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The welcome appearance of a new general history of the Pacific provides an excellent opportunity to review not only the book itself but also to examine the development of Pacific history since its beginnings as a distinct subdiscipline in the late 1940s, and to consider the present state of the art. Over the past thirty years numerous books, monographs, and articles have been published on specific topics in the field of Pacific history, but general histories have been scarce indeed. Of the few published in the period, the earliest, Douglas Oliver's *The Pacific Islands* (first published in 1951, revised in 1961, and frequently reprinted since then) has remained the most popular and readily available, although teachers of history have been increasingly uneasy about its continued use.[1] Even the revised 1961 edition of *The Pacific Islands* benefited little from the new research and scholarship, most of which has been published since that date. While genuinely concerned about the political, economic, and social position of the Pacific Islanders in the 1950s, Oliver analyzed and interpreted their experience as the inevitable outcome of a fatal Western intrusion. At all times the foreigners were viewed as the motivating agents for change, the Islanders the passive victims. Hartley Grattan's *The Southwest Pacific to 1900* (1963) and *The Southwest Pacific since 1900* (1963) cover Australia, New Zealand, and Antarctica, as well as the oceanic Pacific Islands, which inevitably received insufficient attention to make these two volumes an acceptable general history of that area. In 1978, at a time when a substantial amount of new Pacific material had been published, Glen Barclay produced in 264 pages *A History of the Pacific from the Stone Age to the Present Day,* a thin, under-researched book taking little cognizance of the island orientation Pacific historians were attempting to elucidate.

Given the deficiencies in the field of general Pacific histories, the publication in 1984 of Kerry Howe's *Where the Waves Fall* is most important for the subdiscipline. The book is beautifully produced and illustrated, lucidly written, and well attuned to the basic philosophic outlook of many Pacific historians. At last there is a general history that will give students a good introduction and grounding in the Pacific's past. Despite its price (hardback U.S. $29.95) I believe *Where the Waves Fall* will be widely used and appreciated at the university level by students and staff for many years to come. That in itself is an outstanding achievement. I wish to state this clearly and unequivocally at

the outset, since I do not want the criticisms that follow (some of the book, more of Pacific history writing in general) to detract from my recognition of Howe's valuable contribution.

Unfortunately Howe's book is not as comprehensive as Oliver, Grattan, or Barclay in terms of geography or chronology. Papua New Guinea, the Marquesas, the Cooks, Tuvalu, and all of Micronesia are omitted, while chronologically almost nothing since the imposition of colonial rule, whenever that occurred in each island group, has been tackled (see p. 317). These limitations notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that Howe's book supersedes all other attempts at general precolonial Pacific history, or more precisely precolonial Polynesian and Island Melanesian history. The focus on islands and islanders is closer than any achieved before and the tone is markedly different from the inevitable Fatal Impact or the vision of island savagery and Western civilization that permeates Oliver's outlook.

Howe goes to great lengths to emphasize the Islanders' depth of culture, independence of action, and ability to manipulate contact events. Any suggestion of a Fatal Impact is anathema to him. But his methodological approach, neatly encapsulated in the book's title, places severe limits on the island perspective Howe hoped to create. The image, *Where the Waves Fall,* echoes an idea from J. W. Davidson's Ph.D. thesis, "European Penetration in the South Pacific 1779-1842" (Cambridge, 1942), in which he compared foreign movement into the islands with a series of waves breaking on an island shore, each one overtaken by the next before its energy was quite spent (Howe 1984: xiii). As the metaphor suggests, the motivating agents in Howe's history are still Western forces, be they working-class beachcombers or ostrich-plumed (not "plimed," see p. xiii) governors. The genesis and organizing principies of his history, like Oliver's, are imposed from outside; they do not evolve out of island cultural patterns and process. Once the foreigners arrive in the island world their presence, activities, artifacts, and preoccupations, particularly the question of leadership, dominate the enquiry. Indigenous imperatives and cultural processes are viewed, if at all, only as adjuncts or responses to alien activities. The eurocentricity of this approach is most certainly not unique to Howe. Too many Pacific historians, myself included, have believed that concentrating on an island group, particular trade, or Christian mission automatically produced an island orientation. A move from agents of the imperial metropolitan powers to small-time operators on the periphery has certainly been effected, but history of this type was and still is organized through foreign factors.

Despite Howe's assertion of island autonomy and ability to adapt, his dependence on foreign agency leads him at times to interpretations that are very similar in basic approach to Oliver's. To give one example. According to Howe the declaration of a protectorate in Tahiti in 1842, which he analyzes in seven lines (151), was the result of increased British and French interest. Increased British interest I would contest, but that is not germane to my argument here. Oliver on the other hand suggested the machinations of French Roman Catholicism were the prime factors in Tahiti's decline into protectorate status (Oliver 1961:113). Neither author examines the episode from a Tahitian perspective, which would have revealed the complex dynastic/clan rivalries within the Tahitian polity that were an essential factor in the events under review.[2] One suspects that Howe was loath to analyze in depth Tahiti's last years of political independence because during that time the Tahitians' autonomy and initiative were already undeniably restricted.

Oliver's synoptic view of the Pacific Islanders' position in 1939 offers greater insight into Island experience for today's reader than Howe's concluding view of the Islanders at the point of annexation. Oliver argues as follows:

> In addition to these specific kinds of losses and gains, there were the more comprehensive ones. Islanders in general gained some security of person with the outlawing of feuding. And, although the immediate advantages could not be ascertained, they were given every opportunity to acquire "eternal life." Also, they were brought out of their isolation into contact with larger polities; in the process, however, they were invariably placed in subordinate caste roles, and the more they became assimilated into the new economies, the more vulnerable they were to world price fluctuations. (367)

Howe in contrast is much more optimistic. Of course he is looking at an earlier period, but he gives no intimation that the mutuality of exploitation and accommodation that he emphasizes was only temporary and already almost completely lost by the time of annexation, particularly in Polynesia.

> Recent historical research suggests that the processes of culture contact were not always so one-sided, that Islanders were quite capable of taking their own initiative and, rather than passively accepting Europeans and their ways, either rejected or deliber-

> ately exploited the newcomers for their own reasons. Individual Islanders or whole communities made use of explorers and missionaries and traders, using, adopting, adapting, applying new ideas and customs and technologies and institutions within the context of the priorities and perceptions of their respective indigenous cultures. In some situations Europeans held the advantage; in others the Islanders did. But *usually* as I have attempted to show in this book, there were many subtle and complex levels of mutual exploitation and accommodation. (348, emphasis added).

While Oliver's blinkered insistence on a Fatal Impact in Pacific island societies enabled him to forego any close analysis of historical process, be it trade activities, conversion to Christianity, or political change, Howe's conviction that contact with the West and increasing interaction with foreigners was usually mutually beneficial or exploitative, ignores Islanders' loss of land and political initiative, and their increasing dependency and economic vulnerability in the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century. An epilogue (347-352) that concentrates almost exclusively on a refutation of a Fatal Impact interpretation of Pacific history is an exercise in European intellectual history; it does not grow out of or speak to Islander experience directly at all. Howe's determination to present the Islanders as active and often equal participants in the process of change has produced a fuller and more complex analysis of early contact than Oliver, but the argument cannot be sustained into eras of intense European activity, for example land speculating or plantation development, in either precolonial or colonial periods.

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The major historical focus of *Where the Waves Fall* is on political change in Polynesia and Island Melanesia after contact with the West. This analysis is preceded by two sections--one setting the Pacific scene which includes a very useful synthesis of the work of many specialists, particularly prehistorians and archaeologists; and one tracing the background and activities in the Pacific of early foreign explorers, beachcombers, traders, and missionaries. Concerned to establish that traditional sociopolitical institutions and practices were influential determinants in Islanders' responses to contact, Howe does not make the mistake of starting his history with the arrival of the first European visi-

tors. But his analysis of precontact island populations, health, settlement patterns, subsistence agriculture, trade, sociopolitical organization, and religious beliefs is static, offering no insight into the dynamic interplay between political, economic, religious, and social activities; no understanding of the processes of change in precontact time nor how these complex cultures would respond to foreign intrusion. Howe is aware of the problem (44) but unable to deal with it, and as argued above, once present, aliens and their activities become the preponderant generators of change.

The third section, which examines the rise of the island kingdoms of Tahiti, Hawaii, and Tonga, is in many ways the most successful, the analysis moving as it does between indigenous and introduced determinants that influenced the process. But the consequences of this political centralization are ignored and in fact appear to have been misunderstood. Howe argues that political centralization was most effective in these three archipelagoes (196), but one must ask, effective for what? Tahiti was taken over by the French in 1842, while the Hawaiian monarchs were little more than political puppets in the hands of American business interests during the second half of the nineteenth century. Only the Taufa‘ahau dynasty could claim any long-term success, and even that has been exaggerated, as the author willingly concede (195). Howe seems to believe that political centralization was an end and ultimate good in itself. Its immediate impact and long-term significance for the Islanders of all social groupings is left largely unexplored, as is the question whether island monarchies were able to withstand foreign pressures more successfully than other island polities.

In the final two sections of the book, “Monarchs Manqué?” (New Zealand, Samoa, and Fiji) and “Western Isles” (Island Melanesia), Howe attempts to explain the reasons why island rulers did not evolve in these areas and the implications of that nonappearance. Here the limitations of Howe’s methodological approach are most obvious. In his search for monarchs, which is highly reminiscent of certain early European explorers, Howe’s discussion of historical change in New Zealand, Samoa, and Fiji becomes at times a series of negative instances rather than an examination of how these societies developed and adapted after contact. Meleisea (see this Book Review Forum) has cogently highlighted the dangers and possible misinterpretations of such an approach. Finally, the analysis of change in the Melanesian section does not evolve from within those island cultures: foreign agents, missionaries, and traders are the generative forces. Melanesian initiative or a Melanesian-centered perspective rarely is visible.

Howe offers three reasons for terminating his study at the point of annexation. (Clearly any foray into the colonial period would have necessitated a second volume, but that consideration is not raised.) First and undeniably Howe argues that there is "little historical analysis of colonial systems on Pacific islands" (xv), but there were some histories available before 1980 that covered the colonial period in several island groups included in this book [3] and more have been published since across the Pacific. [4] Tellingly none of these studies has placed much emphasis on mutual accommodation or exploitation of island and foreign interests. Second, without naming any examples Howe claims that the few studies of the colonial period available to him relied on imported explicatory models derived from other places rather than indigenous ones, and that by implication these alien imports were unsuccessful. Without specific examples this claim cannot be concretely tested but given that imperialism, integration into capitalist market economies, modernization, and individualization have been worldwide phenomena there seems to be no reason per se why models devised to explain such phenomena could not be sensitively and persuasively used in the Pacific. Finally, Howe argues: "[T]he changes that occur in historiographic perceptions as they now exist when passing from precolonial times can result in certain opinions about colonial experiences being projected backward to earlier years, so distorting interpretations of what took place" (xv). This may happen but it is by no means automatic. It is possible to analyze Islanders' early responses and manipulations of contact with foreigners and then proceed to analyze the factors such as loss of land and economic self-sufficiency, dependence on Western goods and markets, and/or capitulation to superior military force, that reduced their autonomy and independence.

A close examination of *Where the Waves Fall* suggests to me that Howe's interpretative system, his insistence that "processes and developments in many precolonial culture contact situations were greatly influenced not by European decree but by the initiatives of various Islanders and by their respective social and political arrangements" (xv), cannot be sustained into the late precolonial or colonial era. Howe copes well with early contact experiences and events at which time Islander initiative and occasional exploitation can be clearly illustrated. But in Polynesia even before the imposition of formal colonial rule Islanders' powers were greatly restricted. In the denouement section of each of Howe's Polynesian studies his interpretative difficulties are revealed. The case of Tahiti has been discussed above. Hawaii between 1839 and 1899, a period when Hawaiians were increasingly marginal-

ized and subordinated within their own country, is dealt with in one and a half pages, despite the availability of several works that cover this period.[5] Similarly in the other Polynesian island groups analyzed (with the exception of New Zealand), the final years of the precolonial period are only glanced at. Close examination of this period would reveal the seriously diminished control Islanders had, but Howe is loath to confront such facts, although in passing he admits their truth: "When Fijians, like Samoans, eventually saw the need to form a centralised administration to control the consequences of European settlement, which blossomed from the 1860s, events were already beyond their control. Instead initiative lay with the conflicting interests of Europeans" (277; see also 196-197 for the fate of the island monarchies). The interpretative framework that Howe attempts to apply generally to Island Melanesia and Polynesia is illuminating and useful to illustrate that Islanders were active, thinking participants in early contact events, but it fails to identify their vulnerabilities or to explain their eventual loss of political and socioeconomic independence.

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Finally I want to outline briefly the development of Pacific history over the past thirty years, examine the criticisms of that history made by certain of its practitioners in the late 1970s, and discuss the new directions some Pacific historians are now exploring.[6] From this overview the important role I foresee that *Where the Waves Fall* will play in the future teaching of Pacific history should become clear. Before the late 1940s the little Pacific history written was focused almost exclusively on the exploits and ambitions of Western imperial and missionary agents.[7] Oliver's general history was very much a product of these sources. Since the Second World War there has been an envigorating expansion in Pacific research in disciplines ranging from geology and oceanography to archaeology, anthropology, demography, linguistics, and history. The latter was encouraged and in many cases guided by the late J. W. Davidson, who established the first department of Pacific history at the Australian National University in the 1950s. By the 1970s undergraduate courses in Pacific history were being taught in many Australian universities and elsewhere, based on the research and publications of the previous two decades.

Davidson's dictum that the new subdiscipline of Pacific history should be island-oriented led to the reconsideration of many highly eurocentric interpretations of past interactions between Islander and

white. Long-held beliefs that Islanders were the passive victims of alien exploitative trading and labor recruiting practices were convincingly exposed as false or only partial truths, particularly by the works of Shineberg, Maude, Starr, and Corris. [8] Islanders' rational and active responses to new opportunities, material and spiritual, have been revealed in island group after island group. [9] At the same time work by other disciplinary specialists has had profound influence on historical interpretations, particularly the demographic arguments of Norma McArthur[10] and more recently Peter Bellwood's important publications on Pacific prehistory. [11] Postcontact histories of many island societies have been written and detailed studies of the impact of beachcombers, Christianity, firearms, and specific trades, and patterns of violence and resistance have been produced.

The *Journal of Pacific History* has for the last nineteen years provided an important publication outlet for new research, and several other journals, established in the last two decades have offered substantial space to Pacific historical material.[12] The *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* for many decades a prime outlet for Polynesian anthropological material, has more recently also published articles of a distinctly historical nature.

During the 1950s and much of the 1960s, historians in the Pacific field were not of island origin. The first island-born historian to join the academic group appeared in the 1960s and today their number is increasing. The creation of the University of the South Pacific and the University of Papua New Guinea, both offering historical and anthropological studies, and the publishing enterprises sponsored by both institutions have played an important role in encouraging island historians and other specialists to produce, and those publications have been offered at prices island audiences can afford. [13] Early publications by Islanders revealed the heavy hand of conventional academic historical practice,[14] but more recently island historians have combined rigorous Western academic procedures with an understanding of their own societies' notions of historical knowledge, significance, and value. [15] To date little of this work has been available in published form but already it is clear that island-born historians offer a complexity and depth of insight that will benefit Pacific historiography immeasurably.

By the second half of the 1970s several Pacific historians were becoming critical of the state of Pacific historiography. O. H. K. Spate and Howe pointed out that as a group Pacific historians were becoming enmeshed in more and more refined and circumscribed studies concentrated on a single island or island group, on a particular trade or institu-

tion.[16] Generalizations and comparisons, they suggested, were being studiously ignored by all but a very few. Both these critics have since attempted to redress this problem, Spate on a large oceanic scale and Howe on a smaller insular basis .[17] Their works are most important additions to the field, but neither, despite the scope of their endeavors, has offered encompassing generalizations or theoretical insights into what are basically empirical studies.

On an interpretative, theoretical level Stewart Firth offered a brief but trenchant critique of what he saw in 1975 as a rapidly solidifying orthodoxy in Pacific historical interpretation:

> Pacific historians have been too much concerned with a region and too little with that region's place in, for example, the history of capitalism and colonial rule. Eager to show the local diversity of the Pacific, the discipline has lacked world perspective. Its judgments on the coming of foreigners, the recruiting of labour, the domination of island economies from outside and the decay of custom have been generally liberal and benign, as if to say: the islanders were at the centre of the picture, they must have triumphed. To portray Pacific Islanders as exploited victims of the Europeans has become close to a sin in the new Pacific historiography. In fact, the islanders did not triumph. The island economies are still today owned by foreigners. Political independence, where it has been achieved, is limited. [18]

As all three reviewers in this forum have noted, Howe in *Where the Waves Fall* has not recognized or attempted to confront this kind of objection.

Finally, Greg Dening discussed the underdeveloped nature of Pacific historiography, which he argued was the outcome of its determinedly empiricist preoccupations: "[Pacific] [r]esearch is dominated by a narrow geographical area, an institution, a period. History is what happens or what the sources let know what happens within those limitations. No problem, no theory, no methodology takes the researcher outside these confines." [19] Largely dependent on the published works that are products of this empiricist tradition, Howe has allowed himself to be confined by their limitations. Little detailed research has been done anywhere in Pacific history on the fundamental change in island societies from affluent subsistence to varying degrees of dependency either in precolonial or later eras. Howe (341) acknowledges the phenomenon but nowhere investigates it. Similarly echoing his sources

Howe reveals little interest in the internal process and meaning of conversion, the nature of island Christianity, or the effects of literacy on oral tradition and nonliterate civilizations. [20] The impact of pacification on gender relations, internal island social and political structures, and on island-foreign relations has received piecemeal attention, predominantly in Melanesia, [21] but no general, comparative perspective has been attempted in this book or elsewhere.

In keeping with his sources Howe has offered culturally homogeneous interpretations of large Polynesian societies such as Hawaii and Tahiti and rarely considers that different groups within island societies may have experienced precolonial change in different ways (149-150, 162). Similarly notions of gender-specific experience are recognized only superficially in discussions (83-90, 162) of what Howe calls "prostitution," but which might less judgmentally and eurocentrically be termed "a sale of sexual services." To argue that Howe's book reveals no interest in or sensitivity about these fields is on one level an unfair criticism, These approaches are only now being explored among Pacific historians, and most have become available since the research for Howe's book was completed. Gunson has discussed the problems of assuming cultural homogeneity in the Society Islands [22] and some detailed research has been published on social group and gender differentiation. [23]

Significantly, if one keeps Dening's strictures in mind, it is the anthropologist Marshall Sahlins who has offered Pacific historians a challenging new theoretical and methodological model. In his early contact history of Hawaii he has attempted to demonstrate the dynamic interplay between culture (structure) and history (process). [24] His methodology is problematic, particularly for later periods of postcontact history, but the light he has shed on chiefly-commoner and male-female relations, on the political implications of intercultural economic exchange, and on the death of Cook is clear evidence of the value of his approach. To date at least one Pacific historian has used this method, [25] which in other areas of historical endeavor has been labeled "ethnographic history." [26] Slowly problem areas that have been foci of debate in social history in Britain and America and in other third world histories are being tackled in Pacific history, as are the methodological problems of combining analysis of cultural structure with historical process.

At mid-decade in the 1980s it is clear that Pacific history is productive on many levels--consolidating and expanding an essential data base of work on hitherto unresearched topics and areas, [27] offering new general histories off island groups, [28] and exploring problem areas and methodologies which until recently Pacific historians had not considered. Given

this state of the art the appearance of *Where the Waves Fall* is most timely, While it gives little intimation of the recent new directions Pacific history has taken and presumably will develop in the late 1980s, it is an excellent synthesis of much that has been published between 1950 and 1980 in precolonial Polynesian and Island Melanesian history. With this book to proceed from or fall back on students should be able to grapple intelligently with the Pacific history that is now developing. I only hope that a general history informed by the new material will not take a third of a century--the interval between the first publication of Oliver and Howe--to appear.

NOTES

1. Kerry R. Howe, "Pacific History in the 1980s: New Directions or Monograph Myopia," *Pacific Studies* 3, no. 1 (1979): 88, and personal discussions with several Pacific history lecturers.

2. Colin Newbury, "Aspects of Cultural Change in French Polynesia: The Decline of the Ari'i," and "Resistance and Collaboration in French Polynesia: The Tahitian War: 1844-1847," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 76 (1967): 7-26 and 82 (1973): 5-27; Cohn Newbury, *Tahiti Nui, Change and Survival in French Polynesia 1767-1945,* Honolulu, 1980, 87-128, all of which were available when Howe's book was being written.

3. J. W. Davidson, *Samoa mo Samoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa,* Melbourne, 1967; Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands,* New York, 1968; Peter J. Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance,* Canberra, 1978; J. D. Legge, *Britain in Fiji, 1858-1880,* London, 1958; Newbury, *Tahiti Nui;* Noel Rutherford, ed., *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga,* Melbourne, 1977. Numerous studies of the early colonial period in New Zealand had also been published prior to 1980, but as Howe (227) points out New Zealand's colonial experience, as a major settler colony, was markedly different from that of the more northerly archipelagoes.

4. See for example: Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches. Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774-1880,* Melbourne, 1980; Stewart Firth, *New Guinea under the Germans,* Melbourne, 1982; *Kiribati: Aspects of History,* Suva, 1979; Richard Gilson, *The Cook Islands 1820-1950,* Wellington, 1980; Barrie Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire: Towards a History of Kiribati and Tuvalu,* Canberra, 1982; Timothy J. Macnaught, *The Fijian Colonial Experience. A Study of the Neotraditional Order under British Colonial Rule Prior to World War II,* Canberra, 1982; Deryck Scarr, *Fiji: A Short History,* Sydney, 1984; *History of Tuvalu,* Suva, 1983; H. Vilitama et al., *History of Niue,* Suva, 1982.

5. R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom. 1854-1874, Twenty Critical Years,* and *The Hawaiian Kingdom. 1874-1893, The Kalakaua Dynasty,* vols. 2 and 3, Honolulu, 1953 and 1967; Theodore Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change 1778-1876,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1948; Jean Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil,* Stanford, 1935; Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time.*

6. 1 am considering here only Pacific historical works in English.

7. An outstanding exception to this generalization is R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom. 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation,* vol. 1, Honolulu, 1938.

8. Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South-West Pacific 1830-1865,* Melbourne, 1967; H. E. Maude, "The Tahitian Pork Trade: 1800-1830," in *Of Islands and Men. Studies in Pacific History,* Melbourne, 1968; Deryck Scarr, "Recruits and Recruiters: A Portrait of the Labour Trade," in J. W. Davidson and Deryck Starr, eds., *Pacific Islands Portraits,* Canberra., 1970; Peter Corris, *Passage, Port and Plantation. A History of Solomon Islands Labour Migration 1870-1914,* Mellbourne, 1973.

9. For example: W. H. Pearson, "The Reception of European Voyagers on Polynesian Islands, 1568-1797," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 26 (1970): 121-153; G. S. Parsonson, "The Literate Revolution in *Polynesia,"Journal of Pacijic History* 2 (1967): 39-57; J. D. Freeman, "The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult," in J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes, eds., *Anthropology in the South Seas,* New Plymouth, New Zealand, 1959; K. R. Howe, "The Maori Response to Christianity in the Thames-Waikato Area 1833-1840," *New Zealand Journal of History* 7, no. 1 (1973): 28-46.

10. Norma McArthur, *Island Populations of the Pacific,* Canberra, 1967; "Essays in Multiplication: European Seafarers in Polynesia," *Journal of Pacific History* 1 (1966): 91-105.

11. Peter Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific,* Auckland, 1978.

12. They include *New Zealand Journal of History,* established 1967; *Hawaiian Journal of History,* established 1967; *Pacific Perspective,* established 1972; *Oral History,* established 1973; *Pacific Studies,* established 1977.

13. The Institute of Pacific Studies, associated with the University of the South Pacific, and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, associated with the University of Papua New Guinea, have published journals, books, and monographs by island and non-island authors in the Pacific historical field. Some books have been jointly produced with Australian and New Zealand publishing houses.

14. Sione Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822-1875,* Canberra, 1974. Latukefu's article "Oral Traditions: An Appraisal of Their Value in Historical Research in Tonga," *Journal of Pacific History* 3 (1968): 135-143, led one to hope that oral evidence and the author's knowledge of Tonga would be prominent in his later work.

15. J. D. Waiko, "Be Jijimo: A History According to the Tradition of the Binandere People of Papua New Guinea," Canberra, Australian National University, Ph.D. thesis, 1983; John D. Waiko, "Binandere Oral Tradition: Sources and Problems," in Donald Denoon and Roderic Lacey, eds., *Oral Tradition in Melanesia,* Port Moresby, 1981, 11-30; Malama Meleisea, *O Tama Uli. Melanesians in Samoa,* Suva, 1980; K. S. Eteuati, "Evaevaga a Samoa; Assertion of Samoan Autonomy 1920-1936," Canberra, Australian National University, Ph.D. thesis, 1983.

16. O. H. K. Spate, "The Pacific as an Artefact," in Niel Gunson, ed., *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H. E. Maude,* Melbourne, 1978, 41-42; Howe, "Pacific History in the 1980s."

17. O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan. The Spanish Lake* and *Monopolists and Freebooters,* vols. 1 and 2, Canberra, 1979 and 1983; K. R. Howe, *Where the Waves Fall.*

18. Stewart Firth comment in Gavan Daws, "On Being a Historian of the Pacific," in John A. Moses, ed., *Historical Disciplines and Culture in Australasia,* St. Lucia, 1979, 127-128.

19. G. M. Dening, review of Hugh Laracy, *Marists and Melanesiuns: A History of Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands,* in *New Zealand Journal of History* 12, no. 1 (1978): 81-82. In his own history of the Marquesas, *Islands and Beaches,* Dening combined an encyclopedic knowledge of the available sources with reflective asides into theoretical arenas. No comparative Pacific or Polynesian perspective however was attempted.

20. James Clifford, "The Translation of Cultures: Maurice Leenhardt's evangelism, New Caledonia 1902-1926," *Journal of Pacific History* 15, no. 1 (1980): 2-20; Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* chap. 5 and Reflection; Charles W. Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific,* Maryknoll, N.Y., 1982; Jack Goody, ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies,* Cambridge, 1968; Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind,* Cambridge, 1977; John D. Waiko, "Binandere Oral Tradition."

21. Margaret Rodman and Matthew Cooper, eds., *The Pacification of Melanesia,* Ann Arbor, 1979; E J. P. Poole and G. H. Herdt, eds., *Sexual Antagonism, Gender, and Social Change in Papua New Guinea,* in *Social Analysis,* Special Issue, no. 12, 1982.

22. Niel Gunson, "Polynesian Studies: A Decade of Tahitian History," *Pacific History Bibliography and Comment 1982,* 67-68.

23. Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities. Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom,* Ann Arbor, 1981, 33-43; Caroline Ralston, "Hawaii 1778-1854. Some Aspects of *Maka'ainana* Response to Rapid Cultural Change," *Journal of Pacific History* 19, nos. 1 and 2 (1984): 21-40; Patricia Grimshaw, " 'Christian Woman, Pious Wife, Faithful Mother, Devoted Missionary': Conflicts in Roles of American Missionary Women in Nineteenth Century Hawaii," *Feminist Studies* 9, no. 3 (1983): 489-521; Sherry B. Ortner, "Gender and Sexuality in Hierarchical Societies; The Case of Polynesia and Some Comparative Implications, " in Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, eds., *Sexual Meanings. The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality,* Cambridge, 1981, 359-409; F. Allan Hanson, "Female Pollution in Polynesia?" *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 91 (1982): 335-381; Christine W. Gailey, "Putting Down Sisters and Wives: Tongan Women and Colonization, " in M. Etienne and E. Leacock, eds., *Women and Colonization,* New York, 1980, 294-322; Kerry James, "Gender Relations in Tonga, 1780 to 1984," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 92 (1983): 233-243; Penelope Schoeffel, "The Origin and Development of Women's Associations in Western Samoa, 1830-1977," *Journal of Pacific Studies* 3 (1977): 1-21.

24. Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors.*

25. Bronwen Douglas, " 'Written on the Ground': Spatial Symbolism, Cultural Categories and Historical Process in New Caledonia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 91 (1982): 383-415.

26. Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790,* Chapel Hill, 1982, see especially 5-7 and 323-357; June Philipp, "Traditional Historical Narrative and Action-Oriented (or Ethnographic) History," *Historical Studies* 20, no. 80 (1983): 339-352;

Bronwen Douglas, "Some Impressions of Ethnographic History and Trends in Ethnography," paper presented at the Pacific History Association meeting, December 1983.

27. Despite the volume of publications in Pacific history there are still gaps in the field. The Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and the Marquesas in the twentieth century require general histories, while economic topics have won few publicists. The coconut oil and copra trade, one of the most widespread and significant economic activities for many small and large islands, remains uncharted, except for a few specific area1 studies. Similarly a general history on the impact of whaling on island societies has not been produced.

28. Francis X. Hezel, S.J., *The First Taint of Ciuilization. A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521-1885,* Honolulu, 1983; Noel J. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence,* New York, N.Y., 1983; see note 4 for other recent publications.