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# PACIFIC STUDIES

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## CANNIBAL CHIEFS AND THE CHARTER FOR REBELLION IN ROTUMAN MYTH

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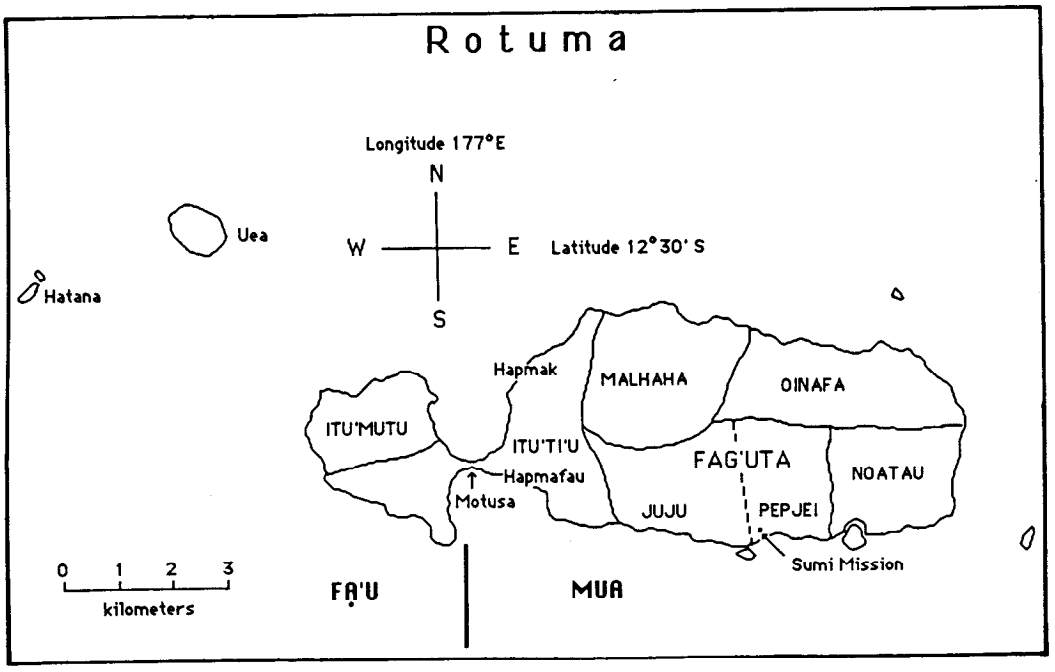
A prominent theme in Rotuman myth concerns rebellion against oppressive chiefs. Encoded in the myths are strong oppositions between "chiefs" and "people of the land," chiefs being associated with the sky, sea, east, north, and coast; people of the land with the earth, land, west, south, and inland. An analysis of available narratives suggests that chiefs are in an ambiguous position since their role requires a combination of vitality, expressed in the form of demands upon their subjects, and domestication, expressed through generosity. Excesses of the latter characteristic imply chiefly impotence, excesses of the former, oppression. The narratives suggest that supernatural supports are available for insurrections against oppressive chiefs, who are the conceptual equivalents of cannibals, and for usurpation of their authority by successful rebels. The instrumental role of women as victim provocateurs, mediators with the supernatural, and leaders of rebellion is also detailed. It is argued that the myths explore various permutations of the dilemma of chieftainship and provide a charter for rebellion against chiefs whose demands are perceived as excessive.

The island of Rotuma lies approximately three hundred miles north of Fiji, on the western fringe of Polynesia, Linguistic evidence suggests that Rotuman belongs in a subgrouping (Central Pacific) that includes Fijian and the Polynesian languages, and that within this group there is a special relationship between Rotuman and the languages of western Fiji (Pawley 1979). However, the vocabulary shows a considerable degree of borrowing from Polynesian languages (Biggs 1965; Pawley 1962), and Rotuman cultural patterns fall well within the range of those




characteristic of Western Polynesia. The island is of volcanic origin, with a number of craters rising to heights of 200 to 500 meters above sea level. It is divided into two main parts joined by an isthmus of sand, forming a configuration about 13 kilometers long and at its widest nearly 5 kilometers across, with its lengthwise axis running almost due east and west. The total land area is approximately 67.5 square kilometers, and it has been estimated that at the time of initial contact with Europeans (1791) the population was between 3,000 and 5,000 (Gardiner 1898:496-497).

Rotuman myths provide supporting evidence for prominent contact with Western Polynesia, particularly Samoa and Tonga (Churchward 1938). At a more basic level, the myths have a distinctively Polynesian focus, that is, the establishment and enactment of chieftainship, with stories centering on the intrigues and activities of various characters who shape chiefly institutions, A number of overlapping themes can be identified within this general focus, including the one that is of primary concern here: the theme of rebellion by indigenous people against their chiefs. This article explores the conditions of rebellion as they appear in the narratives and attempts to explicate their implications for relations between rulers and their subjects, the constitution of authority, and the legitimate use of power.

The first systematic account of Rotuman oral history, recorded about 1873, is found in the journal of Father Trouillet, a French priest who

arrived at Rotuma in 1868 and remained there for many years. His account, in French, was never published and his journals were transported to the Vatican archives just prior to my arrival in 1960. Fortunately, however, copies were made by Gordon MacGregor, an anthropologist who visited the island in 1932, and by H. S. Evans, an Englishman who served as district officer on Rotuma from 1949 to 1952. In places it is apparent that the copier had difficulty transcribing Fr. Trouillet's handwriting, and in addition to discrepancies between the two copies there are inconsistencies in the spelling of Rotuman words and names. Nevertheless, Trouillet's account is remarkable for its chronological ordering of fabled events and sets a framework for the study of Rotuman mythology. When presenting segments of this text I use an English translation of the Evans version.[1]

In the years following Trouillet's initial account several other visitors to the island collected texts of Rotuman myths, many of which provide alternative versions or elaborations of Trouillet's narrative, These include accounts by Romilly (1893), Gardiner (1898), Hocart (1912), MacGregor (1932), Churchward (1937-1939), and Russell (1942). Of the published accounts only that of Churchward includes Rotuman texts; the rest appear only in English.[2]

Trouillet's narratives relate the history of Rotuman chieftainship beginning with the purported founding of the island by a chief from Samoa (Savai'i or Savaiki in other versions)[3] named Raho (Rao). They focus exclusively on three categories of chiefly positions: the "grand chief *vakoi*" *(fakpure),* the *mua,* and the *sau.* All three were positions of significance for the entire island, which was divided into autonomous districts headed by district chiefs, or *gagaj 'es itu'u.*[4] In Trouillet's account the island progressively differentiated through time until there were seven districts, as there are contemporarily. The *vakoi* is described by Trouillet as the chief of the dominant district, as determined by success in the episodic wars that permeate the oral history. He was therefore perceived as a conquering warrior whose authority was sanctioned by the evident support of supernatural beings, his success in warfare being testimony to his potency *(mana).* The privileges and responsibilities of the *vakoi* included, according to Trouillet, the right to bring together all the other district chiefs in council in order to make peace between them; the right to bestow the status of *sau* on various individuals; and the responsibility of seeing to it that the *sau* was cared for properly. The *sau* was, as the sign of dominant authority, an object of veneration. He was treated as a god while in office and was fed prodigious amounts of food and *kava.*[5] He was also presented with large quantities of produce at feasts held during the six-month ceremonial cycle. The

third position was that of *mua,* which is described by Trouillet as less feared than the *sau* but more sacred. The *mua's* role also centered on the ritual cycle, which was specifically oriented toward bringing prosperity to the island by tapping the power of supernatural beings *(ʻaitu, ʻatua).* There are several parallels in the symbolism associated with the *sau* and *mua;* indeed, Trouillet describes a historical sequence in which the position of *mua* is initially established by Raho, the founding ancestor, and then superseded several generations later when the position of *sau* is established following a rebellion against the eighth *mua.* The positions of *sau* and *mua* thus appear to symbolize complementary aspects of sacred chieftainship, with the latter representing that component of authority which derives from the principle of first occupancy, traced back to Raho, and the former representing that component of authority derived from conquest and usurpation. The counterpart of Raho, the founder of Rotuma, is Tokainiua, the warrior chief who arrives from overseas (Fiji or Tonga, depending on the version) and successfully challenges Raho's claim to preeminence. Thus, in the myths:

Raho: Tokainiua: *:mua: sau*

Raho and Tokainiua symbolize a series of systemic oppositions that pervade Rotuman myths: land and sea, earth and sky, inland and coast. Of central importance here is that as a collectivity the common people are associated with the land (as indigenous planters of the soil), while chiefs are associated with the sea/sky, the presumed sources of supernatural potency that sanctify their authority. Parallel oppositions are encoded into the geography of place names on the island. The fundamental division is between the east, or sunrise side of the island, and the west, or sunset side. East is associated with chieftainship, and particularly with conquering chiefs who come from outside Rotuma and thus are conceptualized as strangers to the land.[6] The main source of potency for "foreign" chiefs emanates from "Tonga,"[7] to the east, while the indigenous people gain their potency from the spirits of their ancestors *(ʻatua),* whose abode is in Limari (ʻOroi), located by Rotumans under the sea off the west end of the island.

Within Rotuma the geographical code is based on a division of the island into three segments along the east-west axis, and a north-south division. That portion of the island to the west of the isthmus is called Faʻu, "back," and is strongly associated with the indigenous people. This contrasts with the remainder of the island, which is termed Mua, "front." (The west end of the island is also referred to as *sio,* "down," the

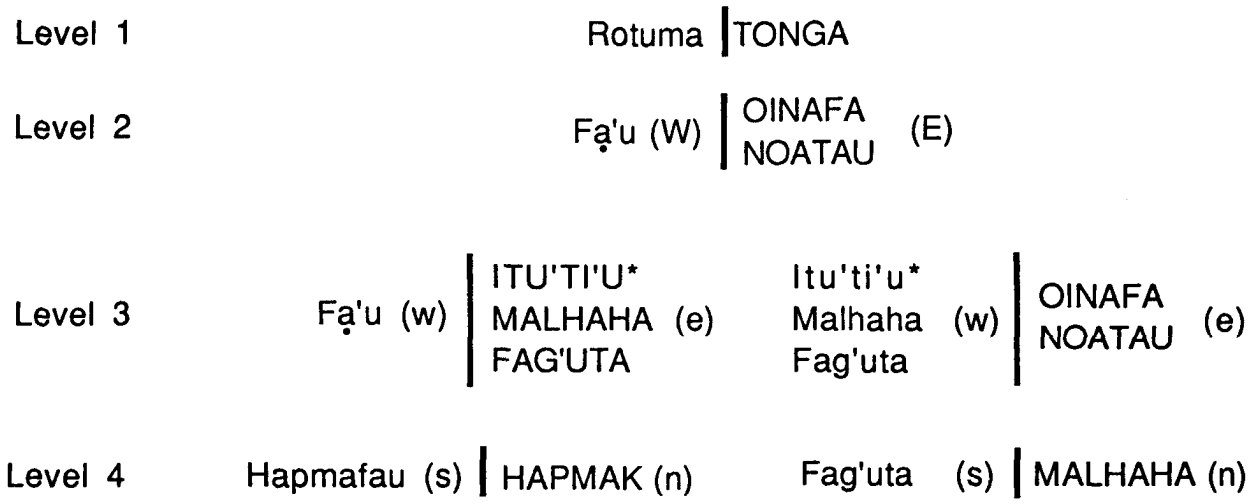
east end as *se'e,* "up.") The eastern segment is further divided into an end and middle section. The end section includes Oinafa and Noatau, which, being at the extreme eastern part of the island, is most closely associated with stranger-chiefs. The midsection includes Malhaha, Fag'uta, and the portion of Itu'ti'u east of the isthmus. In the myths, contrasts between the extremities of the island (e.g., between Oinafa/Noatau and Fạ'u) imply strong opposition; contrasts between either end and the midsection a somewhat weaker form.

Another opposition is between north and south, north being associated with chieftainship, south with common status. This opposition is dramatized in some versions of the founding legend. In these accounts Raho "plants" Rotuma by pouring earth from two separate baskets. The first pouring is from a ceremonial presentation basket at Malhaha on the north side of the island where Raho established his chiefly home *(nohoag gagaja);* the second pouring is from a common basket tipped out in Pepjei on the south side of the island where Raho's seat of government *(nohoag pure)* was established (see Churchward 1937:109).[8] Whereas east is used to signify externally derived chieftainship, north is a marker for indigenously derived chiefs. The north-south distinction is only used in reference to the middle part of the island, exclusive of Fạ'u to the west, Oinafa and Noatau to the east. The exclusion of the extreme east and west ends implies a weaker form of opposition.

By locating individuals and events in specific localities Rotumans are thus able to construct a range of strong to weak oppositions between chiefs and commoners. The four main levels of opposition occurring in the myths are illustrated in figure 1. For each level of contrast the chiefly side appears in capital letters, with the strongest contrast appearing at the top of the diagram (Rotuma/TONGA), the weakest at the bottom. Because of the importance of this geographic code, place names will be identified in my commentary by placing directional indicators in parentheses according to the implied level of contrast. Thus a contrast between Oinafa (E) and Itu' Mutu (W) shows a strong level of opposition, whereas a contrast between Malhaha (n) and Fag'uta (s) is marked to show weaker opposition. (The place names used in the myths are often specific locations within these districts, but their significance is of the same order and they will be marked in the same manner.) In addition to this directional code, further elaborations are possible by locating persons or events on or near the coast *(ufaga),* signifying chieftainship, or inland *(loga),* signifying people of the land. This may be a strong or weak form of opposition, depending on context, and allows for the expression of additional subtleties.

**Figure 1**

CONTRAST LEVELS OF ROTUMAN PLACE NAMES




* That portion of Itu'ti'u east of the isthmus of Motusa

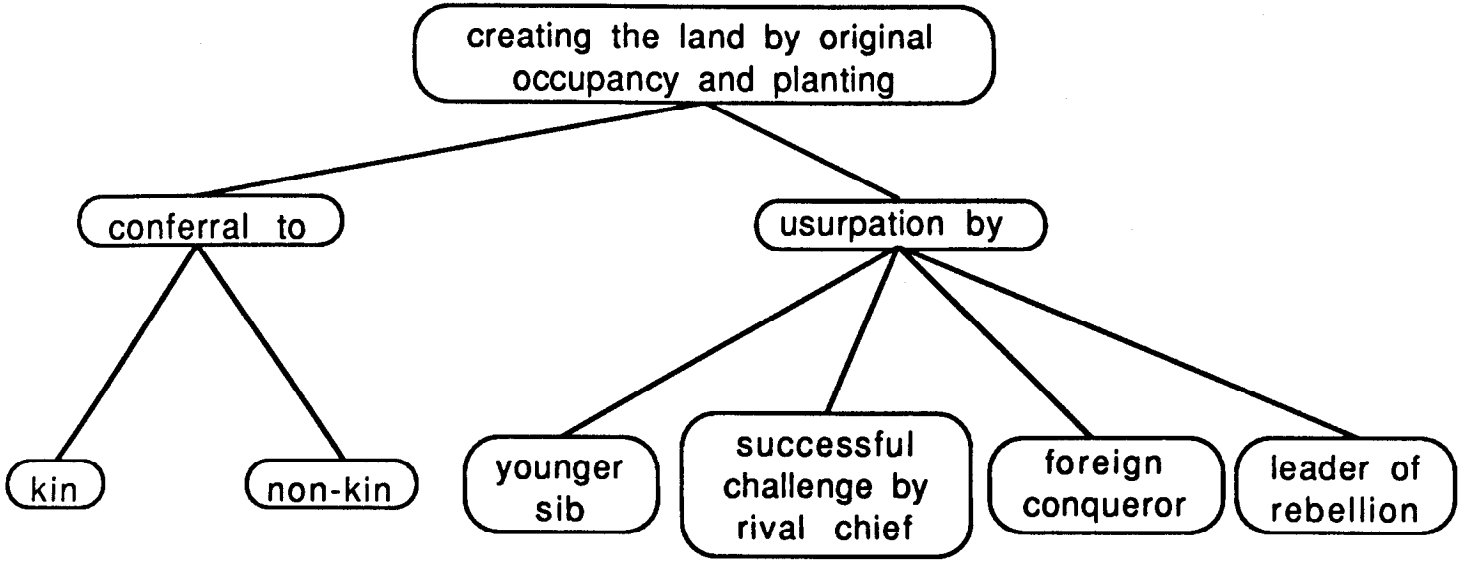
## The Issue of Succession

Before approaching the topic of rebellion directly it will be helpful to examine briefly the variety of ways positions of authority are assumed in Rotuman myth. These can be represented diagrammatically (see fig. 2). At the top of the diagram are the primary means by which authority is established—by original occupancy and usufruct. The legend describing the founding of Rotuma is related by Trouillet.

*Myth 1*

> According to fabled tradition, the actual location of Rotuma at first was nothing more than open sea. At that time, Rao [Raho], whose parents are not known, inhabited Soma [Samoa] with his brother, and each one of them had one child: Rao's child was called Maive.[9] One day the children of the two brothers began to quarrel over a wad of coconuts; in the heat of the quarrel the unknown [presumably Rao's brother's child] said to Maive: Go away from here, go seek your fortune elsewhere. Saddened, Maive went to relate the affair to his father, Rao, who took his child's side and, not being able to come to an understanding with his brother, resolved to leave. A rock serves him as a vessel and is called Vakuta; it is still at Malaa [Malhaha], at a place called Pe[ ]raua where Rao landed. Two women with wings, called Leprua *[lep he rua],* and a great number of inhabitants known by the name of [ ]Sua, offered to lead him. The two women took along an earth basket filled with sand called *(la).* Having arrived at a certain spot, one of the women began to drop the sand, but the other one, having flown up saw Fiji and let Rao know about it, and he ordered them to proceed further because he wanted to conceal the island; they stopped dropping the sand so that there was not enough of it to emerge above the water and it is this sandbank that one can find a short distance from here, to the south, and which starts opposite Solokope [off Noatau (E)] and continues to where it is opposite Atana [Hatana, off Fạ'u (W)]—it is called Sao or Voirnoan Tigrua ["watercourse formed by dragging hand"] of Rao. The voyagers then continued north and arrived at the spot which today is called Vakpero at Malaa [Malhaha]; they dropped the foundations of the island from north to southwest, but since the tradewinds blow from east to

**Figure 2**


creating the land by original occupancy and planting
conferral to
usurpation by
kin
non-kin
younger sib
successful challenge by rival chief
foreign conqueror
leader of rebellion

> west, Rao feared that vessels might find it too soon, and that is why he gave orders to place the island lengthwise from east to west, as it is located today; but with all the mishaps the basket of sand had become depleted and that is why the island is so small. Here, then, is the founding of the island with reasons given for its small size and its lengthwise position from east to west. Its founder and first chief, then, was Rao. (Sumi Mission Station, Rotuma Ms.)

Transmission of authority by conferral to kin constitutes the "normal" means of succession insofar as rules of succession are specified, In Rotuma the rule is from eldest brother to younger brother, then in the next generation from first son of elder brother to next-born son down to the last-born son of the last-born brother. The priority of sibling succession is clearly manifest in Churchward's account of the "Story of the First Rotuman Kings" (Churchward 1937:247-255). In the same myth chieftainship is conferred on a non-kinsman as a reward for aid in warfare, and in other myths conferrals are made to non-kin, in one case in response to supernatural omens (Churchward 1938:357-360) and in another as an act of supreme generosity to a visiting chief (Churchward 1938:356-357). However, in all versions of the founding myth, usurpation precedes the orderly transfer of authority. Thus Raho is followed to Rotuma by Tokainiua, who successfully challenges his precedence through deception and guile and thereby assumes a position of dominance. Trouillet's version reads as follows:

> [Myth 1 continued]: Rao established Maive as Mua; besides the two women, called Leprua, there was one other, called Anetemaus [hạnit e mạ'us, "woman of the bush"]; they stayed on the island during the entire period of paganism. Rao's other companions on the voyage were settled in the middle of the island. Maive brought from Samoa a tree called Fesi, which he planted in Vakper at Malaa [Malhaha] upon his arrival; after it bore fruit it was planted all over the island; from then on this tree was distinguished from all others; it was used for making seats and sailing craft for the chiefs; it even became the synonym for the chief whom the Rotumans called their Fesi. Such was the first generation of Rotuma. At that time Fiji had been inhabited for a long time; there was a family whose principal names were as follows: Tokaniua [Tokainiua], Arar, Fuanaru, Fuakilivao, Fuakasia; they had finished making their fishing net when

Arar's wife complained about the division of the catch; Arar, ashamed of his wife's behavior, tore up the *vao* [fishing net] and carried the center, which is called Rek ["the pocket or middle part of a seine"] into the firmament; these are the stars placed close to each other in a circle, with one star in the middle: the star in the middle is Arar, the other stars are the *rek* of the net. Arar, from his new position, saw the Rotuma of Rao and he informed his brothers and Tokaniua immediately makes a vessel which he names Vaksair and proceeds toward Rotuma with his people. He soon arrives opposite Nuatau [Noatau]; at a place called Lepri he encounters [ ] Leprua [the two women with wings] and asks them where Rao is; they answer that he is at Oinafa. Tokaniua at once proceeds toward the opposite side to the west [in a clockwise circuit][10] and distributes his people in all the countries that he encounters. He leaves his vessel at Saukamo [Saukama]; that is the black rock which is located in the south of this country, facing the house called *utmarei.* He continues on his way toward Itutiu and Malaa [Malhaha] and arrives at Oinafa, where he meets Rao.

Tokaniua accosts Rao, saying to him: This country, to whom does it belong?—It is my country, answers Rae.—But where are your subjects? says Tokaniua.—They are in the interior, responds Rao. —But, says Rao in his turn, where are your subjects?—They are on the seashore, replies Tokaniua. Let us go see, says Rao, and together they go around Rotuma. Rao notices that indeed the country is inhabited and upon their return to Oinafa the quarrel becomes livelier.

Rao tries at first to embarrass Tokaniua. He goes down to the sea, brings back an immense basket of sand which he spreads on a mat and tells Tokaniua to count the grains. Tokaniua accepts the challenge and right then pulls from his breast two small serpents which he had brought with him; one of them sprawls in the sand and the other counts the grains. The one who counted the grains first then sprawls in his turn and the other counts the grains, and so it goes until the contents of the basket had been counted entirely. Tokaniua gives an account to Rao who has nothing to say. From that moment on the two Leprua women, displeased by Rao's conduct and by his lack of success, abandon him and even help Tokaniua to embarrass Rao; they advise him to tell Rao to count the waves of the sea which constantly come onto the rocks, which are called Vos. Tokaniua follows this advice and Rao accepts; he therefore goes to the seashore, he

> counts one full day and one whole night, but the waves keep succeeding each other. At last he is tired out and in confusion he flees; his foot is caught in the serpent who is called Kine; he falls down, gets up, and full of shame he escapes to Atana [Hatana]. From then on Tokaniua is sole master of the island. (Sumi Mission Station, Rotuma Ms.)

Full explication of the symbolism in this myth would take more space than is here available and would lead into other avenues of interpretation. For the purpose of this article two subthemes stand out: the clear association of Raho with the land:inland:agriculture and Tokainiua with the sky:sea:coast:fish[11] and the shift of allegiance by the supernatural female figures following their recognition of Raho's impotence. Tokainiua's usurpation is thus supernaturally sanctioned, suggesting its ultimate legitimacy.

Usurpation by rivalrous chiefs and younger brothers is also a common theme in Trouillet's account and has resonance with other collections of Rotuman myth. Imputed motives include anger over slights, the incumbent chiefs misconduct, and sheer ambition. By implication, usurpation of this kind substitutes a more vital chief for a less vital one, and so enhances the symbolic potency of the office. But although potency is a central attribute of chieftainship, it poses a dilemma. In order to demonstrate that he is potent and thereby the recipient of supernatural favors, a chief must test the limits of his authority, for it is precisely by testing those limits that he demonstrates his affinity to the gods. The logic of his position thus encourages provocative behavior, severity of demands, and perhaps even cruelty. One of the terms that substitutes for *sau* in Rotuma is *mam'asa,* which in its noun form translates as "monster" or "giant," in its adjectival form as "cruel" (Churchward 1940:259). But cruelty and oppression on the part of chiefs are also an invitation to the people to rebel, since a chiefs primary obligation is to use his powers to insure the prosperity of the land. There is a tension, therefore, between a chiefs need to display power and the legitimate object of its utilization. It is this tension that is at the thematic heart of the narratives to be examined.

## The Sequence of Rebellions in Trouillet's Narrative

### *Myth 2: The First Rebellion*

The first rebellion[12] in the sequence presented by Trouillet takes place soon after Tokainiua's usurpation of Raho's precedence. A *mua* by the

name of Iftuag ignores a group of five brothers in the distribution of food at a feast, provoking the brothers to ravage nearby plantations, which leads to retaliation by the *mua's* supporters, which in turn incites a rebellion led by the brothers. Assisted by Tokainiua, whose aid was solicited by their mother's ghost after she had strangled herself, the brothers conquer the *mua's* army and kill him, subsequently installing one of their relatives in his place.

This particular incident, as related, hints at some of the basic features of the rebellion theme. To begin with, the incident is motivated by a failure on the part of the *mua* to distribute the fruits of the land in a just manner, implicitly justifying a rebellious act—ravaging, and presumably taking the produce from, the *mua's* plantations. This is followed by an act of retaliatory destruction by the *mua's* supporters, underscoring his parochialism as contrasted with his rightful representation of the general welfare. The important role of supernatural support for a successful rebellion is also dramatized. Thus the mother of the offended brothers transforms herself into a spirit in order to elicit aid from the demigod-warrior Tokainiua. Two other features commonly found in stories of rebellion are the mediating role of women and the usurpation of office by successful rebels.

*Myth 3: The Prototypical Rebel*

Whereas Raho, the "planter" of the island, was the initial *fakpure,* and Tokainiua, the overseas usurper, was the second, the third in Trouillet's account is Foouma (Fouma, Fuge), the indigenous rebel. The person against whom the rebellion takes place is the fifth *mua,* whose name is Saurotuam ("Rotuman king"), one of the original rebels who deposed Iftuag.[13] Trouillet's terse account is as follows:

> Saurotuam behaved better [than his predecessors] and was able to build his house; it was barely finished when some individuals from Fau [Fạ'u (W)], namely Sauragpor, Tifao, and Maragfau, established a Mua in opposition to the one at Nuatau [Noatau (E)]. In order to make his authority recognized, Saurotuam orders them to bring a rock from Fau; they accept and start off. When they arrive at Tuakoi [in Hapmafau (s)] two giants of Tarasua [Hapmafau] oppose them, force them to abandon the rock and instead to go make war at Nuatau; they go and are vanquished. They flee, but Sauragpor, in his shame, does not want to return to his district; he stops at Tuakoi, lifts an enor-

> mous rock called Mofuak,[14] which still exists, and he disappears at the spot where he had lifted the rock, after having announced to his wife who was pregnant that after the child is born he should be given the name of Fuge, which was done. After the child called Fuge grew up he took up his father's quarrel and went to wage war against Nuatau, which this time was vanquished, and Fuge took on the authority of the great chief Vakoi of Rotuma. Fuge established another Mua called Tofak whom he took away to Fau. (Sumi Mission Station, Rotuma Ms.)

This story utilizes a strong form of opposition between Fạ'u (W) and Noatau (E) to symbolize the conflict between chiefs and people of the land. The *mua* from Noatau is portrayed as oppressive through his demand that a rock be carried from Fạ'u, but the justification for the initial rebellion and the reasons for its ultimate success are unclear from this cursory account. The cultural logic comes into focus, however, when Romilly's amplified version is examined. In this account the theme of oppression is much more explicit.

> A long time ago the Motusa [(w)] people were conquered by the Noatau [(e)] people, and suffered the most abject slavery at their hands. They had to do the most degrading work and had no time to attend to their own gardens, or to build houses for themselves. This went on for a long time, and at last they got an order to bring big stones down to Noatau. Accordingly they made rafts and in this manner carried down a large number of stones. At last the work became too heavy for them, and they made up their minds to fight Noatau again. So one day, instead of taking stones, they went in a body to fight. After a severe battle they got beaten and had to run away. Fighting with the Motusa people there was a man called Sourangpol. This man had two wives. One he left at Motusa, and the other went to the fight with him to bring food. While Sourangpol had been collecting stones on the reef he had pulled up a big one and found a cave leading down under the island. Accordingly when he ran away he went with his wife to this place and descended underneath the ground. Down there he met a man who came up and spoke to him. Sourangpol said, "Who are you, and what is the name of this place?" The strange man replied, "This place is called 'Limarai,' and I am the king of it. My name is Narangsau." Narangsau then asked Sourangpol what he wanted.

Sourangpol replied that he had something very particular to say, "that he had been beaten in war, and badly treated, and that he had thereupon brought his wife to this place for protection." Narangsau at once pressed him to stay with him. Sourangpol, however, was uneasy about his other wife whom he had left at Motusa, and said he expected a child to be born. Narangsau said, "How soon?" and the answer was, "In about ten months." Sourangpol found himself so well off down in Limarai, that he decided not to revisit the upper earth any more. When, however, his child was born, he was informed of it by spirits. Limarai was the place where all the dead men's spirits went to. He sent a messenger back by the spirits, telling his wife to build a house in the bush for the boy, and promising that the spirits should look after him. This was done, and the child was put into it and left there. The food of the spirits agreed with him so well that the boy grew at a great pace, and at the end of a year was too big for the house. The house at that time was only a fathom long, and was not closed up at the ends. The mother was then ordered by the spirits to add another fathom to the house, but leave it open at the ends as before. At the end of another year the boy had grown too big again, and the house had to be enlarged another fathom. This went on for eight years, the boy growing a fathom every year, and the house being enlarged proportionately. He was now therefore eight fathoms long. When he had attained this size, and the spirits had reported the fact to Narangsau and Sourangpol, Narangsau said, "Eight fathoms is plenty long enough for that boy; if we allow him to go on growing, he will soon be too big, so don't lengthen the house anymore, but stop up the ends of it to prevent his growing." He then sent word by them that the boy's name was Foouma. No one but the father and mother knew of the child, as he had been kept in the bush. He soon began to walk about and to get very knowing. At this time the whole population of the island was being made to build a house for the chief at Noatau. Each village, however, left a few men to cook food to bring to them every day. Foouma came across some of them one day while he was taking a walk, and said, "Who are you, and what are you doing?" They said they were relations of his, and were cooking food for the people of Noatau. "What sort of food?" said he; they said, "Fish and puddings." Foouma then said, "I should like some fish and I should

like some puddings." His relations, however, begged him not to eat at once, but that if he came back early in the morning he should have his fish and pudding. Foouma agreed to this, and came back in the morning, but his relations had taken their departure during the night, and had taken the food with them. He at once followed them down to the beach and launched a canoe to get to Motusa [(e) from **Fạ'u** (w)], as the two islands were not at that time joined together. The canoe was small and sank with his weight; accordingly he walked across, as the sea was not deep at that place. He saw the canoes of his relations on the other side, and their footmarks going along the beach. These he followed till he caught them up. At the last town, before getting to Noatau, he said, "Why do you run away, when you promised to give me fish and pudding? You have got the food you promised me there, and I will eat it." They begged him not to, as they were afraid of the Noatau people, but Foouma ate most of it, but left some for the chief. He then told them to go on to the chief of Noatau along the beach, while he would go by the bush-road. After they had gone he pulled up a big tree for a club, and went on to Noatau by the bush-road. When he got there, the people were thatching the house. His relations, who had got there first, had told their own people to stand on one side so as not to get into trouble. Foouma at once began to kill the Noatau people with his club, beginning with those on the top of the house. Many of them ran away. After he had killed the people, he began knocking the houses over. Foouma beat the whole island that day. He then asked his own people, "When you came to Noatau, who treated you so kindly?" They said, "Only one man, Amoi." Foouma said, "As I have killed the king, we might as well make Amoi king." But Amoi was frightened, and did not wish to be king. He said, "Make my friend Tafoki king instead." So Foouma took Tafoki, and made him Sau, and brought him to Itumutu [(W)]. He built a house for him there, and then went on himself to Sororoa.[16] (Quoted in Romilly 1893:129-134)

The narrative is rich in symbolism and metaphor, but the focus here will be on just a few aspects that are of special significance for this article. Perhaps most important is the clear identification of Foouma with the people of the land (he is born in the interior of the west side of the island) and his nurturance by the spirits from Limarai, the underworld

abode of ancestral spirits. His growth is geared to an annual cycle, like the ritual associated with fertility (Gardiner 1898:460-466). Although the food of the spirits fosters his rapid growth, it is not allowed to go on uncontrolled, but is kept within "domestic" limits by means of a house. His potency, which derives from the ancestral spirits, is thus kept within the bounds of the social order—Foouma is superhuman, but human nevertheless. His encounter with relatives, who had prepared food for the people of Noatau (E), seems to encode a strong statement about the apportionment of resources between chiefs and people of the land, and perhaps about the ultimate source of legitimacy for chieftainship. The food is of the category *'i'ini,* which contrasts with *tē la ʻā* ("starchy vegetables"). *'I'ini* includes both fish and puddings, and is the chiefly component of a feast.[17] This sequence appears to assert the people's priority rights—that by producing and preparing this food they form the foundation upon which chieftainship is constructed, a theme more directly symbolized by their contribution of stones for the chiefs house-site. It is noteworthy that Foouma eats most of the food but leaves some for the chief he is destined to kill, indicating a commitment to a just distribution of resources between chiefs and people. Finally, Foouma's selection of a "kindly" person to be "king" *(sau* or *mua)* stands in marked contrast to the deposed oppressor. The selected man's refusal is subject to a number of possible interpretations, one being that kindliness, though desirable from the people's standpoint, must combine with strength and potency rather than fearfulness for a chief to be effective. Foouma (Fuge), it will be recalled, assumes the position of great chief *vakoi (fakpure)* in Trouillet's account. In both versions he takes Tofak (Tafoki), whom he installs as "king," to Faʻu on the western end of the island, thus symbolically usurping the position on behalf of the people of the land.

*Myth 4: The Defense against Invasion*

There follows an incident that pits Foouma against a visitor from overseas named Seremoana and an invading group of Tongans under the leadership of a strong man named Raviak. Foouma and his "uncle," named Unufanua, engage the Tongans in tests of strength and ultimately in combat, defeating them and driving them off. The two men then proceed to slay Seremoana, who harbored the Tongans, despite the fact that his daughter had married Tafoki, the *sau* (Romilly 1893:134-138; Gardiner 1898:510-512). The gist of the story is that Foouma, the rebel, is also the defender of the land against assault from invading

usurpers. It is significant that Foouma, a man from the western end of the island, teams with a senior kinsman (in Romilly's version) from the eastern side of the island to defeat the Tongans. In the opposition of Rotuman versus Tongan, therefore, chiefly potency (represented by Unufanua, the senior kin) combines with the potency of the people of the land (represented by Foouma, the junior kin) to generate sufficient power to ward off conquest by an outside usurper. Thus, whereas the initial myth places the people of the land in opposition to the tyranny of chieftainship, in its sequel the powers of the people are reunited with the powers of the chiefs to restore properly constituted authority to its central position.

*Myth 5: The Prototypical Oppressor*

According to Trouillet's oral history, it was during the reign of Savoiat, the sixth *fakpure,* that Malafu (Ma'afu) arrived in Rotuma from Tonga with a company of people and settled in Noatau. Malafu waged war against Varomua, the *sau* in office, and replaced him with his own man, Toipo, who was then wounded in battle and replaced by Tiu. Sometime later Malafu is reported to have killed Tiu and taken his place as *sau.* Trouillet relates the following account of the subsequent rebellion:

> During the reign of Malafu, Pau, daughter of Katoagtau who was killed in the war, married Malafu's son who abandoned her; soon the country began to tire of Malafu's ways. Pau took advantage of that to take her revenge. The country stood behind her and all of Rotuma took up arms with the intention of waging war against Malafu and of getting rid of him and of all his people. Rotuma divided up into two armies, one in the north and the other in the south, and both proceeded toward Nuatau in the east. The army of the south encountered Malafu at Niufol [Pepjei] and there was a battle; Malafu was on the verge of being beaten when one of his old associates wounded him in the ribs and crossed over to the enemy.[18] Vanquished and betrayed, Malafu fled to Nuatau [(e)] to organize a new army. The two Rotuman armies fell back and got together at Itutiu [(w)] to await Malafu, who came there again with the rest of his people; they fought desperately, but crushed by superior numbers Malafu was vanquished and killed and buried at Gasav [Itutiu]; Pau, the heroine of the war, was named Sau on the spot. (Sumi Mission Station, Rotuma Ms.)

Three features of this account are particularly significant. First, the statement that "the country began to tire of Malafu's ways" implies transgressions—left indefinite in this account-against the rules of decorum for a sau. Second, Malafu's son takes a woman of the land only to abandon her, implying a breach in the kinship connection between Malafu's group and the indigenous Rotumans. And third, it is a woman —the very woman who was wronged—who leads the rebellion and ultimately replaces Malafu as sau. Thus the contrast is sharply drawn between a foreign male oppressor and an indigenous female liberator. The geographic code again lends emphasis to this opposition. Rotuma divides up into two armies, one in the north, representing the indigenous chiefly side, the other in the south, representing the people's side. The armies initially move from the western (indigenous) end of the island to the eastern (chiefly, foreign) end, where the southern army forces Malafu into ignominious retreat. This seems to emphasize the fact that this is a people's rebellion. The final victory takes place on the western end of the island, where the combined armies vanquish Malafu and bury him. Thus the indigenous component of the rebellion is again underscored, in this case by the location of the final triumph; but at the same time the combining of the northern and southern Rotuman armies speaks to the importance of merging chiefly and landed potency for the proper constitution of islandwide authority. This repeats the theme of Foouma's repulsion of the Tongan invaders.

Churchward's published version of this myth amplifies the earlier, abbreviated account reported by Trouillet. In this version Malafu (Ma'afu) conquers Rotuma and proceeds to appoint a Tongan as chief over each district in Rotuma. The oppression of these chiefs, and the indignities to which they subject Rotumans, are described in the following text:

> Now all the Tongan chiefs that were living in the various districts of Rotuma were all the time giving difficult tasks to the people who served them, tasks which they had to perform day after day, [getting for the Tongans] things which they wanted to eat or things which they wanted to possess. And no matter how outrageously difficult the things ordered appeared to be, they had to be carried out all the same. Why, it is even said that the man who was stationed at *Tägmea* [Itu'ti'u] made it his invariable practice, every time a canoe was being paddled from the western end of the island to the eastern end, to compel it to turn in to *Tägmea*, whereupon, beginning with the man on the front

> seat, and ending with the man who was steering, he would dig his finger-nails into their heads, before allowing the canoe to proceed on its journey. And if a canoe should happen to come from the eastern end to the western end, he would act in just the same way: first making the canoe turn in, and then digging in his finger-nails to the heads of each occupant in turn, and only after that would he let the canoe go on. It was impossible for him to see a canoe going past *Tägmea* without turning it aside to dig his nails into the heads of the occupants.
>
> Now the man who was stationed at *Itu' Mutu* lived at *Ofoagsau*. And this district also was continually ill-treated by its man, just the same as each of the remaining districts in Rotuma. It is said that these men were all alike in their harsh treatment of the Rotumans. And this continued until the whole of Rotuma became afraid of the foreigners.[19] (Churchward 1937:258)

One might interpret the action of the Tongan at Tägmea as a symbolic degradation of Rotumans attempting to connect the people of the land (on the western end of the island) with their indigenous chiefs (on the eastern end) so as to constitute a viable threat to the invaders. The narrative proceeds to recount how a very strong man of chiefly rank from Oinafa (E), named Fä'äfe, joined forces with a man from Itu' Mutu (W), named Alili. They arranged, upon the lighting of a signal fire on top of Mount Sororoa—the same mountain on which Foouma took up residence in Itu' Mutu—for the people in each district to slay the Tongan chiefs assigned to them. Thereupon a battle ensued in which the southern wing of the Rotuman army was led by Alili, the northern wing by Fä'äfe. After Malafu fell, Alili turned on Fä'äfe, caught him unaware, and killed him. The story ends with the following commentary:

> The reason why *Alili* did this was that he saw that Fä'äfe was stronger than he, and he thought that when the war was over, then, if Fä'äfe was not dead, Rotuma would become Fä'äfe's instead of his. It was for that reason that he left his own wing to go over to [the] Hapmaka [wing] to kill *Fä'äfe*.
>
> [This story is the origin of the saying, often heard even today], "*Alili* says that each one is to slay his own oppressor." (Churchward 1937:260, brackets and italics in original)

Thus in Churchward's version the theme of rebellion is doubly underscored. The people of the land not only rise up to slay the foreign Tongan oppressors, they also slay the indigenous chief whose potency

they required for success. Fä'äfe's power is portrayed in a fearful way, as in the account of his arrival by canoe at Itu' Mutu:

> So they turned their canoe, and went ashore at *Faniua.* And just at that time the women of *Maftoa* came down to get some salt water. And this party of women arrived at the shore to find a canoe pulled up on to the shore, and *Fä'äfe* and his boatmen, having alighted on the beach, standing [there]. And the women saw what sort of man he was—his face, his body, his arms, and his legs, nothing but one mass of hair. And they were afraid, and turned on their heels and ran. (Churchward 1937:259)

The suggestion is that his power was untamed, and therefore dangerous. His acquisition of paramount chieftainship would presumably lead to another form of oppression, in this case an indigenous one. It should be pointed out in this regard that the system of local chieftainship instituted by the Tongans in the story—the placing of alien chiefs to rule over districts—is antithetical to the Rotuman system of drawing upon persons from within each district to serve as *gagaj 'es itu'u.* The story thus contains a powerful message affirming the rights of the people to domestic(ated) chiefs, especially at the district level. Although the Churchward version does not specify Alili's fate, in Trouillet's account he succeeds to the position of *vakoi.*

## Thematic Variations: Other Rebellions in Churchward's Legends

Several other examples of rebellion can be found in Churchward's published collection and help amplify various aspects of Rotuman conceptions. These examples are summarized below, followed by comments about their possible significance.

### *Myth 6:* Möstōtō

The legend of Möstōtō is about a cannibalistic *sau* who, out of jealousy for his wife's praise of Möstōtō, sends the hero on a series of dangerous expeditions. Her praise stemmed from Möstōtō's substitution of pigs and kava for human sacrificial victims, thereby ending the custom of cannibalism. He was led to do this by his elder sister, whose bones were transformed into the pigs and kava after she had been eaten by the *sau.* In the end the hero slays the *sau,* whose behavior can be construed as oppressive both on the grounds that cannibalism is a strong symbol for victimization and that the demands he made upon Möstōtō were unreasonably arduous (Churchward 1939:462-468).

*Myth 7: The Two Albinos*

The chief villain in this story is a man named Fikimarä'e, from Malhaha. The two albinos, who had come from Tonga, learned that Hapmak and Fạ'u were in a very bad way because Fikimarä'e was exercising his power in a despotic manner, sending his men to ravage the countryside in search of food. In their forays they would do whatever they wanted to the people's gardens and livestock. Through deception the albinos learn the secret of Fikimarä'e's invincibility at spear-throwing, and then announce to the people at the western end of the island that he could be defeated if someone were willing to sacrifice himself in combat. A man named Titupu volunteers, saying, "I'll be the victim! I will undertake to let Fikimarä'e spear me, caring only that our wives and little ones who will live after us may live in peace" (Churchward 1938:354).

Under the chiefs from the western end an army is equipped and sent to Malhaha. Titupu leads the charge while the two albinos lie in ambush, and after Titupu is hit and killed by Fikimarä'e's last spear, the albinos chase him down and kill him (Churchward 1938:351-355).

*Myth 8: Tiaftoto*

The right of rebellion is symbolized in another form in the story of Tiaftoto, the girl who lived in an oyster shell. She lived with her brother Miarmiartoto in a village that wandered about, attaching itself to other villages. Tiaftoto never went outside, never worked, and was treated with the greatest indulgence. Once, when the village attached itself to the *sau's* village on the other side of the island,[20] it was discovered by Tinrau, the *sau's* son.[21] After initiating an exchange of feasts, Tinrau requests that Miarmiartoto give him his sister in marriage. This is arranged, but as a result of Tinrau's philandering the girl returns to her brother. Tinrau goes after her, but finds that the village has moved away, whereupon he weeps bitterly but finally has to give up the quest (Churchward 1939:331-335).

*Myth 9: Masia and His Companions*

The story of "Masia and His Companions" depicts, in contrast, the extreme form of chiefly domestication. Interestingly, Masia is not described as a chief, but rather as a "chiefly man" *(fā gagaj).* He was the leader of a "band of comrades" in his village when a great famine struck the land. On account of their hunger some men contemplated stealing,

but Masia called his companions together and expressed to them his desire that no one steal. "Let us think, gentlemen, of our own personal honour, and of the honour of our land," he said.

He then took twenty men, who pledged to die rather than steal, on a circuit of the island, recruiting followers along the way. When they reached the village of Mạisi in Oinafa, Masia suggested to his followers that they remain there until they die, and all eventually succumbed (Churchward 1938:361-363).

## Summary and Conclusions

Before drawing out the implications of these myths, it is necessary to comment on their relationship to history. One might construe the narratives as an attempt by Rotumans to record significant events from the past—that they are intended as history in our sense. In my opinion the evidence does not warrant such a conclusion. Whether or not certain incidents related in the narratives are based on actual events, they have been processed through such a powerful semiotic system that their validity as history must be dismissed. The power of the geographic code itself is enough to invalidate any claims to historical accuracy. A more defensible view is that chronological sequencing is part of the semiotic structure within which these myths are embedded. Thus the succession of *fakpure* in Trouillet's narrative—from Raho the founder, to Tokainiua the overseas usurper, to Foouma the indigenous rebel—is to be seen as a statement about the cultural logic of priorities in the constitution and reconstitution of the social order, rather than about a putative sequence of historical events. In general, Rotuman myths are preoccupied with relations between chiefs and the people over whom they rule, and the stories appear to represent explorations of various permutations of the problem.

The myths are quite clear with regard to the basic constitution of authority. It requires a combination of chiefly potency derived from external spirits, including high gods, who dwell either overseas to the east or in the heavens, and indigenous powers derived from the people's ancestral spirits who dwell in a netherworld to the west of the island. But to be effective, and legitimate, potency must be tempered by domestication. Collectively the stories reveal the pitfalls of either extreme. Those chiefs whose ambitions are unconstrained by concern for the populace bring hardship and misfortune. Their vitality is misdirected. But someone like Masia (myth 9), considerate as he is of the people's plight, is also unable to bring prosperity. He lacks divinely

derived vitality, or *mana* (signified in the myth by his lack of chiefly designation), and so can only preside over an honorable demise. Thus domestication without potency is also a formula for disaster.

A proper chief is one whose *mana* is potent but sufficiently domesticated to be directed toward the welfare of the entire population under his dominion. He eases rather than exacerbates the burdens of his subjects. He is entitled to first fruits and a reasonable portion of the produce of the land, but he cannot demand too much. The core of the issue lies in the requirement that a chief demonstrate his *mana,* which encourages the exercise of power in the form of demands. To be able to make strong demands and back them up is to display potency, but it also intensifies the tension between chiefs and their subjects. Chiefs who go too far are the conceptual equivalents of cannibals—they ravage their people by consuming their crops and labor. They also fail to inseminate the land, endangering fertility and prosperity, as symbolized by Malafu's abandonment of his indigenous wife in myth 5 and the philandering of Tinrau in myth 8.

These excesses, and others described in the narratives, justify rebellion in the context of Rotuman cultural logic. Of course, in a certain sense any *successful* rebellion is justified in Polynesian thought. Success is, in essence, the concrete expression of *mana,* which emanates from the gods, and it is the will of the gods that provides the ultimate legitimation of authority. A successful usurpation is therefore its own justification. In the narratives described previously the role of supernatural beings is quite explicit in insuring the success of rebellions, In myth 2 a female relative of the abused party transforms herself into an *'atua,* then solicits the assistance of the demigod Tokainiua in order to overthrow the offending chief; in myth 3 Foouma, the rebel, is nurtured by the spirits of the netherworld until he is potent enough to depose the *sau.* Foouma's supernatural powers are also evident in myth 4, although there they are supplemented by the potency, also supernaturally derived, of an indigenous chief. In myth 5 omens play an important role, indirectly suggesting supernatural favor, and in myth 7 supernatural support presents itself in the form of two albinos from Tonga. Albinos, like all anomalous creatures, are considered to be *'atua;* their being from "Tonga" underscores this association, The hero of myth 6, **Möstōtō,** slays his oppressor without explicit assistance from supernatural sources, but significantly, his is a surreptitious act of regicide and is not followed by a usurpation of authority. Nevertheless, even in that case, his deceased sister plays an important role insofar as her bones are transformed into the pigs and kava that bring an end to cannibalism, and

hence symbolically, to oppression. The absence of explicit supernatural intervention in myth 8 is likewise coupled with an absence of usurpation; the victimized people simply move away.

A final theme that pervades these myths is the instrumental role of women in generating rebellions. Women play roles as victim provocateurs (myths 5, 8), as mediators with the supernatural (myths 2, 3, 6), and as leaders of rebellion involving direct usurpation (myth 5). In a very powerful symbolic sense women are the antitheses of chiefs, whose potency is a manifestation of the male principle (Handy 1927:37). Women represent the opposing principle of domesticity, and it is from the interplay of these two forces that the narratives gain much of their dramatic appeal. A proper chief is potent enough to inseminate both the land and an indigenous woman in the interests of fertility and abundance, but he must be sufficiently domesticated so that he does not appropriate too much of the produce for himself. An oppressive chief is one whose behavior reflects an overplaying of the male principle of vitality, to the detriment of the people. It is therefore structurally appropriate for women to act as rebels who symbolically neutralize the abusive power of male chiefs.[22]

By playing upon this theme Rotuman myths communicate to chiefs and people alike that there are limits to the lengths to which chiefs can go in the exercise of power. Beyond those limits the myths provide a charter for rebellion, and insinuate that supernatural supports are available to render them successful.

## NOTES

This paper was inspired by participation in a seminar on Polynesian chieftainship held at the University of Hawaii during the spring of 1981. All participants in the seminar contributed to the interpretations presented in this paper, but I am especially indebted to Professor Marshall Sahlins, whose brilliant work on Fijian and Hawaiian cultures provided the theoretical framework for discussion.

I conducted fieldwork on Rotuma and among Rotumans in Fiji from October 1959 through June 1961. I wish to acknowledge the generosity of Dr. H. S. Evans, who made the Sumi Mission documents available to me. I am also deeply indebted to the many Rotumans who facilitated my research and treated me so warmly, and to the National Institute of Mental Health, which sponsored the research.

1. I am grateful to Ella Wiswell, who translated Trouillet's narratives into English at my request. Trouillet's text is inconsistent in some of its features, including tense. These are reflected in the English translation to preserve its basic flavor.

2. Hocart collected texts in Rotuman, but these were neither translated nor published; they remain with his collection of field notes. Throughout this paper I use Churchward's

orthography except when quoting directly from another source. (Place names used on the map and in figure 1, however, use standard orthography.) He offers the following guide to pronunciation, using English equivalents: a as clan, but shorter, unless written **ā; ạ** as in want; **ȧ** as in cat; ä as in fan; e as in bet; f as in fish; g as *ng* in sing; h as in heart; i as in sit; j as *tch* in pitch; k as in rake; l as in laugh; m as in mask; n as in nine; o as in obey; ö pronounced as in German, somewhat like *er* in her; p pronounced as in English, but blunted somewhat toward b; r pronounced with a slight trill; s between English *s* and *sh;* t pronounced strictly dental, the tip of the tongue being pressed against the back of the top teeth; u as in put; ii pronounced as in German; this sound may be approximated by endeavoring to pronounce *ee* as in see, with the lips rounded; v as in vat; when *v* falls at the end of a word, particularly when following an a, it is often imperfectly articulated and sounds like *o;* ‘ glottal stop (Churchward 1940: Part 2, p. 13).

3. Where there are multiple versions of the same name used in different accounts I have included alternative representations in parentheses.

4. The word *vakoi (vakai),* as a verb, translates as “to be on the look-out, to watch or look out for, to look into the distance (for or at something)” (Churchward 1940:344). Hence the reference is to the chief, who is responsible for looking after the welfare of the island as a whole. The word *fakpure* is composed of the prefix *fak-,* “pertaining to,” and *pure,* “to decide,” “rule,” “control,” “judge,” hence as a noun, “decision maker” or “governing authority” (Churchward 1940:190, 291). The word *sau,* which is cognate with the Tongan *hau,* is translated simply as “king” by Churchward (1940:307), but a clue to its core proto-Polynesian meaning is the Rennellese usage “abundance of gifts from the gods” (Elbert). The word *mua* means “to be or go in front or before or first-either in place or in time or in order of merit, etc.” (Churchward 1940:268). *Gagaj ‘es itu‘u* translates as “person of rank or merit in possession of a district” (Churchward 1940:209). The latter were selected from among specified families within each district; see Howard 1966. It is unfortunate that we have only the undifferentiated English word “chief’ to refer to all of these positions.

5. The position of *sau* was rotated, reputedly between districts, according to custom. The term of office was six months (one Rotuman year), with the same individual often serving several terms; see Williamson 1924 for a summary of published accounts.

6. In the Rotuman conception true chiefs are external and nonindigenous—they are strangers to the land. This does not necessarily mean that they are actually of foreign origin, only that the assumption of chieftainship involves symbolic entrance into the society from outside. The underlying notion is that in order to reconstitute the society a paramount chief, that is, one who represents the polity, must come from outside (see Sahlins 1981). Thus Raho, as the founder of the island, is an anomaly, being both from outside and indigenous, while indigenous Rotumans who assume chieftainship are in a similar position. The permutations of these anomalies are the subject matter of much Rotuman myth (see Howard 1985).

7. The name “Tonga” (Rotuman Toga) should not be taken literally to refer strictly to the islands of the Tongan archipelago. Rather “Tonga” for Rotumans seems to refer to a mythical, or quasi-mythical, source of supernatural potency. In some narratives Tonga is located beneath the earth or the sea. The word is also used as an adjective in reference to the southeast trade wind.

8. In Trouillet's version of the myth Rotuma was first formed so that its foundation ran from north to south, but was ordered rotated so that it would lay from east to west (see map). A clockwise rotation would shift north to east, south to west, thus suggesting their equivalence.

9. In all other versions of this myth Maive is female. It is possible that Trouillet assumed masculinity incorrectly since the Rotuman pronoun *(ia)* is ambiguous.

10. A clockwise circuit, so that one's right side is toward the territory claimed, is a common symbolic strategem by which possession is asserted in Polynesian societies (Valeri 1985).

11. The association with the sea is symbolized not only in the identification of Tokainiua's brothers as fishermen and the prominence of the fishing net imagery, but in the names of three of the brothers as well. The root prefix *fua-* refers to a "fleet" (Churchward 1940:206).

12. I use the term "rebellion" in the general sense of "opposition to one in authority or dominance" (*Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary,* s.v. "rebellion"). It is thus used to cover a range of actions from symbolic gestures of defiance to usurpation.

13. The third *mua,* Fasieta, is reported to have antagonized his relatives by his bad conduct and been put to death, to be replaced by Vuatagrot, one of the original rebellious brothers. He reportedly imitated the behavior of his predecessor and suffered the same fate (Sumi Mission Station, Rotuma Ms.).

14. Probably ***mofu'ȧk***, "rock in the sea," plus causative suffix.

15. The stones were presumably used to construct an imposing house foundation. See Romilly's amplified version.

16. A hill in Itu' Mutu.

17. As in other Polynesian societies a complete meal consists of both ***tē*** *la 'a* and *'i'ini,* just as a complete polity consists of both people of the land and chiefs.

18. In Churchward's version the turncoat is Malafu's younger brother. He removes Malafu's symbol of chieftainship, a feather-adorned headdress and returns it only after it has been stripped of all its feathers but two, whereupon he and his crew return to Tonga, abandoning Malafu to his fate. The implication is that supernatural support is being withdrawn from Malafu as a result of his failure to be appropriately nurturant (see Churchward 1937:260).

19. Lit., "voyagers." In the version of this tale told to Hocart, the indigenous people suffered additional indignities, including being bashed over the head for spilling kava during ceremonies (Hocart 1912).

20. Place names are not used in this story, but opposition between chiefs and the people of the land is implied by virtue of the village of the *sau* being located "on the other side of the island."

21. A well-known character in Polynesian legend; see Handy 1927:120, 314.

22. For a vivid mythological enactment of the neutralization of undomesticated male potency, ***see*** the legend of Kirkirsas (Churchward 1938:220-225). The tale involves a cannibalistic giant who arrives on the beach at Maftoa (W). He is tricked by the woman Kirkirsas, who cooks him.

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# CHANGES IN RAROTONGAN ATTITUDES TOWARD HEALTH AND DISEASE: HISTORICAL FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MID-TWENTIETH-CENTURY UNDERSTANDING

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The arrival of Europeans in the Pacific brought momentous changes to the health of the indigenous inhabitants of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. New diseases greatly enhanced the likelihood of illness and death, and an altered economic, social, and material environment opened the way for new levels of morbidity and mortality from diseases both old and new. Standards of health were affected too by modifications in the islanders' attitudes toward sickness and in their practical responses to ill-health. One Polynesian community's attitudes and responses to illness and post-European changes in those perceptions and practices are the subjects of this study.

Western medical concepts and practices were first brought to Rarotonga, principal island of what is now the Cook group, by English missionaries of the London Missionary Society in the 1820s. European medicine was still comparatively undeveloped in the early nineteenth century, and the missionaries' knowledge of it was usually informal, but from the beginning they found themselves strenuously involved in medical work. At the end of the century their medical role was largely taken over by doctors, nurses, and other health workers appointed by the new administration set up by New Zealand. During the 120 years between the introduction of European medicine and the opening of the antibiotic era after World War II, missionary and government medical

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endeavors were varyingly effective. Despite the often vigorous effort expended during these twelve decades, it can by no means be said that disease in the Cook Islands had been vanquished by 1950, the end of the period covered in this study. But a firmly entrenched mid-twentieth-century Rarotongan perception of health and ill-health had grown out of the shocks and reactions, the innovations and adjustments, of this formative period of Rarotongan history.

## Pre-European Concepts of Health and Ill-Health

Ill-health itself was of course not unfamiliar to the Polynesians who had long inhabited Rarotonga and the adjacent islands,[1] and a characteristic conception of health and ill-health had developed down through the centuries. As in all societies unaffected by a "scientific" view of disease, sickness was not regarded by the Rarotongans as a phenomenon somehow separate from the rest of life. On the contrary, beliefs about illness were integrated at the deepest level with ideas about the very nature and meaning of life itself. "Man's behaviour before the threats and realities of illness," it has been remarked, "is necessarily rooted in the conception he has constructed of himself and his universe."[2]

An understanding of the Rarotongans' religion is therefore required, including the realization that the dualism of the modern Western distinction between "religious" and other aspects of life was foreign to the traditional Polynesian mentality. The very word "supernatural" is unsatisfactory in its suggestion that supersensory and intangible beings and forces are not part of the ordinary physical environment. The Polynesians lived rather in a world "where the natural is supernatural, but the supernatural quite natural." Such thinking is inappropriately called "magical," which has connotations of an entirely absent miraculous element; the use of the word "supernatural" can hardly be avoided, but "spiritual" departs least from Polynesian thought-patterns.[3]

The earliest missionaries quickly saw that formal religion, with its gods, *ta'unga* (priests), ceremonies, and *marae* (places set aside specifically for communication between gods and humans), occupied an important place in Rarotongan life.[4] At the heart of this religion was the belief that the life of every human being was shared by his *vaerua,* an incorporeal spirit (or soul)[5] more or less permanently resident in the body until physical death. Thereafter, the spirits of the deceased continued to exist. Now termed *tupapaku,* they sometimes assumed a semi-tangble form as ghostly apparitions, but at all times were apt to communicate with and actively intervene in the lives of the living. Many

gods originated as the *tupapaku* of notable ancestors,[6] and spiritual beings as a group were characterized by their continuing interest in the welfare of their living descendants: the extent of their benevolent potency was an important factor in evaluating the worth and significance of those descendants.

The quality of sacredness attached to gods and spirits was not confined to personal spiritual beings. A powerful spiritual force pervaded many places, objects, and persons, especially those particularly closely associated with the presence of the supernatural. The violation of this sanctity or the infringement of laws *(tapu)* protecting it was a serious matter. Sacrilege and other transgressions *(ara)* damaged the offender's spiritual well-being and commonly brought punitive misfortune upon him. Whether it was famine, sickness, war, or death, observed the missionary Gill, "the first thought of the people was, that some offence had been given to the gods—that they were angry."[7]

That disease was seen as the consequence of spiritual offense is undoubted. The missionaries perceived this immediately, and even sixty years after the establishment of the mission one of its agents could still lament the strong survival of "the old heathen idea that sickness and death are the result of some sin on the part of the relatives, or on account of their anger, or the anger of the dead; or on account of the hostility of the gods of strangers who may arrive among them."[8] It is not to be expected, however, that the evidence relating to health ideology and practice at the time of contact will be extensive or detailed, The missionaries, the only Europeans living close enough to the population to qualify as reliable observers, were quickly shielded as much as possible by their flock from any suggestion that it might still put reliance on a pre-Christian belief system of greatly lowered prestige in the prevailing climate of opinion.[9]

Bodily disorders were seen as clear evidence of the destructive work of an intrusive spirit—work made easier if the victim's spiritual defenses had been weakened by impious transgression. The malevolent invading agent was drawn from the company of spiritual beings associated with the place or object desecrated or the family wronged. A custom noted by an early missionary suggests some idea of a spiritual contagion that remained even after the punitive action of the offended gods or spirits. According to the Rarotongan informant, a common practice when sickness was prevalent had been to dispatch the disease to another island by setting shreds of the victims' clothing adrift in tiny canoes fashioned from bananas.[10]

Some cases of sickness were believed to be occasioned by sorcery.

*Purepure* (as it is called in the Cook Islands) occurred when the malevolent spiritual invader entered the victim's body not of its own accord but when sent by some evil-minded person for his or her own ends: sorcery was thus a kind of assault. Although sorcery was certainly known and practiced in the Cook Islands, it has been little documented there and may well have been rare.[11]

It must be recognized that "ill-health" is not a completely objective category unambiguously different from "health." The word "disease" comes closer to denoting an objectively identifiable biological state, but even here the boundaries are indistinct. Landy's definitions are worth considering:

> At a minimum, a state of *health* refers to a condition of an organism that permits it to adapt to its environmental situation with relatively minimal pain and discomfort (but not their absence), achieve at least physical and psychical gratifications, and possess a reasonable probability of survival. A state of *disease* is a condition of the organism that seriously obtrudes against these adaptive requirements and causes partial or complete disablement and physical and/or behavioural dysfunction.[12]

More elegant (and more pessimistic) is the definition of health offered by Dubos: "A *modus vivendi* enabling imperfect men to achieve a rewarding and not too painful existence while they cope with an imperfect world."[13] Clearly the terms "health" and "ill-health" are relative. The distinction between them is a personal and cultural one, with different criteria in each individual and culture for the labeling of people as "sick" and "well."[14]

The concepts of health and ill-health held by a particular society involve much more than purely "medical" considerations. In the case of Rarotonga, sickness (apart from that procured by sorcery, which was itself a kind of wrongdoing) was interpreted by priest and people as the penalty justly administered to an individual (or his relative) who had upset the balance of the spiritual and social environment. As in many Polynesian and other societies, illness was regarded to some extent as punishment for behavior that threatened social harmony, and fear of illness acted as a means of maintaining social control. Sickness indicated, then, not merely a disordered physiological system but also a spiritual derangement and a disruption of social relationships.[15] It follows that a state of "health" indicated more than just the absence of clinically observable disease and infirmity. The Rarotongan word *ora* embraced the concepts rendered in English by the words "life," "health," "alive,"

and "well," and identified a condition of well-being comprised in part of states of moral and ethical wholeness normally excluded by scientific definitions of "health."[16]

Were all illnesses and deaths thought to be caused by spiritual intervention? Gill wrote that no deaths were regarded as "natural." But deaths from old age were probably an exception, for Gill himself states that they were spoken of as "following into the track of the setting sun" —surely suggestive of a natural and regularly occurring phenomenon.[17] Whether spiritual causation was rejected for injuries and ills for which the immediate cause was obvious is not clear. Many cultures do identify at least some ills as having natural causes. These are thought of as minor and normal, lacking in supernatural implications and amenable to empirical therapy. It is the more intractable and frightening conditions, or those "minor" ills that move in this direction, that are perceived as having a spiritual etiology. The line of distinction between categories varies from culture to culture.[18] But even obvious causes may not exclude the question of ultimate causation: Why did this particular injury or illness occur? The "real" cause might well be a long-past transgression and the present ill a delayed retribution. There was probably no rigid line of demarcation between pure accident—if indeed such a concept existed—and injuries or ills of more sinister significance, Empirical explanations (and treatments) could coexist with spiritual ones, given an ingrained cultural assumption that calamities were ultimately the result of actions of spiritual agents.[19] It cannot be said with certainty whether the present-day Rarotongans' distinction between *maki tangata* (natural illnesses and purely accidental injuries) and *maki tupapaku* (ills of supernatural causation)[20] predated European contact, for new classifications have since been necessitated by new concepts of illness and its treatment, and indeed new illnesses.

## Pre-European Treatment of Sickness

The extent of Polynesian medical knowledge and the character of the therapies used has never been entirely clear to observers. Cook's naturalist, J. R. Forster, was one of the first to attempt an assessment. Writing of the medicine of one of Rarotonga's neighbors to the east, Tahiti, he particularly noted a strong religious element and the people's statement that there was no remedy for many common maladies. He did, however, describe some herbal remedies for wounds and remark upon the people's possession of some anatomical and considerable botanical knowledge.[21] He concluded that the most important factors in the Tahi-

tians' health were their general sobriety, their sound constitution, and the benevolent climate.

The significance of a belief in the supernatural causation of disease did not escape other observers. James Morrison (at Tahiti with Bligh) found no response to his advocacy of preventive measures against disease, as the people believed all disease was "sent from the Deity as a punnishment *[sic]* for some fault, consequently that it is impossible to prevent or escape it." A little later John Turnbull suggested that because the Tahitians regarded disease as the work of an angered god, "every thought of remedy or relief is rejected, as equally useless or impious. They [sick persons] are left to their fate."[22] It is indeed difficult to avoid the conclusion that belief in the supernatural causation of disease militated powerfully against the development of practical remedial therapies.

Nevertheless, as Forster's discussion shows, some remedial therapies did exist. As in many pre-European cultures, there is evidence of considerable "traditional" medical and surgical treatment of disease in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Polynesia. It appears to vary in character and extent,[23] and there is a problem in assessing how much of it derived from European example. The missionary Buzacott dismissed Rarotongan (and Polynesian) medical treatment as being limited to the use of "a few herbs, oils, etc.," but Gill, while accepting that bandaging, bonesetting, cleansing, and "shampooing" (massage) had long been practiced on Mangaia, believed that the whole idea of herbal applications was a European innovation.[24] That Polynesian medical knowledge was limited until experimentation was stimulated by European example is certainly a possibility, one not squarely confronted by the many students of twentieth-century "traditional" Pacific medicine who assume or specifically state that it is a surviving legacy of an elaborate diagnostic and therapeutic system handed down since time immemorial.[25]

Caution must be exercised in postulating extensive development of medical knowledge in the centuries before European contact. Not only did prevailing ideas about the cause of disease militate against such an advance, but the ancient Polynesians (and of course Europeans of the same period), lacking today's medical knowledge, equipment, and drugs, could hardly view many kinds of disease as curable. Nevertheless, to reject all possibility of experiment would be bold indeed. The Rarotongans had lived for centuries in close contact with a natural environment that they exploited in countless ways in order to survive and flourish. The possibility of an effective pharmacopoeia and surgery cannot be entirely excluded.

In Tahiti, Banks recorded that in the few cases of illness he had observed closely, the treatment offered was religious rather than physical. A Spanish visitor noted that sick people applied to the priest, "a spiritual physician," who offered a small plantain shoot to the offended god in the presence of the patient: no physical remedy was administered.[26] In this kind of medical practice diagnosis was directed toward identifying the transgression responsible for the symptoms of disease; an appropriate spiritual therapy consisted either of exorcism of the intrusive spirit, or confession and expiatory prayers and sacrifices designed to appease the offended spiritual beings, Such treatment, absurd in European eyes, was of course "rational" in the sense of being logical and appropriate to Polynesian concepts of the cause of disease. It is possible that these supernatural treatments were begun only when physical treatments failed and the patient's condition appeared to be deteriorating.[27] But the relationship between empirical and spiritual therapy seems to have been more complicated than this.

Spiritual and physical treatment were not necessarily mutually exclusive. The Tahitians "always administer Some Medicine with their prayers," wrote Morrison. This simultaneous practice of different kinds of therapy makes it hard to assess whether confidence was placed in the pharmacological efficacy of the herbal remedy or in the spiritual potency of the attendant ritual. According to one missionary observer in Tahiti, every medicine was "considered more as the vehicle or medium by which the god would act, than as possessing any power itself to arrest the power of disease."[28]

The undoubted real therapeutic value of some physical remedies may not have been the main determining factor in their use. One commentator on traditional medicine has gone so far as to suggest that objective pharmacological effectiveness "would seem in the majority of cases to be a mere matter of accident rather than evidence of conscious experiment or even of fortunate experience. The rule underlying the choice of a certain plant as an antidote against a given ailment is of a mythological and occult rather than of a general nature."[29] This may be overstating the case, but it emphasizes the possibility that even in such apparently rational measures as emetics, purgatives, baths, bloodletting, massage, dietary restrictions, and the administration of medicinal herbs (evil spirits might be driven away, for instance, by disgustingly smelling or tasting herbs),[30] the motivation may well be found in the supernatural rather than physical aspect.[31] It has been stated that, in general, "primitive medicine is primarily magico-religious, utilising a few rational elements."[32] This attempt to weigh up the relation between

empirical and supernatural therapies is more acceptable than an unreal distinction between the two.

Herbal remedies and other physical therapies, including bonesetting and massage, were certainly known and administered by the Rarotongans and their *ta'unga.*[33] But Rarotongan attitudes toward the care of the sick appeared ambivalent to observers. From the start missionaries in Polynesia were shocked by what they saw as "inhuman" neglect of the comfort and welfare of sick persons.[34] The first European missionary on Rarotonga was scandalized by "the great indifference manifested by most of the relatives and friends, even when their relative is so near death. They laugh and jest as though the departure of the Spirit from the body were a thing of trifling importance."[35] Many missionaries believed that solicitude for the sick was unknown in pre-Christian times, citing instances of the abandonment or outright killing of the aged and diseased.[36]

It is clear that aid and comfort were not invariably given to the sick. It is less clear, however, that the motive in cases of the exiling of ill persons was always one of abandonment: the intention may have been to isolate the patients, and it seems that food was provided for them. It is possible that "desertion" was reserved for cases thought unlikely to recover;[37] there was no point in nurturing a hopeless case, one forsaken by his gods and ancestors. There is evidence that patients in less desperate circumstances did receive moral and physical support. In Tahiti, for example, the patient's family and relatives "assemble in the sick person's house. They eat and sleep there as long as the danger lasts; every one nurses him, and watches by him in his turn."[38] Nor could the missionary who witnessed "the tender sympathy and unremitting attention" shown by Rarotongan women to their sick husbands in an epidemic soon after the mission's arrival suggest an entirely new and Christian motivation for their behavior. He was "delighted" to see how the women offered such solace as keeping off the flies, bathing the temples with water, and relieving pain with gentle massage.[39]

Patients themselves, however, did not always cooperate with hopes for their recovery. The missionaries remarked on a propensity of the Rarotongans to accept illness and imminent death with apathy, indifference, and a lack of faith in remedial action. Patients were observed to fade away "through sheer mental distress."[40] Such feelings of hopelessness and despondency play an undoubted role in the progress of physiological disorders, "Anxiety and despair can be lethal."[41]

In concluding this discussion of traditional Rarotongan concepts of health, it must be emphasized that the nonmedical element in the heal-

ing of bodily ills was of great importance. The cultural assumptions and conceptual framework of Polynesian patients under treatment by supernatural means may well have provided an enhanced expectancy of cure, assisted in the harmonization of inner conflicts, removed fears, served to reintegrate patients with their fellows and ancestors, provided a reason for the illness, and stirred emotions. All of these onslaughts on the patient's debilitating anxiety and demoralization and stimulations of confidence and hope would materially assist in medical recovery, quite apart from the efficacy of any empirical therapy.[42] The practice of the *ta'unga* as healer, then, was appropriate to the nature of disease as an objective phenomenon, and as observed by the Rarotongans. Disease is certainly a clinical manifestation of physiological malfunctions that people could plainly see even if they could not explain them medically: it is therefore amenable to physical medical treatment. But disease is also inseparably bound up with social and cultural emotions and stresses felt by the individual. It therefore requires a therapy appropriate for the rehabilitation of the sufferer's morale and the restoration of good relations between him and his gods and his fellows. The customary modes of treatment were able to provide these requirements.

Beyond cases of spontaneous recovery from self-limiting illnesses, there existed some helpful physical treatments and the undoubted role of psychological reassurance and social rehabilitation, Against these positive aspects are the ineffectiveness or harmfulness of some physical treatments, the lack of advanced medical and surgical knowledge and technology,[43] and the drastic effect of cultural assumptions on patients for whom treatment was inappropriate or unavailing, Furthermore, the reliance on spiritual therapy exerted a certain negative influence against the inclination to nurse and sustain the patient. Rarotongans did not share modern Western man's "deliberate search for good health as such,"[44] for good health was simply an indication of behavior acceptable to god and man. Nor did they develop an attitude of mind that regarded disease as eradicable in society or even always to be avoided or combated in the individual.

These attitudes, positive and negative, were to prove of the utmost importance in the new world the Rarotongans were about to enter.

## Changes during the Missionary Period

The arrival of European medicine in the early nineteenth century did not by any means bring about a revolution in Rarotongan thinking about illness. The English missionaries who brought new medical

knowledge and many other technological innovations were confronted by the ravages of a long series of destructive epidemics[45] and were themselves soon made familiar with personal or family illness and death. It is not surprising that they developed to the full their emotional commitment to the doctrine of divinely sanctioned affliction. The missionaries understood that affliction came as part of God's plan; through it souls were warned, disciplined, or chastized according to the terrible, mysterious, and yet ultimately benevolent will of God. Nor is it surprising that the missionaries often displayed little real interest in the physical identity and character of the diseases that "humanly speaking" were responsible for illness and death.[46] In its perception of ill-health as primarily a spiritual phenomenon, the missionaries' thinking was more similar than they imagined to the Polynesian ideas they had come to change.

In the 1830s and 1840s the Rarotongans were acutely conscious that there had been a succession of calamities (including epidemics and hurricanes) since the abandonment of their ancestral gods; they were able to list these adversities for the missionaries.[47] This tragic series of events placed the people in a formidable dilemma, and a course of continued allegiance to the new God must surely have carried the day only narrowly as the people wrestled with the meaning of their afflictions. In the end, however, the effect on their thinking was to confirm them in their traditional stance toward disease and disaster. What had happened was seen in the age-old way as the awful expression of supernatural anger: to some betokening the new God's chastisement of a people not yet fully committed to him, and to others the old gods' retribution for being spurned by a faithless race.

The journals and letters of the missionaries in this period show that they struggled hard to come to a theological understanding of the suffering and sickness they were confronted with in Rarotonga. But this by no means precluded an active and practical response to the plight of the sick and suffering. It is clear that dispensing medicines and other treatments was usually part of the missionaries' daily routine and often took up much of their time. Medicines were distributed without charge, administered either on systematic rounds of the homes of the sick or dispensed from the mission itself, often at set times in the morning and evening; arrowroot and other invalid foods were often supplied too.[48] Attention to the needs of sick people was a service the missionaries found impossible to refuse, and in fact were happy to provide; they felt such activity to be "perfectly compatible with the higher duties of our station."[49]

The Rarotongans did not find missionary ideas about illness incomprehensible; nor did they respond negatively to practical missionary medicine. Plainly there was a real readiness to try therapeutic innovations: the great demand for the missionaries' medical intervention was a clear indication of the acceptability to the Rarotongans of European drugs and treatment. But it would be wrong to suppose that the missionaries were completely satisfied with their flock's attitude toward health. It distressed them that people often complied very imperfectly with their instructions for the treatment and nursing of the sick and their recommendations for sanitary improvements.

Simple resistance to innovation does not by any means fully explain the imperfect transition to European perceptions and practices. Receptive as they were to many introduced approaches to therapeutic and preventive medicine, it is clear that the Rarotongans had in no sense completely abandoned their pre-Christian understanding of health or their responses to ill-health. It is plain that the ancient perception of ill-health survived the adoption of Christianity: still to be found was the belief that disease was caused by the intrusion of spirits consequent to the giving of offense to gods, spirits, or one's fellows. The Rarotongans of 1888 were said to be "still morally and spiritually but little removed from the standpoint of their heathen forefathers"; even among church members traditional ideas of disease causation were "continually cropping up."[50]

The arrival of new spiritual leaders and the creation of a new caste of Polynesian pastors had, of course, greatly undermined the position of the traditional priestly experts *(ta'unga).* But as healers the *ta'unga* were still in evidence after the adoption of Christianity. Some of the more spectacular practitioners of this type appear to have been charlatans. But others were deceivers only in European eyes: they based their practice on assumptions denounced by Europeans as superstitious or heathen but that were literally descended from pre-European explanations of disease.

Use of herbal remedies for illness in the nineteenth century finds little mention in the historical record. The difficulties of ascertaining whether or not Rarotongans had an extensive pre-European pharmacopoeia have been discussed previously; it is simply not known how long the many *vai rakau* (herbal medicines) of today have been in use. There is no evidence that the Europeans exploited local plants for medicinal purposes, but it could be that the missionaries' use of drugs stimulated Polynesian experimentation with *vai rakau.*[51] It seems likely that the ancient Rarotongan use of a certain number of plant remedies, in conjunction

with spiritual therapies, was perhaps challenged initially by the popularity of introduced drugs but was never displaced entirely and may in fact have been more widespread in the nineteenth century than missionary sources suggest.

Some Rarotongan physical therapies received favorable mention from the missionaries. Gill testified to the many skillful treatments of "severe sprains and threatening paralysis" he had seen, and the missionaries themselves benefited on occasion from the people's knowledge of massage and their treatment of back injuries and sprains.[52] Sometimes the efficacy of certain herbal remedies was conceded. But on the whole the mission adopted a strongly condemnatory attitude toward the Polynesian therapeutic system, which they saw (correctly) as inextricably bound up with the pre-Christian religion. Not only did they denounce the practitioners of traditional medicine as dangerous to the people's health—"native doctoring kills off the population," Gill stated flatly—but they also accused them of fraudulence and a cynical preying on residual superstition. G. A. Harris dismissed them angrily as "quacks seeking for reputation."[53]

There is no doubt that the missionaries' uncompromisingly critical attitude toward the pre-Christian religion and its medical aspects was known to and accepted by the Cook Islanders. A prohibition of "sorcery" was only to be expected among the laws drawn up by the missionaries and chiefs. In the printed laws of 1879, for instance, it was forbidden to consult *ta'unga* for the purpose of finding the cause of a sickness (or for any other purpose), and fines were to be paid by convicted *ta'unga* and their clients.[54] There is no mention of a fine in the case of the *ta'unga* Matamua against whom the missionary Krause successfully campaigned in 1866, but a monetary penalty was certainly paid by a female *ta'unga* who was investigated in 1888 after the death of a child she had treated.[55]

But, denounced and proscribed as they were, ancient procedures for the diagnosis and treatment of disease survived the revolution in the people's religious allegiance and lived on into the present day. Of course, it does not appear that cultural innovations ever totally replace existing values, beliefs, and practices. Confronted by many new opinions, the Rarotongans adopted some, accepted others in part, and showed no interest in the rest. What they regarded as valuable to their own purposes they adopted and integrated into their culture. It soon became apparent that in the case of concepts of health and ill-health, an emotionally sensitive area, ancient thought patterns proved important

enough to be retained and reintegrated into what gradually developed as the characteristic Rarotongan Christianity.

Much of the persistence of pre-Christian thought and practice can be explained by the fact that the missionary approach to sickness and its treatment was not as diametrically different from the ancient Polynesian approach as might first have appeared. Certainly the missionaries were staunch opponents of the *ta'unga* and deeply critical of the pre-Christian religion and surviving "heathen" practices. In the early decades of Rarotongan Christianity the contrast between the old and new religions seemed strong, and there was a widespread initial eagerness to cast off the old ways. But this masked the compatibility between ancient modes of thought and many elements of missionary Christianity. Just as the Rarotongans had always done, the missionaries saw more than just a medical significance in health and ill-health. Like the Rarotongans, the missionaries included health within their religious view of life. The new God often seemed to act, then, in ways comprehensible to Rarotongans.

What Rarotongans learned from the missionaries regarding a new approach to health and sickness, then, was comparatively little. At least in the early decades, when the mission exerted its greatest influence, its attitude toward health was little more "scientific," "Western," or "modern" than that of the ancient Polynesians. Treatment was given in a strongly religious context by persons who looked beyond immediate to ultimate causes and who carried a spiritual authority that to the Rarotongans was a major factor in successful healing. Like the *ta'unga,* the missionaries attempted to treat more than just the physical illness, and even when their medicine possessed no efficacy they may often have facilitated recovery by giving patients hope, reassurance, and confidence. It may be that in their humanitarian concern to relieve suffering the missionaries introduced into Rarotongan attitudes a stronger interest in nursing and sustaining the sick than had previously existed. Some new medicines and treatments were also introduced, and these, like other technological innovations, were interesting and attractive to the islanders. But the new remedies were seen eventually to be little more effective than their own. The missionaries were not expert in the use of these treatments, but early nineteenth-century medicine could often avail very little even from the hands of trained physicians. Not until the century was nearly over were significant advances made in European therapeutic and preventive medicine, and few of these made much impact on missionary practice. The advent of a new religion and a new

technology had little effect, then, on the diseases the Rarotongans had learned to live with. When disastrous new diseases arrived these too were scarcely affected by European medicine, and after the first traumatic decades the people learned to accept these also.

Despite the time they gave to medical work, it is clear that the missionaries took it for granted that there would always be a certain amount of sickness in the community. Of course, the great epidemics were regarded as abnormal, but they were thought of not just as medical disasters but as events requiring a religious interpretation. The missionaries thus did not foster any inclination to look for secular reasons for the prevalence of disease. Only very gradually did they begin to regard disease as something to be attacked and eradicated for its own sake (not that the means for such effective action were yet available). As the century drew to a close the Rarotongans had not learned to seek actively for good health, but had been confirmed in their tendency to regard it simply as an indication of divine favor.

After the chiefs and people of Rarotonga had adopted Christianity, the system of law and authority was no longer based on the religious sanctions of *tapu.* But the quality of sacredness and the institution of *tapu* continued to exist and could still be violated. Primary allegiance was no longer given to the gods the people had ceremonially discarded. But belief in the existence and activity of spiritual beings (Christianity had them too, of course) was never abandoned. In a Christian atmosphere that reinforced the traditional perception of a close relationship between disease and wrongdoing, spirits could still be thought of as active in the causation of at least some diseases. In pre-European times there probably existed a distinction—although it is difficult to locate the dividing line—between afflictions supernaturally caused and those for which such an explanation was unnecessary. Spiritual and empirical explanations (and modes of treatment) could coexist, and it is probable that this distinction between *maki tupapaku* (spiritually caused disease) and *maki tangata* ("natural" disease) became firmer with the advent of new diseases that forced a reclassification. Untreatable, intractable, and puzzling diseases (and mental disturbances, *maki neneva*) were those most likely to be thought of as *maki tupapaku* and thus amenable to *ta'unga* ministrations. With the decline of the spiritual element in European medicine in Rarotonga—a gradual decline as mission medicine lost its religious orientation, and much faster when secular professional medicine arrived at the end of the century—the field became more open for the traditional medicine that continued to be disparaged but had never ceased to exist. As the twentieth century began Raro-

tongans were able to draw on two medical traditions that existed not simply side by side but in a complex interrelationship.

## The First Half-Century of Government Medicine

The establishment of an official medical service accompanied the arrival of colonialism around the turn of the century. By 1950 a branch of the Cook Islands administration had been charged for half a century with the duty of ameliorating sickness and preventing its occurrence. But to the frustrated surprise of those who conscientiously provided and operated the free health service, Western medicine was not utilized as fully as it might have been. There sometimes appeared to be a curious resistance to self-evidently beneficial public-health reforms. Furthermore, there still remained a persistent adherence to the unscientific Polynesian system of medicine that had its roots in pre-European days.[56]

Doctors, nurses, and hospitals were never short of patients, but official reliance on what was thought to be the technological superiority of the European medical system could never bring complete Polynesian acceptance. The personal attributes of the practitioners (both European and Polynesian) of Western medicine greatly influenced Rarotongan attitudes toward European medical concepts and practices. There remained, too, a number of cultural obstructions to the full use of the system, obstacles that only time and the sensitivity of medical staff would remove. The management of patients and their relatives in hospital is a case in point. When the Hospital reopened in 1911, it was accepted that the patients' Rarotongan dietary preferences would be accommodated by allowing relatives and other members of the community to supply food.[57] It was recognized too that relatives should be fairly unrestricted in their entry to the building—many actually lived there—so that they could assist in tending the patients; otherwise, it was thought, few sick persons would enter or stay in the hospital.[58] This thinking remained unchanged during the first half of the twentieth century. In 1944 Dr. E. P. Ellison advised that the practice be permitted in the new sanatorium also, in order to encourage patients to enter, and the newly arrived Dr. T. R. A. Davis was told by the matron of the hospital in 1945 that the relatives were necessary for keeping the patients fed and that there would be no patients if their relatives were excluded.[59] Though usually unacceptable to unprepared European observers, this concession to Rarotongan sensitivities was an inducement to use of the hospital, for it recognized (unconsciously perhaps) the importance of family support in the recovery of the sick Polynesian.[60]

Willingness to be admitted to the hospital did not insure a readiness to remain there until treatment was completed. The removal of a child in 1912 against the doctor's earnestly expressed advice was explained by the father as a reaction against the painful dressings being applied. More significant was the removal of another child (a pneumonia case) after a *ta'unga* diagnosed a spiritual cause.[61] But the most common reason for premature voluntary discharge was the "very deep-rooted objection" to the patients' "dying elsewhere than at home."[62] The custom was perceived negatively in 1928 as creating great difficulty in "persuading relatives to allow critical cases to remain in the Hospital. Time and time again cases are withdrawn, only to die on the road or shortly after reaching home."[63] But the acceptance of the practice showed recognition of the importance Cook Islanders put on where and how death took place. It cannot be said that this and other sensitivities were always disregarded, but resistance to hospitalization was only slowly broken down. In spite of the large number of admissions made every year, there were still in 1928 "many cases" treated at home "who could more satisfactorily be looked after in hospital."[64]

Opposition to surgical operations was commonly noted. In many cases the outcome of permitted operations confirmed the resistance to surgery, as in 1898 when a prominent man died after hospital surgery for tumors, and in 1912 when a gunshot victim did not survive the amputation of his leg (surgery had not been permitted until "native medicine" had been tried).[65] But operations were certainly not unknown, and a surgically inclined doctor with the right approach, such as R. L. Norman in 1915, could perform a great many, "earning the gratification of the Natives."[66] There is no evidence of resistance to injections[67]—thousands were given annually for yaws alone—but in 1945 Davis encountered a reluctance to give blood for transfusions.[68]

Evidence that Western medical treatment of some conditions was superior to that of the Rarotongans accumulated only slowly. The treatment of yaws after World War I was the first spectacular demonstration of therapeutic efficacy, and the startling successes of penicillin and other antibiotics did not come until just after World War II.

Despite the largely benign image of "Maori medicine" in the eyes of the Rarotongan church by the end of the nineteenth century, European missionaries remained antipathetic to a system they believed to be unchristian both in origin and in character. By then, too, the weight of secular European authority had been added to the hostility the Rarotongans had long seen expressed toward their medical beliefs and practices by their religious mentors. Recourse to *ta'unga* was illegal.[69] But it

proved impossible to suppress the *ta'unga* and their clients, as Dr. S. M. Lambert found (to his surprise, since he considered the Cook Islanders "the most intelligent and most modern of the South Pacific Islanders") : "one still finds among them a deep-rooted belief in magic and witch-doctors, and many of them call upon the Medical Department only as a last resort, after native remedies and practices have failed."[70] One of the first Native Medical Practitioners, Takao Tinirau, estimated in 1932 that 20 percent of sick persons went first to the *ta'unga.* "Some get better, some do not. So the worst cases are passed on to us, and when one or two die on our hands we have to take the blame, even though the patient's condition was hopeless when brought to us."[71]

The long-serving Dr. Ellison was unsympathetic toward *ta'unga,* "devil doctors" as he termed them. On handing over his post to Dr. Davis in 1945, he complained of the trouble they caused despite the law and its penalties.[72] The quite different approach taken by Davis was a reversal of the previous official and medical stance against *ta'unga* medicine. Without abandoning belief in the superiority of Western medicine, but rather seeking to bring about a habit of consulting the doctor before rather than after the *ta'unga,* Davis was careful to discontinue the customary anti-*ta'unga* position of the Medical Department.[73] Seeking to establish good relations with the practitioners of traditional medicine, Davis let them know of his belief that some of their knowledge was valuable and worthy of scientific investigation. He found that the people held *ta'unga* in higher esteem than European doctors, and he tried to disseminate knowledge of modern medicine through them:

> Because I listened to the medicine men, they willingly listened to all I told them of my methods, going back to the villages and repeating my lessons. I explained to them that some medicines could be taken by mouth, others it was necessary to inject directly into the body. I explained how vaccines and inoculations worked in the prevention of disease. . . . We built a spirit of cooperation rather than of antagonism between the medicine men and modern medicine.[74]

Davis began to refer "psychiatric" cases back to the *ta'unga,* having been much impressed by their work in this area of ill-health:

> Many a time I have listened to a medicine man interviewing a troubled patient and always I have been astounded at the effectiveness of his method, for he would talk not only to the stricken person but to his family, his wife, his parents, children (a par-

> ticipating audience of as many as ten relatives would be present), working right back to the patient's childhood and digging, digging, until at last he brought the aggravation to the surface.[75]

This more sympathetic approach to the indigenous tradition of medicine was seen in Rarotonga only after World War II. Davis presaged the present-day willingness to recognize the merits of certain aspects of Polynesian medicine and to abandon confrontation with its practitioners. As in other parts of the world, Western medicine has accepted the intrinsic utility of "traditional" practice, not just in the efficacy of medicinal plant remedies but also in the fact that traditional medicine is an integral part of a people's culture and so is especially effective in meeting certain cultural health problems. It is recognized that practitioners of traditional medicine often perceive disease as caused by more than biological pathogens alone, and in some places attempts have been made to utilize their skills by incorporating them into the health-care system.[76] It was in this more positive atmosphere that most of the recorded information about twentieth-century Rarotongan "traditional medicine" was later gathered.

## Conclusion

It is not part of the purpose of this paper to describe "Maori medicine" as it is practiced on Rarotonga in the second half of the twentieth century.[77] But Rarotongan medicine is clearly a direct descendant of the pre-European system, modified and to some extent reinforced in the nineteenth century. It is not completely separate from Western-style scientific medicine. It exists as an integral element in most Rarotongans' thinking about health and ill-health. In each instance of sickness decisions must be made about the cause and nature of the illness, and the circumstances of each case determine whether recourse will be made primarily to "traditional" or Western medicine and their practitioners.

While many Rarotongans became familiar with the practices of nurses, doctors, and hospitals (and indeed themselves became professional practitioners of Western medicine in significant numbers), it was undeniable by 1950 that over a century of close contact with Europeans and Western medicine had failed to eliminate medical ideas and practices originating in the ancient Polynesian past. Neither the Rarotongans' long acquaintance with introduced medicine, nor the Europeans' often strenuous efforts to suppress Rarotongan medicine and its

practitioners, had brought about the passing of the older nonscientific tradition.

In part the continued existence of non-European medicine was clue to the inadequacies of the official health service: because of organizational and other difficulties the therapeutic benefits of modern medicine could not be brought to the whole of this scattered population. Partly, too, the incomplete acceptance of the newer system indicated a less than wholehearted belief in its efficacy. In these misgivings the Rarotongans were more than a little justified, for missionary medicine had not kept at bay the disastrous epidemics of the nineteenth century, and even twentieth-century treatments were of little avail against many medical conditions common in the Cook Islands. Disease had not been vanquished.

Rut medical innovation had not been entirely rejected. On the contrary much of it had been welcomed, and the scope of traditional medicine had been greatly narrowed. Neither fully adopted nor completely refused, European medicine had to a large extent been fused with Polynesian concepts and procedures. The understanding of health and the response to ill-health that had emerged by the middle of the twentieth century was thus neither wholly Polynesian nor wholly European. The Rarotongans had arrived at a new understanding of health and ill-health. The ingredients of this new comprehension were surviving elements of their ancient perceptions and practices, a continuing religious approach that had been perpetuated by their nineteenth-century adoption of Christianity, and the principles and techniques of early and mid-twentieth-century Western medicine.

## NOTES

This is an expanded version of a paper presented to Section K2g of the XV Pacific Science Congress, Dunedin, New Zealand, February 1983.

1. See Raeburn Lange, "Plagues and Pestilence in Polynesia: The Nineteenth Century Cook Islands Experience," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 58 (1984), for a description of pre-European Cook Islands health.

2. Edmund D. Pellegrino, "Medicine, History and the Idea of Man," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 346 (1963):10.

3. See Erwin H. Ackerknecht, "Problems of Primitive Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 11 (1942):503, for quotation. The point about the term "magical" is made by E. S. C. Handy in *Polynesian Religion,* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1927), 4. Handy also avoids the use of "spiritual," which to him suggests an almost totally absent "sense of moral aspiration"; he prefers "psychic" (p. 5).

4. John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* (London, 1837), 543ff. William Gill describes Cook Islands religion in his two-volume work *Gems from the Coral Islands* (London, 1856), vol. 1, pp. 13-18. See also R. W. Williamson's exhaustive surveys of ancient Polynesian religion: *Religious and Cosmic Beliefs of Central Polynesia,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1933); *Religion and Social Organisation in Central Polynesia,* ed. R. Piddington (Cambridge, 1937). Williamson's material is gathered from many earlier writers, and his Cook Islands data appear to be derived almost entirely from the writings of W. W. Gill.

5. Williamson prefers "soul," since the word "spirit" can also denote supernatural beings that have never been human. See *Religious and Cosmic Beliefs,* 197.

6. Williamson points out the great difficulty of distinguishing between gods and spirits, especially as early observers were seldom precise on this point. See *Religion and Social Organisation,* 8.

7. Gill, *Gems,* 16.

8. J. J. K. Hutchin, 12 Jan. 1888, South Seas Records (hereafter SSR), London Missionary Society (LMS) Archives (consulted on microfilms held in Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin), See Williams, *Narrative* (p. 39), for the early missionaries' perception of Rarotongan beliefs about sickness.

9. In reconstructing this often elusive belief system I have sometimes made cautious use of evidence from other parts of Polynesia. Evidence from Tahiti, one of Rarotonga's geographical and cultural neighbors, is particularly relevant here and is much more abundant because of the great number of visiting European observers in the late eighteenth century. Almost nothing was written about Rarotonga before the mission arrived in the 1820s.

10. Charles Pitman, Journal Extracts, 3 Sept. 1833, South Seas Journals (hereafter SSJ), LMS Archives. Douglas L. Oliver notes the practice for Tahiti also, and sees it as a way of expelling a dangerously infectious guilt substance. See *Ancient Tahitian Society* (Honolulu, 1974), 121.

11. It has been suggested that sorcery is less prevalent in societies possessing effective authority structures capable of settling disputes and exerting social control. See R. W. Lieban (reviewing studies by Swanson and Whiting), "Medical Anthropology," in *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology,* ed. J. J. Honigmann (Chicago, 1973), 25.

12. David Landy, ed., *Culture, Disease and Healing: Studies in Medical Anthropology* (New York, 1977), 129.

13. R. J. Dubos, *Man, Medicine and Environment* (New York, 1968), 67.

14. See John A. Clausen, "Social Factors in Disease," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 346 (1963), 139-140; V. F. P. van Amelsvoort, *Culture, Stone Age and Modern Medicine* (Assen, Netherlands, 1964), 20-21.

15. For an exposition of these themes as they operate in modern Rarotonga more than twenty years after the end of the period covered in this paper, see Margaret Mackenzie, "Cultural and Social Aspects of Pre-School Children's Health in Rarotonga, Cook Islands" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1973), 123-125; J. G. Baddeley, "Rarotongan Society: The Creation of Tradition" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Auckland, 1978), 288-294. The relationship of medicine to social control in Polynesia is the main theme of Richard

Feinberg, *Anutan Concepts of Disease: A Polynesian Study* (Laie, Hawaii, 1979); it is also stressed by Antony Hooper, "Tahitian Folk Medicine," in *Rank and Status in Polynesia and Melanesia. Essays in Honor of Professor Douglas Oliver* (Paris, 1978).

16. Stephen Savage, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language of Rarotonga* (Wellington, 1962), 206-207. Mackenzie, "Pre-School Children's Health," discusses the word *ora,* pp. 131-132. Rarotongan concepts thus looked in the same direction as the World Health Organization's definition of health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease and infirmity."

17. William Wyatt Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles* (London, 1876), 70; 29-30.

18. See E. H. Ackerknecht's review of ethnographic data on this subject in "Natural Diseases and Rational Treatment in Primitive Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* vol. 19, no. 5 (May 1946): 468-476.

19. Some of my speculations in this paragraph owe a certain amount to comments by Oliver (*Ancient Tahitian Society,* 471, 476-477).

20. The distinction is discussed by Mackenzie ("Pre-School Children's Health," 107-109, 118-119) and Baddeley ("Rarotongan Society," 256, 265-266), where *maki tikai* is used for the *maki tangata* of Savage (*Dictionary,* 416) and Mackenzie.

21. J. R. Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World* . . . (London, 1778), 495-500.

22. Owen Rutter, ed., *The Journal of James Morrison, Boatswain's Mate of the* Bounty (London, 1935), 230; John Turnbull, *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804,* 2d ed. (London, 1813), 335; see also 367.

23. According to Dorothy Shineberg, the extent of pharmacological and surgical knowledge in Fiji, Tonga, and Hawaii differs. See " 'He Can but Die': Missionary Medicine in pre-Christian Tonga," in *The Changing Pacific,* ed. Niel Gunson (Melbourne, 1978), 296n. D. G. Kennedy found and described an extensive traditional surgical knowledge on Vaitupu, Tuvalu. See *Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands* (New Plymouth, 1931), 236-245, 248-249. But Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole in Pukapuka about the same time found much less such knowledge. See *Ethnology of Pukapuka,* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 150 (Honolulu, 1938), 340-341.

24. A. Buzacott, *Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific* (London, 1866), 98; Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles,* 68-69.

25. Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) hesitates to state whether or not the Cook Islands had a traditional pharmacopoeia, pointing out that the spiritual approach to illness minimized the incentive to experiment and that there was a scarcity of plants with medicinal potential on some islands. See Buck, *Ethnology of Manihiki and Rakahanga,* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 99 (Honolulu, 1932), 216; idem, *Ethnology of Tongareva,* Bishop Museum Bulletin 92 (Honolulu, 1932), 81; idem, *Mangaian Society,* Bishop Museum Bulletin 122 (Honolulu, 1934), 187. For New Zealand, L. K. Gluckman rejects the possibility of an extensive Maori medical knowledge until after the influence of European example (*Tangiwai. A Medical History of 19th Century New Zealand* [Auckland, 1976], 148-155, 159, 254), a position applauded by R. E. Wright-St. Clair in his review of Gluckman's book (*New Zealand Medical Journal* LXXXV, no. 586 [27 April 1977] ,336). Both of these New Zealand authorities misrepresent Buck, whose opinion of pre-European Maori medi-

cine was not diametrically opposed to the view of Best, which they support. See R. T. Lange, "The Revival of a Dying Race: A Study of Maori Health Reform, 1900-1918, and Its Nineteenth Century Background" (M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1972), 14-15.

Mackenzie implies a preexisting diagnostic and therapeutic system for Rarotonga. See Mackenzie, "Pre-School Children's Health," 154; idem, "Damned If You Do and Damned If You Don't: Dilemmas in Development for Pacific Health," in *Paradise Postponed. Essays on Research and Development in the South Pacific,* eds. A. Mamak and G. McCall (Sydney, 1978), 227. This view is also taken in E. S. C. Handy et al., *Outline of Hawaiian Physical Therapeutics,* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 126 (Honolulu, 1934), 4 and passim; F. L. Tabrah and B. M. Eveleth, "Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Ancient Hawaiian Medicine," *Hawaii Medical Journal,* vol. 25, no. 3 (1966):223-230; L. Kimura, "Kahuna Lapa'au," *Hawaii Historical Review,* vol. 2, no. 2 (1966):273-275; F. Grepin, "La Médicine Tahitienne Traditionelle," *Cahiers du Pacifique,* No. 19 (Sept. 1976): 338-340.

26. J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The* Endeavour *Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768-1771* (Sydney, 1962), 374; Journal of Don José de Andía y Varela, in B. G. Corney, trans. and ed., *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain during the Years 1772-76,* vol. 2 (London, 1913-1919), 260. See also the diary of Maximo Rodriguez, ibid., vol. 3, pp. 28-29, 62.

27. This is the view taken by Kennedy (*Field Notes,* 247-248) of the relationship between spiritual and "natural" therapy on Vaitupu.

28. Rutter, *Journal of James Morrison,* 228; William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches during a Residence of Nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands,* rev. ed. (London, 1859), vol. 3, p. 47. This idea of medicine as a vehicle for the god is still found in Rarotongan medicine today (see Baddeley, "Rarotongan Society," 269). A similar association of physical therapies and religious ritual is identified by Alan Howard in precontact Rotuma. See "The Power to Heal in Colonial Rotuma," *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* vol. 88, no. 3 (Sept. 1979): 245-246, 270-271.

29. F. R. Olbrechts, writing in 1932 and quoted in Ackerknecht, "Natural Diseases," 475.

30. The suggestion of Handy, *Polynesian Religion,* 247n.

31. See Ackerknecht, "Natural Diseases," 481-485.

32. Ibid., 468.

33. See R. T. Lange, "A History of Health and Ill-Health in the Cook Islands" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Otago, 1982), 64-68, for a description of Rarotongan physical remedies.

34. E. g. Williams, *Narrative,* 505; Gill to LMS, 24 June 1840, South Sea Letters (hereafter SSL), LMS Archives.

35. Pitman, Journal Extracts, 16 Nov. 1831, SSJ.

36. Williams, *Narrative,* 289, 371; Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, *Journal of Voyages and Travels . . . in the South Sea Islands, China, India, & c, between the Years, 1821 and 1829,* vol. 1 (London, 1831), 328-329; William Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society* (London, 1844), 103.

37. See Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* vol. 3, pp. 46-48.

38. Louis de Bougainville, *A Voyage round the World,* trans. J. R. Forster (London, 1772), 271.

39. Williams, *Narrative,* 215.

40. Gill, *Life in the Southern* Isles, 182-183. Similar observations were made by Williams, Journal of Voyage to Samoa, 1830, SSJ; and G. Gill to LMS, 18 Aug. 1855, SSL.

41. Jerome D. Frank, *Persuasion and Healing,* rev. ed. (Baltimore, 1973), 76.

42. This passage owes a good deal to the arguments and phraseology of Frank (ibid., 66, 76).

43. Landy (*Culture, Disease and Healing,* 254) points out that surgery can be dangerous (it may result in surgical shock and infection); primitive conservatism in surgery may therefore have been "adaptive."

44. B. D. Paul, "Anthropological Perspectives on Medicine and Public Health," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 346 (1963):39.

45. See Lange, "Plagues and Pestilence."

46. The phrase was used in commenting on the effectiveness of a medicine used by the mission (Pitman to LMS, 2 July and 17 August 1830, SSL), and in reporting a missionary's death on Raiatea (Barff and Buzacott, item 104 [1834?], SSJ).

47. Williams to LMS, 27 Sept. 1832, SSL.

48. Pitman to LMS, 30 Dec. 1829, 8 March 1837, 11 Nov. 1846, SSL; Journal Extracts, 9 Nov. 1834, SSJ; Buzacott to LMS, 8 Dec. 1838, SSL; W. Gill to LMS, 5 Jan, 1852, SSL; Buzacott, *Mission Life,* 98; W. Gill, *Selections from the Autobiography of the Rev. William Gill* (London, 1880), 63.

49. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* vol. 3, pp. 44-46.

50. Hutchin, 12 Jan. 1888, SSR.

51. Mackenzie argues thus in "Pre-School Children's Health," 61.

52. See Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles,* 69, for quotation. For missionaries benefiting from islanders' treatments, see W. W. Gill to LMS, 14 Jan. 1867; J. Chalmers to LMS, 11 Jan. 1872; Mrs. Chalmers to LMS, 28 Sept. 1872, SSL; Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles,* 68-69.

53. W. W. Gill, 11 Jan. 1883, SSR; see also his *Life in the Southern Isles,* 69-70. Harris to LMS, 5 June 1879, SSL.

54. New Zealand, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives,* 1891, A-3, Appendix B, p. 28. See also ibid., 1892, A-3, p. 17.

55. For the case of the *ta'unga* Matamua, see E. R. W. Krause to LMS, 24 Dec. 1866, SSL. On the 1888 investigation, see Hutchin, 12 Jan. 1888, SSR.

56. Other discussions of this point will be found in chapter 3 ("Why hasn't Maori medicine died out since international medicine came to Rarotonga?") of Mackenzie's "Pre-School Children's Health," and in Shineberg, " 'He Can but Die.' "

57. Resident Commissioner to Pa Ariki, 9 Oct. 1911, Hospital file, 1909-1915 (Cook Islands Archives, A-4, file 16). The Rarotonga Hospital had opened originally in 1896, but was replaced in 1911 by a much bigger and better organized institution.

58. H. W. Northcroft to M. Pomare, 8 Nov. 1913, Medical Officers file 184, 1913 (Cook Islands Archives, A-4, file 8); Northcroft to G. P. Baldwin, 9 Dec. 1915, Hospital file, 1909-1915.

59. For Dr. Ellison's advice, see Memorandum, 17 Aug. 1944, Medical file 6/1/2, 1920-1948 (Cook Islands Archives, A-4, file 35). Tom and Lydia Davis, *Doctor to the Islands* (London, 1955), 54.

60. The practice has persisted until recent years, especially for child patients. See Mackenzie, "Pre-School Children's Health," 196-199, 399. In 1978 an attempt was made to institute regular visiting hours. See *Cook Island News,* 12 Oct. 1978.

61. For the 1912 case, see Baldwin to J. Eman Smith, 27 Feb. 1912, Medical Officers file 185/1, 1912 (Cook Islands Archives, A-4, file 4). For the case diagnosed by the *ta'unga,* see Hutchin, 10 Jan. 1898, SSR.

62. R. L. Norman, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives,* 1915, A-3, pp. 24-25.

63. B. G. Thompson, 3 Jan. 1928, file C-7, Governor's papers, New Zealand National Archives, Wellington.

64. *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives,* 1929, A-3, p. 12.

65. For the 1898 case, see ibid., 1899, A-3, p. 2. For the 1912 case, see Baldwin to Smith, 16 May 1912, and attached statement by V. Maoate, file 185/1, Cook Islands Archives.

66. *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives,* 1915, A-3, pp. 7, 25.

67. But see Davis and Davis, *Doctor to the Islands,* 79-82; Davis to M. Watt, 18 March 1946, Health Department file 333/12/2 (24511), New Zealand National Archives.

68. He quickly persuaded the people to conquer this aversion. See Davis and Davis, *Doctor to the Islands,* 60-62.

69. The Cook Islands Act (1915) laid down penalties for anyone who "pretends to exercise or use any kind of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, or conjuration" (Section 236, Cook Islands Act, *Statutes of the Dominion of New Zealand,* 1915).

70. Sylvester M. Lambert, "Some Polynesian Medical superstitions encountered in the Cook Islands," *Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 36 (July 1933): 190.

71. "Letter from a Native Medical Practitioner in the Cook Islands," *Native Medical Practitioner,* vol. 1, no. 4 (Feb. 1933): 99-100.

72. E. P. Ellison to Resident Commissioner, 8 July 1935, Health Department file 170/337 (11952), New Zealand National Archives; Davis and Davis, *Doctor to the Islands,* 56.

73. Davis and Davis, *Doctor to the Islands, 84;* Davis, "Rarotonga Today," *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* vol. 56, no. 2 (June 1947): 203.

74. Davis and Davis, *Doctor to the Islands,* 160. See also pp. 109-110.

75. Ibid., 160-161.

76. This more positive approach is described and advocated by Mackenzie, "Pre-School Children's Health," 105, 123-124. See also idem, "Damned If You Do"; Reuben Taureka, "Traditional Values in Health Planning," *Pacific Perspective,* vol. 2, no. 2 (1973); World Health Organization, *The Promotion and Development of Traditional Medicine. Report of a WHO Meeting* (Geneva, 1978); S. A. Finau, "Traditional Medicine in Pacific Health Service," *Pacific Perspective,* vol. 9, no. 2 (1980). For discussions of medicinal plants, see South Pacific Commission, *Regional Technical Meeting on Medicinal Plants (Papeete, 1973), Report* (Noumea, 1974); and the subsequently issued Technical Paper No. 171 by R. Tamson, *Bibliography of Medicinal Plants and Related Subjects* (Noumea, 1974).

77. Descriptions are to be found in Mackenzie, "Pre-School Children's Health," passim; and Baddeley, "Rarotongan Society," chapter 6.

# ANDREAS REISCHEK AND THE MAORI: VILLAINY OR THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCIENTIFIC ETHOS?

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About one hundred years ago, from 1877 to 1889, Andreas Reischek, an Austrian explorer, ethnographer, naturalist, and collector was active in New Zealand. The esteem he enjoyed in his own time contrasts sharply with his reputation today. On 16 June 1888 the *Auckland Weekly News* (p. 8) lauded Reischek as "brave, enduring, self-sacrificing and indomitable" and exulted: "taking him all in all, as an example of enthusiasm and unselfishness in scientific pursuit, I know of none to compare with him in New Zealand." The tone since then has drastically changed, as can be seen by the forcefully voiced disapproval in a recent biography by Michael King (1981) and the responsive chord it struck in the New Zealand press.[1] The contrast between these two views gives rise to the question how such drastic changes of mind occur.

Today Reischek is faulted on two counts. First, critics charge, in order to enhance his collection of indigenous New Zealand fauna, he mercilessly hunted species already known to be on the verge of extinction. Today, as a broad spectrum of people have become conscious of the value of nature preservation, this appears particularly loathsome.[2] Second, current public sentiments in New Zealand are particularly offended by Reischek's ethnographic work. In this article I wish to highlight the nature of his relationship with the Maori as well as the ideological

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background of his ethnographic pursuit: a background that indicts and absolves him at the same time. Through it Reischek is inextricably linked with the history of the anthropological profession. Thus any guilt and flaws belong not only to Reischek, but also to anthropology.

Born in 1845 in Linz in northern Austria, Reischek was a taxidermist by profession and a fanatical nature lover by inclination. It was his profession that brought him to New Zealand. Julius von Haast, then director of the Canterbury Museum, was looking for an able taxidermist to prepare animal skins for display. Reischek was recommended to him by Ferdinand von Hochstetter (see Haast Letterbooks), who had visited New Zealand with the Austrian *Novara* expedition in 1858-1859 and, at the request of the New Zealand government, stayed on to conduct a geological survey (see, e.g., Hochstetter 1885). Hochstetter, later to become director of the Imperial Natural History Museum in Vienna, retained a life-long interest in New Zealand as well as a friendship with Haast. This proved profitable for both the Viennese and the Canterbury museum as natural history material and ethnographic objects were exchanged between them for several years.

Reischek was initially under contract for a period of two years during which he was to prepare animal exhibits for display in the then newly established museum in Christchurch. However, the two years became twelve as Reischek continued to extend his stay, finally leaving in 1889. During these twelve years Reischek became a daring explorer and mountaineer in New Zealand's bush and backcountry, as well as an accomplished naturalist. He wrote several ornithological papers[3] and a treatise on training dogs entitled *Caesar: The Story of a Wonderful Dog* (1889). His main work, published posthumously, is *Sterbende Welt: Zwoelf Jahre Forscherleben auf Neuseeland* (1924), translated and abbreviated as *Yesterdays in Maoriland* (1930). This volume, which contains Reischek's observations on Maori society, recounts his relationships with the Maori, replete with numerous admissions of what today must be regarded as culpability in his dealings with them. His relationship with the Maori was marked as much by mutual affection as by the ruthlessness with which Reischek pursued his ethnographic interests, in particular gathering skeletal materials and bringing together an outstanding collection of Maori artifacts,

Reischek was one of the very few Europeans to have King Tawhiao's permission to travel in the King country in the 1880s, a time of chronic friction and acute distrust between Maori and Pakeha.[4] Kerry-Nicholls, who also traveled in the King country at about the same time—and without anyone's permission but his own—wrote that it was "tabooed

to the European as a Mohemmedan mosque" and "all who had hitherto attempted to make even short journeys into it had been ruthlessly plundered by the natives, and sent back across the frontier stripped even of their clothes" (Kerry-Nicholls 1974:14). Reischek, however, was traveling in safety under King Tawhiao's personal protection, as is shown by a letter dated February 1882 and signed by Honana Maioha, one of the King country's leading dignitaries.[5] Nonetheless, there were dangers, as Reischek was well aware. Part of the King country was under the influence of prophet and "rebel" leader Te Kooti Rikirangi and others who would not readily acknowledge the Maori king's jurisdiction and who might violently object to the presence of a Pakeha. The fact that Reischek was able to move about relatively freely speaks as much for his daring as for Maori generosity.

Reischek was not always guided by scrupulous honesty vis-a-vis the Maori, who had extended to him their friendship and hospitality on many an occasion. The friendship of the Maori seemed to him a means to an end that fully justified the employment of unethical methods if need be. This weighs heavily against him in the face of the letters of affection and trust that he received from several Maori, including King Tawhiao and chiefs of high rank and prestige. One example speaks for itself:

> A farewell and remembrance to his dear friend A. Reischek.
> Welcome, go to your kingdom, to your people, to your land. That you may live a long life, that your years may be many, that many days may fall to your lot. May the great God in the heaven look after you in peace. I am glad that you came to the regions of the King to travel. I am glad for you that you should return in peace under the name of King Tawhiao. Go in peace to your people. Greetings, friend. From Honana Maioha.
> Letter to his dear friend (dated Kopua-Arekahanara, New Zealand, 8 February 1882, Reischek, Letters [Linz]).[6]

King Tawhiao wrote in equally affectionate terms: "Yes, it is good that you will come and visit me, then return home. Enough of words. This is a song of affection from me to you . . ." (letter to Reischek, dated Whatiwhatihoe, 20 Oct. 1882, Reischek, Letters [Linz]).[7]

Reischek collected ethnographic objects with a zeal that bordered on obsession. In order to document Maori culture as completely as possible, Reischek included in his collection roughly baked cakes and homemade noodles offered to him in a village near Ruapehu (Reischek 1924:308). Perhaps he went hungry on this occasion just to save his meal for his col-

lection. The noodles seem to have meanwhile disintegrated (nor are they mentioned in Moschner's catalogue, 1958); but the small cakes, now hardly recognizable as food, are still faithfully preserved in the vast storage basement of the Ethnological Museum in Vienna, where Reischek's collection is housed today. Cakes, fern roots, strands of tobacco, dried caterpillars (used for tattooing according to Reischek's notes), and other such trivia reveal Reischek's intention to portray Maori culture as completely as possible and not just to bring together an array of expensive curios to dazzle his European contemporaries and achieve high prices on the art market. This is important to note in order to see both Reischek and his work in their true light.

The fruit of Reischek's labor is an ethnographic collection of 1,199 items, of which about 460 objects are from New Zealand and the rest from various Pacific Islands, Australia, India, and North America.[8] The whole collection was purchased in 1890, through a private initiative, for the Imperial Museum in Vienna, for a sum of 24,000 florin (records, Ethnological Museum, Vienna), which was approximately twice the prime minister's yearly salary.[9]

The methods by which the collection was assembled vary greatly. Some of the objects were presents given to Reischek on a personal basis: valuable nephrite clubs, woven blankets, and carvings. Other objects were purchased from willing vendors, sometimes at high prices as Reischek notes. Occasionally he reluctantly had to forego a tempting purchase as the asking price was beyond his means. From a moral point of view it is worth noting that in Reischek's time the Maori could not, if indeed this had been possible earlier, be tricked or cajoled into selling something they did not wish to part with, nor could they be persuaded to reduce their prices. No longer would a Maori chief mortgage his finely tattooed head in exchange for no more than a metal axe, as reported by the Reverend Marsden (Drummond 1908:100f.).

However, not all of the collection was acquired with scrupulous honesty, by any stretch of moral standards. Reischek conducted many unauthorized and probably highly unprofessional excavations of shell middens (e.g., Reischek 1924:57), he raided deserted *pa* sites (ibid.: 86, 87, 94, 95), and, most damaging, ransacked burial places. It is this aspect of his activity that evokes the strongest resentment today. Even though at that time the government did not place restrictions on the unauthorized excavation of sites of historic and prehistoric significance —as is now the case under the Historic Places Act—Reischek was acting in gross violation of Maori customary law.

Of a particularly odious nature were Reischek's forays into burial

places, where he gathered such relics as skulls and ornaments (ibid.: e.g., 80, 89, 96, 97, 118, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240). He seems to have been especially active in this respect during his stay in Northland, between 1879 and 1880. Clearly the most controversial part of the collection are two mummified corpses taken from a burial cave near Kawhia: one of an adult man and one of a child (see Moschner 1958:126). The theft of these two bodies has probably been the major cause of ill-feeling toward Reischek, in particular among the Maori community, which demanded time and again their repatriation. Even though the Maori queen as well as the New Zealand government were involved at various times in negotiations with the Vienna museum, the problem remained a festering sore for decades until in March 1985 the adult mummy was at last restored to New Zealand.

Reischek was quite aware of the enormity of the sacrilege. Yet he persisted—with the help of two Maori accomplices apparently swayed by pecuniary rewards, even though they must have been conscious that they were breaking one of the strongest tapu, customarily placed on burial sites (Reischek 1924:174f.). Reischek did not seem surprised, nor deterred, when the Maori began to eye him with suspicion and to issue veiled threats (ibid.:85). At one point two Maori demanded to see the contents of the ample bags he always carried, and he mentions that this was not the first time. He knew of the consequences had he been caught red-handed: “the Maori threaten every violation of the grave-tapu with death” he reports (ibid.:81). However, these were risks he was prepared to take, leading his critics to suspect that it was the prospect of vast honors or huge rewards that spurred him on.

Naturally, secretiveness was a major aspect of Reischek’s methods, A characteristic incident is related in his biography (ibid.:82ff.), Reischek set out suitably equipped for the occasion with saw and lantern, and, cleverly avoiding a Maori observation party sent to keep an eye on the suspicious stranger, he entered the deserted Pa Marikuru by night. There, among other things, he sawed off from a post the portrait figure of chief Tirorau, taking great care to do the job over flowing water so as to obliterate all tell-tale signs.

Reischek did not always have to acquire carvings in this adventurous way. In one case, for instance, he took carvings from a deserted house with the consent of the traditional owners. In the village Hauturu, chief Te Whitiora, Reischek’s powerful friend and mentor, lifted the tapu to enable Reischek to help himself to the finest carvings (ibid.:192). However, shortly afterward he committed a terrible faux pas when, in order to lighten his load, he chopped away some of the wood from the carv-

ings he had just taken and tried to burn it in a campfire. A Maori watching him became agitated about the sacrilege of burning the effigy of an ancestor. Only the timely intervention of Whitiora saved Reischek from the consequences of his carelessness. This incident is revealing, for it shows that Reischek either had little knowledge of the lore and belief of the Maori or had scant regard for their sensitivities. It is puzzling how this can be reconciled with his many protestations of sympathy and friendship for the Maori.

It is not surprising that Reischek's dealings with the Maori have done more than just raise a few eyebrows. The most recent expression of passionate disapproval is Michael King's biography "The Collector." Reischek has been tried by King and found wanting: his greed, moral corruption, and treachery condemn his memory to eternal loathing. King puts his indictment succinctly (1981:61): Reischek "was prepared to lie, to cheat, and to steal under the cover of night." It is interesting that Reischek should still be so vilified today, a century later. It cannot be disputed that he acted in defiance of Maori customary law and that he grievously hurt Maori sensitivities by violating the tapu surrounding burials. Disturbing human remains is among the worst of crimes in traditional Maori society; its severity can be gauged by the fact that desecrating burials and taking the bones to work them into flutes and fish hooks were strategems used by the Maori as an extreme form of calculated insult. However, this is only one facet of the story.

Reischek's behavior does not seem to have broken any contemporary New Zealand laws, written or unwritten. In fact, in a general sense, the nineteenth-century certainly was not characterized by a very empathetic, sensitive approach of the Pakeha to the Maori; this despite the astonishing fact that it was possible to generate and perpetuate the popular "myth" that the nineteenth-century Maori-Pakeha relationships, some unfortunate and regrettable outbreaks of hostilities notwithstanding, were marked by mutual respect and a great deal of cordiality and goodwill. The reality appears to have been quite different (see, e.g., Miller 1966; Ward 1973). Seen within a nineteenth-century context, Reischek's actions were not vastly beyond the limits of behavior acceptable among Pakeha. His deeds seem in accord with the general plundering of Maori valuables and possessions, land, cultural treasures, dignity, and freedom of decision occurring at the time. Surely the acquisition of artifacts and burial contents by what today may seem dubious methods must have been much more prevalent than is generally believed today. It was certainly not confined to one or two depraved individuals or unscrupulous collectors. The amount of bone material

and burial paraphernalia that today can be found in museums and private collections throughout the world is otherwise unexplainable (see, e.g., Fox 1983). The famous Buller collection provides a telling example. Several items are coyly listed as having been "picked up" or "dug up" and it is unlikely that the consent of the Maori owners was ever obtained. The presence of bone material obliquely points to the same methods as Reischek's, although perhaps less brazen. Certain entries in the Buller catalogue are revealing, such as a Maori coffin that "was taken from a Nga-puhi burial place, a cave . . ." A "carved support for a Maori coffin" was "taken away at night by a half-caste from ancient burial place . . ." (Buller, Maori Collection).

It seems clear that the condemnation of a few ethnographers and collectors such as Reischek springs, more than anything, from the application of the moral standards of the 1980s. It is when viewed through the prism of modern ethics, which is King's point of view, that Reischek's behavior appears grossly improper. But this fails to take into account the historical reality of the "anthropological ethos" in the nineteenth century.[10] Despite the acute moral awareness of most anthropologists today, the beginnings of the discipline were steeped in unbridled enthusiasm, often entailing a blatant disregard for ethical issues. In the rest of this article I shall attempt to set out the motives driving Reischek, to explain the ambiguity of his attitudes, and not least to sketch the scientific ide*ology* of his time and society, all of which I think are highly symptomatic of the spirit that informed early anthropology as a whole.

The image of Reischek as a fortune hunter is hardly applicable. He did not solely seek out expensive curios that might bring him a rich reward in Austria. This is evidenced by the breadth of the material collected, which clearly shows his intention to portray Maori culture as completely as possible. Reischek seems to have been instructed by Hochstetter, the director of the Imperial Natural History Museum in Vienna, to bring back as much museum material as possible (including bone material), the idea apparently being that Hochstetter would eventually acquire the artifacts (see Heger 1902:409). However, by the time Reischek returned to Vienna, Hochstetter had died, leaving Reischek to find another home for his collection; this created the impression that he was searching for the highest bidder. It is important to recognize that Reischek was not a treasure hunter, unscrupulous in the sole pursuit of personal wealth and fame. His motivations were of a different nature: he thought he had a scientific mandate to achieve his goals.

However, the fact remains that Reischek enjoyed the hospitality and friendship of many Maori, which he returned by violating their custom-

ary laws. This is even more curious when we read in his diaries, published in *Sterbende Welt,* numerous professions of sympathy and regard for the Maori. In a short eulogy written for the Austrian Academy of Science, Wettstein emphasizes Reischek's love for the Maori: "He describes them as a people of superior culture, whose undeserved, gradual demise he deeply regrets. Reischek loved those people despite their cannibalism . . ." (1957:17). There is ample evidence for these sentiments in *Sterbende* Welt. Reischek's description of the early history of New Zealand and of Maori-Pakeha relationships shows very clearly where his sympathies lay (Reischek 1924:121-151). His long account of New Zealand history and race-relations is both balanced and favorable to the Maori, clearly speaking for Reischek's understanding as well as for his profound sympathy for the vanquished. It is equally clear that these are Reischek's original thoughts and that he was not simply mirroring images and cliches extant in New Zealand at the time. Several paragraphs are deeply critical of the European approach and express his repugnance at what he saw as their double-dealing, infidelity, and deceit toward the Maori. As an example, Reischek relates the story of Hone Heke, the Christianized chief, who when honoring the Sunday with a service as the missionaries had taught, is surprised and taken by soldiers, who seem to know no such religious canon (ibid.:133).

Reischek (ibid.:135ff.) also refers to the poignant problem of dubious land deals by which many Maori were defrauded of their land (much later recognized as one of the greatest causes of the friction between Maori and Pakeha; see, e.g., Sinclair 1961:44ff). With unconcealed satisfaction he relates the well-known "Wairau affray" of 1843 involving Te Rauparaha, in which the Maori drove away the surveyors and then routed the military sent out to enforce the parcelling up of the land (see Burns 1980:239ff.). He concludes: "thus, as an exception, this sad story ended with a victory of the just cause."

Time and time again Reischek speaks of the just cause of the Maori (e.g., 1924:145). Very few who wrote about the Maori in the nineteenth century empathized with their viewpoint and their grievances as fully and unreservedly as Reischek. For instance, Reischek gives a surprisingly balanced account of the King movement (ibid.:135ff.). When most European historians could not see beyond the blood, the massacres, and the ferociousness of the adversary, Reischek's description of Pai Marire, of its cause and its aspirations, is of a striking objectivity and moderation (ibid.:147-150).[11] While European records of that time habitually speak of rebellion, treachery, and savagery perpetrated by HauHau, Reischek recognizes it as a basically nationalistic movement

and an essentially peaceful religion that happened to develop a violent guerrilla wing under the leadership of some of Te Ua Haumene's extremist disciples, such as Kereopa.[12] Decades later authors writing about the Maori-Pakeha wars, Te Kooti, HauHau, and the like chronically offered a one-sided, biased picture with little understanding for the Maori side. The Maori adversaries were usually referred to as "fanatics," even "perverts," their activities being "uprisings" and "rebellions" (see, e.g., Taylor 1959:440). Reeves (1956:211) called Pai Marire, or HauHau as he preferred, a "barbaric, debased" cult and superstition. "It was a wilder, more debased, and more barbaric parody of Christianity than the Mormonism of Joe Smith" are his unflattering words. Even more moderate writers completely failed to appreciate the social, economic, and political reasons that drove the Maori to fight Europeans. Even the peaceful Parihaka movement, which never raised a weapon against the Pakeha, was described in such loaded terms as "bands of native fanatics, excited to the point of rebellion against the whites" (Kerry-Nicholls [1884] 1974:14).[13]

His sympathy for the Maori led Reischek to criticize Christianity, describing it very graphically as a Trojan horse from which, as soon as the indigenous people have sunk to their knees before the image of Christ, emerge the Europeans, murderous and greedy for booty (1924:146). These are strong words. In the light of Reischek's deeds they must seem empty rhetoric and yet they cannot have been completely devoid of sincerity.

In his diaries Reischek is quite candid, concealing nothing, not even his misdeeds. Quite obviously, he saw no reason to hold back. One may surmise that as far as his views on the Maori are concerned, he spoke his mind, disinterested in currying favor with anyone. When cross-examined by the Maori, Reischek was under considerable pressure to pay at least lip service to their cause (see, e.g., ibid.:186-187), but there is no conceivable reason why he should be kind to them in his private notes unless he really meant it. It is fair to infer, therefore, that he was genuinely sympathetic to the Maori of his time and their grievances against the Pakeha.

But if true, how can Reischek's professed sympathy for the Maori be reconciled with the fact, which he implicitly admitted, that he did not honor their trust, that he failed to respect their customs and religious beliefs by pilfering their tabooed villages and violating their burial sites? I think the answer is to be found not so much in an inherent character flaw of Reischek's, but in the nineteenth-century mentality in general. More specifically, the inherent contradictions displayed in Reis-

chek's attitudes are not atypical of the scientific mind of that time. Let us have a closer look.

The respect and admiration Reischek felt for the Maori doubtless sprang from the Rousseauan cliché of the noble savage, a bill the Maori filled especially well. Several times in *Sterbende Welt* Reischek exults about the mental and moral superiority of the Maori (e.g., ibid.:145). Characteristic is a passage where Reischek, gushing about the Maori living in a state of honesty and togetherness with God and nature, compares himself with Tacitus, the Roman author who had held superficially similar views (ibid.:122). The noble savages then were the Germanic tribes, believed to live in a primitive but admirably natural and moral state in comparison to the "debauched" Romans. These romantic views expressed by Reischek were by no means unique. While Australian Aborigines, for instance, had the misfortune to be seen by some to be closer to baboons than to Europeans (see Fiske 1893:71-72), those peoples who qualified for the epithet "noble savage," and most notably the Maori, held the romantic admiration of most European writers. Not all, however, cultivated the objectivity that Reischek possessed. Not infrequently, the Maori was seen worthy of the title noble savage only so long as he was not engaged in "rebellion," in which case he became simply a savage. This fickleness of opinion is summed up in the elegant, if grossly prejudiced, French adage of the day: "grattez le Maori et trouvez le sauvage." Not unusually, such disappointment with the "noble race" was put down to the corruptive influence of culture contact, which made the Maori depraved and degenerate, sullenly insisting on spurious rights they had not earned and gradually sinking into increasing immorality (see, e.g., Hawthorne 1869:5). As Pearson (1984:14ff.) points out, the Rousseauan image of the noble savage was not accepted unquestioned and unchallenged, nor unmodified for that matter, by the eighteenth-century explorers and the editors of their tales. But even so, the predominant attributes ascribed to, in particular, the Pacific peoples, were benign ones; those traits seen as deplorable were belittled or altogether ignored. Rousseau's happy stage of simplicity, preserved in the islands, basically remained undisputed. However, by the mid-nineteenth century this generally favorable picture was being replaced by one less so: human sacrifice, cannibalism, infanticide, sexual license, cruelty, sorcery, and superstition, as well as other features considered undesirable, began to move into the focus of European awareness (Pearson 1984:27f.). Then, as Europe gradually extended its imperial control over the Pacific, racial and cultural arrogance increased; a considerably diminished romanticism uneasily coexisted with the emergent unflattering harshness of social Darwinism.

In Austria, however, the image of the noble savage managed to survive relatively intact well into the second half of the nineteenth century. This was no coincidence. Unlike other leading nations of Europe at that time, Austria had no strong ambitions to extend its political domain through overseas possessions. Romantic notions about exotic peoples could persist to a much greater extent than was possible in colonialist nations, faced as they were with the often unpleasant realities of administering peoples unwilling to accept foreign rule. Certainly the Viennese intelligentsia seems to have subscribed to romantic clichés, supported, in this case, by the experience with two worthy representatives of the noble savage. (This was perhaps only meager evidence to base a profound conviction on, but was tenable insofar as it was not contradicted by experience to the contrary.) I shall briefly describe the encounter between Austria and the Maori.

In the years 1857 to 1859 the navy frigate *Novara* was dispatched by the Austrian nation to conduct a scientific around-the-globe expedition (see Scherzer 1861 and 1973). Its task was to gather scientific materials and data on a wide range of subjects. In the time-honored tradition of earlier navigators, the crew also sought to entice individuals of exotic race to return with them so as to be able to bring home live exhibits.[14] When the *Novara* called at Auckland harbor in December 1858—the visit lasted only until January the following year—attempts were made to persuade some Maori to come along as crew members. They encountered much reluctance, apparently, as Scherzer reports, because the Maori were afraid they might be used as living provisions. Even when it was pointed out to them that a few African negroes had already been aboard the ship for fifteen months without having been harmed, this did not allay their fears. They suspected the negroes had survived only because a real emergency had not yet occurred (Scherzer 1861: vol. 3, 159).

Finally, two Maori did sign on: Wiremu Toetoe, a Waikato chief and post-office official, and a relative, Te Hemera(u) Rerehau.[15] The choice could not have been more fortunate. Both were exceptional men who adjusted with ease to life aboard the ship and who through their charm and wit soon became the favorites of the whole crew. The handsome and well-tattooed Toetoe especially enjoyed much affection and respect. In Vienna the two were lionized in fashionable circles, shown the sights, and introduced to the Emperor, who was so taken by their dignity and good manners that he gave orders to meet all expenses for their repatriation and made them a cash present. Useful training was also in store for the Maori visitors: they learned the printing trade and their teachers were favorably impressed by their ease of learning, skill, and

eagerness. On departure they were presented with a complete printing press, which would later have some impact on Maori-Pakeha relationships in New Zealand (Scherzer 1861: vol. 3, 159f.).

It speaks for the cosmopolitan character of Vienna at that time that there was a scholar of the Maori idiom, a Herr Zimmerl, who could converse with Toetoe and Hemerau in their own language. However, this was hardly necessary, as both soon acquired a good command of German and Italian (the predominant language in the imperial Austrian fleet), in addition to English. The Viennese were much charmed by their brightness and adaptability, and not least by their flowery poetic style of expression. Scherzer specifically mentions a letter Toetoe sent from Vienna to a former crew member of the *Novara* who had stayed behind in Trieste (then the major harbor of the Austrian navy): "You are on the sea shore at Trieste. We ascend to the peak of mount Leopold to see the clouds from afar, which rise from Styria. We cannot see Trieste, for our eyes are misty with tears which flow from them . . ." (Scherzer 1861: vol. 3, 160).

The extremely favorable impression made by the two Maori in Vienna contributed much to fortify the benign, if somewhat condescending, image of the Maori as a truly noble people. Scherzer (1861: vol. 3, 99f.) made them this compliment:

> While bushmen, hottentotts, Kaffirs and Australian negroes like the Indian tribes of British Canada and the United States of North-America offer the desolate picture of stuntedness and ruin, there are every indications present that the task will succeed to ennoble one of the wildest but also one of the most gifted aboriginal peoples of the earth (namely the Maori) through education and training and to induct them into the orbit of civilisation for good.

When after nine months they left Vienna, Toetoe and Hemerau not only had made a lasting impression on the Austrians but had themselves been greatly affected by their experience. Shortly before departing they printed an open letter to the Austrian people, bidding them farewell and extolling the friendship between the Maori and the Austrians. Their only complaint was the harsh winter weather in Vienna (see Hochstetter 1863:529f.). Later Hemerau would pass to Reischek a letter expressing his devotion to Austria:

> I greet you, o Emperor of Austria, greetings, greetings to you in the distant land. God has looked after you through the many

> years, and me too, may you live on for ever and ever amen, and me too. I have written to you over the many years, perhaps they have not arrived. You should write some letters so I can understand. The letter of Hokiteta [Hochstetter] has arrived with the picture. I have seen Reischek, he stayed with me and I gave him some of the things of the Maori. That is all. Reischek should come back as a companion for me here. I want some time to go over there. I have three children, who are yours, Emperor . . .” (Dated Mokau, 26 March 1882, Reischek, Letters [Linz])[16]

Traveling via Germany and London, where Toetoe and Hemerau met English royalty, they shipped from Southampton back to New Zealand. Seemingly as a result of their enjoyable stay in Vienna, both adopted an anti-British attitude, perhaps because the British, in their minds, compared rather poorly to the lovable Viennese. Subsequently, they used their newly acquired skills and their printing press to promulgate anti-British proclamations and to incite secession from British rule. Most importantly, the press was used to print Te Hokioi (“The war bird”), a political bulletin constituting the official organ of the King movement at the time. (Reischek later would meet Hemerau, who earnestly entreated him to stay; see Reischek 1924:208.)

Unfortunately, mutual enchantment and respect was not to be the sole ingredient in subsequent ethnographic encounters. In the later part of the nineteenth century, evolutionism had a great impact on science (see Howe 1977:142; Sorrenson 1979:17, 42). Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, and, in Germany, Ernst Haeckel had succeeded in formulating scientifically and concisely ideas that had previously been only vague notions. The relentless grip of the laws of evolution and natural selection entailed, it was believed, the inevitable disappearance of some natural species as well as some parts of humanity, either as a consequence of the impinging European civilization or of processes of nature itself. Evolutionism lent justification and reason to the downfall of some parts of nature and humanity, thus absolving from guilt or responsibility those relentlessly pursuing the expansion of European civilization. The predicament of the by now not-so-noble savages, the Maori among them, could now be satisfactorily explained. Not unlike the dodo, he was viewed as being precariously perched on the edge of the abyss of extinction. As Howe (1977:142) aptly writes, “the image of the Noble Savage and the Ignoble Savage merged into that of the Dying Savage.”[17] Much as one may have regretted the demise of the fine and tragic figure

of the Maori, his fate was accepted without question. As one author lyrically explained in 1884,

> It is a notable fact, which strikes the observer at once, that many of the old chiefs and elders of the various tribes, with their well-defined, tattooed features and splendid physique, have the stamp of the "noble savage" in all his manliness depicted in every line of their body; while many of them preserve that calm, dignified air characteristic of primitive races in all parts of the world before they begin to be improved off the face of the earth by raw rum and European progress. (Kerry-Nicholls 1974:12)

Equally revealing is this passage by W. P. Reeves: "The average colonist regards a Mongolian with repulsion, a Negro with contempt, and looks on an Australian black as very near to a wild beast; but he likes the Maoris, and is sorry that they are dying out" (Reeves 1956:57). Those who spoke out against this convenient popular notion were simply crying in the wilderness. One of the few voices raised against the seeming inevitability of "dark races" disappearing was J. E. Gorst's, who argued that it is not necessarily true that "wherever the brown and the white skins come into contact, the former must disappear" (Gorst 1959:7). Even some Maori had apparently come to accept what appeared to be their tragic fate. A Maori chief is said to have commented on the decline of his people in the following words: "the Maori is passing away like the Kiwi, the tui, and many other things . . ." (Kerry-Nicholls 1974:292).

Reischek is thus quite consistent with the perception of his time when he lumps together natural species and the Maori, often in the same breath. Several passages in *Sterbende Welt* either condemn or lament European civilization's disintegrating effect on both nature and indigenous cultures (1924:122). He writes: ". . . for wherever the European goes, nature dies" (ibid.:82). And he blames the Europeans for the disappearance of the Maori dog as much as for the imminent demise of the Maori themselves (ibid.:101).[18]

To what extent Reischek's views were formed under the immediate influence of Hochstetter, who expressed similar ideas in his classic tome *Neu-Seeland* (1863), is a matter of conjecture. Presumably, Reischek was familiar with Hochstetter's writings, as the latter was his mentor who had secured for him the New Zealand post. In preparing himself for his new position, Reischek would have looked to the foremost authoritative work on New Zealand for information, which was beyond

doubt *Neu-Seeland.* Hochstetter certainly was the unchallenged authority on matters concerning New Zealand, on natural history and geology as well as cultural and ethnographic matters. He could easily hold and defend this status not only because of his actual experience and scientific work in New Zealand, but also because he was the director of the prestigious Imperial Museum in Vienna.

Hochstetter's views reflect a whole spectrum ranging from gross ethnocentrism to romanticism, tempered with a somewhat condescending admiration for the Maori whom he knew quite well through his stay in New Zealand while making a geological survey for the government. To him the Maori was a "crude, but talented savage," though unfortunately smitten with the terrible stigma of being a cannibal (Hochstetter 1863:465). Apparently, Hochstetter, being a natural scientist, was heavily influenced by the doctrines of Darwinism, for he takes a dim view on the ability of the Maori to ennoble himself and to take his place in a civilized world—quite in contrast to Scherzer's optimism. In his mind, the Maori had been given a chance, by the philanthropic endeavors of the government and missionaries alike, to lift himself to the heights of civilization (ibid.:67f., 474ff.). But alas. "Highly endowed by nature with intellectual and physical powers, of quick temperament, full of fresh and frank self-assuredness and natural intellect, the Maori is fully aware of his progress to superior morality and culture; however, he is not capable of elevating himself to the full height of a Christian civilised life and it is this inbetweenness which destroys him" (ibid.:47f.). The Maori fails in trying to grasp the opportunity held out to him, to better himself. In the end fate is against him. Though it is difficult to understand what Hochstetter may have meant when he wrote that the Maori's inability to scale the same cultural heights as Europeans would prove to be the cause of his demise, it is clear that he is quite confident that the Maori is doomed to die, thrashing about as he may in his death throes. "The European world has spread its assuaging wings over the crude savages, but the civilised savage still fights; he fights now for the right and independence of his nationhood as the civilised people of Europe do" (ibid.:66f.). The violent spasms of war afflicting the country are the last flexing of muscles of a dying race (ibid.:493). And even though Hochstetter concedes justification for the Maori's resistance, he cannot help seeing the Maori kingdom only as a "childish game" of a failed and doomed people (ibid.:481). With considerable assuredness, he predicts that by the year 2000 there will be no Maori left (ibid.:467).

The starkly pessimistic views of the foremost Austrian authority pro-

vided the powerful ideological matrix on which Reischek's own views must have formed. In the case of disappearing species, science assumed the duty to preserve their images for posterity. The vanishing present, one thought, could be frozen for the benefit of future generations, in glass cabinets, between the pages of folio volumes, and in the form of dead and stuffed skins. Written texts, pictures, and bones would provide mankind with a lasting record of these unfortunate victims of evolution. Similarly, Maori culture, if not the Maori themselves, must die out, so it was believed, and should be preserved in museums at any cost —even, and this is the crux of the matter, if this had to be achieved in violation of Maori laws and beliefs. For these laws themselves are of no lasting relevance and subject to the relentless greater law of evolution. Because the Maori were by and large ignorant of their impending fate, it was left to science to assemble a neat record of their culture to be gazed at with wonder and admiration in the future. Accomplishing this task was considered by the scientist a responsibility larger than any obligation to honor the customs of the vanishing "savages." To ignore their protests and to override their quaint taboos was no more than an act of scientific duty.

Respect and admiration for the noble savage notwithstanding, little was done to help them survive. Love of nature and savages did not inspire any practical attempt to arrest the destructive processes. Nor did the regret over the disappearance of many fine species or races contain a moral question of guilt for the Europeans. For looming in the background, conveniently ubiquitous, was the belief in the inevitability of these annihilating forces as side effects of progressive evolution.

This harsh view of social Darwinism combined with the shattered fragments of the image of the noble savage form a background against which one may come to appreciate Reischek's seemingly contradictory views concerning the Maori, his regret as well as his apathy, his Rousseauan romanticism as well as his callous disregard. His attitudes, by their ambiguity, reveal something of the "anthropological" ethos of his time and society and show him as the fanatical would-be scientist that he was.

More than anything, Reischek's intensive search for skulls shows his scientism. The importance of the skull for scientific purposes was grossly overrated at that time. Broca's phrenological studies are probably the best-known example. Also, through comparative craniological studies it was thought a whole diachronic picture of mankind could be pieced together: its phylogenesis as well as ancient migrations could be reconstructed.[19] In comparison to this magnificent task, the severity of desecrating the burial places of "savages" paled to insignificance. Besides,

we must not forget that the scientific "skull cult" did not spare Europeans. Skeletal material was often collected for purely aesthetic or sentimental reasons, and the skull of many a famous musician or poet disappeared from the grave. Graveyards and bone houses were plundered for prize specimens. Sometimes rigor mortis had not yet set in before a corpse was dismembered, boiled, and the bones extracted. It is a chilling tale to read how the bodies of men of extraordinary height were snatched by scientists and their henchmen (see, e.g., Fiedler 1978: 111ff.). The *Novara* expedition too was eager to acquire bone material. In Sydney members of the expeditionary corps, led by an Aboriginal, tried to recover the fine skeleton of "chief" Tow Weiry or Ugly Tom, who had been interred recently. Much to their chagrin, they failed to find it (Scherzer 1861: vol. 3, 68f.). Even more ghoulish is the fate that befell the bodies of the last two Tasmanian aborigines, William Lanne and Truganini. When Lanne died in 1869, a surgeon surreptitiously extracted his skull, leaving facial and cranial skin intact, which he subsequently stuffed with a European skull. He also severed the corpse's hands and feet, which together with the skull he dispatched to London. Truganini, understandably horrified when she learned about the mutilation of her husband's body, had the authorities promise her a secret burial. This was done when she died some seven years later. However, two years after that, her skeleton was dug up from the grave and later exhibited in the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart, until in 1976, when owing to mounting Aboriginal protests it was ceremonially cremated and the ashes strewn over the sea. (See Ellis 1981.)

In addition to skeletal material, bodies, whether in desiccated, mummified, or otherwise preserved condition, also held enormous fascination for science. Museums and curio cabinets alike were crammed with preserved bodies and parts that seemed interesting or spectacular enough to keep for posterity (e.g., people of exotic race, pathological cases, and rarities). In Vienna, still in the early nineteenth century, a girl suffering from ichthyosis and two negroes, who had been treated with affection while alive (the negroes had held respected positions at court), once dead were skinned and their hides were moulded over wooden frames by artists to produce life-like figures (Portele 1958). Not even members of the aristocracy were exempt from this hunt after the spectacular, as exhibits in the Vienna Anatomical Museum testify.[20]

It is not alway possible to separate neatly the scientific endeavor of this time from curio collecting and the sensationalism of public displays. A case in point is the traveling display of the famous Captain Hadlock, an explorer of the Canadian arctic and subarctic wastelands. He had brought together an exhibition of ethnographic material of the region.

The highlight of the display was a pair of live Eskimos, a man and a woman (their child had died on the journey) and their husky, who performed all kinds of activities for the benefit of the spectators. Also part of the display were ethnographic objects from New Zealand, obviously considered the appropriate counterpart to the arctic collection. "Among the objects of the southern polar region" was the well-preserved head of a Maori chief from "Coradica" (Kororareka). This was the head of one "Rungatida (Rangatira) Amas" who had been "one of the strongest and handsomest men of the country" (Fitzinger 1825). His seems to have been an exceptionally sad story. He had come to England with one "Captain Dicksen" on a whaler in order to acquire firearms. When his money ran out he joined Captain Hadlock's show. However, soon after, he died in Leeds on 20 April 1824 at the age of twenty-two. Captain Hadlock had his head preserved and mounted on an artificial torso to let people see the famous cannibal. Significantly, when this exhibition reached Vienna in 1825, it was reviewed in a journal devoted to theater and entertainment for friends of the arts, literature, and social life (Fitzinger 1825). This is in keeping with the tastes at that time, which freely mixed education and amusement so that both were so inseparably intertwined as to be indistinguishable. The higher social circles, those who could afford it, seemed to relish a combination of facile education and more sophisticated forms of entertainment.

Reischek's fate and deeds, his approach to the Maori, give us a deep insight into the early days of anthropology in the Pacific. This is not to deny the role personal ambition and lust for fame may have played, but to label Reischek simply a "scholar-pirate" (to use an expression coined by Hudson 1981:70) looting a colony for his own profit is an oversimplification. More than anything else, it is the ideological background of his time and society that explains not just Reischek's behavior but in general the sinuous, often ambiguous and contradictory approach brought to bear on the peoples of the Pacific by ethnographers. Vacillating as they were between what they saw as their scientific duty, and their humanistic goodwill and romantic love for "exotic" peoples, some nonetheless felt compelled to give far greater weight to "duty," thus contributing to the moral liability under which modern anthropology still labors.

## NOTES

This is an expanded version of a paper given at the NZASA conference in Wellington, August 1984. It is based mainly on research conducted in Vienna while on leave from Otago University in 1983, and also on library studies in New Zealand supported by an

Otago research grant in 1984. My thanks go to Professor H. Manndorff, director of the Ethnological Museum in Vienna (Völkerkundemuseum Wien) where Reischek's collection is housed; to Drs. F. Baltzarek, C. Feest, I. Moschner, H. Peter, and K. Portele; and to Mr. G. Reischek, grandson of the explorer. I am indebted to Dr. R. B. Harlow for his translation of the Maori letters in the possession of Mr. G. Reischek. I must also thank three anonymous critics who led me to hone portions of the paper and who drew my attention to two relevant publications.

1. See, for instance, the review of King's book by E. A. Aubin, whose grandfather had known Reischek, in the *Otago Daily Times,* 11 Nov. 1981, p. 25; and the *New Zealand Listener,* 2 Jan. 1982, p. 50.

2. Not everyone though seems to be convinced that Reischek vandalized New Zealand's fauna. In a letter to the editor (*Christchurch Press,* 14 Dec. 1970), a George M. Moir, obviously a keen collector of Reischekiana, had this to say about Reischek: "At the beginning of 'Yesterdays,' Chap. xiv, is a paragraph from an address given by Reischek to the Auckland Institute in the 1880's. This shows him to have been a pioneer conservationist" (Reischek, Letters [Hocken]). One should also bear in mind that Reischek did not hunt and collect solely for his own collection. He did so also for the Canterbury and Auckland museums and obviously with the approval of both directors (see Haast, Cheeseman, and A. Reischek Letterbooks). That Reischek was not collecting clandestinely is very obvious from his letters and public addresses. On at least one occasion, in 1880, when making a collecting trip for Tuataras, Reischek was accompanied by Professors Parker and Thomas, two leading New Zealand naturalists, who thus became privy to Reischek's activities. Collecting rare specimens of interest to natural historians was apparently not uncommon, as shown by an advertisement in *The Maori Messenger (Ko te Karere Maori)* no. 42, vol. 2 of 1 Aug. 1850, which invited "any native" to bring such items as Kiwis, Kiwi eggs, and rare shells to a Mr. Johnson in Auckland for purchase. Private individuals and scientists in New Zealand apparently also received specimens from Reischek. (See, e.g., letter from Reischek to Prof. T. J. Parker, dated Auckland, 27 Oct. 1886, Reischek, Letters [Hocken]; also Reischek to Haast, Auckland, Nov. 1883, Haast Letterbooks.) That Reischek did not condone hunting for avarice becomes clear through a passage in his little booklet on his dog Caesar. There Reischek condemns quite categorically a man he had heard of, who had killed birds by the hundreds and marketed their carcasses and then moved on to another district to continue his enterprise. Reischek maintained he would condone shooting birds only for "scientific purposes or true sport, or even as subsistence for a hungry man" (1889:56). His reference to science as a justification for behavior considered quite outrageous today is characteristic and significant in the light of what shall be said later.

3. For a precis of Reischek's ornithological work and his papers, see Westerskov 1980.

4. This was not long after the Maori-Pakeha wars. In 1881 the official laying down of arms by King Tawhiao had signaled the end of openly hostile acts (see Gibson 1974:249), but discontent was still smoldering.

"King country" is a well known politico-geographic concept in New Zealand. It refers to an area, located roughly in west-central North Island, that was under the jurisdiction of the Maori kings in the nineteenth century. The actual boundaries claimed by the King movement have fluctuated.

5. Reischek, Letters (Linz). The letter is also reproduced in Reischek 1930:165. This letter also gives Reischek permission to shoot birds in the King country, which is significant in the light of later accusations against him. The letter shows that Reischek had enough

respect for the authority of the Maori kingdom to ask permission, and it does not sit well with the picture of Reischek ruthlessly decimating the indigenous fauna.

6. He Poroporoaki whakamaumahara ki tona hoa aroha kia A Reischek
naumai haere ki tou Kingitanga ki tou iwi ki tou Whenua kia ora koe i te ora roa kia nuku atu ou tau i te Ao kia taka mai nga ra maha mou ma te Atua nui o te rangi koe e tiaki Paimarire
E hari ana ahau mo tou taenga mai ki nga takiwa o te Kingi haere ai e hari ana ahau mou kia hoki paimarire atu koe i raro i te mana o Kingi Tawhiao paimarire
haere ra i runga a te rangimarire ki tou iwi tena ra koe e hoa tena koe
Na Honana Maioha
Reta ki tona hoa aroha

7. Kia Raiheke
Tenara koe kua tae Mai tau Reta Mihi Mai Kiau Me tau Pene aroha i tuku Mainei kiau Ehoa tena ra koe Kua Mea nei kite Hoki atu Kitou Kainga Ae Ehoa e whaka Pai ana ane *[sic]* hoki a Hau Ki tau Kupu i Mea nei Koe Katae Mai ano Koe Kia Kite iau imua otou haerenga atu Kitou Kainga Ae epai ana Te Haere Mai kia Kite iau Kahoki Atu ai Koe Ki tou Kainga, heoi nga kupu he Waiata aroha te nei naku kia koe Tera koia te ao Haere Matariaki Mai teripa raro Kia ringia kote roimata Kia runa Ko taku Tinana whaka pa Rawaiho Kira rora Keite ngaru Kahorao Te Awa Kei tahu ete Rau Kamauru terangi Manako atu Kite Tau whaka orua Ana tearoha note Tane ite ahiahi Kati Koia ete Wairua te Kaiwhaka toro Mai tepo kia oho rawa ake kite ao koau anake Teehuri nei Kei wha Kapau noa te Manawa mate Wini raro eho Mai Koe Mate Tonga Hau e puhipuhi atu Tauarai tia Kitawhiti
Kotoku aroha tenei Kia Koe
Naku Na Kingi Tawhiao

8. There is a slight difference in the number of objects given in Reischek's bibliography and Moschner's catalogue (1958), the result, it seems, of whether objects of a similar nature are counted together or separately.

9. Tables of salaries supplied by the Institut fuer Wirtschaftswissenschaften, University of Vienna, give the following yearly figures: the prime minister (1895), 12,000 fl.; minister, 10,000 fl.; a university professor (1898), 3,200 fl. (plus increments after five years).

10. In a review of King's book, M. E. Hoare (1982:81) states, somewhat surprisingly, that "King attempts . . . a study of the Austrian scientific and social milieux"; and then goes on to say that King's "sources are meagre." Inadvertently, Hoare points to the crux of the matter: the absence of a thorough analysis of Reischek's time and society and the lack of an attempt to place Reischek and his activities within the proper social and ideological context. This is intrinsically the reason why King can paint the image of a picture-book villain. A different treatment, one that included an analysis of the scientific ethos at that time, in Europe in general and in Austria in particular, would have brought different results. King's investigation seems to have suffered from the language barrier, so that a good deal of the subject matter, the Austrian background of the story, seems to have remained very much terra incognita to him, not just in a linguistic but also in a cultural and historical sense.

11. On the King movement and HauHau/Pai Marire see, for example, Elsmore 1985 and Clark 1975.

12. *Sterbende Welt* of 1924 refers to Te Ua as Te Na, the result, it seems, of misreading Reischek's handwriting, which is for the greatest part in the old-fashioned Gothic script where U and N are almost identical.

13. For a description of the Parihaka movement, see Scott 1975.

14. Captain Cook seems to have started this practice by taking back to England a man from the Society Islands (see McCormick 1977). Sometimes such passengers were acquired through persuasion and inducement, sometimes through kidnapping—as in the case of the hapless Doubtless Bay chief Ranginui, whose hospitality to Captain Jean de Surville was repaid by his forcible abduction (see Dunmore 1969).

15. There are several diverse spellings. For instance, in Reischek's *Sterbende Welt* they are Wireama Toitoi and Hemera te Rerehau.

16. Ka mihi ahau ki a koe e te Emepa o a Tiria, Tenakoe, Tenakoe i te whenua tawhiti Na te Atua koe i Tiaki i roto i nga tau maha, me ahau hoki, Ki a ora tonu koe ake ake amene, meau hoki, i tuhituhi ano ahau ki a koe ingatau maha kaore Pea e tae atu kia koe Tena koe E hoa aroha, Me tuku mai e koe e te hi reta kia maramai ahau Ku a tae mai te reta ate Hokiteta kiau me te ahua hoki, Kua Kite ahau i a Raiheka Reischek i noho ki au i ho atu e au nga mea ate maori ki aia heoi ano
Me hoki mai a Raiheka he i hoa moku ki konei hia hia ahau i te tehi taima ki te haere atu Toko toru aku tamariki kei akoe e te Emepara kitetehi moni maku.

17. Howe (1977:140) argues that "the notion that Pacific islanders were headed for extinction long predated evolutionary theories of Darwin and others in the second half of the nineteenth century." Sorrenson (1979:73) similarly maintains that the "evolutionary doctrine was applied to New Zealand even before the publication of the Origin of Species in 1859." This is so, as Spencer's social Darwinism predates Darwin's; and in any case social Darwinism did not invent these notions, but forged them into a scientific system. This system could then begin its useful service of placating the European conscience, since actual events seemed no more than to bear out scientific predictions.

18. The title of Reischek's *Sterbende Welt* (Dying World) reflects this notion very clearly: it imparts the connotation of impending doom to what is described in the book. This pessimism proved to be very tenacious; some scientists continued to subscribe to it well into the 1930s, as for instance Malinowski. (See, e.g., Howe 1977:142.)

19. The origin of the Maori provoked a great deal of speculation. A Semitic or Jewish connection was hypothesized and even an Aryan origin ascribed to them (see Sorrenson 1979:14f.). Even today such theories in various guises crop up from time to time in anthropological and quasi-anthropological circles.

20. An illuminating example is given in the entertaining first chapter of Carl Sagan's "Broca's Brain" (1974), which describes his visit to the dungeon-like, cavernous magazines of the Musée de l'Homme, crammed with such prized specimens as the severed heads of New Caledonians and the formalin-preserved brain of Broca himself.

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## EDITOR'S FORUM

# HUBERT MURRAY AND THE HISTORIANS

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In the past thirty years Pacific islands historiography has undergone great change. Especially influential was the establishment by Professor Jim Davidson at the Australian National University of a new school of interpretation of Pacific history from the viewpoint of the islanders rather than their colonial overlords.[1] This new emphasis on Pacific islanders was enhanced in the 1960s by increased respect for indigenous cultures in the wider world. In the following decade the emergence of dependency theories of underdevelopment, followed by Marxist reinterpretations, reinforced negative views of colonial empires. And more recently Pacific islanders themselves have started to write about their own history.

One way of assessing these historiographical developments is to examine their influence on the reputation of a colonial overlord in the Pacific who in his own time was regarded as a model of enlightened rule over his island subjects. This article surveys the historiographical career of Hubert Murray, governor for thirty-two years of the Australian colony of Papua, who ended his long regime in 1940 widely acclaimed as one of the world's great colonial governors, Indeed, this reputation was to survive with remarkable resilience during the next three decades.

An eminent Australian jurist, H. G. Nicholas, set the initial historical interpretative scene when after Murray's death he wrote: "Murray

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made Papua a shining example of the British doctrine of trusteeship and set a standard in the treatment of native races that has been acknowledged to be the highest throughout the British Colonial Service and by the Commissions of the League of Nations."[2] This high estimate was reinforced in 1943 by Murray's most eulogistic supporter, Lewis Lett, a former official in Murray's administration. In his book, *The Papuan Achievement* (reprinted twice in the next two years by its publisher, the Melbourne University Press), Lett claimed that Murray's Papua was a model for the whole colonial world. Moreover, while noted anthropologist Ian Hogbin criticized Lett's lack of any comparative colonial analysis, he agreed that Murray was "a man of genius," who despite very limited financial resources did a marvelous job pacifying the colony and providing services, albeit rudimentary, for its native inhabitants.[3]

Lett continued his purple prose about Murray in a 1949 biography.[4] A critic, J. T. Bensted, former director of public works in Papua, disputed Lett's claim that Murray's policies were unique and consistent. Nevertheless, Bensted praised Murray's administration for its "long-range plan of indirect rule applied with common sense," which by steering "a middle course" between exploitation and isolation of Papuans proved the means of their ultimate salvation in the face of European intrusion.[5]

Only one major discordant note was struck in this early litany of praise for Murray: the publication in 1948 of Lucy Mair's *Australia in New Guinea.* In the book's introduction Lord Hailey, a former member of the League of Nations Mandates Commission, described Murray's governance as amounting "to no more than a well-regulated and benevolent type of police rule," though he admitted that Australian government miserliness in funding Papua perhaps made little else possible.[6] And Mair, a British expert on colonial affairs who was then teaching Australian cadets destined for service in Papua New Guinea, foreshadowed stronger criticisms. She acknowledged Murray's devotion to Papuans, marked by his willingness to go anywhere to meet with them. And she commended his removal of violence from pacification. But she also emphasized his paternalistic conviction that Papuans should be coerced into following his policies for their own good and his satisfaction that Papua had nothing to learn from the outside colonial world. So, while "Papua was in many ways an example of enlightened rule" until World War I, subsequent advances in colonial policies in other regions left Murray's colony behind.[7]

An Australian historian, John Legge, also brought Lett's high-flying image of Murray closer to earth in a 1956 study, *Australian Colonial Policy*. Relying mainly on printed sources he demonstrated that Lett

was wrong about the uniqueness of Murray's policies, pointing out how his predecessor, Sir William MacGregor, had established their essential features. Murray, he claimed, was a "benevolent autocrat." However, he acknowledged that Murray had placed great emphasis on protecting the native population, and that he had justly earned the high reputation gained during his lifetime. The manifest shortcomings of his administration's provision of education, health, and other services for Papuans lay outside his control because of lack of finances.[8]

Thus by the end of the 1950s, though the most exaggerated features of Murray's reputation had suffered destructive blows, much of it remained intact with academic blessing, But in the next decade a new generation of scholars, uninfluenced by association with the great man and more willing to see Papuan history from an indigenous viewpoint, was emerging to place Murray in a different perspective. Significantly, this new research began at the Australian National University, where Jim Davidson, appointed in 1950 as the first Professor of Pacific History, was establishing his new school.

Allan Healy, a Ph.D. scholar in Davidson's department, broke the first significant new ground in Murray historiography in his 1962 thesis on native administration and local government in Papua. In this work and in subsequent articles, Healy, while acknowledging that Murray was a humane man who abhorred violence, accused him of abandoning MacGregor's attempts to set up genuine indirect rule on a consultative basis. Murray had done this by ignoring customary law, by opposing the establishment of native courts, and by imposing on Papuans a coercive police system.[9] Consequently, and without realizing it, Murray "placed Papuan administration in a strait-jacket, because he was totally dedicated to European attitudes and values, and he was determined that Papuans would exercise no authority until they 'advanced' according to European notions. This meant that Papuans did virtually nothing for themselves; [and] towards the end of his life Murray seemed to doubt that they ever would." Murray's conviction that Papua was unique meant that he learned nothing from contemporary British colonial administrations. In fact, before Murray commenced his rule, colonial authorities in India and Africa were consulting with local people and providing higher education for some of their leaders. Consequently, Papuans were ill-prepared for the system of local native government that the Australian government was belatedly attempting to introduce when Healy visited Papua New Guinea in 1960. Therefore, said Healy, Murray "hardly deserves his acclamation as a great pro-consul: it is hard to point to any significant administrative innovation for which he

was responsible. He carried on and extended methods that were already anachronistic."[10]

Murray, however, already had a new champion ready to parry the sharp blows that Mair, Legge, and Healy had aimed at his reputation. Francis West, English medievalist turned Pacific historian, was laboring at the Australian National University (although not one of Davidson's disciples) at what he hoped would be the definitive biography of Murray. He had outlined his defense in 1962 in an Oxford University Press "Great Australians" booklet, proclaiming that Murray ranked "with the ablest British colonial governors, like Sir Arthur Gordon or Lord Lugard." And he dismissed Mair's and Legge's criticisms of Murray's ignorance of advances in colonial policies elsewhere and his autocratic rule, labeling them "hindsight." West argued that the inevitability of independence and indigenous economic development only became urgent after World War II and was not "part of the atmosphere in which Murray lived and worked." Given the immense task involved in merely pacifying the colony's largely mountainous and impenetrable terrain and his slender financial resources, Murray was right in considering that his main task was the initial colonial one of establishing law, order, and equality of justice.[11]

West put the full weight of his scholarship, which included an analysis of previously unconsulted Murray family letters and Australian archival records, into his biography, which was finally published in 1968. While revealing some warts on the great man, such as his capricious emphasis on courage and endurance in his choice of subordinates, he dismissed Healy's condemnation as unhistorical because, like the Whig interpreters of British constitutional history, he had compared the past with the present. Nor, West insisted, should Murray be blamed for his successors' failures to implement needed reforms. By a detailed comparison with Gordon of Fiji, Lugard of Nigeria, and Donald Cameron of Tanganyika, West reconstructed Murray's pedestal nearly as high as the one his deathbed eulogists had erected.[12]

But West had built on the shifting sands of historical interpretation. Within a year of completing his imposing Murray edifice, the first cracks began to appear. Though the book received many favorable reviews, Healy rejected West's defense that Murray should be judged only by the standards of his time. Healy pointed out that West had failed to see how in the 1920s and 1930s Murray's failure to develop "a more advanced system of native administration" compared very unfavorably with British African colonies such as the Gold Coast.[13] West's biography was also savagely attacked in the review columns of the

newly constructed flagship of the Davidson school, the *Journal of pacific History*. Murray Groves, son of one of Hubert Murray's more enlightened New Guinea contemporaries, not only suggested unkindly that Lett had written a much more lively portrait of Murray, but also condemned the book as revealing little that was new. Moreover, Groves agreed with Healy that West had ignored the fact that the essentials of Murray's native policies had been established by MacGregor and that they "lagged badly behind the more advanced British administrations of Africa and Asia." Therefore, "his regime was not notably enlightened or progressive in its own time."[14]

In the same year the image of one of the great governors with whom West had compared Murray was savagely destroyed. I. F. Nicolson's penetrating book, *The Administration of Nigeria,* revealed Lord Lugard as having masterfully concealed feet of dirty clay. Lugard's greatest success, wrote Nicolson, was "a propaganda campaign directed to the creation and manipulation of his own fame as an administrator, and of the myth of the superiority of his territory, and his methods over all others." In reality he was a militaristic autocrat who paid little attention to economic development or social welfare in northern Nigeria.[15]

Lugard's dethronement raised the question whether Murray had also inflated his reputation by the clever propaganda of his numerous publications. Allan Healy gleefully said "yes" when he turned the tables on West by comparing Murray with Lugard in this capacity in a general article in *Meanjin,* which was a refiring of his earlier broadsides against Papua's governor.[16]

Papua New Guinea's most productive historian, Hank Nelson, also raised the question of the gaps between Murray's professed policies and their application. In a review article on West's 1970 publication of some of Murray's letters, Nelson showed, for example, how Murray's advocacy in 1921 of Papuan representation on the all-white Legislative Council was not acted upon for the next nineteen years. He suggested, without spelling out details, that there were similar gaps in "Murray's education policy, the application of western law to Papua, the indentured labour system, the Native Regulations, [and] the encouragement of economic development of Papuans," though he acknowledged that under Murray's administration "few Papuans were shot in punitive raids or were whipped by labour supervisors or lost their lands."[17]

Murray was also coming under fire from historians researching specific aspects of his policies at the University of Papua New Guinea, which had been established in 1968 and where new attempts to look at Papuan history from the viewpoint of indigenous people were being

made. Donald J. Dickson concluded from his examination of government, missions, and education that Murray's view of the educational advancement of Papuans

> was circumscribed . . . by a belief in the limits to the innate intellectual capacity of Papuans; by the relegation of a thorough intellectual education to third place behind agricultural and technical education; and by an overall deadening paternalism. He was willing to depend upon a cash-impoverished people to finance his whole native administration. He allowed an excessive encroachment of benefits—worthy though most of them were—into a system of expenditure designed primarily to serve education. He tolerated a demonstrably poor system of per capita grants in full knowledge of a better one. Above all other weaknesses, Murray failed to realise that his educational system was creating social change, and . . . had itself to develop, both to accommodate and to further this social change.[18]

However, Dickson blamed as well the Australian government, the missions, and the white community for limiting Papuan educational opportunities.[19] Another article by Hank Nelson provided an example of educational restrictions imposed by the white community, which numerically equaled only 0.5 percent of the estimated 275,000 Papuans in 1935. He showed how expatriate prejudice contributed to the cessation of an enlightened program in the 1930s for educating Papuan medical assistants in Sydney. Murray did nothing to stop the program from foundering.[20]

Murray's willingness to bow to white community pressure was revealed most dramatically in Amirah Inglis's *Not a White Woman Safe,* which exposed a dark aspect of Murray's regime ignored by West. Initially in 1925 Murray resisted the hysterical demand of the approximately four hundred-strong European community in Port Moresby for the death penalty for attempted rape of any white woman because the danger of attack did not seem very great. However, he soon succumbed to the pressure and imposed on Papua a sexual-attack ordinance that was harsher than anything in the British empire and that only protected white, not Papuan, women. Furthermore, Inglis placed this ordinance in the wider context of discrimination against Papuans in Port Moresby before and after the White Women's Protection Ordinance. The whole range of increasingly discriminatory legislation highlighted Murray's belief in Papuan inferiority and white supremacy. His growing sympathy for European residents was revealed by additional barriers erected

in the 1930s against Papuan freedom in Port Moresby, such as the right of police to search Papuan homes without a warrant. Inglis concluded that Murray's readiness to discriminate against urban Papuans arose not only from white community pressure but also from assumptions he shared with white residents about "black sexuality and inferiority and about the importance of white prestige in a colonial situation." Consequently, "he added to the burden of inferiority which the colonial administration had placed on Papuans."[21]

Caroline Ralston, a Pacific historian, considered *Not a White Woman Safe* a death-dealing blow to Murray's sagging reputation.[22] But was she right?

A subsequent well-researched thesis, which compared Australian rule in Papua and the Territory of New Guinea in the 1930s, provided an ambivalent answer. Writing from a point of view empathetic to Papua New Guineans, Mary Togolo, Australian-born wife of a Bougainvillian public servant, concluded that compared with the New Guinea territory Murray controlled "a generally humane administration. It really protected 'native' land rights and made sure that there were plenty of opportunities for them to develop their own resources."[23] Most of the restrictions imposed on their freedom were intended to protect Papuans from the effects of the white man's presence in their country. However, she added, Murray's policies such as the White Women's Protection Ordinance were also intended to teach Papuans that they could not expect to behave like white men. Here protection was imposed at the expense of Papuans' dignity and self-respect. For example, Murray's restriction of advanced educational opportunities to training in technical skills allowed them to become good mechanics and carpenters but not to challenge Europeans in other fields. Thus Papuans were ill-prepared to look after their own future, a situation demonstrated, Togolo believed, by their greater dependence on modern-day government institutions than their New Guinea compatriots.[24] So Murray's administration both protected natives from harmful European influences and prevented them from achieving an ability to protect themselves.

Another balanced view of Murray's rule was presented in Anthony Power's thesis on economic development in New Guinea. He emphasized the early Australian drive to make Papua an economically productive colony in which Papuans were to play a subservient role. But while Murray initially supported this policy, by the 1920s he was a greater promoter of Papuan development, encouraging local production and the use of Papuan tax money for education. This approach represented a greater use of revenue for indigenous development than ever before.

And "for many years more money was spent on promotion of native agriculture" than on fostering European plantations. On the other hand, Power stressed that Murray's efforts to compel indigenous production resulted in little more economic benefit for Papuans than a means of paying their taxes. And transfer of technological knowledge to them, especially in the copra industry, was very low. Indeed, negative reactions to Murray's coercion hindered post-World War II attempts to promote cash cropping in Papua.[25]

Power's criticisms, however, were only partially supported by Michelle Stephen in her thesis on the Mekeo region. There people had to be forced to grow copra and rice, and while they did not rebel against the policy, and in fact recognized the government's right to compel them to raise cash crops to pay taxes, they resented the failure of Murray's administration to do much for them in return. Nevertheless, the postwar failure of the Mekeo rice scheme was not a by-product of Murray's coercion. It was the result of the postwar administration's failure to provide necessary transport and marketing facilities. Moreover, the collapse of the rice scheme did not hinder Mekeo people "from experimenting with cash cropping and business ventures on their own."[26]

A handful of books on aspects of Papua New Guinea history published in the mid-1970s tended to support the emerging view of Murray as a racist, paternalistic authoritarian who nevertheless tried to protect Papuans and promote their welfare. In his survey of the history of race relations Edward Wolfers echoed the complaints about Murray's excessive paternalism that deprived Papuans of training in Western-style institutions, cataloging a long list of petty regulations restricting their freedom. But Wolfers also noted:

> several of the least attractive items in his administrative record were enacted during his periodic absences from Papua, while the Australian government, some of his subordinate officers, and the territory's expatriate population managed to block—politically, administratively, and/or economically—some of his most forward-looking proposals, for example, that Papuans be seated in the Legislative Council.[27]

Nigel Oram, in his history of Port Moresby, made an important comparative point about the harmful effects of Murray's segregationist policies. He wrote: "Papuans were treated as inferior to whites in many and often humiliating ways. Unlike people such as the Ganda of Uganda or the Hausa-Fulani of Northern Nigeria, they did not possess a proud, ancient cultural heritage which would support their dignity in the face

of Europeans."[28] Oram also criticized West for defending Murray's failure to establish genuine indirect rule on the grounds that there were no tribal chiefs in traditional Papuan society. Murray, wrote Oram, "overlooked an important aspect of British policy: the setting up in stateless societies of such institutions as indigenous executive officers, councils with specific responsibilities, native courts and native treasuries." Nevertheless, Murray's highly paternalistic direct rule "was also benign. Many of the resident magistrates were able and had a good understanding of Papuan society. And any Papuan could bring his complaints and problems to Murray personally."[29]

The two faces of Murray's paternalism were shown from another perspective in David Wetherell's history of the Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea. He noted how missionaries became Murray's strong supporters, rejoicing in the way he protected Papuans from the evils of white society. But Wetherell also described how "during the time that a legend of a beloved governor was developing in Papua, another more critical theme was brooding in private missionary writings and conversations." This, he explained, was disquiet at a number of court cases in which it was believed there had been miscarriages of justice or unduly severe sentences imposed on Papuans. And one missionary, Robert Jones, privately recorded in 1941 that though Murray's government had many good points, it had been unprogressive and shortsighted.[30]

Tony Austin, however, in his study of technical education in Papua, said that Murray should not be placed completely in an unprogressive straitjacket. While agreeing with many of Donald Dickson's criticisms, Austin concluded that Murray was not as rigid as Dickson had suggested about technical training: "The closest education system—geographically—was that in Australia. Murray's emphasis on expensive practical training did not reflect the academic system of schooling there. To that extent he was somewhat independent in his thinking. Indeed, the development of education in Papua during Murray's administration was less akin to the Australian systems than it was after the war." He added that in this respect Papua was also in advance of the Territory of New Guinea. And, delivering a blow at the critics who had accused Murray of ignoring colonial experience elsewhere, Austin pointed out that Murray did take note of education in colonies in Asia and Africa "where the tendency was to move away from the academic to the practical." Austin also claimed that Murray was influenced by F. E. Williams, the government anthropologist who served Murray for the last twenty years of his administration.[31]

But a thesis written at the same time as Austin's study denied that

Williams had any significant influence on Murray's educational or other policies. In her extensively researched analysis of Williams's career, Diedre Griffiths demonstrated that Murray often "cited Williams's authority when it suited his publicity requirements, but only in support of views he already held." Indeed, Griffiths' thesis strongly supports Healy's contention that Murray was engaged in a Lugard-style propaganda exercise, though she gave as a major reason his constant fear that the Australian government would dismiss or retire him. The most important reason for his appointment of a government anthropologist was to demonstrate his enlightened colonial policy, promoting in the process the fiction that he was the first colonial governor to do so. And though Murray claimed that he sought anthropological guidance for his native policies, Williams found that the constant stream of advice he sent Murray was generally unwelcome. "Sometimes, however, almost as though Murray had rediscovered a discarded toy, . . . [he] would devise a 'problem' for Williams to solve or a task to perform. Having done so, Murray usually gave great publicity to the result and particularly to the part he played in procuring it." Yet these were usually purely academic projects not expected to influence administration. In fact, Griffiths argued that Williams's lack of influence on Murray contradicted West's claim that Murray had the capacity to receive new ideas and assess them. The one benefit Murray provided Williams that was denied his anthropologist colleague Ernest Chinnery in the New Guinea territory was uncensored permission to publish what Williams wanted as long as it was prefaced with a rider that his views were not necessarily those of the Papuan government. But Griffiths suggested that Williams would have gladly traded this freedom for Chinnery's greater influence on the New Guinea administration.[32]

This is one of the rare cases where comparison with the New Guinea mandate discredits Murray. More common are findings such as Hank Nelson's, in one of his many Papua New Guinea articles, showing that when it came to capital punishment of natives the mandate used it far more often than Murray's Papua—a fact reflecting the more violent treatment of indigenous people in that territory. And Nelson also pointed out that Murray "was pressed to take harsher measures than he otherwise would have supported to prevent the white community from taking even more savage reprisals."[33] In another article on Papuans and New Guineans as laborers, Nelson made the comparative point that Papuans received higher wages, worked fewer hours, and were treated less brutally.[34]

There was, however, a limit to Murray's labor-protection policies. In

a recent article anthropologist Michael Young revealed that Murray's administration failed to respond in 1911-1912 to a Methodist mission call for a ten-year ban on recruiting in the D'Entrecasteaux island group because of a serious decline in the population there. Young concluded:

> Clearly, notwithstanding its impressive native labour legislation, the Administration had no considered policy on the matter, and there was probably no period at which government officers could easily countenance demands to close recruiting in this area—even for a single year let alone the 10 years the mission wanted. If there is any truth in the estimate that the D'Entrecasteaux supplied about a quarter of the Territory's total labour needs at this time, then it would have been death to the commercial interests of many traders and political suicide for Governor Murray himself, who was already under attack for his over-protective policies.[35]

Indeed, a recent band of authors have claimed that all Murray's policies were at base economically motivated. Dependency theorists, who established a new orthodoxy within the University of Papua New Guinea in the 1970s, needed to tackle Murray head-on in order to demonstrate the contribution of colonial capitalism to Papua New Guinea's underdevelopment. This new attack was launched in 1979 by Azeem Amarshi, lecturer in economics, and Rex Mortimer, former politics professor at that university. In *Development and Dependency,* coauthored with Kenneth Good, they pointed out that Murray started his Papua career as a strong supporter of European enterprise. However, because of the weakness of Australian capitalism and consequent lack of investment in the colony, Murray turned in the 1920s to promoting Papuan cash cropping in order to create, in Mortimer's view, "some kind of peasant development" as the best form of economic exploitation. Labor protection policies were initially to preserve labor for European plantations and then to protect Papuan production, Poor provision of education and other resources helped keep Papuans in their subservient place.[36]

*Development and Dependency* included much generalization from few sources and some inconsistency. A more detailed and sophisticated presentation of the economic exploitation case was Peter Fitzpatrick's 1980 Marxist analysis, *Law and State in Papua New Guinea.* The author, a former lecturer in law at the University of Papua New Guinea, did not see the operation of capitalism in Papua New Guinea as an overpowering force. As in other colonies where it was not strong

enough to transform traditional social forms, the capitalist state sought an accommodation with the preexisting mode of production. This can be seen in Murray's promotion of Papuan agriculture. He preserved the traditional mode by protectionist land laws and rigorous enforcement of repatriation of laborers. But greater enforcement of breaches of labor laws by Papuans than by whites indicated the continued use of the traditional mode to support European development. Moreover, encouragement of cash cropping was limited to little more than provision of revenue for the state so as not to disrupt traditional society. And a whole battery of petty apartheid laws were enacted to keep Papuans in subservient roles and prevent them from taking action outside the traditional production mode, thus forestalling any organized Papuan challenge to the colonial state. Hence the emphasis on restricting urban Papuans as exemplified by the White Women's Protection Ordinance, which Fitzpatrick described as "an appropriate affirmation of continuing colonial domination."[37]

The economic exploitation interpretation of Murray's policies is not easy to refute. Like clever politicians, Marxists and dependency theorists have ready answers for counterarguments. Thus in a recent article Michael Hess of the University of New South Wales dismissed the evidence that Murray aroused strong opposition to his pro-native policies from local planters, miners, and traders by contending that he set long-term goals to gradually develop the usefulness of Papuan labor, which naturally provoked conflict with expatriates in search of quick profits. Hess pointed to the policy of withholding a part of an indentured laborer's wages—an arrangement that cut across the planters' wish to profit from trading with their workers—so that laborers would return to their villages with trade goods that would encourage others to enter the indentured workforce.[38] There is also a reply to comparative arguments about differences in native policies. For example, Judith Bennett revealed Resident Commissioner C. M. Woodford in the neighboring Solomon Islands to be turning a much blinder eye than Murray to brutal treatment of labor in the cause of speedy economic development.[39] Economic theorists respond that Murray had a more perceptive long-term view of the need to conserve labor for the future, a reason he specifically used in justifying his labor-protection policies. Murray's strong dislike of large capitalist trading companies in his colony, especially Burns Philp, can also be explained. Ken Buckley and Kris Klugman, in the second volume of their history of Burns Philp, have shown Murray's hostility extending in 1933 as far as recommending the consignment of government cargo to the rival German Norddeutscher shipping line.[40]

But Amarshi pointed out that there was a natural conflict of economic interests between the development of Papua and Burns Philp profits and that Australia's own neocolonial economy generated trade protectionist policies that limited the capitalistic development of Papua.[41]

In one sense the economic argument depends on a belief in economic exploitation as a concomitant of colonial rule. However, Fitzpatrick, not wanting his readers to consider his case as mere ideological assertion, claimed that it rested on empirical observation. Here he does have a problem because the bulk of his own primary evidence comes from the New Guinea territory and the postwar period rather than from Murray's Papua, and from selective quoting of Murray's own words. In the latter context Fitzpatrick and other supporters of the economic interpretation have conveniently ignored Murray's frequently, if privately, expressed anticapitalist opinions. For example, in 1923 in a letter to his brother, Gilbert, he condemned the very policy that Fitzpatrick accused him of pursuing. Murray wrote that "the great danger" faced by the natives of Papua and New Guinea was "a benevolent capitalism . . . which comes disguised as the friend of the natives—that insists upon their proper treatment and may even pay good wages—but nevertheless uses them only as tools to make money with, and never contemplates their ever rising to anything beyond the servant of the white man."[42] The economic hypothesis may be hard to refute, but it is yet to be adequately demonstrated. Indeed, another Marxist historian has recently conceded that the experience of pre-World War II Papua "can be summed up as colonialism without capital."[43]

However, there is a new potential line of criticism of Murray's administration. No historian mentioned thus far is an indigenous Papua New Guinean. Local people are now writing their own history, and a recent thesis indicates a new approach. John Waiko's history of his own Binandere people used oral traditions and his own cultural insights to illuminate their story. He pointed out that the Murray administration's pressure on the Binandere people to plant coconuts and pay taxes robbed them of time to carry out traditional ceremonies, especially mourning rituals for the dead, whose numbers had increased with the violence and disease inflicted by contact with Europeans. This deprivation placed much stress on the people because of their belief that mourning rituals were essential for the success of subsistence agriculture. A result was the kind of reaction that Murray's officials called hysteria and emotional mass movements, signs of which appeared as early as 1909.[44] Waiko did not place such cultural insensitivity into a comprehensive analysis of the impact of Murray's regime on the Binandere—that was

not the intention of his thesis. But he did point to a potential new area for historical investigation.

The way that research since the publication of West's biography has changed Murray's status can be seen in a comparison of two general histories in which Hank Nelson participated. In the short history that he wrote with Peter Biskup and Brian Jinks in 1968, Murray was presented as a humane governor who tried to protect Papuan lands and many Papuan customs. Because of financial poverty, he only partly deserved the criticism that he was too conservative and did little to develop the colony or educate its indigenous inhabitants. The authors cited as the fairest judgment Mair's 1948 assessment of an enlightened rule that later fell behind colonial progress elsewhere.[45] In the 1979 political history written by Hank Nelson, Jim Griffin, and Stewart Firth, Murray was still portrayed as a protector of Papuans who were better treated than their New Guinea colleagues. But we now read that "to his discredit he administered and extended a long list of discriminatory legislation." And "because he wrote so frequently and persuasively about his government" we have to look behind the image he created to find the greater responsibility of his officials for policies such as the training of medical assistants. Murray was still defended against the charges that he forced Papuans to accept Australian legal and political systems and did not prepare them for independence on the grounds that he believed Papua would eventually become another Australian state. However, the authors pointed out that he and his Australian superiors "can be criticised for not extending to Papuans some of the benefits enjoyed by citizens of the states."[46]

This changed view of Murray reflects especially the research of Hank Nelson himself and Amirah Inglis into specific applications of Papuan administration policies that West ignored. The other major new evidence is Diedre Griffiths' revelation about Murray's treatment of F. E. Williams, which supports Healy's Lugard-style publicity-seeking criticism and helps confirm the contention that, at least from 1922 onward, Murray was set in his views. West's defense, that Murray should only be judged in terms of the standards of his day, does not apply to this new information, which definitely places Murray in a more unfavorable light than West portrayed in terms of contemporary colonial practices and viewpoints. Such information helps strengthen the case that Mair and Healy had already made about Murray's unwillingness to learn from others.

Nevertheless, more work is needed on Murray's relations with the white community in Papua and with the commonwealth government in

Australia to better estimate how far these bodies shackled progressive policies. There is also a need for more research on the gap between professed policies and actual practices. Michael Young's article provides an example of such research based on Methodist mission records and patrol reports, and these are the kinds of records that can be further explored. Another desirable area for future research is detailed comparison of practices in Papua with the way policies were carried out in other colonies; historians to date have made little more than general statements on that subject. And there is potential for more revelations of indigenous reactions to Murray's administration emerging from the kind of research into oral traditions pioneered by John Waiko.

For what we do know about Murray's Papua we owe the greatest debt to the University of Papua New Guinea. Most of the authors cited started their Papua research careers there or were stimulated by working there. The Australian National University's Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History has been less influential, except for the widespread influence of its first professor, Jim Davidson, on the emergence of islander-oriented Pacific history. That department's Pacific islands interests have been centered more on other Pacific island groups than on Papua New Guinea. And budget cuts and the paucity of Pacific history teaching positions in the wider university community have more recently reduced the number of research scholars in this discipline.

Research into the history of Papua also reflects the changing nature of Pacific historiography. Interpretations of Murray have been clearly affected by the emergence of the Jim Davidson school, by the new emphasis on indigenous culture in the 1960s, and then by the rise in the 1970s of dependency theory through its practitioners at the University of Papua New Guinea. A Marxist response to and reinterpretation of dependency theory is the most recent substantial challenge to previous lines of interpretation. And the emergence of indigenous Papua New Guinea historians might also contribute to a stormy future for Murray's reputation.

## NOTES

1. See J. W. Davidson, "Problems of Pacific History," *Journal of Pacific History* 1 (1966), 5-21; and David Routledge, "Pacific History as Seen from the Pacific Islands," *Pacific Studies* 8, no. 2 (1985), 81-99.

2. H. G. Nicholas, "Sir Hubert Murray, KCMG," *Australian Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1940), 5.

3. H. Ian Hogbin, review of *The Papuan Achievement,* by Lewis Lett, in *Australian Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (1943), 105-106.

4. Lewis Lett, *Sir Hubert Murray of Papua* (Sydney, 1949).

5. J. T. Bensted, "Sir Hubert Murray of Papua," *South Pacific* 7 (1953), 675-682, 701-709.

6. L. P. Mair, *Australia in New Guinea* (London, 1948), xvi.

7. Ibid., 12 (quotation), 11-13.

8. J. D. Legge, *Australian Colonial Policy* (Sydney, 1956), 131 (quotation), chap. 9.

9. Allan M. Healy, "Native Administration and Local Government in Papua, 1880-1960" (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University [ANU], 1962); idem, "Paternalism and Consultation in Papua, 1880-1960," *Australian National University Historical Journal,* no. 4 (1967), 19-28; idem, "Ethics of Colonialism: Wanted—Tact and Maturity," *New Guinea* 1, no. 2 (1967), 59-65.

10. Healy, "Ethics of Colonialism," 63.

11. Francis West, *Hubert Murray* (Melbourne, 1962), 28-29.

12. Francis West, *Hubert Murray: The Australian Pro-Consul* (Melbourne, 1968).

13. Allan M. Healy, "The Murray Legend," *Nation* (22 Feb. 1969), 20-21.

14. Murray Groves, review of *Hubert Murray: The Australian Pro-Consul,* by Francis West, in *Journal of Pacific History* 4 (1969), 234-236.

15. I. F. Nicolson, *The Administration of Nigeria, 1900-1960: Men, Methods and Myths* (Oxford, 1969), 125.

16. Allan M. Healy, "Australia's Essay in Colonialism," *Meanjin Quarterly* 34 (1975), 231-239.

17. Hank Nelson, "Hubert Murray: Private Letters and Public Reputation," *Historical Studies* 14 (1971), 617-619.

18. D. J. Dickson, "Murray and Education: Policy in Papua, 1906-1941," *New Guinea* 4 (1969), 36-37.

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## REVIEWS

Robert J. Gordon and Mervyn J. Meggitt, *Law and Order in the New Guinea Highlands: Encounters with Enga.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1985. Pp. 295, illustrated. $35.00.

*Reviewed by Richard Scaglion, University of Pittsburgh*

The collaboration of Gordon and Meggitt has produced a volume that is truly superior on a number of levels. These authors have had considerable and complementary experience in Papua New Guinea, and their fortunate collaboration reflects both the breadth and depth of their expertise. The volume is a penetrating analysis of the "law and order" problem in Enga Province. It is grounded in solid, long-term ethnographic fieldwork and placed in a broad comparative framework. The knowledgeable reader will recognize a unique understanding of the Enga people and their social milieu, an intimate familiarity with both Australian and Papua New Guinea public services, an ability to synthesize complex theories of law, and a sensitivity to applied contemporary problems. In a word, this book is excellent.

It is also a pleasure to read. References abound, yet the text sparkles with interesting insights and ideas for further thought. For example, the reader is treated to an analysis of the patrol as both a rite of passage and as a sacred pilgrimage (p. 68), an exploration of the importance of ceremonialism in government (pp. 177-178), the idea that limited popular access to justice in the form of the *kiap* (field officer) may have been a good thing (p. 186), and the suspicion that the rather late pacification of Enga, which occurred during the decline of the *kiap,* may have con-

tributed to the law and order problem (chap. 5). The authors are straightforward in dealing with the "sacred cows" of anthropological research in Papua New Guinea. Phrases like "the decline of administrative capacity in Enga" (p. 60), the "general scarcity of competent office staff" in local councils (p. 121), "rich and powerful nationals and expatriates" (p. 244), "Indonesian encroachment" (p. 242), and the "murky activities of multinational companies" (p. 244) are examples of their candor. I confess to a wry amusement on reading how "local people can expect to wait for attention while officers read the latest *Post-Courier* 'Phantom' comic strip" (p. 60), having had the experience myself.

Yet this is not merely a collection of unsubstantiated witticisms. On the contrary, the complexities of the administrative and judicial structure in Papua New Guinea are carefully documented. The work contains solid historical research with useful reviews of the decline of the *kiap* system, the judicial functions of the administration, and other matters of general interest.

The book is divided into three parts. The first section analyzes the current situation in Enga together with its historical roots. The decline of the field officer, the rise of specialist magistrates and legal formalists, and recent government attempts to control group violence through enlarging the police force and stiffening penalties are all described. Part two examines the Enga interpretation of and response to these changes. The third part assesses some of the approaches used at the national level to cope with law and order problems, including the "customary law" option and the use of village courts. In a conclusion that will be applauded by knowledgeable anthropological fieldworkers, the authors observe that "village courts have greater potential for dealing with the law-and-order problem than any of the other options considered" (pp. 15-16).

In light of such a fine effort, criticisms seem rather petty. My main caution derives from the regrettable delay that frequently occurs between the preparation of a final manuscript and its ultimate publication. In this case, chapters that are "historically complete" have not suffered, but chapters assessing current situations (such as the customary law option and the village courts) have minor inaccuracies if the reader assumes that the use of the present tense refers to 1985, the volume's publication date. For example, amendments to the Village Court Act and procedural changes instituted by the Village Courts Secretariat have modified a few of the facts reported concerning village courts. Also, the authors have not adequately considered recent developments in contemporary studies such as the Enga Law and Order Project and

the Customary Law Development Project of the Law Reform Commission. These shortcomings are minor, however, and if the reader assumes that the ethnographic present is about 1980, they are of little consequence. In fact, subsequent events have only strengthened their arguments. For example, in discussing the Law Reform Commission's 1977 report on the underlying law, they state, "In 1980 Parliament still had not acted on this report . . ." (p. 190). Years later, they *still* have not.

In sum, this volume should be required reading for all those interested in applied problems in Papua New Guinea. It will also be of considerable value to researchers in comparative law. It presents a well-documented case study of the breakdown of law and order in a Pacific society.

Peter Hempenstall and Noel Rutherford, *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific.* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1984. Pp. 200, illustrated, notes, bibliography, index. F$8.00, paper.

*Reviewed by Jerry K. Loveland, Brigham Young University—Hawaii Campus*

Protest movements, as defined by Hempenstall and Rutherford, are positive expressions of discontent with the nature of colonial rule. As movements with a program they are to be distinguished from resistance movements that are simple "failure[s] to cooperate." *Protest and Dissent* is a history of selected protest movements in the Pacific Islands. The authors have written case studies of the Western Samoa *mau* movement, the Tonga Ma'a Tonga Kautaha, the 1959 strike in Fiji, the Spanish wars on Ponape, and the transformation cults and myth dreams on the Huan Peninsula of Papua New Guinea. These case studies are set in the context of a discussion of protest movements in the Pacific Islands generally.

On a theoretical level the book is a contribution to an understanding of the nature of anticolonial movements generally. It is likewise, say the authors, an attempt to offer some generalizations about the nature of Pacific history, a beginning effort to construct a theoretical structure for the mass of empirical studies that have been published in the discipline in the last generation, On a substantive level the case studies are fascinating simply as descriptive accounts.

The essence of colonialism is that an alien authority exercises political and economic suzerainty over a subject people. Typically, and this has

certainly been the case in the Pacific, the governors may also assume an attitude of cultural and ideological hegemony. These rulers usually develop a rationale to legitimize their power, some moral reason why their presence is for the sake of their subject peoples. In combination these features of dominance create the matrix of protest. Colonialism varied in its degree of intensity and penetration from place to place, but it "was not considered the root of all evil by Pacific peoples" (p. 15). Colonialism sought domination, but subject peoples were never under total subjugation. In Samoa, both Germany and New Zealand "remained in a real sense the prisoner of [their] island collaborators" (pp. 29, 32). Interestingly, colonialism created institutions that gave people a forum from which they could protest; trade unions are a good example.

It is obvious that the administering powers of the several Pacific Island societies accelerated the development of protest movements by their attitudes and policies. Administrators were often amazingly dense, uninformed, or stubbornly stupid about the nature of the people with whom they were dealing. Inept rulership was compounded by the patronizing racism of the colonial rulers, and it was doubtless a source of comfort to colonialists to believe that the people they ruled were not too bright. For instance, the administrator of Western Samoa declared in 1918: "the natives themselves have not had sufficient training or education to enable them to appreciate and understand the principles for which the Allies are fighting, or to vote intelligently upon such an important question as the destiny of Samoa" (p. 34).

In Tonga and Fiji, Europeans had no confidence in the ability of Islanders to manage their own affairs in a modern economy and so interfered in local cooperative self-help efforts. Local European traders were also alarmed by any attempt by Islanders to compete with European businessmen. The Tonga Ma'a Tonga Kautaha incident in Tonga is a good example of the overbearing presumption of Europeans in dealing with Islanders. In this particular instance, however, the tables were turned by local courts and a wily king, George II. Out of this affair the king of Tonga managed to assert the supremacy of the Tongan constitution over the protectorate treaty with Britain and of the Tongan king over the British consul, who, this event established, was to act in an advisory capacity only and whose advice the Tongan government was not obliged to implement.

Hempenstall and Rutherford categorize Pacific Islands protest movements according to tactics, objectives, and type. Tactics ranged from boycotting (as was the case with the *mau* in Western Samoa) to deadly violence (Ponape). Social, economic, and political objectives were all

interwoven, although one of these might have more importance in a given movement. Until the last generation, surprisingly few movements had independence as a goal. In Western Samoa the *Mau e pule* of the German years was an effort to restore power and status to the title-holders in the traditional political structure. It operated in tandem with the Oloa movement, which sought to maximize profits to Samoan agriculturalists, as did the Toeaina Club organized during the administration of the country by New Zealand. The *mau* of the late 1920s and 1930s had multiple objectives and multiple causes. One of its leaders declared self-government to be a *mau* objective; others in the movement disagreed. It was very evident that the New Zealand administration, which concentrated on public health and social concerns, failed to appreciate the significance of the political concerns of the Samoans.

Protest movements have often included a demand for cultural respect and a *cri de coeur* for social and economic equality. This may have been part of a hidden agenda for some movements, but Hempenstall and Rutherford show it to have been quite significant in Melanesia. Not all protest movements were anticolonial. The King movement in New Zealand began as an effort to create a national unity. Nor were the movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Papua New Guinea "purely" anti-colonial. Rather, "Their aims synthesized anti-government, traditionalist values with self-help modernizing programs for local communities" (p. 11).

Hempenstall and Rutherford describe and analyze several types of protest movements, including proto-cooperative movements, forms of industrial protest, forms of violent protest, and protest movements in religious form. With some reservations about the term cargo, they place cargo cults in the latter category.

Proto-cooperative groups such as the Fijian Viti Company (which began in 1912), the Samoan Oloa (1904), and the Tonga Ma'a Tonga Kautaha (1909) were early twentieth-century forerunners of the New Hebrides Malekula Native Company founded in 1939 and the Tangitang Society of Abiang in the Gilberts founded in 1938. The latter two groups included mystical, millenarian elements, which the Tongan and Samoan groups did not have. European transculturites were part of the organization and management of these groups.

The 1959 Fiji strike is a case study of industrial protest, caused by oil-industry workers who felt they were underpaid. It was effectively lead by an Anglo-Indian-Polynesian named James Anthony. One of the unique aspects of the strike was its working class basis, as both Indians and Fijians combined in a common cause. It assumed racial overtones

and an anti-European stance as it progressed. The strike was finally put down by high-ranking Fijian chiefs who appealed to the Fijian strikers not to be misled by non-Fijians, that is, not to permit themselves to be corrupted by Indian agitators. Thereupon this short-lived socioeconomic alliance collapsed as the Fijians returned to their first identity.

The total number of deaths in violent protest against European incursion is not as dramatic as in some colonialized areas, but according to Hempenstall and Rutherford, the aftereffects were often more devastating. Many Islanders had warrior traditions and had developed tactics and weapons that served them well against European troops, but they were finally unable to deal with the advantages of the Westerners. The Europeans were tenacious and determined to a degree unmatched by Islanders, who were typically unable to combine with each other to fend them off. Different people of particular island groups often shared no ideological commitment to each other, and sometimes as ancient enemies they were precluded from making alliances with each other against a common foe. The revolts of the Ponape districts against first their Spanish and later their German rulers showed that a people with a martial tradition could stand off a European power, albeit for a short time. However, by the late nineteenth century, according to Hempenstall and Rutherford, the Spaniards had pretty much lost the will to rule. The Ponapean revolt against the German administration enjoyed a very short-lived success because "German retribution was swift and brutal" (p. 118).

Protests in religious form have appeared in a number of Pacific locales, but this analysis is concentrated on the millenarian movements of Papua New Guinea. Cargo cult is the term most often associated with these millennial/religious movements, but the authors believe this term is too simple to describe the complex movements of Melanesia that combine religion with material, social, and political aspirations. Rather than being irrational, illogical efforts to extract concessions from the European colonialists (which is the way some have seen them), more sophisticated explanations have seen these movements as efforts to resolve problems in Melanesian terms. They seek to explain European success and then to emulate that success. The religious aspect of millenarianism is explained by the fact that for Melanesians the material and nonmaterial are integrated, not divided as in European worldviews.

There have been four kinds of explanations for cargo movements, according to Hempenstall and Rutherford. Most commonly they have been explained as protest or resistance movements with political over-

tones. The "Vailala Madness" of the Elema people of the Papua Gulf in the 1920s seems to have been a religious movement designed to prepare the people for the return of their ancestors, but the colonial administration saw it as an "incipient" political rebellion and acted to suppress it. There are also religious movements of "dynamic aspirations," which are concerned with economic deprivation, but which also have a "positive, moral content." One objective of these movements is to rehabilitate the Melanesian people in a new world "in which kanaka and white man cooperate with each other," and in which "native integrity is restored and moral equivalence with the whites [is] achieved" (p. 124). There are movements which seek "salvation" for the community, salvation meaning a search for religious redemption, integrity, identity, peace, wholeness, health, and well-being. A fourth type of movement seeks to alter the nature of Melanesian society and is a continuation of changes begun before but accelerated by the advent of the European. Such movements build upon a dynamic already present in Melanesian society. As cults they can bring about social change more rapidly than secular movements.

Hempenstall and Rutherford suggest that by considering Melanesian millenarian movements as "experimental conduits into the future," a wide range of theoretical approaches to their analysis is possible. Also, to understand that they are considered by those involved as rational responses to a situation makes them more amenable to rational understanding (p. 126).

The authors offer some guidelines for future research into movements of protest and dissent. Researchers, they say, must understand that many types of movements have political implications. Millenarian transformation movements need to be understood as more than just "conservative, rebellious symptoms of social disintegration"; they are also "forward-looking, positive" phenomena with roots in pre-Western cults and myths. The role of social classes and economic forces needs to be examined more closely, as do ethnic differences. Finally, it must be recognized that protest is a "richly textured phenomenon." The history of colonial-subject people relations is full of examples of cooperation and collaboration, oppression and obedience. Individuals who stood up to colonialism have become exemplars of early nationalism and patriotism. Hempenstall and Rutherford point out that current forms of neocolonialism, such as the economic domination by European multinational corporations, may stoke the fires of new kinds of anticolonial protest movements.

Because of its implications for protest movements worldwide, this

book merits a larger audience than it is likely to get. Certainly all students of the Pacific Islands are much in debt to Peter Hempenstall and Noel Rutherford for this fine effort.

André Itéanu. *La ronde des échanges. De la circulation aux valeurs chez les Orokaiva.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1983. Pp. 355. Fr 49.50.

*Reviewed by Valerio Valeri, University of Chicago*

This study attempts to give a coherent picture of the culture of the Orokaiva (Papua New Guinea) by showing that it is based on a complex relationship between the world of spirits (situated in the wild) and the world of human society. Furthermore, the study claims that different stages of the relationship between the two worlds correlate with different stages in the process of differentiation of society and of the process that constitutes the human subject. Because of the latter correlation, the author first presents the principles of Orokaiva culture (or "ideology" as he calls it) through an analysis of the rituals of birth, initiation, and death. All these rituals are ultimately made possible by the complex symbolic relationship established between men and pigs.

Appropriately, then, the book begins by discussing the rituals connected with the birth of a child and the first year of life, together with the practices, some of them ritual, by which the pig is domesticated. In both cases, a being believed to come from the unstable world of spirits situated in the wild is differentiated from it and given a fixed place in human society.

The symbolic association of pigs and men is further displayed by their equivalence in the exchange between men and spirits. The spirits give pigs to humans, and by a strict application of the rule of reciprocity humans should give their children in return. But this direct reciprocity, which would make human life impossible, is delayed in the initiation ritual by offering the spirits a simulacrum of the children's death. Inasmuch as it makes a child's life secure, initiation is his definitive implanting in society. But it is also an occasion for the reconstitution of society in its fundamental articulations. Indeed, this ritual involves first the collapse of all social differences, then their progressive reconstitution.

Each stage of this reconstitution is characterized by a different modality of exchange involving different symbolic objects and different

social units and relations. The social relations involved are, in order of appearance: the father/son relation, the brother/sister relation, and finally relations established by locality. The crucial relation is the second because it connects the other two. Indeed, brother and sister are kin, but after marriage they usually reside in different locations. Furthermore, their relationship mediates the direct reciprocity between humans and spirits in the first stage of the ritual with the delayed reciprocity among humans in its last stage. The author concludes that "initiation is like a catalogue of the different exchange relationships possible" (p. 116). These relations are reconstituted after an initial state of social undifferentiation has been ritually produced, because society has "to prove to itself the founding role of exchange" (p. 112, my translations).

When spirits cause human death, the exchange of pigs for human life, delayed by the initiation ritual, is accomplished. Therefore, the death ritual begins, like the initiation, by symbolically representing the collapse of the boundary between human world and spirit world: the spirits have reasserted their rights over human life. The blending of the two worlds is emphasized by the fact that the participants blend human and porcine behaviors (the pigs represent the wild in which the spirits live). The two worlds are separated again by dividing the corpse, one part being left to the spirits and the other returning to the humans in the form of a new child. This process of separation is centered on the widow, who is identified with the dead man and can therefore bring about his transformation by being herself transformed.

Like the initiation ritual, the death ritual correlates the transformation of the subject with a process in which social distinctions are first dissolved, then reconstituted through exchanges. Furthermore, the sequence of social units and relations in this ritual is similar to that which occurs in initiation. The brother/sister relation, in particular, has a pivotal role in both.

In sum, the analysis of ritual makes it possible to discover crucial Orokaiva social relations. Accordingly, the author attempts to revise F. E. Williams' (1928, 1930) and E. Schwimmer's (1973) accounts of Orokaiva society on the basis of the insights provided by ritual. He shows that the so-called patrilineal clans are in fact local groups of people who bear the name of their leader in feasting. These feasts are events in which various rituals (including death and initiation rituals) take place simultaneously. The fact of performing them as a body is the true constitutive principle of the so-called clans. While a local group is differentiated from other groups of the same kind by the possession of the "name of the man" (i.e., of its leader in feasting), it is internally dif-

ferentiated by the "plant emblems." The differentiation provided by these is purely contextual: therefore the author claims that Schwimmer is wrong in viewing plant-emblem groups as corporate groups.

The land-tenure system is also interpreted as a function of the feasting (and therefore ritual) system. Claims to land are not motivated by the desire to establish rights of use (which can be acquired independently of property rights) but by the desire of establishing the identity of one village relative to the others, particularly in the feasting system. Indeed, the food for feasts must be grown on the land owned by the organizing group, while the food for everyday use may be planted on anyone's land. There are thus two systems of cultivation: a ritualized one and a non-ritualized one.

The author attempts to apply the same argument—that the feasting system is the main organizing principle of Orokaiva society—to kinship terms. The main point of his rather laborious analysis is that the brother/sister relationship is the fundamental one in the terminology, a fact that confirms the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the ritual system.

The discussion of social organization concludes with a chapter on marriage. The main argument is that any marriage is possible provided it is compatible with the global ritual cycle. This is because marriage is both part and condition of this cycle. In particular, the author sees a correspondence between the articulation of direct exchange and delayed exchange with the spirits in initiation on the one hand, and the articulation of direct exchange (i.e., sister exchange) and delayed exchange of women, on the other hand. Furthermore, the debts incurred by shifting from direct exchange to delayed exchange in initiation and marriage are both paid during the death ritual. The debt to the spirits is paid by transforming the dead into spirits and wild animals; the debt to the wife-givers is paid by funerary gifts to them. Between the two direct reciprocities characterizing the beginning and the end of man's adult life, then, lies the realm of delayed reciprocity, with its accompanying balances and tensions.

The death ritual, therefore, dissolves the social relations accumulated during a man's life, but since it concludes by returning the widow to her brother, and therefore by reconstituting the fundamental social articulation—the brother/sister relation—it starts the whole social cycle anew.

This is in outline the content of a book remarkable not only for its insights but also for the often obscure ways in which they are exposed. It presents us with a familiar Durkheimian theme: the hierarchical rela-

tionship between social undifferentiation and differentiation. Its main originality consists not in its argument that this relationship is constitutive nor that it is articulated temporally in the ritual process (others, from Victor to Terence Turner have argued the same), but in its grounding of the argument in the Melanesian context by correlating each stage with a modality of exchange. In this way the Maussian theme of exchange is brought back to the Durkheimian fold.

However, in his eagerness to show that exchange depends on its "cosmological" grammar, the author creates some unacceptable theoretical confusions. The most remarkable of these is the confusion of the level of the code with the level of the acting subject. More specifically, the internal motivations of the cultural code are equated to the motivations of the subject who acts according to its prescriptions. The subject is viewed as a place in which the social logic empirically manifests itself and which is devoid of any motivation other than the desire to reproduce the immutable and "eternal" social whole (p. 240). It is as if it were argued that the speakers of a language follow its grammatical rules not in order to communicate messages for their own purposes, but only in order to perpetuate the grammar. No doubt in certain contexts fidelity to the grammar is more in evidence in the speech act than its propositional content (cf. P. Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire* [Paris, 19821); and this tends to be even truer in ritual acts of communication. Nevertheless, reducing the subject to a simple means for the cosmological (or "ideological") system to reproduce itself is adopting a position no less mistaken than its opposite, the "transactional" analysis of exchange, which views the system presupposed by the acts of exchange as a crystallization of individual choices and interests. Thus the author reverses rather than transcends the view of exchange that he criticizes (see his introduction), Indeed it simply displaces this view to what he calls an "inferior" level: the one which allegedly the system leaves open to the free play of individual interests and choices (cf. p. 241). It even seems that for the author anything is possible in Orokaiva society, provided it does not affect the "superior" level of ritual. This approach is reminiscent of the Dumontian treatment of political power, whose utilitarian definition is not so much dissolved into a properly culture-specific definition as displaced, its false universality left intact, to a hierarchically "inferior" level relative to religion or "ultimate values."

In sum, the author's approach displays once again the irreducible contrast between a "dialectical" and a "hierarchical" analysis of the relationship between "culture" (or "ideology" in the Dumontian sense) and "interest" and, more generally, of the relationship between "sys-

tern" and "subject." This contrast has been acknowledged by Dumont himself in the second edition of *Homo hierarchicus* (Paris, 1979) and was earlier noted in a paper of mine (Valeri, "Casta," in *Enciclopedia,* vol. 2 [Turin, 19771). If the author of the present volume were right in reducing the subject to a simple hypostasis of the system, and at the same time to an entity allowed some degree of free choice and self-interest only insofar as it does not affect the system, the latter would reproduce itself in identical form through time: there would be no history, or only a history of collapses. Paradoxically, the Orokaiva ritual system has undergone profound changes that cannot be viewed as simple mechanical results of the prohibition of murder enforced by the colonial administration (as the author claims to some extent), but involve the creative reactions of Orokaiva subjects. It is precisely this process that cannot be accounted for in the author's theoretical framework. In this respect, it is regrettable that he has not rewritten his library study in the light of his fieldwork in modern Orokaiva society. Surely, in an essay that gives such a prominent place to initiation, it is imperative to discuss at length the reasons for the recent revival of this ritual after its abandonment early in this century. A historical perspective could throw light on the system and make its analysis more convincing.

A fundamental claim of this study is that the relationship of the different levels and forms of exchange in Orokaiva society is hierarchical. Yet the chapter in which these hierarchical relations are said to be summarized leaves an impression of ambiguity, if not of confusion: one could easily show that the author's criteria for hierarchizing are quite heterogeneous and are not reducible to simple part/whole relations, as would be required by the Dumontian definition of hierarchy. Depending, then, on the criteria used, one could change the hierarchical order of the forms of exchange. At any rate, it is not completely clear what this order is according to the author. The only hierarchical opposition that he formulates clearly is that between the symmetric exchange linking the undifferentiated society of humans and the undifferentiated society of spirits, on the one hand, and the asymmetric exchanges among humans, on the other. This superordination of the symmetric exchange with the spirits reflects—the author argues—both the fact that reciprocity is the supreme value of Orokaiva ideology and the fact that the society of humans depends on the society of spirits.

Yet I am not sure that by representing this relationship simply as one of hierarchy the author does not simplify a reality more complex and ambiguous than he is prepared to acknowledge. It is true that the world of humans is ultimately dependent on that of spirits, insofar as these are

the ultimate sources of life and death. This, however, does not allow the author to claim, as he does, that the spirits are the supreme "encompassing" value of Orokaiva culture. Indeed, it could be argued to the contrary that the human world is implicitly viewed as the supreme value, both because it is affirmed by tricking the spirits and dominating them for a while by means of ritual actions, and because the spirits themselves are seen from the point of view of human life and are as such expressions of its value. It is one thing to acknowledge the necessity of death and dependence on a world larger than the one that humans are able to carve out for themselves, and another thing to see this larger world as a supreme cultural value. The author has not demonstrated to my satisfaction that the Orokaiva are Nietzschean heroes. At any rate, what are we to make of the assertion that the world of spirits is the supreme and encompassing value of Orokaiva culture, when we are told so surprisingly little about the spirits as they are explicitly described and conceived by the Orokaiva in their own words?

The desire to apply the notion of hierarchy at all costs involves the author in some rather questionable procedures in his analysis of the kinship terms. This is too complicated to be discussed here, even in part. But I cannot refrain from mentioning a postulate on which it is based: that what the author calls "periphrastic terms" (such as *tata ivu*, "husband of *tata*") are hierarchically "subordinated" to what he calls "terms proper" (such as *tata*), This is a surprisingly formalistic criterion as it is based on the form of the terms (signifier) considered independently of its signifieds. To give an example, the author argues that the two meanings of the term *tata* (FZ and MBW) are hierarchically related as "inferior" to "superior" because the first is coupled with a periphrastic (hence "inferior") term (*tata ivu:* FZH) while the second is coupled with a "term proper" (*nobo:* MB). Quite apart from the fact that it is not clear what "inferior" and "superior" mean in this context, this analysis, by ignoring the obvious (that the terminology reflects the coexistence of the exchange of sisters with the delayed exchange of women), fails to raise the most interesting question: why are the males (MB and FZH) differentiated in order to reflect the possibility of delayed exchange while the females (MBW and FZ) are not differentiated in order to reflect the possibility of the exchange of sisters?

Although much more could be said about this interesting and stimulating book, I think that I have said enough to make clear that the author uses the notion of hierarchy too loosely to persuade us all of its usefulness for the interpretation of societies dominated by the tension between symmetry and asymmetry, spirits and humans, rather than by

the neat hierarchical ordering of these opposites. And, indeed, it is this tension that is at the heart of Mauss's reflection on exchange, still the starting point for any understanding of "gift societies."

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*The Journals of Cochran Forbes, Missionary to Hawaii, 1830-1864.* Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1984. Pp. 208, illustrated. $6.95.

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Cochran Forbes, who joined the Sandwich Islands mission in 1832 and labored at Kaawaloa and Kealakekua on the Big Island of Hawaii for most of his fifteen years in the Islands, did not enjoy a colorful career. Arriving more than a decade after the pioneer generation, he perforce could not make the waves (or headlines) that Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston generated. It is not clear that he would have done so in any event, for while his own generation sparked controversy within the mission over its more liberal requirements for religious conversion—methods Forbes practiced—it is Titus Coan who is remembered, not Forbes.

Although his work largely escaped public notice, Forbes is nonetheless a representative figure of the missionary experience, both public and private. His social origins, for instance, resemble those of other Americans who went to the Pacific as missionaries—he was a devout and well-educated son of a modest farming family. But whereas the early missionaries to Hawaii had come almost exclusively from New England Congregational backgrounds, Forbes' background was Mid-Atlantic Presbyterianism; raised in rural eastern Pennsylvania, he received his theological training at Princeton. This variation in the pattern was not all that significant, however; Princeton, after all, was not Harvard. Forbes' departure for the islands was also well within tradi-

tion: He married Rebecca Duncan Smith in early October 1831, was ordained later that month, and set sail in November. Preparation for his new roles as husband and missionary had indeed been brief.

Forbes was no better prepared for his encounter with the island peoples. As his journals demonstrate—and the first two volumes covering the years between 1832 and 1847 are crucial here—he adhered to the fundamental doctrines of American Protestantism, doctrines that strongly shaped his response to the Hawaiians. As his journal entries penned upon first contact make clear, he was particularly struck by what he perceived as the islanders' idleness, "which appears to be *the great curse* of this people" (p. 28). That in turn suggested something else: "They appear to have no knowledge at all of the value of time & but little of its passing. There is no publick clock in the town. And they will not work any more than will just support them from day to day which they can do in about 2 hours out of 24" (pp. 29-30). Forbes' early reactions tell us more about him than about the Hawaiians, of course. The importance he attached to work and time mark him as one for whom secular and spiritual rewards were earned in direct proportion to effort expended. He was hardly unique in this regard among his missionary brethren, nor in the ramifications of his insistence on the primacy of these values. He and his compatriots were blind to the value Hawaiian culture placed on leisure and no less blind to the disruptive impact a cash economy had on traditional Hawaiian life, one product of which was to create an urban underclass for whom economic opportunities were limited. This blindness comes as no surprise: By their nature, missionaries are cultural imperialists.

And these imperialists had enemies. The gravest threat to Protestant hegemony came from Catholic missionaries, who, like the tide, periodically swept in and retreated from the Islands throughout the late 1820s and early 1830s. Forbes' journals, which extensively chronicle the Catholics' activities on Hawaii, offer an intriguing perspective on the clash between rival Western religions, which until now has largely been seen through the eyes of those in Honolulu. Forbes used every means at his disposal to counteract Catholic inroads in rural Hawaii. His verbal disdain for his opponents knew no bounds, but his efforts were not just rhetorical. In January 1840, for example, he toured various island districts with Kapiolani and other luminaries, a time-honored means by which to display the tight link between Hawaiian nobility and the Protestants, thereby shoring up the position of both the chiefly class and their missionary allies (p. 88). Within his own congregation Forbes set aside days for fasting, thanksgiving, and humiliation, and intensified the conver-

sion process, at once rooting out backsliders and more quickly offering communion to those who professed an interest in "the truth."

The battle lines, it seems, were tightly drawn, but it was not, as Forbes would have it, simply a clash betwen Protestant truth and papist lies. Those Hawaiians who crossed (and occasionally recrossed) the religious demarcation, often did so to gain particular advantages. The support Boki, as governor of Oahu, gave to the first Catholic missionaries in the late 1820s is a celebrated case in point, and is not unlike events Forbes encountered a decade later on Hawaii. Take the case of Akahi, the head woman of Kealia. She was, Forbes wrote, "pleased with popery, because they do not require holiness of life as a test of communion. She will probably become a papist as she is unwilling to abandon her lusts" (p. 88). In other words, Akahi wanted to control her life on her own terms, something those who converted to Protestantism also sought. In either event, conversion was a means to an end, the tempo and timing of which the Hawaiians themselves largely determined.

The Protestant mission's hegemonic ambitions were thwarted in other ways, too. This was, Forbes averred, in part due to the sinful behavior of American sailors, one of whom offered twenty silver dollars to a Hawaiian Christian for the privilege of sleeping with that man's wife. Forbes applauded the Hawaiian's stout resistance—"O how noble does the conduct of this heathen appear alongside that of Capt. S" (p. 134)—but such sterling examples (and the comfort they brought) were rare. Indeed, by 1845 Forbes had serious doubts about the present achievements and future success of the missionary enterprise. The Hawaiians, even after twenty-five years of exposure to Christianity, languished under a "dreadful heathenish torpor," which Forbes compared to "some poisonous substance which completely enervates him." NO amount of moral persuasion could arouse him, for "he instantly falls back again so soon as his friend let go his hold. . . . Thus it is with these poor heathen they are completely bereft of all true moral principles and are left as a drunken man asleep amid pitfalls" (p. 158). Not for him the sanguine prognosis of an inevitable Christian triumph that many of his peers avowed, a pessimism that historians of Christianity in Hawaii should note. Forbes' frustration, vented after thirteen years in the field, suggests that the Hawaiians were quite capable of maintaining indigenous beliefs and traditional values decades after first contact.

There was a private dimension to Forbes' analysis of public failures and failings; his vision was clouded by nagging concerns within his own domestic arena. His journal is by no means as rich in its detail of family life as are other missionary journals, a deficiency that is partly due to his

gender; in keeping with the nineteenth-century notion of separate spheres for men and women, the journals reflect Forbes' limited interest in and inability to comment on domestic arrangements. But there is clear evidence that not all was well at home. In fact, more often than not, several members of the Forbes household—Cochran and Rebecca Forbes had five children—were ill. Intestinal viruses continually drained them (as did the prescribed bloodletting), so much so that Forbes often spoke of his wife as but a "mere shadow" (p. 154). These debilitating illnesses undercut Forbes' missionary work, for not only could his wife not "attend to her domestic affairs," but she was frequently buffeted by "a good deal of depression of spirits" (p. 154). Her husband consequently labored within the home perhaps as much as he did with those he had come to convert. And the frequency of illness increased as the years passed, forcing the family in 1845 to move from Kaawaloa to Lahaina in search of better health, a search that was unsuccessful. Within eighteen months Forbes noted that his wife's health was "so precarious that I cannot be fully devoted to my labors without neglecting her" (p. 182). Her health proved of greater importance than his missionary work, and in October 1847 the Forbeses sailed for New Bedford. They may not have finished constructing a New Jerusalem in Hawaii, but they themselves were forever changed by its environment, a fact of no little significance to the history of nineteenth-century Hawaii.

Patrick Vinton Kirch, *The Evolution of the Polynesian Chiefdoms.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. Pp. 314. Illustrated. $44.50.

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Imagine the ideal experiment in human ecology: people from a relatively homogeneous culture are sent to live in a variety of islands that differ in size, latitude, maximum island height, mean annual temperature, flora and fauna, availability of surface water, and availability of reef resources. How would these factors affect subsequent cultural evolution, and what would be the reciprocal impact on the island ecosystems?

Patrick Kirch in *The Evolution of the Polynesian Chiefdoms* has chosen to consider the evolution of Polynesian cultures from such an ecolog-

ical perspective. Although the volume is part of Cambridge's "New Studies in Archaeology Series," Kirch states from the outset that his analysis of Polynesian prehistory is not restricted to archaeology. It is instead a synthesis of data from linguistics, ethnography, ethnobotany, population biology, ecology, and meteorology as well as archaeology. This synthetic approach leads Kirch to characterize the evolution of Polynesian cultures as following a series of dominant trends: initial settlement and subsequent population growth; modification of the island environment by the colonizers; increasing intensification of agriculture; increasing economic specialization; increasing use of storage facilities; settlement pattern changes; development of ceremonial and public architecture; development of militarism; and an uneven trend toward social stratification. These trends form the structural basis of the book.

As a foundation for his analysis, Kirch examines the nature of island ecosystems, properly emphasizing the ecological diversity of Polynesia. The islands vary seven orders of magnitude in size, ranging from tiny Anuta at 0.4 $km^2$ to massive New Zealand at over 400,000 $km^2$. Hydrographic variation is equally impressive, from tiny atolls without surface water to high volcanic islands with permanent rivers. Climate varies, from tropical Samoa to subtropical Easter Island and even to rigorous subantarctic conditions in Chatham Island. Floristic diversity is also pronounced, and given the geographical isolation of the islands, biological endemism is the rule. The resultant biotic resources differ greatly between the islands, presenting different opportunities for exploitation. Use of these resources by the early colonists tended to be both opportunistic and tragic: moas were driven to extinction by the Maoris while the endemic honeycreepers of Hawaii were killed for their bright plumage. Well-developed reefs were extensively fished, but some islands, such as Easter Island, lacked reefs and required new cultural innovations for harvesting marine resources.

What were the initial colonists like? Lexical reconstruction yields only a few clues. Similarly, even though modern ethnobotanical and ethnographic studies suggest that "the production, distribution, and consumption of food" was a "central theme" of the original colonists (p. 29), the agricultural activities upon arrival remain unclear. Although a basic horticultural kit of starchy aroids and tree crops combined with modified swidden technology undoubtedly accompanied the colonists, accurate determination of the technological skills and social structure of the ancestral Polynesians requires the analytical tools of the archaeologist.

Kirch argues convincingly from linguistic and archaeological consid-

erations for a Southeast Asian origin of the Polynesians. Ethnobotanical data tend to support this conclusion since most Polynesian plant and animal domesticates are Southeast Asian and Melanesian in origin, and appear to have been part of the adaptive strategy of the earliest Austronesians or Lapita Cultural Complex as defined by Green (1978). As Kirch demonstrates (table 3), the archaeological record is still in its developmental stage, but it is sufficient to characterize the material culture or tool kit of the early settlers and their generalizing strategy, which as previously noted, included agriculture. He emphasizes that the gradual development of this strategy in southwestern Oceania had set the stage by 1500 B.C. in the Fiji-Samoa-Tonga triangle for the settlement of greater Polynesia.

Kirch's subsequent discussion of dispersal and adaptation processes reflects a solid grasp of both the literature and primary problems of this topic. The understanding of the timing of dispersal, for example, is seen by Kirch as a sampling problem aggravated by island tectonics. Again combining linguistic and archaeological data, Kirch summarizes a familiar (see Bellwood 1979:326; Jennings 1979:3; Sinoto 1970) but refined model of Polynesian dispersal. He suggests a surge of people out of the staging area as early as 200 B.C. The earliest dates in Eastern Polynesia occur in the Marquesas (2,000 B.P.); however, Kirch and others suspect that the Societies were also settled early, although the evidence remains to be found. Following the occupation of central Eastern Polynesia, colonization occurred rather quickly, in Easter Island by A.D. 300, in Hawaii by A.D. 400, and in New Zealand by A.D. 800.

The colonization of Polynesia, Kirch concludes, was primarily a result of deliberate voyaging, probably accomplished in large (up to 25m long) double canoes capable of carrying twenty to thirty people along with provisions and breeding stock. Traditional explanation for the dispersal includes overpopulation and quarrels for chiefly titles. Kirch adds another possibility—wanderlust, or the desire to conquer new lands. Regardless of the reasons for the dispersal, the process seems to have ceased by A.D. 1000.

Kirch's discussion of the subsequent adaptation of the migrants to their new island homes draws our attention again to island diversity. Survival problems vary from island to island, but fundamentally they revolve around insuring the growth of the founder population and developing technologies appropriate to the new environmental circumstances.

As examples of contrasting environmental settings, Kirch cites the Marquesas, where the absence of broad, shallow lagoons precludes reef

foraging such as that pursued in Western Polynesia; and temperate New Zealand, where, on the South Island, hunting, fishing, and gathering became the dominant subsistence activities. Kirch also points out that the colonizers were not always successful and suggests that limited resources, especially water, were the critical limiting factors.

As noted earlier, one of the fundamental trends during early to middle periods of Polynesian prehistory was population growth. Once settled and established the new occupants quickly expanded their numbers until some limits were reached. In fact, by the time of European contact nearly all island groups were controlling population through social mechanisms. Kirch's discussion of island demographics (chapter 5) carefully considers the relationships between population growth, constraints (both cultural and ecological), and the emergence of complex societies. Certainly this is one of the essential questions of the work, that is, what are the environmental and cultural bases for the emergence of complex sociopolitical systems in Polynesia?

To answer this question, Kirch employs growth models originating from population biology such as the logistic equation. A few minor errors crop up here in his discussion; for example, on page 103, *r,* the intrinsic rate of growth of a population, does not decrease as N/K approaches unity, but in fact is an empirically derived constant in the logistic equation. Similarly, *r* does not equal zero when the population ceases to grow; rather, the first derivative of population size *(dN/dT)* equals zero. On page 119 Kirch uses a non-ecological (but perhaps anthropologically meaningful) definition of carrying capacity when he states that "an island's carrying capacity is the population capable of surviving a severe disaster-induced famine," and makes the unlikely claim that carrying capacity fluctuates over time in a "stochastic fashion." Analysis of the climatological data for the Western Pacific in fact indicates strong autocorrelation of climatic variables through time; thus, for example, although mean annual rainfall does indeed exhibit significant fluctuations, these fluctuations are not stochastic but rather exhibit a periodicity of known mean and prescribed variance. This minor correction, however, serves to strengthen Kirch's subsequent arguments about the need for storage technologies such as *masi* (Cox 1980), since drought and famine were not merely random events with unknown probability distributions, but rather could be counted on to occur during any particular twenty-year period (Freeman 1951).

One of Kirch's major achievements is testing the generalized features of population growth models—low initial growth, followed by rapid expansion and a subsequent leveling off of population growth—with

archaeological data from western Hawaii. Two critical assumptions were necessary: 1) there is an allometric relationship between population size and numbers of habitation sites, and 2) volcanic glass hydration wind dates are adequate to date the sites. The results of this test are positive: population growth was sigmoidal although regional variation was most likely present.

Kirch also discusses relationships between survivorship and population density by using skeletal material from Tonga, the Marquesas, and Hawaii. Unfortunately the best sample (1,163 individuals from Mokapu on Oahu) is undated and its place in the discussion is critical. Nevertheless, Kirch tentatively suggests the evidence argues for an inverse relationship between life expectancy and population density.

Finally, Kirch describes cultural mechanisms for population control in Tikopia (Firth 1967) to demonstrate the islanders' awareness of the importance of curbing growth. Kirch briefly reviews various practices that have been discussed as possible population control measures in Polynesia, including coitus interruptus, celibacy, infanticide, abortion, emigration by sea voyaging, and war.

In chapter 6 Kirch attacks the pervasive stereotype of Polynesia as an environmentally benign paradise by pointing out the frequent environmental hazards to stable agriculture such as drought, cyclonic storms, volcanic activity, and in New Zealand, frosts. Perhaps more importantly, he debunks the myth of Polynesians as practitioners of a naive but successful "conservation ethic." In many islands the indigenous forests were completely destroyed by the Polynesians. These interior forests were replaced with sclerophyllous, scrubby vegetation characterized by a *Dicranopteris/Casurina/Spathoglottis* association. Such environmental degradation and subsequent soil erosion continues to typify ever increasing areas in modern Polynesia. For example, in Futuna destruction of the forest began in the first centuries A.D. The resultant lateritic soils and species-depauperate vegetation represent an artificial pyro-disclimax of sorts; Kirch suggests that fire, purposeful or accidental, has traditionally maintained similar degraded environments in a variety of islands. The consequences of this environmental degradation cannot be overestimated. Root casts reveal that large portions of desolate Easter Island, for example, were once forested. In a grim lesson that needs to be learned by modern policymakers throughout Polynesia, Kirch demonstrates that deforestation, with the resultant loss of construction material, valuable watersheds, and loss of the soil mantle, has drastically affected carrying capacities in a number of islands. In New Zealand alone, more than eight million acres of forest were removed by anthro-

pogenic fires. Such areas, thus unfit for yam cultivation, may have caused sedentary agricultural populations to consider abandoning horticulture entirely and to rely solely on famine foods such as *Pteridium* rhizomes. Kirch suggests that "the loss of status that would accompany such an economic shift [from a high status food such as yams] would likely have been unacceptable, at least to a powerful group" (p. 146).

Habitat destruction and direct predation drove into extinction a number of endemic animal species throughout the islands, including the New Zealand moas, sixteen or so species of New Zealand raptorial and land birds, and perhaps as many as forty species of endemic Hawaiian birds.

Environmental change initiated by the colonists also led to sociological change, frequently resulting in agricultural intensification. Shifting cultivation tended to be replaced by permanent gardens with an emphasis on tree crops. Ceremonial restrictions on food use, such as *tapu,* may have accompanied such changes; for example turtles, sharks, rays, eels, and puffer fish are associated with contemporary Tikopian ecosystems but are absent from 1,300 years of the archaeological sequence, indicating that these species may have enjoyed *tapu* status. Given Kirch's ecological orientation, it is somewhat surprising to see that he dismisses out of hand (p. 166) the possibility that the *tapu* system may have evolved in the face of increasing environmental degradation as a conservation policy of sorts, with the chiefs fulfilling the role of ecological planners. Despite Oliver's (1974) suggestion that *tapu* restrictions were deliberately imposed for the benefit of the chiefs, *tapu* restrictions on dwindling resources must have greatly increased probabilities of group survival, and were often couched in survival terms. For example, throughout Eastern and parts of Western Polynesia the first crop of breadfruit was *tapu* and used to fill the large communal fermentation or *masi* pits that were frequently built in fortifications. While this tended to insure survival of the chiefdom, it also tended to insure survival of the group. Regardless of the indigenous explanations concerning their origin and purpose, cultural adaptations such as the *tapu* system that directly increase probabilities of group survival are termed "culturgens" by Lumdsen and Wilson (1981) and are predicted to be important determinants of cultural evolution.

Emphasis on tree-cropping throughout Polynesia led to intensification of *masi* technology, which, as in Micronesia (Atchley and Cox 1985), not only buffered the population from seasonal fluctuations in the food supply but also served to put surplus production as well as famine food supplies under societal control. However, surplus production

increasingly came to maintain people of rank, with *tapu* being used to raise both domestic production levels and the conscript labor needed to insure such higher production. Redistribution of the surplus through chiefly exchanges and feasts served to reassert the position of the chief. A synergistic relationship between agricultural intensification and the status of the chiefdoms therefore arose, reaching its apogee in complex systems of irrigation, swamp drainage, and fish ponds. Even depauperate Easter Island experienced an intensification in chicken husbandry with the construction of intricate stone fowl houses *(hare moa)* protected from theft by twisting passageways. Eventually, escalating demands for ever increasing levels of production led to warfare. As Kirch states, "The incessant demand for surplus production led chiefs to undertake the conquest of adjacent territories" (p. 192).

Thus at the heart of advanced stages in Polynesian cultural evolution was warfare. Conflict at some level was typical of nearly every island group. This fact is well known and has been perceived by most scholars (e.g. Goldman 1970; Vayda 1976; Suggs 1961; Cordy 1974) as integral to the social complexity of Polynesia. Kirch likewise recognizes the importance of warfare. In his discussion of the relationship between conflict and social change, however, Kirch (p. 216) is very careful to avoid any suggestion of ecological or demographic determination. The presence, a priori, of the concepts of *mana* (power) and the potentially conflicting statuses of *toa* (warriors) and *ariki* (chiefs) provided a "context and a stimulus" for the evolution of chiefdoms in Polynesia.

Relying on his now familiar format of ethnohistory, ethnography, and archaeology, Kirch tells a fascinating and convincing tale using specific examples from different island groups, At the heart of the processes of change were burgeoning populations, which placed ever increasing pressure on finite resources, and the power conflict between a rising class of warriors and the traditional chiefs who obtained their status through descent. These two classes regularly became interwoven: the highest title in Samoa, *Malietoa,* literally means "good warrior" and descends from a warrior who initiated the expulsion of the ruling Tongans from Samoa. Frequently in Polynesia, however, as populations grew and migrated to fill all niches on an island, conflict erupted, offering opportunities for the ambitious who wished to enhance their status via military prowess. Kirch notes that evidence for warfare is especially strong in the resource-poor leeward parts of the islands. He also notes that archaeological evidence in New Zealand in the form of fort *(pa)* construction suggests that those holding fertile irrigated lands were also predictably besieged.

Having developed and supported his thesis of social-change evolution following a more or less predictable sequence of stages throughout Polynesia, Kirch examines in detail three relatively well-researched groups: Tonga, Hawaii, and Easter Island.

Tonga's prehistory is, at present, the longest in Polynesia, spanning three thousand years. There is no archaeological evidence as yet for status differentiation during the early phase (pre-2000 B.P.) of occupation. By A.D. 1000, however, some large earthworks appear, suggesting corvée labor and, because of the evidence for sophisticated stone-cutting skills, task specialization. These monuments proliferate in the third millenium of occupation. Territorial expansion also occurred. As Kirch notes (p. 219), "The truly unique feature of Tongan society, in contrast with other Polynesian chiefdoms, was the integration by the Tongan polity of an extensive geographic region, extending far beyond the limits of the Tongan archipelago itself."

The need for frequent exchanges with islands outside Tonga was driven, in part, by the system of dual paramountship. With the assassination of Tu'i Tonga Takalua in the fifteenth century, the sacred aspects of the chiefdom were assumed by Tu'i Tonga, but the secular powers were transferred to his younger brother under the newly created title of Tu'i Ha'a, which eventually became known as the *hau*. Among Tongan siblings females have higher status than males, and among siblings of the same sex, age determines rank. This posed a dilemma for the patrilineal succession of the Tu'i Tonga line because Tu'i Tonga was always outranked by his sister, Tu'i Tonga Fefine. Her child, the Tamaha, in fact stood to inherit certain of Tu'i Tonga's rights and privileges. This potential conflict in succession was traditionally resolved by espousing Tu'i Tonga Fefine to a member of a Fijian polity, who, as a foreigner, was outside Tonga systems of descent. The problem of obtaining suitably ranked spouses for the *hau* was solved by the importation of chiefly women from Samoa and Fiji. Eventually a permanent entourage of foreign chiefdoms was attached to Tu'i Tonga and became known as the *Felefa* (four houses). Each house was represented by a chief of foreign origin—from Fiji, Samoa, Rotuma, or Tokelau. The frequent cultural exchanges such a system entailed affected not only Tonga but distant archipelagoes as well. In the Lau group in Fiji, for example, a form of Bauan Fijian with strong elements of Tongan is spoken, while the language of the Tongan outlier Niuatoputapu was not Tongan at the time of European contact in 1616, but subsequently became largely Tongan through social intercourse with the main Tongan islands.

The need for frequent long-distance voyaging necessitated large sea-

worthy canoes. Appropriate floristic resources and construction skills caused distant Kabara Island, for example, to become a major source of Tongan canoes (Banack and Cox 1986). Construction of large canoes, such as *camakau* or *drua,* took extended periods of time and thus necessitated semipermanent Tongan settlements in Lau. Chiefly exchanges also occurred between the archipelagoes. Fine mats *(i'e tonga)* were sent from Samoa to Fiji; and even the royal flock of flying foxes *(peka* or *Pteropus tonganus)* at Kolovai, Tongatapu, was said to have been a gift from the Samoan princess Sina to Tu'i Tonga.

Unlike Tonga, situated in the heart of Polynesia with its three-thousand-year-old prehistory, Hawaii is very isolated from the rest of Polynesia and was settled relatively late, A.D. 300-500. By A.D. 900-1100 populations were expanding into the less favorable leeward portions of the islands and by A.D. 1400-1500 virtually all land was occupied. Because of its large area and variable landscape, Hawaii did not develop uniformly, but by A.D. 1400 there was a surge of monumental construction signaling political complexity and social differentiation.

Kirch's structural comparison of Tonga and Hawaii is intriguing. He notes that these two systems, which are among the "most elaborated" of the Polynesian chiefdoms, have superficial differences, but on a more fundamental level are quite similar, a fact he ascribes in part to their common cultural heritage. As in Tonga, a rich body of tradition and genealogy makes it possible to trace major ruling lines and political events. Oral tradition in Hawaii is complex and focuses primarily on the nobility. Kirch accents the sharp division between the commoners and the chiefly class when he notes the former had no land and no genealogies or proof of descent. The commoners became the people who worked the land rather than the actual landowners. This theme of land ownership is a fundamental thread that weaves through the complicated tapestry of Hawaii's cultural forms and history.

In contrast to Tonga and Hawaii, whose systems were still developing at the time of European contact, Easter Island society was in a downward spiral after attaining some remarkable achievements. As with Tonga and Hawaii, Kirch traces the cultural history of the island from initial settlement (ca. A.D. 500) to European discovery in 1722. Kirch emphasizes the severe resource limitations of the environment, including the absence of permanent streams, the scarcity of timber for construction and fuel, the marginal rainfall, and the fringing reef. Chickens and introduced rats were almost the sole sources of protein on land, a fact that led to an emphasis on fishing.

Despite these constraints population grew until the second millenium

A.D. when the *ahu,* an elaboration of the East Polynesian marae complex, was in place. Kirch agrees with other researchers that the stone statues were quarried, transported, and raised on their platforms by local descent groups and are not evidence of a centralized, island-wide sociopolitical structure.

By A.D. 1500-1600 Easter Island was at a point of demographic stress. Environmental degradation leading to vegetation loss and soil erosion eventually brought on a period of intense conflict. *Ahu* construction ceased and eventually *ahu* began to be destroyed. As in the case of Hawaii, warfare led to the emergence of warrior leaders. However on Easter Island, the traditional *ariki-mau* lost secular power and then, with the emergence of the bird-man cult, religious power as well. When Roggevenn discovered the island on Easter Day, he found only the remnants of a once flourishing culture.

Kirch's epilogue, like the text, avoids simplistic summaries and casual statements. Evolutionary sequences can be understood only through a synthetic approach, namely one that considers "a variety of factors—structural, ecological, political, demographic, technological and social." For had the ancestral Polynesians not brought with them the developed opposition of *toa* and *ariki* as well as the concept of *mana,* these island societies would likely have had very different trajectories. Even Easter Island, Kirch argues, might not have experienced its devastating climax given a different, less competitive social structure.

*The Evolution of the Polynesian Chiefdoms* is undoubtedly the most important single-author synthesis of Polynesia's prehistory to date. It is very difficult for an author of such a synthesis to thread a tenuous path through the unknown mine fields of disparate disciplines. It is therefore a testimony to both the breadth and depth of Kirch's scholarship that he has been able to do this successfully. If anything, Kirch is perhaps too careful not to place primacy on a single factor. For example, his comments on Easter Island not having reached carrying capacity seem overly cautious (pp. 280-281). However, such prudence in refusing to grasp simplistic solutions has yielded rich dividends, and we believe the sociological approach taken in this book will eventually form the structural basis for research on Polynesian societies for many years to come. *The Evolution of the Polynesian Chiefdoms* represents a major intellectual triumph and should be a primary reference for all serious students of Oceanic societies.

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Patrick Vinton Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985. Pp. 349, illustrated. $26.00.

*Reviewed by Janet O. Frost, Eastern New Mexico University*

*Feathered Gods and Fishhooks* is the first attempt at book-length coverage of Hawaiian archaeology and prehistory. It is tempting to begin this review with a large number of superlatives, and many of them would be well deserved. This book is well done in almost all respects—content, format, production, and style.

Anyone familiar with Hawaiian archaeology cannot help but appreciate the work as a personal odyssey—the dedication of one individual whose twenty years of hard fieldwork helped accumulate the data necessary to make this book on Hawaiian prehistory a reality. Kirch has clearly been one of the chief architects of what we know and understand about Hawaii's past today. His own research efforts into Hawaiian archaeology are monumental, spanning all levels of involvement from student to project director.

The author's stated objective is to provide students and the informed public with a general synthesis of Hawaiian archaeology and prehistory. This is based in part on a commitment to the notion that the taxpaying public has a right to see the results of work they helped finance. Kirch has achieved his aim. The book does provide a scholarly and readable review of Hawaiian history, from the discovery and settlement of the islands by Polynesians, through the cultural adjustments as they adapted to the unique environmental situations provided by the islands, and finally to the arrival and occupation of the Europeans. Throughout the book Kirch's commitment to the scientific method, to an ecological perspective, and to processual archaeology are clear. The book is not simply a detailed review of what artifacts have been uncovered in Hawaii. It is instead an integrated synthesis of what is known about cultural evolution in Hawaii based on facts derived from field archaeology and systematic analysis of the data collected and interpreted within the ecological setting.

Kirch's familiarity with all of Polynesia and his various field experiences serve him well in this task. He explains not only what has happened in Hawaii but how and why it happened. He relies heavily on ethnographic, historical, and ecological data as he presents his interpretations as to why Hawaiian cultural adaptation followed certain lines and the important changes in subsistence and social organization that led to the historical Hawaiian culture.

The thirteen chapters and an epilogue provide the reader with all of the information necessary to develop an appreciation for both the Polynesians who settled the islands and the various scientists and scholars who have over the past three hundred years attempted to record and analyze the processes by which a unique Hawaiian culture evolved. From the baseline of Hawaiian culture as described by early Europeans, Kirch traces the history of the search for Polynesia and Hawaii origins from the Cook expedition to the beginning of the modern efforts in 1950 with K. P. Emory's excavation at a rockshelter on Oahu. This early archaeology concentrated on establishing archaeological tool sequences;

the second phase was initiated in the mid-1960s with settlement pattern and ecological studies, which supplied much needed fabric to the sequences; and the third phase of intensive investigations of small areas and contract/CRM (Cultural Resource Management) work in the 1970s has added more detail and case studies to the basic outlines of Hawaiian prehistory. By 1980 a data base existed for a comprehensive reconstruction of Hawaiian culture history. Kirch provides extensive background material for this reconstruction by reviewing the basic theoretical and methodological foundations of archaeology, and by tracing the origin and development of Polynesian culture within the oceanic island world of West Polynesia. The discussion of Hawaiian prehistory and archaeology begins with a review of all the evidence for the earliest sites in Hawaii. Kirch outlines the evidence pointing to a Marquesan homeland for the settlers, the evidence indicating the cultural material they brought with them, and the initial adjustments required in these most northerly islands of the Triangle.

Following his discussion of the earliest settlement, Kirch moves to the regional archaeology of the islands as he reviews island by island the archaeological evidence for prehistoric occupation by tracing the development of local settlement patterns, technology, subsistence activities, and so on. He consistently stresses the local variations in environmental conditions and resources as they affect cultural and social development. Although the chapter is reminiscent of the older traditions of time/space archaeology, which were limited to sequences and descriptions, this chapter does considerably more than those old-style reviews, for it involves a clear emphasis on the ecological perspective.

This regional review is followed by several chapters that describe, summarize, and analyze the archaeological data briefly introduced in previous chapters but here reviewed by topical categories: artifacts, subsistence activities, settlement patterns, and burial practices. The chapter on material culture discusses artifacts, their variation, context, and sequences. The following chapter uses the artifact and other data to explain the fishing adaptations in the islands and the technological innovations and modification made in the general Polynesian pattern to meet the local Hawaiian ecological conditions. This includes a discussion of the development of fishponds and aquaculture as well as new cultivation patterns to intensify production, Kirch traces the development of the Hawaiian system as adjustments to the microenvironments were made and the landscape modified to accommodate the growing needs of the population. He reviews the data on large irrigation systems as well as dryland field techniques and shows how these tie in with pop-

ulation growth and Polynesian social/political patterns. He reviews the models that have been proposed to account for agriculture intensification found in late prehistoric times in Hawaii and documented in the early contact era.

The short chapter on burials outlines what the archaeologist can learn from this data source, but also discusses the ethical questions faced by archaeologists who encountered such data. Kirch points out the value of this data to Hawaii since it is one of the principal ways by which archaeologists can document status differences and cultural beliefs, as well as analyze biological and demographic aspects of the population.

Much of Kirch's personal intepretation of Hawaiian prehistory is found in the chapter "Settlements and Societies," in which he summarizes and analyzes the evidence from sites. He describes all the major types of remains and shows how they relate to social and political aspects of Polynesian/Hawaiian society. Much of this interpretation is contained in four case studies used to illustrate how the culture adjusted to varying microenvironmental areas within the island group. This he ties into his final summary chapter, "The Evolution of Hawaiian Culture." Before setting forth his own cultural-historical sequence to summarize Hawaiian prehistory, he discusses the process of change that provided direction to Hawaiian social evolution. He reviews the problems of the "founder effect"—what material goods the original group settling the islands may have had with them, and how local conditions and isolation may have forced modification. He also reviews the evidence for population growth, how this ties in with the unique aspects of Hawaiian social and political organization, and the intensification of production that seems to be associated with the critical population changes after A.D. 1250. He also points out the profound effect the people had on the nature of the Hawaiian environment over 1,500 years.

Kirch divides the Hawaiian sequence into four periods. The Colonization Period (A.D. 300-600) began when people first arrived from the Marquesan Islands and moved into the fertile windward valleys and rich fishing grounds of the archipelago. Local conditions seemed to have led to changes in the material culture including the adz kit as well as fishhooks. Kirch summarizes the subsistence complex, structures, and social/political aspects associated with this early period.

The Developmental Period (600-1100) is marked by the establishment of the distinct Hawaiian ecological adaptations and material culture as population densities begin to increase and some rank and status differences appear.

The Expansion Period (1100-1650) is marked by the burgeoning population, production intensification, and stratification of social and political organization as leeward regions are occupied and taro irrigation, dryland farming, and fishpond/aquaculture appear. Warfare and political integration as well as extensive *heiau* construction all seem to be associated with the appearance of powerful chiefs.

The Proto-Historic Period (1650-1795) sees the continuing elaboration and intensification of the characteristics of the Expansion Period to produce the complex political chiefdoms described at contact, This period of warfare and rivalry is marked by cyclic expansions of chiefdoms and their collapse and retrenchment, with such changes often tied to complex marriage alliances, the *kapu* system, and special cults.

Kirch's final chapter is a review of historical archaeology in Hawaii. He outlines some of the problems to be studied before a full understanding can be gained of how nineteenth-century changes affected the life of indigenous Hawaiians. His concluding remarks are a plea for wise site protection and management in Hawaii. The book displays a sensitivity to Hawaiian culture—to its belief systems, its social and political structures, and its adaptation to the environment. This provides the reader with a feeling of involvement and caring which often fails to penetrate a review of artifact sequences and settlement patterns, of which such books are often composed. Kirch has set a standard for archaeological reporting that will be a model for future work. And he has certainly documented that there is archaeology in Oceania and that we can, in fact, learn many things about cultural behavior there that we cannot learn in continental areas.

Bruce M. Knauft, *Good Company and Violence: Sorcery and Social Action in a Lowland New Guinea Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. Pp. x, 474, photographs, tables, figures, appendices, notes, references. $40.00.

*Reviewed by Paula Brown Glick, State University of New York, Stony Brook*

Longhouse communities in the upper Strickland area, a remote part of the Western Province of Papua New Guinea, were first discovered by Champion and Hides in the 1930s, yet it was not until 1963 that Nomad, an administrative outpost, was established by the Australian administration. Knauft's study is the latest in a number of most remark-

able works by contemporary anthropologists who have undertaken the arduous monolingual fieldwork necessary to understand the traditional life of these communities. The Gebusi, in the Rentoul and nearby valleys, number a few hundred people subsisting on a combination of sago, bananas, a few other crops, occasional domestic pigs, and the products of collecting and hunting.

Knauft draws his analysis around the "primary dialectic" of Gebusi: good company, that is the joviality, talk, and good humor of collective sociality, especially in all-night ritual feasts and spirit seances in the longhouse; and violence, the organized homicidal retaliation for deaths that have been attributed to sorcery. Adult men are the main accusers, killers, and victims, as well as the spirit mediums and investigators of deaths. Gebusi society is not only small and remote, with a high infant mortality and short life expectancy; it is also drastically declining from these homicides and from raids by the neighboring Bedamini, some of which are by contract to kill a sorcerer. Death frequently claims a second victim in the accused sorcerer. About one-third of adult deaths are by homicide, and most of these are connected with sorcery accusations and revenge. The inherent contradiction and main question that Knauft examines is the complex interrelation of sex and marriage (the culturally stated preference is for sister exchange, but in practice marriage is more often nonreciprocal), good company (which is best exemplified in coresidence of affines), suspicion of sorcery (which is most often by affines), and the violence that follows sorcery accusations.

The text provides detailed examples of ritual performances and feasts, narrative tales, seances, the role and behavior of spirit mediums, and many cases of sorcery accusation and homicide, with explication of the family and interpersonal relationships involved. Accusations of sorcery are made in divination inquests in which, according to Knauft, the person accused often tacitly admits the practice under strong public pressure. However, no evidence or observation of sorcery practice is given by Gebusi, and the accused persistently deny their guilt. The death of a community member becomes evidence of a lapse in sincerity of good relations among kinsmen and affines, with tragic consequences.

The meanings of Gebusi concepts and actions are examined and compared within and outside Melanesia to show Gebusi sorcery in comparative perspective. Sorcery types include leaf-wrapped parcels of excrement, presumably by a coresident and the most common type of sorcery for which revenge is taken, and assault and epidemic forms, thought to be by external enemies. The contrast with the New Guinea highlands large-scale exchange systems is particularly striking. In these New

Guinea societies, large and small, the most important ties of members of a solidary local patrilineal group are with the wife's brothers and non-agnatic kin. These ties are ambivalent and conflict-producing. In the highlands, exogamy and intergroup competition play out in large-scale prestige presentations, whereas Gebusi may have carried this ambivalence and its potential for conflict to a destructive extreme.

Rich as it is in material and analysis of its central problem, the book leaves some questions, There are many tables and statistical demonstrations of the relation of marriage, homicide, demography, types of sorcery cases, and the outcome of sorcery accusations. However, there is no list of tables and figures, and basic data concerning marriage patterns and choices must be tracked down in the index. Relations between the sexes, homosexuality, adultery, and the life of and choices of women are little discussed. The final chapter, "Conclusions of method and theory," seems tacked on as an afterthought and not sufficiently integrated into the body of the book. I hope that these ideas will find their way into future contributions and comparative discussions.

New Guinea ethnography continually amazes us with the capacities of the human imagination, and we are fortunate that it is in such good hands as Knauft's.

Jocelyn Linnekin, *Children of the Land: Exchange and Status in a Hawaiian Community*. New Brunswick, N. J. : Rutgers University Press, 1984. Pp. xvi, 264, index. $27.00.

*Reviewed by George E. Marcus, Rice University*

Despite some fine cultural studies of contemporary Polynesians, most of which have a psychological bent (see, for example, Howard 1974; Kirkpatrick 1983; and Levy 1973), the treatment of specifically *contemporary* Polynesians has generally been a blind spot in anthropology. The reasons for such an aporia, despite anthropology's classic and continuing concerns with Polynesia as a culture area, are not difficult to discover. Polynesia before European contact had been one of the quintessential sources of human exotic otherness, which anthropology mined in establishing itself as a distinctive Western field of knowledge. The establishment of anthropology was accompanied by the pressing function of salvage—either reconstructing past cultures or recording those in the process of disappearing. Unlike the post-European contact situation of Africa or much of Melanesia, that of Polynesia was, again, quintessen-

tially understood by anthropologists as one of virtual cultural destruction and loss. The repeated discovery around the globe by modern fieldworkers of the subtle resiliency of "authentic" indigenous cultures amid conditions of massive social change has been a much more difficult ethnographic story to tell for twentieth-century Polynesia, and accounts have been left largely to historians, geographers, and development-oriented social scientists. This anthropological inability to "see" indigenous cultural distinctiveness in the postcontact situation of Polynesia is an early instance of a now more general problem: understanding cultural diversity in a world system that by the late twentieth century has forced anthropologists to rethink some of the grounding assumptions and practices that inform ongoing ethnographic research by the fieldwork method.

Indeed, the neglected study of modern Polynesia has heightened significance precisely because it has long been a troublesome case for contemplating the distinctiveness of cultures whose public forms and expressions have become severely attenuated, masked, and ironic to those ("natives" as well as anthropologists) who behold them. The obvious challenge for anthropology, then, is to revise its operating assumptions and research practices to grasp more sensitively the contemporary conditions of the kinds of cultures that have long been its distinctive object.

In the case of Jocelyn Linnekin's ethnography, the issue is what makes contemporary Hawaiians Hawaiian. Much more so than the peoples of western Polynesia (e.g., Samoans and Tongans), contemporary eastern Polynesians have been neglected subjects of anthropology. Among scholars a certain qualified and compromised assimilation under considerable indigenous control characterizes postcontact western Polynesia, whereas virtual destruction or obliteration of native cultures is the salient image of eastern Polynesia. This judgment is remarkably premature, however rooted it is in Polynesian anthropology, to anyone who has spent time in Hawaii (or for that matter, Tahiti, the Marquesas, and other groups of eastern Polynesia). Yet, these societies certainly cannot be described in precisely the same terms used by reconstructionist accounts of them. Nor can the classic concepts developed by anthropological theory in the general study of oceanic societies (e.g., the moral economy of exchange systems pioneered by Mauss and Lévi-Strauss) be applied without irony to the presumed remnant, compromised, or devastated "natives" of late-twentieth-century Polynesia. In what terms, then, might the contemporary ethnography of Polynesians be developed, given the challenge that present conditions of global social

change pose to the grounding assumptions of anthropological research practice?

Linnekin's understanding of this problem is sophisticated, but her resolution of it is not. The fashionable key phrase that indicates an alternative approach to conventional cultural analysis is "the invention of culture or tradition" (see, for example, Wagner 1981; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Such an approach challenges claims that any particular model of a culture is authoritative, authentic, or integral. Further, it is sensitive to the ironic conditions of cultural processes (as well as to the problems of representing them objectively) and appreciates the multiple ideological uses and interpretations of cultural practices that anthropologists have tended to understand as essential, as "by and for themselves." The most intimate and seemingly persistent expressions of culture are products of changing historical and politicized contexts, and indeed are thoroughly understood as such by native peoples in their own forms of discourse. (One of the favored demonstrations of such an "invention of culture" approach is to undermine the notion of cultural authenticity by replacing the appearance of timeless, essential tradition by an account of the latter's recent, usually complex origins in historical events.) In short, diverse cultural systems in the modern era of capitalism and Western expansion must be understood as thoroughly contested from within as well as from without.

The implication is that people are constantly debating and struggling to define their culture, and are not at ease or at home in it. Latter-day Hawaiians are indeed children of the land, and many of their concerns are recognizably pan-Polynesian, as Linnekin demonstrates. But their contemporary problems of self-definition and daily life are those of ethnicity—just as they are for the many other non-Polynesian groups that inhabit the islands. Any consideration of what it is to be Hawaiian today cannot escape the very special conditions of plurality and modernity in which the familiar and shared concerns of Polynesian forms of life are sustained, but not without debate and uncertainty even among those who most purely practice a "traditional" way of life like the people of Keanae whom Linnekin studied.

While Linnekin's introduction, conclusion, and many of her insights are imbued with the spirit of the approach characterized above, the execution of her research and analysis is dominated by certain longstanding conventions of anthropological practice that block her, finally, from delivering a systematic work addressing the issues in the way she poses them. Most fundamentally (and conventionally), she locates herself in a research site where "they still do it," so to speak—a village that

is self-consciously and emblematically recognized by Hawaiians (both residents and those who live elsewhere) as a place in which the "traditional" way of life is lived authentically. While anthropologists of Polynesia have habitually located themselves in such sites to avoid the exigencies of contemporary conditions, one might argue that they are exceptional, awkward, and difficult research locations for those, like Linnekin, who want to understand and confront Hawaiian culture fully in its contemporary context. Not that Hawaiian practices are any less contested or ideologically manipulated within Keanae, but here, at least, the ironies of the invented conditions of tradition are likely to be subtle and masked. The danger, then, of locating in the conventional sort of fieldsite is that the ethnographer might take the practice of a Hawaiian way of life pretty much at face value. While this monograph is rich in insight and in marginal asides about the way tradition is invented, it largely succumbs to this danger.

I believe Linnekin's crucial error was to accept as an objective distinction of her own ethnographic analysis the prominent inside-outside distinction made by Keanae residents to bound their "authentic" cultural world from that of the larger plural society in which they must also participate. Outside is the world of money; inside is the world of tradition, kinship, the taro patch, gift exchange, and the like. In fact, contemporary ethnicity in most places is so constructed in the ideological and highly self-conscious task of laying and maintaining boundaries of difference. Yet, the ethnographer often finds that the inside is penetrated in all sorts of ways that make sustaining a traditional way of life precarious and even duplicitous. It may be different in Keanae, but Linnekin does not show why or how, because she absorbs the inside-outside distinction as an unproblematic distinction in her own analysis. She grafts her conventional distanced perspective as ethnographer onto local ideology and commitments.

In her analysis of life on the inside of Keanae, Linnekin provides a straightforward, largely sociological treatment of the community in terms that establish the similarities between rural indigenous life in Hawaii and elsewhere in contemporary Polynesia—the nature of kin relations, the thematic importance of exchange, the salience of adoption, the work centered around the cultivation of root crops (with the heightened symbolic importance of taro in Keanae). For a work that wants to get at the processes by which tradition is invented, there is very little attention to or exposure of local discourse. The ethnographer summarizes the attitudes of her subjects and deals mainly with social relations in terms that are fairly generic for the anthropological literature on Polynesian societies. Thus, while what she has to say fits well and

interestingly into the existing literature on Polynesia (with the biases I have noted above), it is very difficult for her to break new ground, to get at the contested conditions of tradition in contemporary Keanae.

There is much interesting material in this book on historic land distribution in Hawaii, on the rise of "big men" in recent times, and on the salience of egalitarian norms in Keanae (which would seem to contradict the theme of pervasive hierarchy in social relations by which anthropologists have traditionally characterized Hawaii)—all sources for potentially demonstrating the ironic nature of "inside" traditional practices in Keanae. But such material is not integrated and brought to bear in a systematic way on the predicaments of being *kamaʻāina* today. In a sense, the residents of Keanae stand as the "orthodox" of a largely assimilated Hawaiian culture, and while there is great intensity of pride in this, which Linnekin captures well, there also must be considerable costs and ambivalence in bearing such symbolic weight, dimensions of Keanae life that Linnekin elides.

Finally, and perhaps wisely, Linnekin seems to temper her rhetoric with a recognition of the politically sensitive context in which any anthropological writing must be done on contemporary Hawaiians, a people, like Native Americans, trying to deal with a historic legacy of domination while renewing themselves in a plural, mass society in which many groups seem to be attempting the same thing. A thoroughly critical, though respectful, perspective on one's subjects in such a highly sensitive atmosphere does not necessarily gain admirers. In any case, Linnekin's rhetoric conveys the conventional attitude of empathy and admiring sympathy usually displayed by ethnographers, and, in my reading, she exhibits a strongly felt identity with them and their ability to adapt to changes. The problem is that this posture is difficult to reconcile with the full implications of an invention of culture approach that probes deception, demystification of "tradition," and cultural struggle. Thus the conventional self-presentation of the ethnographer in standard accounts, whose posture of empathy verges on according a fundamental authenticity to the daily life of subjects, is likely to change considerably as this approach is experimented with. Because Linnekin stays well within existing conventions of standard accounts she does not face this problem.

In sum, then, this is an uneven book, but not for lack of quality in the fieldwork or the conception. The grounding issues are stated in a very interesting and sophisticated manner, and the analysis, within its conventions, is of very high quality. The unevenness is that the approach outlined and the analysis pursued are mismatched. The result is a concluding chapter that equivocates on the crucial issues of the levels at

which tradition can be expressed under contemporary conditions, and whether there can ever be a referent to which the label cultural authenticity can be applied. And if there cannot be, then what sort of sympathetic and morally positive perspectives on culture can anthropologists continue to hold? For example, in her conclusion (p. 241) Linnekin states, "This interpretation does not invalidate the reality, or even the authenticity, of modern Hawaiian tradition. The point is simply that such authenticity is always contextualized, always defined in the present." This is clearly "having it both ways," and Linnekin can do so because her analysis is not really set up to make a strong argument about the invention of "tradition" in contemporary Keanae. Yet one wants something stronger by way of conclusion from an ethnography written in this spirit. Tradition is an idea that Linnekin initially presents in quotation marks, so to speak, and one expects the work to explore why and how under contemporary conditions this figurative punctuation (marking irony) is sustained by Hawaiians. Yet, remarkably, Linnekin's work, for the reasons discussed, ends pretty much by removing the quotation marks from the notion of tradition.

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Denise O'Brien and Sharon W. Tiffany, eds., *Rethinking Women's Roles: Perspectives from the Pacific.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. Pp. xiii, 237, index. $28.50.

*Reviewed by Victoria Joralemon, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas*

This volume contributes a number of ethnographically rich case studies to the growing anthropological literature on women's roles, statuses

and experiences. The product of two Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania symposia (1979 and 1980), the assembled studies aim to "understand and incorporate women's experiences into the anthropological and historical discourse about Pacific Island social systems" (p. 5). The majority of the eight articles deal with contemporary, indigenous women in Melanesian societies; two historical contributions deviate from this general theme to examine the roles of expatriate and missionary women.

Melanesian societies, frequently noted for their sexual stratification, disparities, and antagonisms have proven over time to be fertile ground for innovative and provocative research on women in society. The articles in this volume build upon these strong foundations and contribute to ongoing discussions about women in the domestic and public domains; women's strategies to achieve economic and social power in male-dominated worlds; the various factors that shape the social valuation of women and their changing roles; and women's place in overarching conceptual and ideological systems.

The articles are notable for bypassing a direct concern with female pollution and sexual antagonism and instead delving into various political, socioeconomic, and ideological issues. As a group, the assembled studies also give the reader a sense of the substantial diversity of the position of women in different Melanesian societies, ranging from the more egalitarian (and, in some cases, matrilineal) island societies (e.g., New Britain and the Solomons), to the more stratified New Guinea Highlands communities.

In a theoretically stimulating article ("The Denigration of Domesticity"), Strathern cautions us against the recent preoccupation with the notion that women must participate in extradomestic (i.e., public) spheres of power and influence in order to be considered "proper persons," persons of "value." Implicit in this trend, she says, is a Western cultural bias that denigrates domesticity. The domestic domain is viewed as infantilizing, inhabited by "less than full persons" (i.e., women and children) who are closer to nature than to those things that constitute culture. Strathern argues that the nature/culture paradigm does not represent how Hageners (Highlanders) themselves perceive their world and that Hagen women (who contribute within the domestic sphere and lack extradomestic spheres of power) are full, autonomous, cultural beings.

McDowell takes the concept of complementarity, which she notes is frequently and uncritically used to describe male/female relations and gender roles, and uses it to explore Bun (Eastern Sepik) gender relationships in three interrelated cultural contexts: subsistence/economics,

behavioral/social interaction, and ideological/conceptual systems. Her analysis should serve as a model for others seeking to understand how males and females complement each other to constitute a "totality" of humanness.

Nash's data on the matrilineal and relatively egalitarian Nagovisi (Solomon Islands) challenge the commonly accepted position that female concentration in subsistence agriculture and male domination in cash-cropping and marketing are invariably associated with a lowering of female status and the gradual replacement of matrilineal with patrilineal institutions. Focusing on the social context of work and its cultural valuation, she proposes that Nagovisi women's garden work is highly skilled, socially valued, and, although household-oriented, is publicly acknowledged (there is no clear distinction between public and domestic spheres). She also notes that matrilineal institutions have remained strong both because of the high valuation of women's contributions and because men can only acquire cocoa cash-cropping land from their wives' matrilineages. Her discussion of the underpinnings of high female status in Nagovisi is not completely convincing, however, due to her exclusive focus on "work" to the exclusion of other factors that shape women's status (this after acknowledging that women's status is "multifactorial"). Most important here is that Nash fails to connect women's food production (the source of high status) to the larger social/prestige context in which it figures so prominently (e.g., "food production is central to all wealth"). One is left wondering how forces at work in this broader socioeconomic context impinge upon female valuation.

Counts and Sexton examine women's strategies to acquire social and economic power, respectively. Counts argues that suicide is not an act of deviance in Lusi society (New Britain), but a culturally appropriate political strategy adopted by powerless persons (mainly women) to redress wrongs done to them and to sanction men's behavior (through the avenging actions of kin and others following the suicide). Sexton interprets the "Wok Meri" ("women's work") movement (Eastern Highlands), a savings and exchange system, as a collective response by women to their deteriorating economic status since the advent of male-dominated coffee cash-cropping. Although males control strategic productive resources (coffee trees and land), women, by virtue of their labor contributions, are now claiming a small portion of their husbands' coffee earnings. This money is added to small amounts of money earned from selling vegetables and deposited in a "Wok Meri" account. At the end of an extensive ritual cycle that ties together a large number of such groups, women invest their accumulated funds in profitable economic

enterprises similar to those in which men invest. Sexton proposes that women's increasing control over capital will work to alter the present structure of gender relations.

On the basis of a content analysis of Melanesian and other Pacific Island ethnographies, O'Brien aptly demonstrates that much of anthropological discourse is biased toward the male perspective and either ignores, denigrates, or is ambiguous about women, Examples from the classic studies of renowned scholars (e.g., Firth, Whiting, Meggitt, and Sahlins) are particularly appalling. O'Brien notes that female-authored ethnographies typically give a much more well-rounded view of males and females in society and concludes that the anthropologist's gender is an important factor structuring his/her "objective" perceptions.

The articles by Forman and Boutilier, which deal with expatriate and missionary women, although important historical contributions, do not coalesce well with the other studies in this volume. Boutilier reconstructs the contributions to frontier society of eight expatriate European women in pre-World War II plantation/administrative circles in the Solomon Islands. Forman examines the course of change over time in women's (both indigenous and expatriate) growing participation in South Pacific churches. While all of the other studies focus on indigenous Melanesian women and/or ethnoghraphers' perceptions of them, these last articles deviate substantially from this theme and their inclusion weakens the volume's overall impact.

Nevertheless, this volume is an important addition to the expanding literature on women in Melanesia and the Pacific. The studies clearly demonstrate that, if our goal is to achieve meaningful insights into human behavior and society, women's experiences and contributions must be incorporated into anthropological analyses. The volume's major attribute is that it sensitizes us to the fact that women are strategic and vital components in human social systems, even in strongly patriarchal, male-dominated societies.

Andrew Strathern, ed., *Inequality in New Guinea Highlands Societies.* Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology, No. 11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Pp. 224, illustrated. $37.50.

*Reviewed by Ben R. Finney, University of Hawaii*

The societies of the New Guinea Highlands are noted for their "big-man" systems, in which self-made men rise to economic and political leadership, and for the marked difference in status between men and

women. The five essays in this book examine these forms of inequality and newer ones emergent with the penetration of capitalism into the Highlands.

In the first of his two essays, "Two Waves of African Models in the New Guinea Highlands," Andrew Strathern reviews the now-abandoned attempt to cast Highlands societies into the mold of African-descent group models, and considers the applicability of neo-Marxist models of inequality that have more recently been developed in African settings. In both cases Strathern finds the models inadequate to explain New Guinean realities.

In his lengthy essay, "Production and Inequality: Perspectives from Central New Guinea," Nicholas Modjeska relates inequality among men and between men and women to production and exchange, using material from the Duna and neighboring groups. His contention that big-man leadership and high-intensity production and exchange go together would seem to tie in with some of Maurice Godelier's findings in his essay, "Social Hierarchies among the Baruya." The Baruya, a small group on the eastern edge of the Highlands with a productive capacity much lower than the more populous Highlands groups, do not have the big-men so typical of the larger and wealthier Highlands groups. Instead, they have "great-men" who are fierce war leaders and accomplished shamans. Godelier correlates this contrast with exchange systerns: the Baruya practice restricted exchange of women while the big-man-dominated societies practice generalized exchange of women and wealth.

These first three essays deal primarily with the "ethnographic present." The last two essays in this collection are explicitly historical or transformational.

In an exciting essay, "The Ipomoean Revolution Revisited: Society and the Sweet Potato in the Upper Wahgi Valley," archaeologist Jack Golson reanalyzes data from the 10,000-year-old Kuk agricultural site to ask when and how the intensive agriculture/pig raising systems presumably basic to big-manship originated. His effort, stimulated by the writings of Modjeska and other social anthropologists, results in an intriguing hypothesis: the intensive agricultural systems of Kuk, which began to take shape some 2,000 years ago and were probably based on taro before the sweet potato was introduced, were not forced on the Wahgi Valley people by environmental change as formerly thought but represent a socially inspired intensification of production that laid the foundation for the big-man systems that dominated the region at contact.

In the final essay, "Peasants or Tribesmen?" Andrew Strathern extends the inquiry about inequality into the present, asking how capitalism may be transforming traditional patterns. In addition to considering the issue of how much wealthy Highlands entrepreneurs are departing from traditional big-man models, and musing about how business could liberate women if only they could freely engage in new enterprises, Strathern observes that new forms of group inequality are emerging. Groups with fertile land and easy market access are forging ahead of less well-endowed and more remote groups, and syndicates of aggressive politician-businessmen are using their political connections and business acumen to gain a dominant position in the marketplace.

These essays may be tough going for readers who have not already immersed themselves in the considerable body of literature on Highlands societies that has developed over the last few decades. Nonetheless, the essays may be attractive to nonspecialists because they reflect considerable progress in understanding Highlands social systems, including how they may have originated and how they are evolving today. In fact, anthropologists working elsewhere may be growing a bit envious of those who work in an area where prehistory, ethnography, and current sociology provide such a rich and integrated field for study. Already there are signs that the intellectual balance of trade among anthropological regions is being reversed; where Highlands specialists once imported their explanatory models from Africa, they now find their ideas on practices such as big-man systems borrowed for use in other contexts.

James B. Watson, *Tairora Culture: Contingency and Pragmatism*. Anthropological Studies in the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea, No. 5. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983. Pp. 346, illustrations, index. $35.00.

*Reviewed by Rena Lederman, Princeton University*

This book is the first ethnography in a series sponsored by the New Guinea Microevolution Project, a cooperative venture of ethnographers, archaeologists, a linguist, and a geographer, organized to produce controlled comparative analyses from several perspectives of a number of geographically proximate cultural/linguistic groups in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. James Watson is well known to readers of the literature on Highlands peoples as the editor of an early

collection of articles assessing the state of Highlands research (Watson 1964) and as the author of articles on Highlands prehistory and social organization (Watson 1965, 1970, 1977). In the mid-1960s Watson initiated a debate concerning what sort of precolonial developmental history might account for the present-day social and economic character of Highlands societies. While his specific argument that the introduction of the sweet potato *(Ipomoea batatas)* brought about a "revolution" in Highlands social and economic life was soon contested by various scholars (Brookfield and White 1968), and while subsequent archaeological reconstructions of the long-term prehistory of the Highlands (Golson 1977, 1981, 1982) have subsumed that debate, Watson's thesis proved to be an exceptionally productive framework for analytical synthesis. Moreover, his more general argument about the competitive character of Highlands social process—what he dubbed "the Jones effect"—has held up very well, and is somewhat taken for granted, at least in the anthropological literature on the central Highlands.

In *Tairora Culture,* Watson provides readers with a detailed social organizational analysis of one of the several ethnolinguistic groups living in the Eastern Highlands, an area perhaps already familiar to readers from the works of Shirley Lindenbaum, Sterling Robbins, Richard Sorenson, and others. A very brief discussion of the Northern Tairora "cosmos" (the local conceptualization of social geography, including the relative positioning of the human and nonhuman space, and something of the way in which social history might be read in that landscape) in chapter 2 and a much longer description of Northern Tairora material culture in chapter 3 both help to contextualize the main, primarily sociological, concerns of the book. In the following four central chapters Watson describes two Northern Tairora social collectivities (phratries) statistically and processually, and analyzes how such collectivities are formed and ideologically sustained in spite of (really, because of) an ever-shifting membership.

Perhaps the most important analytical argument this book contributes to our understanding of social process in the Eastern Highlands is Watson's account of the regular transformation of kin into strangers and strangers into kin (see especially chapters 5-7). The historical/cultural conditions of Northern Tairora society—at least at the time of Watson's fieldwork, about thirty years after the colonial administration banned indigenous warfare—are small polities and an expanding population. The fissioning of political units, the emigration of groups of people to new (already occupied) territories, and their incorporation into their hosts' communities are extremely common facts of life there. Watson

suggests that this systematic and regular process of social realignment, entailing the "erosion of kinship," has in fact become more common with pacification. He considers two issues in detail: first, why and how the Northern Tairora replace insiders ("kin") with outsiders, and second, how a sense of transgenerational continuity is created for local political groups despite their shifting membership.

On the first issue, Watson points out that outsiders are readily accepted into Northern Tairora communities because the communities' small size makes them vulnerable to demographic fluctuations if they simply rely on natural increase, and their members are always concerned to maintain a certain level of group strength. Furthermore, the recruitment of outsiders is deemed advantageous because they arrive with a clean slate (no grievances exist between them and existing group members); because they readily become a local source of spouses; and because they come as "clients" of "strong-men" (local leaders), and not —as is the case for existing community factions—as rivalrous equals.

Watson very clearly demonstrates a dialectical relationship between this strategy of augmenting group strength and the relatively high rate of community fissioning and out-migration. Immigrants both strengthen the community of kinsmen and weaken it; they are a source of tension that can itself precipitate fissioning. Strong-men play key roles in this process. As elsewhere in the New Guinea Highlands, Tairora leaders derive at least a part of their local strength from the extra-local exchange partnerships that they create; they may depend on friends from distant communities for support in internal factional disputes. But in Tairora, this process is carried further than in other central Highlands societies to the west (e.g., Mae Enga, Melpa, or even Mendi). As elsewhere in the Highlands, the dynamics of personal exchange networks may work against local community solidarity as a contradictory outcome of efforts to strengthen the community; but in Northern Tairora communities, strong-man rivalries regularly result in the creation of new communities.

Watson asserts that despite recurrent in- and out-migration, the Northern Tairora conceptualize the bonds of community in terms of "kinship." In chapter 7 he explores their idioms of relationship, paying special attention to ways of asserting the genealogical continuity of local polities (their "dogma of descent"). This discussion might have been more helpful had it come earlier in the book, since the problematics of distinguishing "kin" from "non-kin" in this society is a theme that weaves its way through most of the text and bears on the central analytical argument. Before chapter 7, this reader had no reason for believing

that the Tairora themselves conceptualized community membership in terms other than coresidence and cooperation—which are not necessarily nor specifically "kinship" ideas. Chapter 7, however, provides some sense of Tairora idioms of shared substance and transgenerational continuity. But this discussion is disappointing for its abstraction from the particular sociopolitical contexts in which these constructs are used. Despite his specific concern for the *functional* efficacy of descent idioms in fostering group unity, Watson provides little analysis of performance in social situations. As a result, his assumption that the efficacy of Tairora descent dogmas should be measured in terms of group unity is not convincingly validated with reference to *Tairora* intentions.

Instead, Watson provides a condensed cultural account. Tairora idioms of shared substance include references to common links to the land, and to the various effects of the transfer of blood, semen, and food; these, along with a stress on nurturance or "education," constitute the Northern Tairora notion of "kinship" in Watson's account. This discussion is also disappointing. Watson appears to be arguing against a set of assumptions about the "somatic" basis of "kinship" or "genealogy" that few of his readers are likely to have. Consequently, he develops his case for the multiplex and nonbiological character of Tairora kinship notions extremely slowly. It is odd that he does not draw support from the wider literature on descent constructs (e.g., Schneider 1973) or from excellent analyses of the relationship between descent, locality, and other metaphors of shared substance in cultures elsewhere in the Highlands (e.g., Strathern 1973). Reference to some of this literature might have allowed him to get to the heart of the matter more quickly and to present Tairora notions in more depth.

These omissions are unfortunately characteristic. Despite providing provocative and interesting data, *Tairora Culture* is generally weakened by its lack of attention to the relevant post-1970 literature on the Highlands. With the exception of references to other volumes in the same series, the vast majority of works cited derive from the 1960s and earlier. In fact, so completely does the book avoid even indirect allusion to the relevant ethnographic concerns and discoveries of the past decade or so that many nonspecialist readers may miss the book's contemporary value and interest. For example, in his introduction Watson emphasizes the importance of paying attention to the "intersocial field" and not just to "habitat and provisioning," a very general allusion to the concerns of anthropologists interested in "human ecology" (an approach influential in Highlands research in the 1960s and early 1970s). While Watson's position is unexceptional in anthropology generally (in the 1960s or the

1980s), it might have had a particular, local relevance for Highlands researchers ten or fifteen years ago. Now the issue has no punch, On the other hand, Watson does not call attention to more recent and ongoing disputation among Highlands researchers about the relative importance of corporate groups and exchange networks, an issue to which this book contributes much of interest.

Watson says at the outset that he wants to consider his material in its own right; even so, consideration of recent research might have suggested implications that would have strengthened the analysis, especially given the explicitly comparative objectives of the project of which this work is a part.

In a way, however, the limitations of *Tairora Culture* are symptomatic of a problem evident in much of recent Highlands anthropology. The patchiness of Highlands research in the 1950s and early 1960s made possible a number of provocative comparative syntheses (e.g., Watson 1964); the explosion of research since then has, with a few exceptions (e.g., Brown 1978; Rubel and Rosman 1978), inhibited comparative analysis. Researchers concerned with other parts of Melanesia—the Massim, Vanuatu, the Sepik—have begun to respond to a similar situation with conferences, conference volumes, and works of regional comparison and synthesis. Highlands researchers need to follow suit. As they do, they will surely have to take account of ethnographic works like *Tairora Culture.* With its emphasis on the dynamic, structural significance of exchange networks, Watson's analysis of Northern Tairora social process clearly has comparative implications well outside of the Eastern Highlands.

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*Reviewed by Patricia Polansky, Russian Bibliographer, Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii*

Of all the numerous publications in Russian, and the lesser number in English, written about Nikolai Nikolaevich Miklouho-Maclay, this is unreservedly the best biography now in print. Elsie Webster has done an excellent job in bringing the "white Papuan" to life. In particular, this is a believable and realistic portrayal of a man who is mostly overglorified in the Soviet Union and largely unknown in the West. The author writes very well, unraveling a complex life and presenting his scientific contributions within the context of the times.

Physically the book is well presented, The illustrations are carefully chosen, and those reprinted from Maclay's *Sobranie sochinenii* [Collected works] look much better than in the Soviet edition. The maps are

a great asset, making clear where events are taking place. The nineteen chapters have insightful titles that provide a good framework as Maclay's life unfolds. A note on sources, a conversion table, notes on spelling and dates, and an index enrich the work. The notes are quite good, but would be more useful if note references had been included in the text. The reader tends to be unaware of the notes, or has to hunt to find the correct reference. The bibliography is well organized, but suffers from the widely used practice of citing Russian works in that language with the English translation in parentheses.

The foreword, by the eminent scholar O. H. K. Spate, alerts us to a biography of Maclay "in all his generosity and his vanity, his littleness and his greatness." Maclay was a complex person, craving solitude for most of his life and yet undertaking more projects than most people would attempt in two lifetimes. A particularly favored motto was "he who risks nothing gains nothing." For most of his life Maclay was in quest of money to clear constant debts. Several friends, patrons, and his family in Russia helped, although very inconsistently. Another concern of Maclay's was to establish a series of scientific research stations throughout Europe and later the Pacific. In fact, only one, in Australia, ever became a reality. Maclay's greatest fame during his lifetime was not in Russia but in Australia.

Maclay's travels included Germany, France, England, Spain, Portugal, the Canary Islands, Italy, Morocco, Egypt, New Guinea, Mangareva, the Malay peninsula, Siam, Hong Kong, the China coast, Singapore, Java, Palau, Yap, the Philippines, the Admiralty Islands, the Solomon Islands, the Trobriand Islands, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and Australia. He worked constantly throughout his short life, except when absolutely incapacitated from malarial fevers. His scientific interests began with biological and zoological studies of sponges and evolved eventually to anthropological observations of the various native groups he visited. He even taught himself the new skill of photography. He was influenced by various teachers and scientific thinkers of his day, and was acquainted with many Russian philosophers and writers, including Herzen, Turgenev, and Tolstoy.

Perhaps Maclay's greatest contribution resulted from two stays in New Guinea. He is considered rather unique and a model in his patience and noninterference with the native peoples. He considered his primary task one of observation, not judgment. Despite his efforts to learn the language, there is a gap in his understanding of the Papuans and many of their customs. The one great political wish of his later life

was the so-called Maclay Coast Scheme. Maclay wanted to establish a protectorate for his Papuans, a colony under Russian protection and himself as head. However, his lack of understanding of the real political situation in the larger world (France, England, Germany, Russia) prevented him from seeing this accomplished.

In the epilogue Webster points out very clearly the contradictions in Maclay's scientific life. For such a hard worker, he left behind little of lasting significance. He is nonetheless still a hero in the Soviet Union. For those interested in anthropology and in the history of New Guinea's Papuans and other Pacific islanders, Maclay is a very important person with whom to become acquainted. He was the first European to describe certain Pacific peoples. An earlier biography by B. N. Putilov (Moscow: Progress, 1982) was translated into English, but it is nowhere near the comprehensive, insightful, and realistic portrayal found in Webster's work.

## Note: Arent Schuyler De Peyster's *Rebecca* Logbook, 1818-1824

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Brita Akerren's contribution to the Fall 1983 issue of *Pacific Studies* contains an account of Nukuhiva from the journal of John Adam Graaner, a Swedish army officer traveling on board the British brigantine *Rebecca,* commanded by A. S. De Peyster. Graaner's journal contains a detailed account of the *Rebecca's* Pacific crossing of 1819; but it is not the only one. There is also a logbook of that voyage kept by De Peyster himself, a microfilm copy of which is housed in the New York Historical Society (170 Central Park West, New York, NY 10024). The original is owned by the Colonial Dames of America. It is an obscure source indeed, never having been mentioned before in any work on the Pacific. Moreover, its entries are rather more extensive than the characteristically terse jottings of the average seaman's logbook, and the Marquesian section provides a useful supplement to Graaner's account (see entries from 28 March to 26 April 1819). Other features of the logbook are the manuscript charts of Chilean ports and sketches of passages in New Britain and New Ireland.

I am grateful to Dr. Barrie Dyster of the University of New South Wales for drawing my attention to this source.

## ERRATUM

Two lines were omitted from Ralph Shlomowitz's article "The Fiji Labor Trade in Comparative Perspective, 1864-1914" (vol. 9, no. 3, July 1986), at the bottom of page 146. The correct note, printed in its entirety, reads as follows:

26. The dramatic rise in the passage money charged by recruiters in the period 1880-1884 reflects the increased costs of recruiting in trying to meet this increased demand for labor. This is shown by a consideration of the parallel increase in the statistic on the average number of days spent recruiting per recruit obtained (see table 6). The enormous variability in the success of individual recruiting voyages during this period is shown by a consideration of the variability of this statistic for individual voyages. In 1884 the range in this statistic was from 1.2 to 15.1; for the raw data on which this statistic is calculated, see Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1884, p. 4. For comparable data on this increase in costs and in the increase in the variability of success of individual voyages in the Queensland segment of the labor trade during this period, see Shlomowitz 1981b.

The editor regrets this error.

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