzle and confound us have in their turn occurred to all the wise men; not one has been omitted; and each has answered them, according to his ability, by his words and his life."¹² The answers are as Robert Frost says in one of his poems, "the truths we keep coming back and back to."¹³ Our task is to find these truths as they affect intercultural communication and to make them meaningful in our time.

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Hawaii Campus

¹² *Walden* (New York: New American Library, 1960), p. 77.

¹³ "The Black Cottage," *Complete Poems of Robert Frost* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 77.

Alfons L. Korn, ed., *News From Molokai: Letters Between Peter Kaeo and Queen Emma, 1873-1876*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1976. Pp. 338. \$14.95.

Moloka'i is an island whose name has been linked in literature and in history with leprosy and lepers. Kalaupapa, the settlement established in 1864 as the exile for these unfortunates, is but a small place on that island. It is a part of a peninsula spectacularly situated at the foot of a precipice on the north shoreline. For most of those confined to Kalaupapa, regardless of the walk of life or rank in society they may have occupied, the end was a loathsome form of death and, perhaps worse, to be forever forgotten. Few of the graves are marked in a colony of the dead.

There have been some notable exceptions to this medical and social death sentence and one of these was Peter Young Kaeo. This young man was of the *ali'i* class (chiefly), being descended from Keliimaikai, the younger brother of Kamehameha the conqueror, on his mothers side and from the great chiefess, Kamakahelei of Kauai, through his father.

In the usual circumstance, Peter Kaeo would have been condemned to the same fate as all others at Kalaupapa had it not been for his cousin, Emma Kaleleonalani Naea. Peter's mother and the mother of Emma were sisters and the two cousins were reared much together. So it was in 1873, when Peter was found to be a leper and exiled to Kalaupapa. He had a willing, beloved and important correspondent, Hawaii's dowager Queen, widow of Kamehameha IV, Queen Emma.

The letters which passed between Queen Emma, whose place is well established in the history of Hawaii, and her almost unknown cousin are rich in detailed Hawaiiana and delightful as gossip. One-hundred and twenty-two letters have been preserved from the period of Peter's ordeal on Moloka'i and these are the content of *News from Molokai*. The collection of correspondence has been introduced and edited carefully and sympathetically by Professor Alfons L. Korn, Emeritus Professor of English at the University of Hawaii. Professor Korn's accomplishment in footnoting and explaining obscure references in the letters has been painstaking and thorough. Without this work *News from Molokai* would simply be the publication of some original sources for Hawaiian history. With the midwife-like work by Professor Korn the work is born as an intimate look into a short period of history through the eyes of two educated and involved native observers. For the student of island history there is a wealth of otherwise difficult-to-obtain material. For the casual reader Peter Kaeo and Queen Emma emerge as warm, real human beings in the two different worlds of nineteenth century Honolulu and the beautiful but dread leper settlement at Kalaupapa.

From Honolulu, Queen Emma's letters are of social scandal, political intrigue, poisoning plots and who was *ana'ana*-ing (trying to bring about a person's death through sorcery) whom. The *mea hou* (news) from Moloka'i is of efforts to find a cure for the disease, the state of the food and water supply, the messages of native *kahunas* (prophets and sorcerers), the machinations of William Ragsdale, Jonathon Napela and others for control of the colony and above all, the reaction of the exiles to the happenings in Honolulu.

The period of time covered by the letters is relatively short but was a critical time in the history of the kingdom. Occurring in these three-odd years was the death of "King Bill" Lunalilo, the election of a new king, Queen Emma's campaign for the office against the despised DK's (the party of David Kalakaua who was elected), and the very uneasy beginnings of the reign of the Merry Monarch. Through these letters can be observed the maneuverings of American interests which eventually brought about the overthrow of the monarchy and annexation to the United States. The reader gets a commentary on some of the first moves of ex-Mormon missionary, Walter Murray Gibson in his rise to power. There are also interesting glimpses of Queen-to-be, Liliuokalani. It is particularly interesting from the point of view of our own time and its pro-Hawaiian activism to read these letters which are anti-American, which bluntly disparage commercial and sugar interests, are critical of the American Protestant missionaries and their families and which do not revere the Princess Bernice Pauahi nor her American husband, Mr. Bishop.

Curiously, Father Damien who is a major figure in most modern-day stories about Kalaupapa and lepers, does not figure prominently in the letters of Peter Kaeo nor, apparently at that time, in the life of the settlement. He is mentioned but always only in passing. Perhaps, as one reviewer has suggested, it requires the passing of a hundred years to recognize a saint. Peter's concerns, and by implication from his letters, the concerns of the other lepers, are more centered upon the administration of the settlement by Napela and his successor, William Ragsdale. Ragsdale was a leper, a former member of the House of Representatives of the kingdom, and figured in one of Mark Twain's humorous and insightful sketches of Honolulu of that era. Napela was not at that time leperous but had come to Kalaupapa as a *kokua* (nurse and helper) for his wife who was. Peter Kaeo lived near the Napelas and spent much time with them. For students of the life of this early Mormon leader, he is frequently mentioned in Peter's letters.

On June 27, 1876, Peter Young Kaeo was released from confinement by action of the State Board of Health. It was determined that his condition was better than when he had left Honolulu. Peter lived

the remainder of his life quietly in Honolulu, returning to his seat in the upper house of the Hawaiian legislature as the Honorable P. Y. Kaeo. There he continued to express his opposition to David Kalakaua and his extravagancies. There are both medical and political reasons implied for the unusual action of the Board of Health in returning Peter to Honolulu but they are not made clear. It is probably not possible to do so. The fact of the existence of the letters at all is a romance in itself. Disappearing altogether after the death of Queen Emma in April of 1885, these letters were not heard of again until they were discovered by chance in 1935 at a Honolulu pawn shop. This story is a part of the appendix of Professor Korn's book.

Joseph H. Spurrier

BYU-Hawaii

Patrick O'Reilly, *Tahiti au temps de la reine Pomare*. Paris: Société des Océanistes Publication No. 37 and Les Editions du Pacifique, 1976. Pp. 239. 45 frs.

Rarely can a scholar today so dominate a field of historical research as to be justified in calling it his own. One who can is Father O'Reilly whose pre-eminence in the field of Tahitian scholarship remains virtually unchallenged. From his previous works on Tahitian culture, we have come to expect a scholarly look at Tahitian society. This new publication does not disappoint us in this regard. As suggested by the title, this erudite publication about Queen Pomare IV of Tahiti tells more than just the historical account of the queen's long and troubled reign (1827-1877). It opens the doors and windows on a past age and lets us examine Tahiti of a hundred years ago.

Nineteenth century Tahitian culture is brought to life through his use of an interesting literary style that is thoroughly documented by the use of published and unpublished works: the weekly news of Papeete called the *Messenger de Tahiti*, the eye-witness accounts of Alexander Salmon (the famous English merchant and landowner in Papeete), and by the various letters and reports housed in the French Archives in Paris not immediately available to other Pacific scholars. He frequently quotes from these sources and lets the people speak for themselves. Nothing escapes his view. He presents fascinating details from the speeches given in the legislative assembly to the evening entertainment sponsored by the queen. His chapters on economic life are especially valuable since most histories so often ignore these activities and concen-

trate on the more popular political struggle between England and France. Fortunately, Father O'Reilly spares us all these details.

The book begins with a chapter that briefly describes the queen's parentage, her ascension to the throne, her palace, personal possessions, and personality. It ends with a chapter written in a solemn manner that describes her death and the funeral rites held for this beloved queen.

Between these two chapters are interesting sections that deal with many phases of Tahitian life: the government, the early whaling boats in Tahiti, commercial negotiations in Papeete, the important religious groups (Protestants, Catholics, and Mormons), everyday hygiene and medicine, communications and the postal system, the intellectual life and education, and, of course, entertainment. In a relatively slight book for so extensive a topic, there are bound to be oversights. The book, however, is an example of how much can be gleaned from an apparently very limited source, and of how such a wide variety of subjects can be covered in such a short space.

Overall, Father O'Reilly does a creditable job of achieving his stated goal of showing Tahitian life as it was during the reign of Queen Pomare IV. This work is a piece of research and scholarship that students of all levels of Pacific history will find helpful and entertaining.

Robert D. Craig

BYU-Hawaii

Albertine Loomis, *For Whom are the Stars?* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976. Pp. xix, 229, illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$9.95.

Albertine Loomis' latest book, *For Whom are the Stars?*, is a most timely addition to the bibliography of Hawaiian history. With native land claims of the present day based to a large extent on the revolution of 1893, any additional light on that particular era should be most helpful. Miss Loomis takes no sides, but merely chronicles the events of the revolution--which was supported by the American minister to Hawaii using American military personnel--and the two unhappy years that followed. Even though the action was soon repudiated by the United States, the damage had been done.

Her title, although meaningless to those unfamiliar with Hawaiian chants, poses an intriguing question concerning the source of power in a national state and whether a monarchy, oligarchy, or democracy is most appropriate. The scope of the book is indicated by the words, "Revolu-

tion and Counter-revolution in Hawaii, 1893-1895," although these are shown on the cover more as an explanation than as a subtitle. A further description tells us that this is "An informal history of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and the ill-fated counterrevolution it evoked."

Descendant of some of the original missionaries to Hawaii, Miss Loomis is no stranger to students of Hawaiian history, having previously written a tale of missionary days, *Grapes of Canaan*. Having retired from teaching English in Michigan, she now lives in Hawaii.

She recalls for us the unhappy tale of the toppling of Queen Liliuokalani's regime, the initial struggles of the Republic of Hawaii to secure annexation to the United States and finally the ill-fated attempt by supporters of the former queen to restore the monarchy. Here is a poignant recital of sadness, frustration, and occasional bitterness. There are no heroes and those that might be described as minor-league villains come across as more frightened and defensive than really evil and malicious. Those Hawaiians today who are looking for evidence of duplicity on the part of the American government will need to look elsewhere because Miss Loomis depicts the unfortunate United States as being between the proverbial rock and a hard place, faced with the unhappy realization that two wrongs do not constitute a right. The reader is left with the necessity of determining for himself how much more pressure the United States should have applied to persuade the Republic of Hawaii to return the islands to Liliuokalani.

The book is quite readable, although the phrase "an informal history" leaves me somewhat disturbed. Loomis' *Grapes of Canaan* was a "documentary novel;" the flyleaf of *For Whom Are the Stars?* states that "while solidly based on historical fact, the tale moves along as excitingly as a good novel." While reading some of the more descriptive phrases I found myself wondering if events actually happened that way and if people actually said those words or whether there was merely some literary license being employed. Conceding the increased readability, there was still the haunting realization that this had been written by an English teacher rather than an historian. Compared with, say, *The Hawaiian Revolution*, (1893-94), and *The Hawaiian Republic*. (1894-98), the two volumes by William A. Russ, *For Whom Are the Stars?* is a bit shallow.

The lack of footnotes will be regarded by the layman as a boon. Without debating the merits of that issue, I feel that as an alternative for the scholar, a bibliographic essay or some notes on sources should definitely have been included. The absence of an index is also unfortunate. Although the list of characters which preceded Chapter I was helpful in keeping track of the royalists and the annexationists, more detailed descriptions in the text itself would have been in order. Charles B.

Wilson, for example, is merely referred to as marshal of the kingdom and listed as one of several "Friends and advisers of Liliuokalani."

The use of old newspaper sketches and contemporary photographs provided by Robert Van Dyke adds considerable interest, the principle exception being the map and accompanying notes concerning the skirmish in Manoa Valley (p. 165) which were of negligible value. The excellent maps used as end papers can be very helpful if the reader only remembers they are there.

Miss Loomis may have had trouble in deciding by whom her book would be most appreciated. The purist, very likely, would be pleased at her use of the glottal stops and macrons, although reading Lili'uokalani, Hawai'i, and Waikiki does get tedious. If these language symbols are to be utilized, I feel consistency demands the italicizing of *haole* and *poi* since I disagree with her footnote on page 13. The fact that she there finds it necessary to define *haole* contradicts her thesis that it is "truly a part of the English language." Further, the footnote should more appropriately be placed on page 6 where the word *haole* is first used. At times she assumes a Hawaiian audience, one that could follow her meanings with little difficulty; elsewhere she provides explanations for other readers such as her definitions of *makai* and *mauka*, *ewa* and *waikiki*. To have had these oft-repeated terms in a Hawaiian glossary would probably be appreciated by those who have trouble with our method of indicating directions. Also, to identify Kupihe's wife (p. 163) three pages later as Kupihewahine (p. 166) might confuse a few *malihinis*.

To point out other minor defects would be unnecessarily cruel and would amount to very little besides literary nit-picking and Miss Loomis certainly cannot be faulted for writing exactly what she says she is writing--an informal history. Her extensive research in the Spaulding Collection of the University of Michigan and her use of the papers of W. D. Alexander and Nathaniel B. Emerson--the former a participant and the latter an observer of those events of the 1890s--clearly justify the addition of her book to the literature on this unfortunate period of history.

Kenneth W. Baldrige