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ETHNOGRAPHY OF ONTONG JAVA AND TASMAN ISLANDS WITH REMARKS RE: THE MARQUEEN AND ABGARRIS ISLANDS

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INTRODUCTION

The Polynesian outliers for years have held a special place in Oceanic studies. They have figured prominently in discussions of Polynesian settlement from Thilenius (1902), Churchill (1911), and Rivers (1914) to Bayard (1976) and Kirch and Yen (1982). Scattered strategically through territory generally regarded as either Melanesian or Micronesian, they illustrate to varying degrees a merging of elements from the three great Oceanic culture areas—thus potentially illuminating processes of cultural diffusion. And as small bits of land, remote from urban and administrative centers, they have only relatively recently experienced the sustained European contact that many decades earlier wreaked havoc with most islands of the "Polynesian Triangle."

The last of these characteristics has made the outliers particularly attractive to scholars interested in glimpsing Polynesian cultures and societies that have been but minimally influenced by Western ideas and

accoutrements. For example, Tikopia and Anuta in the eastern Solomons are exceptional in having maintained their traditional social structures, including their hereditary chieftainships, almost entirely intact. And Papua New Guinea's three Polynesian outliers—Nukuria, Nukumanu, and Takuu—may be the only Polynesian islands that still systematically prohibit Christian missionary activities while proudly maintaining important elements of their old religions. Yet until recently the very isolation that has made these islands worthy of attention has discouraged systematic documentation.

Since the 1960s substantial bodies of ethnographic data have been published on a number of the outliers. Works include Carroll's writings on Nukuoro (e.g., 1970, 1975a) and Lieber's on Kapingamarangi (e.g., 1970, 1974, 1977) in the Federated States of Micronesia; Bayliss-Smith's studies of Ontong Java in the Solomons' Malaita Province (e.g., 1974, 1975b); the work of Monberg and his colleagues on Rennell and Bellona in the Central Solomons (e.g., Elbert and Monberg 1965; Monberg 1971, 1976); Davenport's accounts of the Reefs and Taumako in the Santa Cruz Group (e.g., Davenport 1968, 1972, 1975); and Feinberg's writings on Anuta at the Solomons' eastern fringe (e.g., 1981). In addition to most of these islands, West Futuna in southeastern Vanuatu has been documented from a linguistic standpoint (Dougherty 1983). Archaeological studies have been published on Nukuoro (Davidson 1968, 1971), Anuta (Kirch and Rosendahl 1973), and Tikopia (Kirch and Yen 1982). And our knowledge will be much augmented with the publication of extensive linguistic and archaeological studies on Takuu by Jay Howard and Barbara Moir respectively, and of detailed ethnographic work on Sikaiana by William Donner. By contrast, studies predating the 1960s are few and far between.

By far the most extensively reported of the Polynesian outliers is Tikopia, which since 1928 has been the object of rigorous study by Sir Raymond Firth. Kenneth Emory's substantial monograph on Kapingamarangi (1965) is based on research carried out in 1947 and 1950. And H. Ian Hogbin's work on Ontong Java in the 1920s resulted in a series of articles (e.g., 1930a, 1930b, 1930c, 1931a, 1931b, 1932) and an important book (1961). But prior to the 1920s, the only professional publication of note on the outliers is Sarfert and Damm's monograph on Nukumanu and Ontong Java (1929), based on Sarfert's participation in the Thilenius expedition of 1908-1910. While Sarfert compiled much information in what, by modern standards, was a rather short period of fieldwork, the monograph is only available in German and is not easily accessible. And before the twentieth century we have little more than

brief, sporadic comments by traders, planters, missionaries, and explorers. It is in this light that Parkinson's writings assume their importance.

Richard H. R. Parkinson, a man of Anglo-German ancestry, was sent to Samoa as surveyor for Godeffroys trading company in 1878 at the age of thirty-five. Shortly after his arrival in Samoa, Parkinson met and married Phoebe Coe, younger sister of the famed "Queen Emma." That same year Emma left Samoa with Thomas Farrell for the Bismark Archipelago of what is now Papua New Guinea. She and her husband/partner managed to acquire large landholdings in the Bismark Archipelago and the northwestern Solomons; and until well into the first decade of this century, Forsayth and Company, headed by "Queen Emma," was a force to be reckoned with in the German New Guinea colony,

In 1882 Richard and Phoebe Parkinson moved to New Guinea to join Emma, and for almost three decades Richard Parkinson was the chief administrator and agronomist for the Forsayth copra empire. His responsibilities required extensive travel among the islands of the German colony; and as an amateur natural historian, he made careful inquiries and observations, which he systematically recorded.

By today's professional standards, Parkinson's ethnographic methods left much to be desired. He rarely stayed long in one location, nor did he learn local languages to any great extent. He did not attempt participant observation; indeed, he often employed bodyguards and carried a revolver for protection. As representative of a powerful and sometimes heavy-handed company, there was ample reason for villagers to mislead him about sensitive issues. And he at times displayed an unacceptable propensity to account for behavioral variation in terms of biological differences. Thus it is well to take parts of his account with a healthy dose of skepticism. Yet despite these shortcomings, he was a keen observer, intelligent, generally sympathetic, and genuinely interested in his subject matter. From his half-Samoan wife and other members of her household, he seems to have learned some spoken Samoan. And in his "thirty years in the South Seas" he gained a wealth of information, belying Hogbin's glib dismissal of his ethnographic acumen (Hogbin 1961:181n).

Most of Parkinson's New Guinea encounters were with Melanesians of the Bismark Archipelago. But—perhaps because of his Samoan connections—he seems to have had a special interest in the four Polynesian atolls of the northwestern Solomons. (Three of these—Nukuria, Takuu, and Nukumanu—are located in what is now Papua New Guinea's North Solomons Province; one—Ontong Java—is just across the inter-

national border in the Solomon Islands' Malaita Province.) In addition to the present article, he devoted parts of several others and a chapter of his autobiographical treatise, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (1907), to these atolls. Yet, other than a typewritten translation of the latter work housed in the University of Papua New Guinea's New Guinea Collection, none of his observations on the Polynesian outlier atolls has heretofore been available in English.

In 1984 I had the opportunity to spend several months conducting research with Nukumanu islanders both on the atoll and in other parts of Papua New Guinea. During that period I also had extensive contacts with people from Ontong Java, with whom the Nukumanu maintain close relations. I came to know quite well many people from Takuu and was able to visit that atoll during a major ceremony. (My contact with Nukuria people was much more limited, and I never had the opportunity to visit their island.)

In the course of my investigation, it became clear that these atolls' culture and society had changed considerably over the past century as a result of the copra trade, including many decades as private plantations, and that much of the traditional system has been forgotten. Furthermore, administrative reports in Papua New Guinea's national archives date back only to about the time of World War II, and there seems to be virtually no documentary evidence on these islands from the early days of contact.

For these reasons, I was particularly interested in Parkinson's material. And I was fortunate that Dr. Rose Hartmann, who grew up in a bilingual household and speaks German virtually as a native, agreed to make a detailed translation of the present article. The intrinsic interest of Parkinson's material and the quality of the translation are such that I felt it ought to be made available to a wider public, so with the translator's approval, I offered it to *Pacific Studies.*

In this translation we have attempted, insofar as possible, to remain faithful to the original. Adaptation of any written work for presentation in a new language and different forum, however, requires some modifications. Most importantly, perhaps, a number of deletions have been necessary. In particular, Parkinson's original article contains several pages of tables and sketches illustrating tattoo designs and many of the objects described in his text. And he presented four pages of vocabulary lists from Samoa, Nukuria, and Ontong Java with their approximate German equivalents. In the interest of space, the illustrations, tables,

and vocabulary lists have been deleted. Readers wishing to consult these materials are referred to Parkinson's original article.

Other changes have been relatively minor. We have substituted modern English place names where identifiable and have employed modern spellings. Parkinson refers to the three Polynesian atolls in Papua New Guinea as the Abgarris, Marqueen, and Tasman Islands. We have generally rendered these by their indigenous names: Nukuria, Takuu, and Nukumanu. On occasion, to clarify that Parkinson is referring to an entire island group rather than a single islet, we have used modern European names: the Fead, Mortlock, and Tasman Islands, respectively. Where Parkinson refers to Kingsmill, we use Gilbert Islands, and his Neu Mecklinburg is rendered as New Ireland. In the title we have retained Parkinson's original designations. For Ontong Java we employ the common European name because the atoll includes two distinct communities—Peelau and Luangiua—and there is no indigenous designation for the entire atoll.

In accordance with our decision to use modern spellings, we use "Ontong Java" for the atoll that Parkinson renders as Ongtong Java. For Nukuria we have followed recent linguistic convention (e.g., see Bayliss-Smith 1975a; also Moir personal communication as quoted in Feinberg 1985) despite the spelling of "Nuguria" that appears on many maps, administrative reports, and in popular and some older scholarly articles. Parkinson's orthography is fairly consistent; however he sometimes uses the Samoan /g/ and sometimes /ng/ for the velar nasal /ŋ/. This we have consistently represented with the familiar /ng/.

Finally, Parkinson is not always clear as to which of the four atolls is being discussed in any given passage, despite some significant cultural variation among them. This is particularly problematic as his textual renditions of indigenous words are almost invariably in Ontong Javanese. These and other points of clarification will be made in notes distributed throughout the article.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF ONTONG JAVA AND TASMAN ISLANDS

Anyone who has noted the gradual disappearance of traditional culture among Oceanic peoples during recent years will be interested to find small pockets where the intrusion of Christianity has not completely obliterated the preexisting culture.

In Micronesia and Polynesia a major portion of the original culture has been displaced by modern culture, and unfortunately not always for

the better. The people of several island groups no longer know the implements and techniques their forefathers used to decorate their weapons and household utensils. The old stone and shell tools have been replaced by metal; yet, the workmanship observed in modern items is definitely inferior to that seen in the older ones.

For instance, comparing a club made in Samoa today with specimens found in anthropological collections, a tremendous difference is evident. In olden times, a much greater value was placed on an individual weapon than today. It would be handed down from generation to generation, and a current owner would know the entire history of the weapon—who used it, how it was used, with tales of the heroism of his forbears—and the weapon would occupy an honored place in the home; but now the old family treasure, made of wood, is devalued, treated as worthless junk, and traded for a drink. Thus the family tradition was broken, has disappeared, and cannot be reclaimed.

This has happened not only in Samoa, but in all the islands of Oceania, and is continuing today. Even though European culture has not had the same overwhelming impact in the western outliers as in other parts of the South Seas, its influence is still evident and is increasing every day. In areas where I saw stone axes used twelve years ago, they are now all but forgotten, and one must go to deserted or isolated houses to find them. Native people with whom I have spoken say they are ashamed to be identified with these primitive implements. They feel they have achieved a higher status by owning the new tools. In another ten years the Melanesians will have lost most of their distinctive characteristics; therefore, it behooves us to take advantage of any opportunity we have to observe them now in order that we may achieve a composite understanding of the ethnography of the Oceanic peoples.

We have studied especially the Polynesian-populated islands—the Ontong Java Islands, the Tasman Islands [Nukumanu], the Fead or Abgarris Islands [Nukuria], and the Mortlock or Marqueen Islands [Takuu]—which are near the Melanesian-populated Solomon Islands and New Ireland.

I have had the opportunity, in the last ten years, to visit these islands several times. Whereas my observations are not as complete as I would like them to be, I feel that I can make a contribution to the understanding of these people before world commerce obliterates their individuality.

There is no doubt that the populations of these islands are of Polynesian origin and that they migrated from the east, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. An old legend about the origin of the population of the Fead Islands was told to me as follows:

> In the beginning, two gods with three women came from Nukuoro and Tarawa over the ocean in a canoe. The gods were named Katiariki and Haraparapa. As the canoe reached the reef Katiariki struck the water with his stick, and a third god named Loatu arose from the deep. Simultaneously, a sand bank arose. The two original gods accepted the third as their equal. As the land they now observed was arid and unoccupied, Katiariki and Haraparapa decided to search for food, leaving Loatu to guard their new island. While they were gone, another god named Tepu appeared. He came from Nukumanu, banished Loatu, and occupied the island. When Katiariki and Haraparapa returned and saw that Tepu had occupied their island, they were furious and threw away the food they had brought. They summoned Loatu and together they settled in the main island, Nukuria. Eventually Tepu occupied a small hill, with Katiariki and Haraparapa to the right and Loatu to his left. All four of these gods are still honored as higher beings.

This legend indicates that this group came at different times and from different places, and that only after some strife did the immigrants achieve an understanding. The legend specifics the original homeland of the immigrants, namely Nukuoro in the Carolines and Tarawa in the Kingsmill [Gilbert] Islands.[1] Nukumanu is the present Tasman group. The following table gives approximate distances of the various groups from their Polynesian neighbors in the east:

TO:	Nukuria	Takuu	Ontong Java
FROM:			
(in sea miles)			
Samoa	2100	1920	1800
Ellice Islands[2]	1500	1320	1200
Gilbert Islands	1120	1050	900
Nukuoro Atoll	450	540	620

This table will help the reader understand the Polynesian migrations in the following discussion.

The Polynesian voyages from east to west continue. I have been made aware of a number of such voyages in the past several years. In 1885 two canoes from the Gilbert Islands were driven ashore on the island of Buka. The first canoe, out of Abemama, started with eight persons. Three died en route, and five were rescued by a German ship. The second canoe, out of Nikunau, had seven on board, two of whom died en

route. The survivors were rescued by another ship. They recalled they had been under way for thirty-one days when rescued. All the survivors, though exhausted when they reached Buka, recovered quickly. They were not attacked when landing as they carried no weapons and offered no resistance. Others coming to these shores were less fortunate. I met a woman on one of the Caroline Islands about six years ago who had been driven ashore on the east coast of Buka, in the company of three men and one woman. The men and woman put up a fight on landing and were killed. The girl was compliant, and was treated well (she was adolescent at the time). Later, according to local custom, she was sold to a Buka Islander and was living with him as his wife when I met her. She apparently was satisfied with her lot, as she refused my offer to buy her freedom and return her to her native land. She preferred to remain in her new country.

Ten years ago, in Ernst Gunther Harbor at the northeast end of Bougainville, I received a spear set with shark's teeth, which I immediately recognized as a Gilbertese weapon. I was told this spear came from a canoe which had arrived many years before with eight light-skinned people. Several were killed immediately; others lived there some time, then died. I was told further that three other canoes had come since then and landed slightly to the south on the tiny island of Tekarau [Taurato?]. They stayed there several days and were then, because of paucity of food, sent on to the main island where they were killed by people from the interior. They were described as large, light-skinned people, carrying no weapons; which leads me to conclude they were from Ontong Java. Years ago I saw three heads preserved by smoking in a house on Manning Street; one of these heads had a turtle-shell earring, as was worn on Ontong Java. The hair on all three heads was loosely wavy and dark. In Numanuma on the east coast of Bougainville, I saw a Gilbertese-style necklace, consisting of many rows of discs so arranged that one row covered about three-fourths of the underlying row. This necklace was said to have come from a canoe with seven light-skinned people which was driven ashore two years prior. No one would say what happened to these people, leading me to conclude that they were killed when they landed.

The now-deceased King Goroi of the Shortland Islands told me that he knew of numerous landings of light-skinned people. He remembered precisely the arrival of two canoes with men and women who stayed for some time without interference. They communicated freely with Goroi's people and learned their language to some extent. He remembered the name of their homeland, which he pronounced Beru, but which was

probably Peru, an island of the Gilbert Archipelago. Goroi apparently had recognized sovereignty over a significant portion of the islands of Choiseul and Bougainville and sent his canoes annually to these regions to collect tribute from them. He was therefore well-informed about the events in his territory. Besides, he was an unusually intelligent and talented native. I have no doubt that he was telling the truth, and that he knew the fate of the people he was reporting about. I was told on Ontong Java that many canoes arrived, but none of them left. In 1880 no fewer than sixteen canoes arrived. In 1885 I found a number of men from these canoes on Takuu Atoll. I was also told on this atoll that canoes arrive from time to time bearing people who appear racially identical with the locals. These arrivals stay and mingle with the native population. Many canoes came from Sikaiana to Ontong Java, but these people await favorable winds and return to Sikaiana when they are able.[3]

The distance from the Gilbert Islands to Buka in the Solomons is about the same as that from the Ellice Islands to Ontong Java, and as I know that migrations from the Gilberts to the Solomons do occur, it seems reasonable that similar migrations from Gilbert and Ellice to Ontong Java took place. If the occasional immigration of Polynesians to the Solomons has had no lasting influence on the native Melanesians, this can be attributed to the inhospitality and unfriendliness of the Melanesians who, still today, greet strangers with hostility, especially if they appear exhausted and abandoned. Those drawn into the atolls with little or no population fared far better.

In any case, we have in these islands people who have come from several different Polynesian areas, bringing diverse customs indicating their distant origins. Their language is most like that of Samoa and Ellice; their spears like those of Ontong Java and Nukumanu; the weaving looms are reminiscent of Caroline Islands. Other items, like the turtle-bone axes of Takuu, take us 600 miles further west.

This last finding leads me to the question of immigration from the west. Obviously some of this took place, but it is doubtful that there was enough of that to have an appreciable influence.

On Nukuria there are now two women from Ninigo, who arrived about thirty years ago with others from their country. Nukuria and Ninigo are about 600 sea miles apart. The Nukuria Islanders still insist that the Ninigo people imported a virulent disease which has gradually infected and decimated the whole population. Congenital syphilis seems today to be dooming the local population to eventual extinction and this disease is blamed on the Ninigo people.

On Ontong Java, a captain had received a mask years before, which came from New Ireland, a distance of 550 sea miles. On Takuu several obsidian spear tips were found which doubtless originated in the Admiralty Islands, 650 miles west. Many of the tools which have been found on Nukuria clearly did not originate there. On Ontong Java they still tell of two large canoes which arrived years ago carrying black people. They landed on the island and killed all in their path until the native peoples joined forces to eliminate them. These invaders were undoubtedly Solomon Islanders, who, with their superior weapons and lust for combat, made serious trouble for the less well-armed Ontong Java people. They were able to overrun the local population and displace some of them. Another instance is in the Cartaret Islands [Kilinailau], where a tribe lives that originated in Hanahan, on the east coast of Buka. These Cartaret Islanders are still in contact with Buka. A chief I know well on Cartaret has told me that, many years ago, Hanahan people on a trip to the Nissan Islands were diverted to Cartaret and settled there. This same chief named nine ancestors back to the first one who found the Cartaret Islands. He had no other information for me. When I showed Cartaret's natives some *Tridacna*-shell adzes, they brought me several others saying they were found in the earth. As the Buka people were unfamiliar with these articles, they must be relics of an earlier population.

If we can draw a conclusion from the above, i.e., that the Polynesian immigrants were usually badly treated when they landed on populated islands and became victims of cruel and murderous impulses of these people, then it seems probable that the coral atolls they now inhabit were uninhabited when they first landed there. There are still islands and island groups in the Pacific which are uninhabited although they offer natural resources that make them habitable. It is amazing with how little a native can manage. For instance, in 1885 a ship rescued two persons, a man and a woman, from a sandbar fifteen miles south of Nukuria. They had fled fifteen months earlier out of fear of a chief and had lived all that time on fish and an occasional coconut that washed in from the sea. Their island had no edible vegetation. They sheltered themselves in a sand pit and collected rainwater in shells they had been able to find. When they were discovered, they inquired of the captain whether he would take them back to Nukuria, in which case they would prefer to stay on their desert island. When assured that the ship was headed elsewhere, they consented to be "rescued." Whereas these people were not exactly well-nourished when found, they were neither weak nor exhausted, and after a few days were able to row a boat for

hours. A European could not have survived that degree of deprivation for weeks, let alone months. Considering that the islands found by the ancestors of present-day Nukumanu and Ontong Javanese were larger and undoubtedly offered some edible vegetation, it is easy to see how they could have successfully settled there.

Even the imperfections of these people's vessels are no real hindrance to their lengthy sea voyages. The tropical seas are usually not stormy, and waves are not high. If a canoe is occasionally overturned, the Polynesians are strong swimmers; they easily right their vessel and swing themselves into it. Wind and current are consistently in one direction and can propel a boat about 60 miles in twenty-four hours.[4]

Another question is how people who had not planned for so long a trip were able to survive thirty or more days without food. Apparently Polynesian stomachs are patient and can endure long intervals without nourishment. It is unlikely that there were enough flying fish to provide food to sustain life. I propose the possibility that some of those voyagers who died en route did not die a natural death. This suspicion is supported by the number of contradictions and evasive answers one gets when asking about the causes of death on board.

Geography

The Ontong Java Islands lie between 5° and 6° South and 159 and 160 East. The Tasman Islands are 30 sea miles further north. The former group was discovered in 1567 by the Spaniard Alvaro de Mendaña. Hernando Gallego reports in his journal, "As far as we could see, these islands stretched at least over 15 leagues. We named them 'Los Bajos de la Candelaria.' " Later geographers identified "Candelaria Reef" about 80 sea miles north of the island Ysabel. In 1871 Von Maurell rediscovered it and named it "El Roncador." This reef is about 6 sea miles long and is not identical with the atoll Gallego described which was about 35 sea miles north of Maurelle's "Roncador." La Maire and Shouten rediscovered the first group in 1616. Tasman saw both groups in 1648 and named the larger group Ontong Java. Captain Hunter renamed this group "Lord Howe Islands" when he visited in 1791. I have used the most prevalent designation, "Ontong Java," for the main group. The main island of this group is Luangiua.[5] The main island of the Tasman group is Nukumanu.[6] In both cases, the local people use the name of the main island to refer to the entire group.[7] The Marqueen or Mortlock Islands were discovered in 1616 by La Maire and Shouten. They lie 4° 45′ South and 157° East, about 120 sea miles west of Nukumanu.

The main island is named Taku.[8] About 100 sea miles northwest are the atolls of Abgarris and Fead. The main island of this group is Nukuria.[9]

All these island groups are flat coral atolls, covered with palms and other trees. They form a circle of large and small islands separated now and then by deep passages through the reef.

The Inhabitants

The inhabitants of these islands are Polynesians, although a Melanesian mixture, especially on Nukuria, is unmistakable. The now almost extinct Takuu as well as the Ontong Java and Nukumanu Islanders have apparently kept their racial identity. The men are tall and slim, and well-muscled. They are on the average taller than we Europeans. Their skin color is closest to the Samoan or Tongan, although there are individuals who are appreciably darker. Hair texture varies from straight and long, to wavy and curly. The women, who tend to stay indoors or in the shade, are significantly lighter than the men. They are shorter and more squat, but strong in build. The children tend to be dainty and graceful. The chiefs and their wives tend to become corpulent, probably the result of plush living.

Agriculture and Food

The low coral atolls are not naturally suited for agriculture. However, coconut palms thrive and are the major staple. Only in times when the coconut harvest is poor is the fruit of the pandanus tree used.[10] The cultivation of taro is more complicated. To prepare a site for planting taro, the coral soil in the island's interior is broken down to a depth of 4 meters. A pit about 20 to 30 meters long by 10 to 15 meters wide is dug. The excavated material is broken further and ringed about the pit. A mulch is made of palm leaves and other vegetable wastes. The mulch is mixed with sand and the taro field is ready for planting. Even with that, however, the taro grows only to the size of a fist. Here and there you may find a banana plant. Recently, sailing ships have begun to bring young banana plants which are welcomed by the popu1ation.[11] Seafood is plentiful and rounds out the diet.

Pigs and chickens have been introduced into the islands in recent years and are thriving, so that the quantity of meat available for purchase is increasing.[12]

Social Structure

In all the groups, each island has a single chief whose position is inherited.[13] These chiefs do not set themselves apart from the general population in manner of dress, tattooing, or home. However, they maintain complete authority and have the respect of their people.

Next to the chief, the priests or sorcerers have great influence.[14] Their main duty is to intercede with the gods for several purposes: to maintain health or cure illness, to get favorable winds, a good catch when fishing, and to officiate at the birth of babies and at the piercing of the nasal septum for purposes of ornamentation. The sorcerers' homes are larger and more elaborate than those of the other islanders, and the common folk approach them with shyness. When strangers land on the island, they are greeted by the sorcerer, sprayed with water, annointed with oil, and girded with bleached pandanus leaves. Sand, water, and green leaves are spread about the arrival and his boat. After this ceremony, the new arrival is taken to the chief and introduced to him.

Polygyny is the general rule on these islands. However, on Ontong Java, where there are many women, there are many unmarried men who apparently are not rich enough to support a wife or who are of a lower class which is not allowed to marry.

The treatment of women is good. Men do most of the important work, like preparing and tending the taro fields, fishing, building houses and boats, etc. That is, all work requiring physical strength.[15] Child care, homemaking, cooking, and weaving or braiding mats are women's work. In their spare time, they can lounge about their homes, tend their bodies, gossip, etc. Children play in the sand and water and do not wear clothes until adolescence approaches.[16]

Although the islanders at first glance seem to be peaceable folk, there is sufficient evidence to the contrary. Transgressions are quickly punished, so that laws are observed, with the result that white people can now sojourn on these islands safely. There are now white traders living on several islands, who buy the islanders' excess products for shipment abroad.[17]

Whereas most of the islands of these groups are abundantly covered with coconut palms and offer reasonable living conditions, the people choose to live on the larger islands and set up their villages there. As a rule, the small islands have only isolated huts, occupied temporarily during fishing trips or coconut harvest time.[18] The major population, as

on Ontong Java, is in large villages; in the Tasman group, there is just one large village on the island of Nukumanu.

The design of the villages follows a pattern. Most houses are built in the shade of coconut palms. At the beach, these are single homes, where most are protected by the trees. Streets are at right angles to each other and divide the village into sections. They are swept clean and often covered with white sand, as are the entrance ways to the huts. Next to the huts, there are piles of fuel,[19] and in consistently shady places, benches are constructed for sitting. Most huts have pits for storing and ripening coconuts. Every village has one or more wells, up to 7 meters deep, lined with coral. The upper rim is square; the inner sides are funnel shaped and collect rainwater. This is used for drinking but still has a salty taste, which most Europeans find objectionable.[20] Rainwater is also collected in vessels made from large *Strombus* shells[21] which are hung from bent coconut palms.

The living quarters of the natives are rectangular huts 6 to 8 meters long and 3 to 4 meters wide. The sidewalls are 1½ to 2 meters high. The roof rests on two or three 6-meter-high posts and rises about 1½ meters above the vertical supports; it overhangs the sidewalls by about the same amount. Roofs are made of whatever wood or material is available—mostly of coconut wood, covered with thatch made of coconut or pandanus leaves. The sides are covered with the same material. Every hut has two entrances, one at the gable end and the other on one of the long sides. In Takuu houses, the entire gable end is open. Door openings are usually covered with a mat. Often shells are worked into these mats. They chime when the mat is disturbed, thereby announcing an arrival. Inside, the hut consists of a rectangular room. The floor is earth, covered with white coral sand. In the middle there is a flat, round depression where a fire is maintained and meals are prepared. Along the sidewalls homemaking utensils and fishing gear are hung. At the gable end there is a storage room for coconuts and utensils used in their preparation. They also make a hanger device from mangrove roots, used to hang their food baskets.[22]

Beds are made of mats approximately 2 meters wide and 3 meters long, composed of several layers of coconut and pandanus leaves.

The sorcerers' homes are distinguished from the general populations' by being larger and more ornate. The sidewalls are covered with woven coconuts; turtle-shell ornaments hang from the beams; the upright posts are covered with ribbons and bows made from pandanus leaves. Although the sorcerer lives here with his wives, the building also seems to serve as a meeting place for men. On Nukumanu, I found two

invalids lying in the sorcerer's home, and in an adjacent hut, two more sick people. The sorcerer's home seems to serve as an infirmary, as it is considered a refuge from evil spirits, and therefore a place where healing is favored.[23]

The largest building in a settlement is the temple or *reaiku.*[24] The site for this is elevated about 1 meter with coral bricks. The posts and beams are clean and smoothed logs, securely fastened to each other with sennit ropes. The floor is covered with coconut-leaf mats, and an idol *(aiku)* stands at one end of the building.[25] This is usually a block of coral, or a log, carved to resemble a human form. The *aiku* is decorated with bleached pandanus leaf strips and yellow hibiscus. On Nukumanu, the *aiku [sic]* is called Pau-Pau. He is 5 meters tall and carved from hard, brown wood. The face is reminiscent of the large wooden masks of Lukunor (the Mortlock group of the Caroline Islands). The eyes are made of white shells. There are five conical, slightly bent horns with rounded tips on the occiput. A band of woven pandanus leaves is placed around the forehead and cranium. Near the middle of the block, there are two long slits demarking the arms. Pandanus leaves and yellow hibiscus are drawn through these slits and wound about the body, tied on the side into bows with long ribbons. About the hips, a narrow mat, called *tainamu,* is slung, and tied in front into a bow whose ends extend to the ground. Over the mat is a thick belt made of sennit cord into which a number of 20-centimeter-long pointed sticks of coconut are woven. The long-hanging ends of the hip mat cover the junction of the trunk and legs of the figure. The foot end of the idol is covered with pandanus leaves, hibiscus, and other foliage. Coconuts and carved wooden figures, whose significance I do not know, lie at the idol's feet.

As I viewed the idol, only the sorcerer accompanied me, the others remaining at a respectful distance.

Around the *reaiku [sic]* there were several open huts, which apparently were also dedicated to worship. Within the radius of these huts the ground was covered with coconut leaves. I was unable to find out the purpose of these huts. No one was willing to accompany me as I looked over these buildings, and they did not seem to like my loitering there. These huts were completely empty and only occasional posts were wound with pandanus leaves.

Every village has a community burial ground not far from the houses, but I could not persuade anyone to go there with me. The burial ground is divided into rectangular sections, varying in size. Individual graves are arranged in rows covered with white coral sand, and covered with coconuts. The end of each grave is marked by coral blocks, one usually

taller than the others and marked with a red spot about the size of a hand. Skulls were not available.[26] Where I showed the skulls I had brought from the Solomons, I was asked to hide them quickly. A number of skulls are being saved on Nukuria Atoll. These are said to be the skulls of some chiefs and sorcerers. They are taken to the beach annually, washed with salt water, and rubbed with coconut oil. It is said that each of these skulls is known by name, but I am skeptical of this.

The household furnishings have no special significance. In most huts one finds rectangular stools of various sizes, made of a single piece of wood, which were offered to me to sit on. The natives rarely use them. They sit on the ground or on mats.

Wooden bowls, 10 to 80 centimeters long, are found in almost all homes. They are usually oval, with triangular knots at the ends used as handles. The inside bottom is rounded, outside is flat. They are used to prepare meals. Coconut shells are used as containers. These are covered with woven sennit cord and can be hung.

In a few huts I noticed some wooden vessels used only by the women for their cosmetic care.

In Tasman and Ontong Java I found small wooden containers for spices. These containers, called *haufa,*[27] are carved from one piece of wood. They are about 15 centimeters in diameter on bottom and 9 centimeters on top. About 4 centimeters below the rim there are four triangular projections, pierced to allow a fiber string to be pulled through. The string is joined and serves for hanging the vessel.

In almost every house there is a coconut scraper; fastened to a wooden block with sennit cord is a half shell, often replaced now by metal. When working with these, the user sits on the block and works with the tool between his legs, in front of him.

Pestles of hard brown lumber are found in all the islands. Their design varies slightly as do the decorations.

Small baskets made of coconut or pandanus leaves serve to store smaller utensils, They remind me of the school baskets carried by children in Germany. They are rectangular and vary in size, with braided handles that serve for hanging.

Scrapers and knives made of turtle bones are prevalent and vary in size. I have found examples up to 40 centimeters long and as short as 5 centimeters. Width varies from 3 to 5 centimeters. These scrapers are used to open and cut the coconuts. Both men and women wear them around their necks and they serve a decorative as well as utilitarian purpose. The knives, also made of turtle bone, are basically triangular, with a 7-centimeter-long blade. The overall length is about 10 to 15

centimeters. At the end, they have either a hole or a handle, either of which allows a string to be attached so that the implement can be hung. Needles for sewing mats and sails are also made of bone and are up to 12 centimeters long. They are called *kui.*[28] On Ontong Java, near the sleeping mats, people have numerous small pillows, called *kuaruga,* filled with a white material and used to support or cushion various body parts. Among their uses, they are placed under the arms or legs while tattooing.

Of most interest on all the islands is the production of the clothing material. The weaving looms are called *mehau* on Ontong Java and Nukumanu. Mats 175 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide make skirts for women. After they are woven they are dyed dark brown with plant colors and coconut oil. They are called *laulau.*[29] Women wrap them about their bodies covering themselves from waist to knee. A strip of pandanus leaf serves as a belt to fasten the laulau. Men's mats are about 22 centimeters wide, are dyed with carrot coloring, and are called *talla.*[30] They are tied about the hips, and the ends are fastened between the legs. Larger mats, called *tainamu,* are woven expressly for the use of the sorcerers. The sorcerer was very reluctant to let me have one of these mats, apparently fearful that the possession would bring me misfortune. The larger mat was 450 centimeters long and 70 centimeters wide; the smaller one 430 centimeters long and 15 centimeters wide. This latter was the type wrapped about the idol's hips on Nukumanu; it was also wrapped about one of the patients seen in the sorcerer's house.

On Nukuria, similar mats are made, and several are sewn together as protection from the many mosquitos. In Samoa also, the mats are sewn together for the same purpose, and called *tainamu* as on Nukuria. Strange, then, that on Ontong Java the same name is given to a mat with an entirely different purpose.[31]

The material used on all the islands is the same—namely hibiscus vine, knotted together. The weaving is done by men. The women help in preparing the materials.

Ornamentation and Tattooing

Ornamentation is of little importance to the islanders. On Nukuria, I remember no jewelry or tattooing at all. On Takuu as well, there was no tattooing. If you saw a tattooed individual here, he was an immigrant from Ontong Java.[32] Occasional earrings and belts do however serve notice that beautifying the body is not entirely a lost art. For instance, I

saw earrings made of turtle-shell, mother-of-pearl, and other shells, in the form of a fish. Characteristic here also are belts, made of three rows of snails. Single-row belts of similar material were an earlier fashion. The belts are 80 to 90 centimeters long and put together so that the upper side of the snail shell is shown. The shells are joined by braided sennit cord. On Ontong Java and Nukumanu, the ornamentation was more sophisticated, though apparently a dying art.

Usually dancefests are the reason for wearing the ornaments. However, there are some objects used only for the dances: for instance, an apron, called *kiki* and worn by men.[33] In some dances women as well as men hold short wooden clubs in their hands, which they manipulate to produce sounds, as with castanets. In some dances, four or five small wooden bars are held in each hand and shaken to strike each other and produce the sounds.

A characteristic ornament of these groups is the nose ornament, called *heranga,* worn by the priests and old men.[34] This is about 11 centimeters long and at the lower end about 7 centimeters wide. The upper ring is split so that it can easily be slipped through the slit made in the nares for this purpose. With one of these ornaments in each nostril, hanging over the mouth and chin, the wearer has a most grotesque appearance—inducing laughter in Europeans, rather than the respect it is supposed to induce. Women also wear a small leaf of turtle-shell through the nostril. The women's nose ornament is small, and never hangs over the upper lip.

Adolescent boys seem to prefer to wear ear ornaments. I noticed only one design for these, consisting of a fishtail design with a ring of turtle-shell stuck through the auricle.

Men and women wear narrow armbands called *waha* around the upper arm.[35] These are about 1 centimeter wide and are braided out of 2-millimeter-wide strips of pandanus leaf. Armbands of trochus are seen on all the islands. These are roughly finished and only poorly polished. On Takuu I found armbands made of coconut shell, 1 centimeter wide, made of one piece.

As a rule neck and chest ornaments are worn only at festive occasions. Usually they are round plates made of cone shell.[36] They are smoothed and. polished, and holes are bored into them near the rim so that they can be worn singly or in multiples. If several are worn, the largest is in the middle, and then they decrease in size to right and left. These discs vary in size from 2 to 6 centimeters. I have also mentioned before that a rasp made of polished turtle-shell is worn by many men as a neck ornament. Women wear a corresponding ornament, but theirs consists of

one to four pieces of turtle-shell about 15 centimeters long and 2 centimeters wide. A hole is bored into the upper end; the lower end is pointed and sharpened as a knife blade. Because of their value, these ornaments are worn on rare occasions, and then only by the wealthy.

All the necklaces I saw and that were described to me are made of teeth (they are called *ngiho,* meaning tooth).[37] The teeth are of varying size, and usually in their natural state, except that a hole is bored through the roots so that they can be strung. Large teeth may be worn singly on a string. Necklaces made of adapted sharks teeth are especially treasured. These teeth may vary from 5 to 15 centimeters in length. If a number of teeth are strung together, the largest one is centered, with decreasing size toward each end. Usually there are no more than three teeth on a single neck ornament. One chief presented me with a necklace of 14 teeth, which probably could not be duplicated today.

Men and women wear fish-shaped discs made of mother-of-pearl 3 to 6 centimeters long, either singly or several on a string.

Finger-rings made of turtle-shell which are worn now are probably of recent origin, copied from European fashion.

At dances women wear special belts, called *moro,* to fasten their skirts. These consist of ten rows of beads made of coconut shell, about 5 millimeters in diameter and 1½ to 3 millimeters thick. The outer surface is polished. Each string is about 65 centimeters long. Sometimes white beads made of snail or conch shell are interspersed at intervals of 10 centimeters.

Although they are not decorative objects, I want to mention fans here. Fans are found and used on all the islands. Usually they are made of braided palm leaves, are heart-shaped and of uniform size, and are carried by all the sorcerers and priests. On Takuu, they have special ceremonial fans that are hung—up to 1½ meters long.

On Nukuria the sorcerers have special belts about 2 meters long. They are made of sennit cord and fashioned with loops at the ends, by which they are fastened around the body.

Tattooing is the most prized body decoration on Ontong Java and Nukumanu. Extensive tattooing is common for both men and women. Because of the time involved in these extensive patterns, they are often done in sections over a period of many years. The instruments used are made from bones of aquatic birds. The instrument is held in the left hand and tapped lightly with a stick held in the right hand to drive the points with the dye through the skin.

Tattooing is done exclusively by women. The art is practiced by a few

privileged families, and is passed down from mother to daughter. Because of the length of time tattooing takes and the demands for the service, the tattoo artists are always busy at their profession. They are extremely skilled, so that they can carry on conversations and observe their surroundings with only occasional glances at their work. The client endures the pain of the procedure stoically; only the eyes and tightly drawn lips reveal the reactions to the pain. In the many times I watched, I never heard a groan from any client. One young woman whom I watched being tattooed seemed to be enduring great pain. She did not emit a sound, but her temperature, taken during the procedure, revealed a high fever, indicating a marked inflammatory reaction.

The tattooed areas are bathed daily with fresh water. In about three to four weeks the scab falls off and the tattoo design appears on the skin as blue lines. In older people the designs tend to fade and to merge. In old women especially, the extensive body and leg tattoos give the entire skin a grayish blue appearance, but in young men and women the tattoos are distinct and attractive.

Canoes and Fishing Gear

The Nukumanu and Ontong Javanese must depend on driftwood for building their canoes, since they do not have trees large enough for this purpose.[38] By the number of vessels in the area, one would judge that the sea provides sufficient materials. Almost every canoe shows signs of long and hard use, with many patches on its planks. The pieces of driftwood are not always big enough for a boat; thus, several pieces must be joined, so that you may find light and dark woods used together without regard for pattern or distribution.[39] The chief Uila of Ontong Java owns a long canoe which unmistakably was once the mast of a large ship. The canoes vary in size from small ones which hold only two people, to 16 meters long, accommodating twenty people.[40] However, they all have the same shape: a long trough with straight keel and rectilinear edge, the ends bent slightly back of the keel. Some have short decks fore and aft, which serve as a seat for the helmsman. Stability is provided by an outrigger. Many canoes also carry a triangular sail, and it is amazing how fast these clumsy and often fragile boats can go even in stormy weather outside the lagoon.[41] If the boat capsizes no great harm is done, as the people easily right it and swing themselves on board. If women or children are taken aboard, they are protected from sun and/or rain by a shed made of pandanus leaves.[42]

On Nukuria canoes are similar to the above, except that they have native wood for building them. On Takuu, on the other hand, there are

some old boats which are beached and are no longer used because the population is unable to launch them. They are 10 to 14 meters long, made of heavy planking built from the keel up. Their inner depth is 1½ meters. There are long carved figures on the prow and stern, and a shed, also with carving. Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain a sketch or photo of one of these boats, and I'm afraid that they will soon be destroyed by weathering if they have not been destroyed already.[43]

Obviously fishing is very important to these populations, as the sea provides the major portion of their nutrition. I have not had the opportunity to observe the various fishing techniques; rather, my descriptions are based on inference from the tools I have found in the fishing huts.

Nets of all types are found everywhere, ranging from small casting nets to large sink-nets.[44] The large nets seem to be the common property of certain families. On the reef, they fish for small fish and crustaceans at night with a draw-net spread over a circular wooden frame and attached to a rod of variable length. The fish are lured by the light of burning coconut fronds and caught in the net. Fishhooks made of various materials are also used.

Hooks for shark-fishing are made of hardwood with shanks from 15 to 30 centimeters long. At the upper end of the short shank a hook is attached at an angle, with cord, and the whole is attached to a fishing line. I have never seen this used and am unable to visualize its use.

Spearfishing is done on all the islands, but its use seems limited.[45]

Nets and lines are made of sennit cord and the fiber of a type of hibiscus. The latter is also used to spin a thread from which the throw-nets and sink-nets are made. Threads are spun by rolling the fibers with the flat hand against the thigh, one hand feeding the fiber, the other hand doing the rolling. Several threads are then rolled together by similar techniques. If thicker cords are desired, a number of threads are braided together.

To protect the soles of people's feet from the sharp coral, sandals are worn on Ontong Java and Nukumanu. They are made from braided sennit and held on the foot by a thong between the toes and cords tied around the ankle. The soles are thick to give protection from the sharp edges of the coral.

Weapons and Utensils

On Nukuria, the only weapon now in use is a club made of mangrove wood, about 1 meter long. The islanders do not remember ever having spears.

On Takuu, there are more sophisticated weapons. They have long, heavy lances, 3 meters long by 3 centimeters thick, pointed at each end. In a hut here, I found an old example of a lance, 280 centimeters long, carved at one end. I am not sure that this was a weapon. It may have been a ceremonial spear, the type held by an orator during a speech. This assumption is supported by the fact that the upper end was wrapped with bleached pandanus-leaf strips. I also obtained a very old club made of dark hardwood, completely plain except for carving at the end. The shape reminded me of old Samoan clubs.

On Ontong Java and Nukumanu, in 1895, I succeeded in finding old weapons in some huts even though I had been told that weapons were completely unknown there.[46] There were three types of lance. *Makaki* -plain, straight, 3½ to 4 meters long with one pointed end; *kumalie*—with short spikes to the right and left of the midshaft at acute angles; and *maai*—with many spikes, each at a different angle to the axis of the shaft.[47] This implement was reminiscent of similar ones in the Gilbert Islands. It is a very heavy weapon, and therefore, useful only in close combat. Its weight would make it impossible to use as a throwing spear.

Paramoa and *langa* are club-like weapons fashioned from whalebone. They vary in size from 40 to 60 centimeters long and 6 to 15 centimeters wide. At one end there is a knob to give a better grip. Usually a hole is bored through the knob so that a sling rope can be pulled through.[48]

At present, the articles in use are metal tools brought by the traders. They have so completely replaced the old tools that it is difficult to make the local inhabitants understand that you want to collect the old discarded tools. It is quite possible, therefore, that some instruments are completely forgotten. On Nukuria one finds old hatchets, etc., in dumps and abandoned homesteads. They also used shovels which I have not seen anywhere else. The blade was made of turtle bones and was about 18 centimeters long, the lower end rounded to about 19 centimeters wide, the upper end about 9 centimeters wide. At the middle of the upper end, a tongue protruded to enable secure fastening of the blade to the handle. This tool too has been replaced by metallic ones.

In my collection, I have two axe blades found on one of the Fead Islands. These are entirely different from any other blades found there. They are made of black basalt-like stone not found in the Fead group. The cutting end is curved, slightly concave, 14 centimeters wide, the upper end almost coming to a point and well polished. The other is somewhat smaller. Both specimens were found while digging and probably came from old graves.

Years ago on Takuu, I found rectangular blades about 25 to 30 centimeters long, made out of turtle bones. One end, about 9 to 12 centimeters wide, is slightly curved and sharpened. The other end, which is narrower, had two holes about 4 centimeters apart, about 3 centimeters from the upper rim. Somewhat smaller blades of similar shape but with only one hole were also found. The hole in these smaller blades was small, admitting only a single strand of coconut fiber, whereas the holes in the larger blades were 5 to 7 millimeters in diameter. I thought these implements were large scrapers or maybe spatulas used in the preparation of food. In September 1895, a resident trader from Takuu presented me with several old stone axes and other tools. Among these I found one of the two-holed blades described above. This trader had an elderly native make some handles for old tools to demonstrate their mode of attachment; among these, he had a wooden handle made for the two-holed blade, which made it obvious that this implement had served as an axe.[49] This was especially interesting to me as I had just read a treatise by Dr. Von Luschan about the Maty Islands[?] in which he described collections of objects similar to the ones I observed here. The above example from Takuu bears great resemblance to the bone axes of Maty although the latter were finished with far greater attention to detail and greater artistry. The blade of my Takuu specimen is undoubtedly very old; the handle and fastening are of more recent date. One can assume that earlier handles were made with greater attention to detail. The newer handle and fastening are far simpler than the ones I obtained years ago when I first collected there. It is impossible to determine now whether the Takuu specimen was a primitive copy of the Maty axes, or whether the Maty implements were a more sophisticated version of the Takuu tool.

The axe and blade of Takuu are made of *Tridacna* shell and polished *Terebra* snail. The *Tridacna* blades are distinguished for their remarkable size, although the shape is similar to those of Nukuria.

On Ontong Java and Nukumanu, we see virtually the same shape as on the above islands, although minor variation of details may be seen. I have not been able to obtain examples of comparable implements from these islands.

Money

On Nukumanu women make *kua* or money strings, consisting of discs, 7 to 8 millimeters in diameter and 1½ to 2 millimeters thick, made of white seashells or of coconut shell, strung alternately on strings. Each

string was about one meter long. Five such strings were combined in one bundle. This "money" was used mainly in trading with Ontong Java. On the east side of the Solomon Islands, these strings are sometimes worn as necklaces. I have found them on the east side of Bougainville, in the Shortland Islands, and on Choiseul. On Bougainville I was told that they came from washed up canoes. Therefore it is probable that the specimens found in the Solomons originated on Nukumanu or the Gilbert Islands, where similar money strings were in use.[50]

Language

The first natives of Ontong Java I met had come to Samoa as workers in 1878. Several of them were assigned to me as boat crew a few weeks after their arrival, and I was surprised to note that they communicated with the Samoans without any difficulty. Later, when I visited Ontong Java, I found the language there very similar to the Samoan language. Traders who speak the Samoan language and now live on Takuu and Nukuria assure me that they could understand these islanders, and within a few weeks could converse with them without difficulty; in a short time they mastered the pronunciations of the various island natives.

NOTES

Parkinson's ethnography can be found in *Internationales Archivs fur Ethnographie* 10:104-118 and 137-151. The original article was published in 1897 under the title, "Zur Ethnograhie de Ongtong Java- und Tasman-Inseln, mit: Einigen Bemerkungen über die Marqueen- und Abgarris-Inseln." I am indebted to Kent State University for providing the leave time during which I gained a firsthand knowledge of the islands discussed in this article. In addition, I would like to express particular gratitude to Jay Howard for a careful reading and constructive criticism of Parkinson's article and my annotations. His contribution is cited repeatedly in the notes that follow.

1. Tarawa is the capital of the Gilbert Islands, now an independent nation known as Kiribati.

2. The Polynesian Ellice Islands, formerly part of the British Gilberts and Ellice Colony, are now an independent nation known as Tuvalu. We use the designations Gilbert and Ellice Islands in this article for Kiribati and Tuvalu respectively as independence did not come about until many decades after the article's original publication.

3. Sikaiana or Stewart Island is an atoll east of northern Malaita in the Solomon Islands. Its nearest neighbor, Malaita, is well over a hundred miles away, and Ontong Java is almost three hundred miles distant to the northwest. The readiness of voyagers to sail their

canoes between the two atolls is impressive testimony to their self-confidence and navigational abilities.

4. There is, of course, a great deal of variation in canoe speed, depending on weather tack, the size and construction of the vessel, and the sailors' seamanship abilities. Nonetheless, the estimate of 60 miles a day (an average of 2½ knots) is rather conservative, assuming that one is not beating against the wind. On the other hand, to right a capsized vessel in a storm, even for Polynesians, can be far more problematic than Parkinson imagined (see Feinberg n.d.).

5. Parkinson's original spelling was Liueniua. The indigenous pronunciation is more accurately represented in contemporary orthography as Luangiua, and we have thus rendered it in this translation.

6. Nukumanu is the largest islet and, at the time of Parkinson's visits, was also the site of the atoll's only settlement. Shortly after the Australians took over administration of the old German New Guinea Colony, the settlement was moved to Amotu, the atoll's second largest islet. Many families keep up houses on the main islet, but residence in these dwellings is sporadic. The *Cyrtosperma* swamps are still on the "Big Island."

7. This is untrue of Ontong Java, where there is no indigenous name for the entire atoll. Luangiua is the name of the larger settlement and the islet on which it is located; it does not include the smaller settlement, Peelau, which is politically and socially autonomous. Peelau is usually spelled Pelau on maps. Nukumanu is the indigenous name for the entire Tasman group and the largest islet of that group. My informants, however, more often used the name Vaihare when referring to Nukumanu islet rather than the atoll.

8. The proper pronunciation is Takuu, with a lengthened /uu/. This name is used for both the atoll and the largest islet, which today serves as the garden islet. The settlement is located on the second largest islet, Nukutoa.

9. According to Bayliss-Smith (1975a), Nukuria is a group consisting of two separate atolls known as Nukaruba and Malum. The entire group is also known as the Fead Islands. Some maps identify Nukuria (usually spelled Nuguria) as only the more southerly atoll and give the designation Nugarba (i.e., Nukaruba) or Goodman Island for the largest islet. According to recent provincial maps, the group has only one indigenous settlement and the largest islet is uninhabited.

10. To the contrary, children constantly chew on pandanus seeds, and adults also appreciate the moisture and tangy flavor. There was no shortage of coconuts during my stay on Nukumanu.

11. Nukumanu distinguish between *taro* (true taro, genus *Colocasia*) and *vakkehu* (swamp taro, genus *Cyrtosperma*). Informants say that taro once grew on their atoll but has become extinct, leaving the main source of carbohydrate *vakkehu* and imported staples such as wheat flour and rice. True taro still is said to grow on Ontong Java. Parkinson's comments on the difficulty of raising either of these crops are as apt today as they were a century ago. He also is correct about the introduction of banana; and to the list one might add papaya, pumpkin, tobacco, and sugarcane. However, none of these crops grow well in the atolls' salty, coralline, sandy soil. On Nukumanu, which seems to be the driest of the four atolls, these crops rarely fruit, and when they do the fruit is of poor quality.

12. This presumably means purchase by the visiting planter; islanders do not customarily sell pigs and chickens to each other.

13. The accuracy of this statement depends on one's translation of indigenous terms. Each atoll has two terms that could conceivably be glossed as "chief"; presumably, Parkinson is referring to the position designated on Ontong Java as *ke ku'u,* on Nukumanu as *te tuku,* and on Takuu as *te pure.* The holder of the *ku'u* (or *tuku,* or *pure*) title might be described as the "paramount chief," although I prefer "secular" or "administrative chief." The other chiefly title is *ke maakua* on Ontong Java, *te ariki* on Nukumanu, and te maatua on Takuu. This is presumably the term that Parkinson translates as "priest" or "sorcerer." As *ariki* is the usual Polynesian word for "chief," I am inclined to gloss the office as "sacred" or "spiritual chief." Each settlement appears to have had one "administrative chief"; Luangiua and Peelau each had its own *ku'u.* By contrast, there were several "priests" or "sacred chiefs" in each settlement, although at least on Nukumanu, there no longer is agreement as to how many there were or who their true descendants are. According to present-day informants, Nukumanu's first *tuku* took power by force of arms within the past 150 years; thus, it is interesting to see the administrative chiefs ascendancy so definitively reported a century ago. One is reminded of Tongan chiefly history with the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua's ascendancy over the Tu'i Tonga, and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu's ascendancy over the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. Perhaps the theme of the lower overcoming the higher, cited by Goldman in his description of Samoa (Goldman 1970) is more widely embedded than he realized in Polynesian cultures. Jay Howard (personal communication) has expressed general agreement with the above observations but adds that the terms *tuku* and *ariki* are found on Takuu as well as on the atolls to the east, although they are used by Takuu in a somewhat different sense.

14. The indigenous term that Parkinson is glossing as "priest" or "sorcerer" presumably is *maatua* (Takuu), *ariki* (Nukumanu), or *maakua* (Ontong Javanese). Sorcery, since Frazer, has connoted use of magic formulae to manipulate a mechanistic universe. A priest, by contrast, is a religious practitioner whose power rests in his ability to appeal effectively to autonomous spiritual beings. According to contemporary anthropological usage, then, "priest" may be an apt translation. True "sorcery" has been described for Ontong Java (Hogbin 1932, 1961), but this is quite distinct from the phenomenon addressed here by Parkinson.

15. This statement is largely true for Takuu and perhaps Nukuria. On Nukumanu and Ontong Java, by contrast, "taro" swamps are controlled and tended by women. In addition, women cut and carry large bundles of pandanus leaf, firewood, and coconuts for copra—all heavy work, requiring considerable physical strength.

16. This is still true on Nukumanu and probably Ontong Java; it is less so on Takuu.

17. The atoll dwellers had good reason to make themselves appear peaceful to their European overlords. Today, these people feel less threatened by outsiders and it is possible to obtain stories of major battles fought within the past century and a half—not long before Parkinson's observations.

18. In general, this statement is still true. However, the most common reason at present for visits to the outer islets is to collect bêche-de-mer. Family groups will often camp for up to a week on distant islets in order to save time and outboard-motor fuel.

19. Fuel for cooking fires usually consists of coconut shells left over from the copra-making process. Parkinson's use of the term "fuel" *(Bernmaterial)* rather than "firewood" suggests that this situation has not changed in at least a century.

20. At present, Takuu has no well; however, almost every house has a cistern to catch rainwater. Nukumanu has two wells, but well water is used for washing and cooking-not drinking.

21. Howard (personal communication) adds that "the Takuu formerly collected water in the shells of the giant clam *(Tridacna gigus)* and the helmet conch *(Cassis cornuta).*"

22. House design differs somewhat from one atoll to another. Today, the villages are arranged as straight rows of houses parallel to the beach, and typically each house has two doors: one facing the lagoon and one on the seaward side. On Nukumanu floors are paved with a kind of cement made by mixing sea water with fire ash. On Takuu house floors are coral rubble. Takuu houses, reflecting population density, are smaller and closer together than are Nukumanu dwellings. Roofs are fashioned of pandanus-leaf thatch; walls are of coconut-leaf mats. Wooden doors with padlocks have become commonplace.

23. This description is as apt today as at the time it was written,

24. This should be *hare aiku,* "spirit house," on Ontong Java, *hare aitu* on Nukumanu, and *fare aitu* on Takuu.

25. *Aiku* (or *aitu* in Nukumanu and Takuu) is the word for "spirit"; apparently a physical object held to personify a spirit was called by the same term.

26. This is still a fairly accurate description of the Nukumanu graveyard. Headstones are sometimes concrete but usually are fashioned from coral slabs. Recent stones have the names of the persons buried under them and the date of death. Many are decorated with tuna, marlin, lizard, or turtle designs; the designs are sometimes highlighted with red enamel paint.

27. Neither Howard nor I am familiar with this word. Howard (personal communication) suggests that *haufa* may have been a printer's error resulting from a misreading of Parkinson's handwritten manuscript.

28. This is the Ontong Javanese word; the Nukumanu pronunciation is *tui*. The word also appears as the verb "to sew."

29. This is a reduplicated form of *lau,* the generic term for "leaf" or "leaflike object." The proper spelling for the loom is *meehau* (Nukumanu) or *meefau* (Takuu) (Howard, personal communication).

30. I am not familiar with this term. The description of the dye sounds like turmeric, known in Nukumanu as *kaarena* and Takuu as *rena;* the turmeric plant, as opposed to the dye, is *te lau ano* on both islands.

31. *Tainamu* is the word for "mosquito net" in much of modern Polynesia.

32. Tattooing is also practiced on Nukumanu, although few people under thirty years of age have gone through the procedure at this time.

33. Howard states that "*kiki* is the Ontong Java term for Nukumanu *titi*. Takuu has *ttii aronaa,* 'strips of fiber from the *aronaa* plant.' These are used to make net cordage, but also presumably the 'grass' skirts worn in dancing" (personal communication).

34. This probably should be *he ranga, he* being the indefinite article, singular. It may be significant here that priests and old men are called by the same term— *maakua*—on Ontong Java.

35. Howard (personal communication) notes that *waha* should be written *vaha.* The Takuu cognate is *vasa* (meaning "plaited pandanus mat" or "prepared pandanus leaves for making mat."

36. The German word that we translate as "cone shell" is *Kegelschnecke,* for which we have been unable to obtain a definitive gloss.

37. This is cognate with the usual Polynesian word for "tooth"; cf. *niho* (Nukumanu), nifo (Takuu, Tikopia), *nipo* (Anuta), etc.

38. This misconception has been repeated elsewhere, as in the ethnographic film "Death of an Island Culture." In fact, Nukumanu has several species of tree from which canoes are cut. By contrast, for Takuu, where the large trees were cut down by Forsayth and Company to make more room for its copra plantation (Howard, personal communication), Parkinson's assertion may be à propos.

39. This is still very much the case. Suitable wood for canoes is at a premium; therefore, no usable timber is discarded. When a canoe is rotted beyond repair, salvageable wood is kept and reused for planking or patching other vessels.

40. This is precisely the variation in canoe size that I found on Nukumanu in 1984.

41. Obviously, from Parkinson's description, these canoes are functional, efficient, and anything but clumsy.

42. This sounds reminiscent of the sheds on Carolinian canoes, which are set on the lee platform during lengthy journeys, especially if women are to go along (Gladwin 1970). Ontong Java and the Polynesian atolls of Papua New Guinea no longer equip their canoes with sheds; indeed, the lee platform itself is a thing of the past.

43. These are undoubtedly what Takuu call *vaka fai laa,* large interisland sailing canoes. Takuu still make models of these vessels, primarily for sale to tourists, but full-sized sailing craft have not been built since Parkinson's day. One explanation I was given in Papua New Guinea was that the necessary magic has been lost and it is felt that to construct and launch a *vaka fai laa* without supernatural protection would be to court disaster. In addition, one might note that European ships have made long-distance canoe travel unnecessary. Canoes are constantly sailed between Nukumanu and Ontong Java, but for the 30-mile voyage, elaborate vessels are not considered necessary. With outboard motors, the voyage can now routinely be made in five or six hours.

44. Presumably these were some kind of weighted net.

45. Parkinson is probably referring here to use of wooden fishing spears rather than the relatively recent use of spear guns.

46. Parkinson's informants were obviously dissimulating; according to oral traditions, armed conflict has been very much a part of the political history of these atolls (cf. note 17).

47. *Makaki* and *kumalie* are Ontong Javanese pronunciations. Howard further notes that "*makaki* was probably intended as *makahi,* with a handwritten /h/ misread as a /k/. . . .

The Takuu form *mattasi* (from *mata,* "point," + *tasi,* "one") suggests that the true Ontong Java and Nukumanu forms are probably *makkahi* and *mattahi,* respectively" (personal communication). The word that Parkinson presents as *maai* is probably the Ontong Javanese *ma'ai* without orthographic representation of the glottal stop.

48. *Paramoa* should be written *paraamoa.* Howard (personal communication) suggests that the term derives from *paraa,* "feather," + *moa,* "chicken," and is used to refer to a machete as well as the weapon described by Parkinson. He further states that "probably the term referred to a tool or weapon of a particular form and function regardless of the material it was made out of," and that "the Takuu form and usage are exactly the same." *Langa* is Ontong Javanese; the cognate on Takuu and Nukumanu is *llana,* "shed-sword" or "beater of a loom." Howard describes it as "a flat, wide stick similar in shape to a *paraamoa"* and suggests that the correct Ontong Javanese form probably is *llanga.*

49. Howard (personal communication) states that "the bone axes of Takuu (called *takuu*), as well as the bone-bladed shovels *(kapika)* described [above], were gardening tools. The axes were used for cutting taro stalks and similar tasks."

56. Kua is Ontong Javanese; the Nukumanu pronunciation is *tua.* Today, *tua* are necklaces of plastic beads. They are made by women and may be sold or given away as tokens of affection.

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THE AMBIGUITIES OF EDUCATION IN KILENGE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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The island nations of the South Pacific have changed greatly in the years since the Second World War. The alterations have been widespread and diffuse, encompassing both political and economic, as well as social and cultural, aspects of life. In the field of learning, there is a firmly established trend toward formalized institutional education. Although late in coming to the South Pacific region because of the exigencies of colonial policies and economies, formal education now seems there to stay. But people see it as a mixed blessing. Along with local and national desires for formal education, and the aspirations for progress that seem to motivate those demands, has come the realization that education and imported educational structures have not proven to be a panacea for the social, economic, and political problems of development.

For Papua New Guinea, formal education has generated at least as many problems as it has solved. Education researchers are in the forefront of those critics who point out the weaknesses and failings of current education policies (see, e.g., Conroy 1972 and 1976; Lancy 1979; McKinnon 1973; Wilson 1973). They find even themselves unable to cope with the wide range of problems and difficulties engendered by the transposition of an educational system from one cultural situation to another. Regional diversities and disparities further compound the

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problem in Papua New Guinea, limiting the applicability of specific approaches such as those proposed by Taviavi (1972) and Zinkel(1972); what works in one part of the country will not necessarily work in another. But because of the magnitude of the problems they face, researchers and planners must, perforce, examine education on a national or regional level, subsuming the idiosyncracies of particular village situations in favor of quantitative and generalized data for large areas. However, if care is not taken, this bird's-eye view of education can lead to myopia, unless it is balanced with an understanding of village realities.

This paper examines perceptions of education in a village in West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea. We find that the Kilenge people have rather ambivalent feelings toward education, and their attitudes directly affect both the utility of education and the place of the community school in the village. We employ a somewhat narrow "traditional" anthropological perspective because we believe that it yields valuable insights into some of the problems facing educators today. It is essential not to lose sight of the local people, who are the ultimate beneficiaries or victims of international, national, and regional decisions regarding education and educational institutions. If educational experiences are to prove meaningful to Pacific Islanders, then education planners must take account of and be able to accommodate local needs, goals, and capabilities. By presenting this case study, we hope to demonstrate that an understanding of village reactions to education can inform planners and politicians, enabling them to design programs making education more meaningful at the local level.

The ambiguities of education in Kilenge arise from the dual nature of education; as process and product. The Kilenge have mixed emotions about both, In some respects they despise the process of schooling and teaching that contributes to, they believe, the rebellion of their children; in other ways they value it as a means by which their children are learning about the external world. Likewise, the products of education —job qualifications, skills, or knowledge gained from the process—are judged ambiguously. They may be valued because they can lead to a well-paid job, but they may also be disparaged because they produce little of use to other villagers. The Kilenge suffer from the same internal doubts about the utility and value of education as do many other Papua New Guineans. "There is the view that schools should somehow serve rural communities in a very direct way, especially with reference to social and economic development" (Lancy 1979:97; cf. Zinkel 1973). When they do not, villagers begin to grow dissatisfied. Villagers evalu-

ate education in terms of the perceived social and economic benefits they derive from it. On the whole, their negative evaluation stems from their belief that education has not helped them to better their lot in life. To understand these attitudes toward the school and education, we will explore the history of education in the Kilenge area and the role that villagers want education to play in their lives.

The Kilenge

Over one thousand Kilenge people live in three contiguous village groupings along the coast of northwest New Britain. The villages of Portne and Ongaia each have approximately 250 residents, and Kilenge proper contains more than 500 residents.[1] Another several hundred Kilenge live and work in other parts of Papua New Guinea (see Grant and Zelenietz 1980). The Kilenge share a common language with the Lollo, their bush-dwelling neighbors. Administratively, the Kilenge are included in the Kilenge-Lollo Census Division and the Gloucester Local Government Council, and they vote for members of Parliament in the Kandrian-Gloucester Open and the West New Britain Provincial Electorates.

The Kilenge are subsistence horticulturalists, relying on their mountainside swidden gardens for taro, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and other foods. Occasionally, they supplement their diet with fish, wild game, pigs or chickens, and purchases of rice, tinned meat or fish, and sweets from the numerous local trade stores. Although individuals own the gardens they plant, land itself belongs to men's houses and ramages. Kilenge social organization, characterized by cognatic descent and flexibility in group affiliation and membership, allows an individual a wide range of choice in residence and land-use rights. While postnuptial patrilocality is most common, a married couple may reside in any village and with any group that accepts their claims of membership.[2]

Kilenge knowledge of Western peoples and cultures began some time before the Kilenge themselves experienced intrusive influences. Neighboring Siassi Islanders had been in contact with the Germans during the nineteenth century; in fact, they explain the eruption of Ritter Island in 1888 as divine retribution for their attempted murder of Bishop Colomb some years before. The Siassi also forewarned the Kilenge about the Lutheran missionaries who had settled in the islands. Fearing the "white skins," who would ban ceremonial masks and dances, the Kilenge hurriedly burned their own sacred Nausang masks before they even saw these strange new people.

While the Siassi Islanders eagerly spun yarns about the missionaries, and demonstrated the versatility and superiority of their steel axes, they would not trade the new tools to the Kilenge. Undaunted, the New Britons sailed to the mainland of New Guinea in order to acquire axes and learn more about the European intruders.

By the first decade of this century the Kilenge were in direct, albeit infrequent, contact with the Germans. Some Kilenge went to work on plantations in the Kokopo region. Others joined the work force as native constables, seeing action on Ponape and as far away as German East Africa. Recruitment was not always voluntary: on at least one occasion the Germans held aged villagers hostage until the young men "volunteered" for plantation labor.

In 1929 the Kilenge invited the Roman Catholic Mission of New Guinea into their area to establish a church near the village. In the course of their conversion to Christianity, the Kilenge lost or abandoned many of their traditional beliefs and practices—particularly those related to their indigenous cosmology—but their heritage continues to influence village life in many respects. Ceremonial cycles still provide a vehicle for the accumulation of status and prestige by traditional hereditary leaders and serve as the context of initiation for children (see Zelenietz and Grant 1980); people still participate in mortuary feasts and exchanges, and sorcery beliefs and practices still inspire fear in the villagers (see Zelenietz 1979, 1981).

Despite the change from German to Australian administration during the First World War, life changed little for the Kilenge people until the establishment of the mission. With the mission came new times and new ideas. Wage labor became a fairly common activity, and most young men signed up for at least one stint of work at the mission headquarters in East New Britain. Working for the mission offered a chance to see distant places, to come into closer contact with Europeans, and to earn trade goods and money. The Church also brought an idea that eventually became commonplace: formal education.

Prior to the establishment of the mission, learning in Kilenge had been an experiential process of socialization: a child learned appropriate behavior and activities by helping parents or relatives in daily tasks. Children acquired knowledge about customs, local history, and myths as they listened to the older people tell stories around the fire at night. Initiation at puberty provided the child's formal introduction into the world of esoteric knowledge.[3] In the period of seclusion following the actual initiation, the initiates' guardians would give instruction in village myth and lore. They would reiterate family genealogies and histo-

ries, and recount and explain the various rights and taboos that people had to know to function as adults in Kilenge. Through socialization, both in everyday living and in the rites of passage marking important transitions., an individual gained the knowledge that would give his or her life meaning and the skills that would earn a livelihood.

But even by the time the mission came to Kilenge, the indigenous processes of socialization had begun to falter. Severe smallpox epidemics raging through the area between 1905 and 1915 (Haddon 1934) virtually eliminated the older members of the community, thus interrupting the flow of some knowledge and skills between generations; the Kilenge claim that they lost most of their sorcery skills at this time. The absence of young men from the village for periods of wage labor also contributed to the problem of passing knowledge through the generations. While they were working on distant plantations, young men missed the opportunity to learn some of the details of stories, myths, and lore. While daily village life continued much as it had before contact, many of the intricacies of Kilenge culture were fast disappearing.

Mission Education

Mission schooling between 1929 and 1942 had little direct influence on the lives of most Kilenge villagers. With the establishment of the mission, the priest began to instruct a few young men in the rudiments of reading and writing so that they might come to understand and help spread the Gospels. Those receiving instruction from the priest, and later from lay Brothers, were expected to teach their newly acquired knowledge to others. Only toward the end of the prewar period did the mission school begin to follow a formalized syllabus and prepare students for continuing their education at a higher level. Mission personnel selected a few students whom they felt would benefit from continued education and sent them to the advanced school at the mission headquarters in Vunapope, near Rabaul. There they pursued a course of studies to prepare them for work as catechists.

While the mission school had limited impact during the prewar period, the new religion brought many new ideas, which the Kilenge learned both in the village and abroad. The mission recruited many village men to work at the mission station at Vunapope. The Catholic recruiting ship became the main conduit for wage-labor migration from the Kilenge area (Grant and Zelenietz 1980). As a check against over-recruitment, and as insurance that families would not be left destitute by having too many ablebodied men away at the “station,” potential

recruits needed the priest's permission to sign a two- or three-year contract. The mission thus controlled (intentionally or otherwise) Kilenge exposure to the outside world, and hence managed Kilenge acclimatization to the new and increasingly important introduced elements in their social environment. In the dormitories and work places of Vunapope, Kilenge men learned about the ways and customs of people from other parts of the Territories. They came into sustained contact with Europeans. Mission personnel monitored and controlled life on the station. A worker performed prescribed tasks, ate at specified times, and received only a portion of his pay on a regular basis while the mission withheld the bulk of the contract payment until the worker returned home. People who remained in the village benefited from the labor migration in that a returning worker came back laden with goods and money to dispense to his relatives, and with new ideas and skills to distribute in the community. The known results of wage-labor migration were more significant in fueling rising expectations regarding material goods than was the educational system instituted by the Church, at least until the Second World War.

When the war hit New Britain in 1942, it caused a hiatus in formal education and wage-labor activities. However, the war itself was a major learning experience for the Kilenge, as it was for other Papua New Guineans (Eri 1973). The Japanese occupation and subsequent American invasion of the Cape Gloucester area exposed the Kilenge people to much that was powerful, fascinating, new, and frightening. While the poorly supplied Japanese burned villages, destroyed sacred paraphernalia, killed pigs, and raided gardens, the well-supplied Americans who displaced them gave villagers wealth beyond their previous dreams. The Kilenge remember this period, the beaches piled high with cargo, with fondness and longing. While villagers repaired their gardens and houses, the Americans supplied them with necessities (and some luxuries as well). Ablebodied village men went with the invading forces to continue fighting in Bougainville and New Guinea. When they saw black Americans working and fighting side-by-side with whites, they realized that dark skin need not be a mark of inferiority.

The wartime experience with Americans showed the Kilenge a new world of economic and social near-equality. But bitter disillusionment and disappointment followed. After the Americans moved out of New Britain, ANGAU[4] detachments confiscated property and goods the troops had left for villagers. The prewar power structures and policies of social differentiation based on race soon reappeared.

It was in this setting of social upheaval occasioned by the war and its

aftermath that formal education began to make significant inroads into Kilenge lives. In the years directly following the conclusion of the war, as many as a third of the young men of Ongaia village went to Vunapope to train as catechists. The youths who persevered received a few years of training in English, reading, writing, mathematics, social studies, and religion. They also learned something about teaching techniques. Trained for the life of village catechist, they saw their major role as disseminators of knowledge. In fact, they formed a new corps of teachers in the mission schools.

Kilenge catechist-teachers began to assume their posts as early as 1950. Most of them worked in West New Britain or in the Siassi Islands. A few returned to Kilenge to serve as the nucleus for a revitalized mission school. Ill-equipped and inadequately trained to develop a full curriculum, the young catechists spent most of their time instructing children in reading and writing basic English. However, the teachers' poor command of the language of instruction undoubtedly restricted the success of the effort. It appears that, as much as anything, these early schools served to introduce villagers to the *form* of education, although their ability to transmit the desired *content* was limited.

The postwar crop of students provided the Kilenge with their first practical example of the utility of education. Some of those who left the course at Vunapope before completing their studies found better than average jobs, either with the mission or with private industry in Rabaul. The half-schooled men fared better in the labor marketplace than their unschooled brothers, who invariably had to take work as manual laborers on the copra plantations. The Kilenge saw education as the means by which they could attain attractive job prospects for themselves and their children.

Those who served as catechist-teachers began to leave their positions by the mid-1950s. Dissatisfied with the low pay and the often poor working conditions, they either moved to the Rabaul-Vunapope area to find new work or returned to their natal villages. By the mid-1960s, the personal disillusionment of the catechists combined with the higher standards required for teacher qualification had removed almost all of the early postwar catechists from their teaching positions. The catechists who work today in the Kilenge area do not operate as part of the system of formal education, but strictly as servants of the Church.

The disillusionment of the catechist-teachers, the first truly "schooled" Kilenge villagers, appears to have been the first sign of a growing ambivalence in attitudes toward education. These men, trained for a particular type of work, had tried to accept the Western

ideal that they would progress because of their education, but then received little remuneration for their efforts. Classmates who had taken nonteaching jobs earned better salaries. To compound the matter, after years of dedication to their work for the mission and school, many of the catechists lost their positions because their training was no longer deemed sufficient when the government took over the school system. They began to wonder about the value of the education they had received.

The returning teachers and catechists underwent further disillusionment upon their return to the village, They discovered that their occupational status and prestige was not very portable: they came back from responsible positions in the spheres of Church and school only to find themselves classified as young men, hence socially unimportant in village affairs. The experience they gained on the outside was not directly translatable to village life, and their prolonged absence had removed them from participation in many of the activities that would have established them as "mature" men in the village: they had not actively participated in the sponsoring and supporting of ceremonial cycles (Zelenietz and Grant 1980); furthermore, they were not yet middle-aged and seldom had more than a few children. Their education and their ability to learn could not overcome their lack of status; the returnees had practically no role in village politics. Only after they had been back in the village for a number of years, establishing themselves as senior men by virtue of their participation in village life, did people begin to grant them additional respect and status because of their former positions as catechists and teachers.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the school and schooling served as a way for villagers to see some of the world. The best students went to the mission high schools where they furthered their education and increased their prospects for finding well-paid jobs. Some completed the teacher-training course and went on to work in the various mission schools, following in the footsteps of the postwar catechists. Others took their qualifications into the job market, where they signed on with government service, mission service, or with private industry.

But the availability of employment could not indefinitely keep pace with the number of school graduates in Papua New Guinea, nor did the educational qualifications for employment remain static (Conroy 1976; Conroy and Stent 1970). By the early 1970s, researchers were acutely aware of the difficulties that standard six (primary school) leavers encountered in trying to find jobs that would utilize their skills (Conroy and Curtain 1973), and predicted even greater discrepancies in the

future (McKinnon 1973). The administration's emphasis on securing widespread access to schooling led to a situation where the number of people completing a basic primary education, heretofore a ticket to a good job, grew at a faster rate than the number of jobs available. To further compound the difficulties for primary school leavers, the increasing numbers of high school leavers served to up the ante on the job market (ibid.). Jobs that formerly went to people with primary schooling now fell to people with secondary schooling. Today, as more people attend the university, the process of escalating qualifications for job placement continues. These two factors (the increase in the number of school leavers and the escalation of qualifications) have combined to raise serious dilemmas in the minds of villagers, who had thought that the relationship between education and good jobs was simple and direct.

Attitudes toward education, thus, have changed dramatically. At its introduction, it was highly valued by both parents and students in Kilenge. Parents saw education as a way to better their children's chance of economic success in the white man's world. Education promised the ability to get a good job, which was directly translatable into pounds and shillings (see Conroy 1972). The children would benefit materially, and presumably they would transfer some of their wealth back to their parents. Education also helped the villagers to fulfill the obligations they felt as Christians. Through the school, their children would receive proper Christian education and become socialized as good church members.

But through the course of the last ten to fifteen years, parents have begun to question their previous assumptions about the benefits of education in general, and the local community school in particular. While at one time they lauded education as a promise of progress and wealth, now they recognize that it is a complex institution with drawbacks and limitations as well as benefits. In the process of coming to terms with the complexity of education, the Kilenge have developed ambivalent attitudes toward it, reflecting the failure of educators to answer their questions about its purpose.

Education Today

While the Kilenge consider education (i.e., the acquisition of job-related skills or knowledge) the key to success in modern Papua New Guinea, and hence laud it as a tool of development, parents also see that Western learning isolates them from their young people, and they fear

that loss of control. In examining the local context of education we find some of the causes and consequences of Kilenge attitudes toward the school.

The primary school, run by the provincial department of education, sits on misson property near the church. It has no real play area, except for a small space between the buildings. The mission gives the teachers access to some land for planting food gardens for their own use and for instructing the children in agricultural techniques. The lack of a play and exercise area is one expression of village indifference toward the local school. While there is a fair amount of unused land near the school, none of the owners will grant a lease for the use of the land as a playground. People also demonstrate their lack of commitment to the school by failing to participate in public work for the school. When the Parents and Citizens Committee calls for a work force to paint the school or to repair fences, or when it asks people to pay their children's school fees, little or no action results. But perhaps the high rate of absenteeism and the significant number of dropouts are the most telling indictments of the institution and people's attitudes toward it.[5] Persistent rumors that shortfalls in school revenues are caused by misappropriation of funds further contribute to disenchantment with the way the school is run and with its role in the village.

In the West, we tend to regard formalized education as a major agent in the socialization of children. Schools and teachers have, in many instances, displaced the home and parents as the social, moral, and cultural guardians and exemplars of behavior. In many regions the teacher has rights in loco parentis, as a substitute parent. The Kilenge have not, as yet, abrogated their rights and obligations as parents in favor of the school and its teachers. However, they do believe that educational institutions should at least support indigenous socialization practices. Children spend much of their day in the school, learning the knowledge, language, and customs of foreign cultures. Nevertheless, parents still expect their children to continue to exhibit behavior that is acceptable in the village context. There is little sympathy for graduates who act arrogantly, as if their education makes them superior to their illiterate parents. Such *bikhet* (big heads) are subjected to considerable social pressure to rectify their behavior, and parents often attribute their disruption of community standards to the influence of the school.

School removes a child from the village environment for some of his formative years, and thus partially isolates him from the influences that normally would assure his socialization as a proper Kilenge.[6] The child spends several hours a day under the tutelage of teachers who, for the

most part, are from other parts of Papua New Guinea and who may not share village ideas of what constitutes proper behavior. Moreover, the teachers do not see their role as one of inculcating village norms; rather, they believe they are in the classroom in order to impart a given amount and kind of knowledge to the children. Thus, the teachers may work at cross-purposes with parents' wishes: first, the teachers present "foreign" role models for behavior; second, they are more concerned with imparting knowledge than with socializing children. If children emulate the behavior they see in their teachers, parents may be disturbed, especially where they view such behavior as inappropriate or unacceptable in their own cultural context. Indeed, they may attribute any untoward behavior on the part of their children to the foreign influence of the teachers in the school.

Children sense that their teachers may not approve of village customs. By its very nature, the school transmits to its pupils a perception of their inferiority. Because students are generally taught about nonindigenous concepts and topics, they may infer that the ideas and practices of their forefathers are less significant than those about which they receive instruction. When such doubts lead to acts of disrespect, outraged parents and village elders quickly blame teachers for turning the children against them. It is not the wish of most teachers to foment revolt, but if they are successful in their job of transmitting knowledge to students, they often unwittingly sow the seeds of discontent as well.

Conflict and competition between Kilenge culture and foreign teachers for the minds of the children could possibly be alleviated if the teachers in the school were predominantly local or if they remained at their posts for lengthy periods. For a few years in the early 1970s, villagers were happy about the staff composition at the school. At that time the headmaster was a Kilenge man. He set what parents felt was a good example for the children. Furthermore, he drew on local people to provide classes on traditional Kilenge arts, crafts, stories, and myths. In 1977 two of the six teachers in the school were Kilenge men, but villagers criticized the example that those particular individuals set for the young people.[7] In 1981-1982 none of the teachers were Kilenge.

Children are undoubtedly influenced by the attitudes of their parents toward the teachers and the school. They recognize that their parents disparage the school, so they often fail to take the institution or its agents very seriously. The high rate of absenteeism reflects their perception of the school's irrelevance.[8] While ill-health, work duties, or distance may be given as excuses for truancy, in effect neither the children, nor in many instances their parents, seem committed to the school. But

here we glimpse the ambivalence that underlies Kilenge attitudes, because while parents don't always insure that their children attend school regularly, they do want their children to attain an education that will enable them to find a good job or to bring "development" to the village. Their desire for the final product conflicts with their dissatisfaction with the daily process and its interim products, as will be explained below.

Education as Process and Product

In part, the ambivalence of the Kilenge about education stems from their ability to distinguish the process of education, *skul,* from the product of education, *edukesin.* But the dualism in their perception of the nature of education (as schooling or as qualification endowment) is based on even more basic ambiguities in their understanding of the purpose and utility of education.

Ideally, the Kilenge want to like the school. Government officers and mission personnel have long extolled its virtues as a medium for the inculcation of essential knowledge about the world outside the village. Villagers do not want to be left behind while all around them progress. They believe that the school can imbue their children with the knowledge needed to survive and succeed in the modern world. But they also insist that their children remain Kilenge, that they continue to respect village norms and traditions. It is the failure of the school to meet village expectations that has led the Kilenge to question its character and its relevance. To all intents and purposes, the school is very much an alien institution. Villagers may participate in the Parents and Citizens Committee to look after the school buildings, but they have little say in how the school is run or in its curriculum development. While the institution may be called a "community" school,[9] the community does not perceive it as such. It does not meet their expectations, so rather than lower their expectations some villagers cease to care whether their children attend or not. There are still those who perceive the school to be a positive influence despite the sometimes offensive behavior of students, but many elders use any public or private occasion to decry its effects on the young. As parents and as villagers, they see the school as a socially disruptive institution that they lack the power to control. Their feelings of powerlessness in the face of an institution that shapes the minds of their children contribute to their ambivalence toward the school and its products, especially its interim product of youthful disrespect and disobedience.

In addition to the ambiguous nature of their attitudes toward the

process of education, the Kilenge also have mixed emotions about the final product of education. On the one hand, they appreciate that educational qualifications are essential for well-paid jobs in modern Papua New Guinea. On the other hand, they recognize that those qualifications are constantly escalating, and a primary or even secondary diploma no longer necessarily guarantees a good job. Until the last decade or so, children with high school experience found good jobs in town and brought or sent gifts and cash home to their parents. However, changes in the urban employment context and competition for jobs have diminished remittances.[10] Parents can no longer be sure that they will benefit directly from their child's education. Their faith in the remunerative powers of education has been shaken, And, as their doubts about the ultimate utility of the product of education increase, their willingness to suffer the negative impacts of the process of education diminishes.

Most children in Kilenge complete no more than six years of schooling. Only the top third of the graduating class will be granted admission to high school, and only a few of these will actually leave the village to continue their education. Some parents are unwilling or unable to raise money to send a child off to high school: in 1981 a high school education cost over K100 (U.S. $140) a year, a substantial sum in an area where the per capita cash income is probably around K50 annual1y.[11] Other social factors limit the number of young girls who attend high school: parents do not want girls to be away from their control, and fear that young women who attend high school will succumb to the temptations of bright city lights and the advances of Lotharios from other places.

Because so few students go on to further education, parents have come to examine the product of education in terms of village experience and utility. They ask, "What is the relevance of primary schooling to village life?" Naturally, they conclude that the skills acquired in school have little meaning in the village. Reading and writing are skills that atrophy quickly through nonuse.[12] Although agricultural skills have been introduced into the curriculum, ostensibly in an attempt to improve upon traditional practices and to relate educational experiences to village customs, parents do not give children the opportunity to employ methods that differ from those of the ancestors. Some parents suspect that the teachers are using the children as free labor in their gardens; they argue that when it comes time for children to learn agricultural skills they should go to the gardens with their parents. This skepticism about programs designed to make the curriculum more relevant to the local situation will have to be overcome if such changes are to have the desired effect.

Other problems confront those who go on to high school. Older peo-

ple bemoan the fact that young people who return from town with a high school education do little to help the villagers develop by starting successful economic projects. The adult villagers cite examples from other villages in West New Britain and the Siassi Islands where young people have initiated and/or aided local attempts at development, and constantly wonder aloud why the Kilenge youth have not done the same. Adults berate the young for having gained skills applicable only to office work. Young people, on the other hand, say that they can do nothing to help the village because no one will listen to them. Seniority, both genealogical and chronological, is an important organizing principle in Kilenge, and young men are excluded from decision-making activities by virtue of their age and relative inexperience in village affairs. Observational evidence supports the validity of the young people's complaints: no one listens to their suggestions. In the innumerable public meetings we attended, young people seldom spoke up; when they did, their elders ignored them. Such treatment can sometimes lead the youths to be sullen and less than cooperative with their elders; then, their behavior is interpreted as disrespect, or *bikhet.* Youths are publitally criticized for such attitudes, exacerbating the antipathy between the generations.

The young people are put in a difficult social bind: adults expect them to take the initiative in developing the village, and yet those same adults refuse to cooperate with, let alone acknowledge, the young people's lead. Senior adult Kilenge will not relinquish control of village affairs. By allowing the young men and women a chance to develop the village, the elders would thereby loosen their relatively tight rein on communal life. They themselves had to wait until maturity to enjoy the fruits of leadership and control, and they see no reason why the younger generation should not wait its turn. As the elders struggle to retain their preeminent position in Kilenge society, they are forced to denigrate the educated youths who may be potential challengers in the contest for control over the future of the village. Hence people who may be best equipped to lead the villagers to the realization of their economic dreams are consistently prevented from having input in decision making. Young, educated people are in a no-win situation, the subjects of criticism simply by virtue of their years of schooling.[13]

Many of the young people who have completed high school try to avoid the pressures and frustrations of village life by seeking work in town, but even away from the village they are prey to the attitudes and expectations of their parents. Because of their superior education, villagers expect them to find lucrative jobs in town, but good jobs are hard to find. Lack of success on the job market leads villagers to classify them

as failures. Those who are fortunate enough to find jobs are expected to remit money home on a regular basis, and to accumulate substantial savings to bring back to the village as did their parents a generation ago. But the conditions that today's children face in town are radically different from those faced by their parents (Grant and Zelenietz 1980). Years ago, young people who worked for low wages had minimal housing costs, more or less enforced savings, and no visitors. Today's urban worker, while earning a higher salary, must pay for food and shelter and may be forced to entertain a seemingly endless stream of visitors. Also, with access to a wide range of luxuries, from alcohol to tape recorders, a worker finds it hard to save money. When migrants return home, people berate them as unsuccessful: they have no wealth to show, nor did they send back money to their parents in their absence. Parents who invested substantial sums of money in the high school education of their children feel cheated of their just rewards.

The Future

Many education researchers feel that rural development in Papua New Guinea is contingent on the government spending money in the rural regions, and that such local development "will be led by the same people who are leaders in town, secondary and tertiary graduates" (Lancy 1979:102). This is unlikely to occur in Kilenge at the present time: Kilenge social organization and worldview militate against educated youth assuming the mantle of leadership. While the educated have become the urban elite, controlling the state bureaucracy (Good 1979), their influence in many rural communities is limited.

All Ongaians, from the eldest residents to the newest students, have ambivalent feelings toward education. A classic love-hate relationship wrenches the fabric of village social order. A system the Kilenge once embraced wholeheartedly as the solution to their problems and as a promise of progress and success has let them down. Their dreams unfulfilled, the Kilenge have come to question the utility and relevance of the institutions and processes involved. The system's attempts to rectify the problems of curricula unsuited to local needs cannot handle the issue of unsatisfied expectations. Jaded by their experience, the Kilenge look suspiciously at changes in the educational system: the skepticism with which they greeted the agricultural program in the local school is a notable example. There is ever the danger that attempts to make the curriculum "more relevant" to local needs will be perceived as making rural schools "second best" in relation to urban schools.

School is an ambiguous experience for young people. In the confines

of the classroom, teachers attempt to teach them many and varied subjects, few of which seem to have any applicability to the life-style children have come to know in the village. If they study hard and use the teacher as a model for their attitudes and behavior, they find themselves alienated from their parents, relatives, and friends. On completion of six years at the community school, most children face the challenge of reintegrating themselves into village life. Some adapt readily, rapidly taking their place as the dutiful son or daughter, but others feel that because of their education they are superior to their parents and elders. These children find it much more difficult to adjust: people readily perceive their attitudes and denigrate them as lazy and arrogant. This creates a cycle of mutually reinforcing negative feedback, a cycle some children can break only by leaving the village to find employment in town. But most standard-six leavers are several years too young to find wage-labor employment (cf. Wilson 1973) and must spend those years of waiting in an uncomfortable, and ambiguous, social position in the village.

The problem of readjustment to village life is even greater for those who have had some high school experience. They return to the village with knowledge, ideas, and goals, only to have them stifled by their elders. Given no chance to display their organizational ability, young men become sullen and withdrawn in the presence of adults, and their elders criticize their lack of interest in helping the village develop. Once again, some see employment in town as their only option, at least until they become older. When they finally return to settle again in the village, they begin to act like acceptable adult Kilenge and treat the most recent crop of high school returnees in much the same way that they themselves were once treated.

While the international community and the national and provincial governments of Papua New Guinea see education as a basic tool in the process of development, in Kilenge its success is limited. English literacy and mathematical skills may make for competent urban workers but do not help rural residents take advantage of the benefits of modern life. You don't need to understand geometry in order to husk coconuts for making copra, nor need you speak English to assert that both cash cropping and schooling are part of a colonial legacy—a legacy villagers can't help but resent. Although the school may facilitate the gradual process of modernization, it does so at considerable cost in individual frustration and social discontent.

Many of the concerns about education in Kilenge are far from unique in Papua New Guinea. This particular case study asks once again the

critical question, ably discussed by Conroy (1976): Is "development" the ultimate purpose of education? If education is seen as a national tool for development, then the state must have specific goals for its educational policy. While it was clear in the 1960s that English literacy was the predominant educational goal (Griffin et al. 1979), the purpose of modern education is less evident. The Kilenge case denies any argument that could be made for "education as development." Neither the curriculum changes designed to make education "relevant" in a rural context nor the graduation of wage-labor employees has resulted in material improvement in the village. Educated Kilenge youths do not make a more significant contribution to the village's well-being than do their uneducated brothers. What then is the purpose of the community school? This is a question researchers in Papua New Guinea must seriously address if the nation is to fully develop its most vital resources: its people in rural communities.

NOTES

This paper was first presented at the International Conference on Education in Oceania, Victoria, Canada (March 1980). The research that forms the foundation of the paper comes out of informal interviews with all adult residents of Ongaia village, Kilenge, with many young people, with school teachers and mission personnel. We lived in Ongaia from March 1977 to January 1978 and from November 1981 to January 1982. The work was supported by grants from McMaster University, University of Papua New Guinea, and Nova Scotia College of Art and Design We owe an endless debt of gratitude to the Kilenge people for their cooperation with, and interest in, our work.

1. Many of our references to the "Kilenge" are, in fact, based on generalizations from our data on Ongaians. We must note that not all of the Kilenge react in the same manner as do the residents of Ongaia, but since we do not have extensive information on other villagers, we build our case on that which we have.

2. A full account of Kilenge social organization is available in Zelenietz 1980.

3. For males initiation entailed superincision and later ear-cutting, while for the girls it meant having their ears cut and being formally dressed and decorated.

4. Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit.

5. On 27 June 1977, only 90 of 184 students registered in the community school attended class. By November, toward the end of the academic year, 34 students had withdrawn from the school. In 1981 no students from the village of Kilenge proper attended Standard five or six, despite the proximity of the village to the school.

6. To forestall such disruption by the school, Lancy (1979) suggests that school entrance be postponed until a child is eight years old, thus allowing the child more time to develop in his natural social setting. Curiously, the opposite policy has been implemented in the

Kilenge community school. In 1977-1978 children entered school when they were seven years old. By 1981 the entrance age had been lowered to six years old.

7. The two teachers frequently participated in drunken and rowdy behavior and were generally considered to be a bad influence on the children.

8. There are marked differences in commitment to education from village to village in the Kilenge-Lollo area. Those villages closest to the schools, not surprisingly, seem more concerned that children receive an education. Attendance of children from more distant villages; tends to be very low. It also appears that fewer men leave the "bush" villages to seek work in urban centers. Perhaps for that reason bush dwellers see less utility in an education. But their disinterest in the school may be part of an elaborate set of values and beliefs that we do not fully understand.

9. Although the mission still owns the school buildings, the provincial government staffs and operates the school. Standards one to six are available in Kilenge, but children must leave the community for high school.

10. In our census of Ongaia in December 1981, we found that 53% of all households (27/51) had children working outside the village. Of these 43 absentee workers, 16 (37%) sent at least. occasional remittances back to the village. These 16 remitters came from 12 different households. Thus 23% of all village households, and 44% of households with absentee workers, received remittances.

11. Kilenge villagers greeted with pleasure the announcement in 1981 that the national government of Papua New Guinea would subsidize schooling and pay school fees (i.e., institute a system of free but compulsory education). However, each province was to decide for itself whether or not it would accept the government's offer. Ongaians expressed a sense of outrage and betrayal when the minister of education in West New Britain (himself a man from Ongaia) announced that parents would continue to pay primary school fees. Later in 1982, after we left Ongaia, the government of West New Britain announced that it *would* take advantage of the federal program after all. The effects on the village remain to be seen.

12. There is little reading material available in the village: occasional letters, newspapers, and comic books. Only those people who have been to high school seem interested in reading and are capable of fully comprehending the material they read, especially when it is in English.

13. The recent establishment of youth clubs in the Kilenge villages may provide young people with a way out of their dilemma. In the context of the clubs they can organize their own projects and provide their own leadership without adult interference. In early 1982 the Ongaia Youth Club was busy building a bakery to supply the villagers with fresh bread and to earn cash needed by the club for other projects.

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PIDGIN ENGLISH IN FIJI: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY

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The development of pidgin English in the Pacific in connection with imported plantation labor has been well documented. Three varieties and their sociolinguistic histories have been described in detail: Queensland Canefields English (Dutton 1980), Samoan Plantation Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1978), and Hawaiian Pidgin English (Reinecke 1969 [1935]). Nothing substantial, however, has been written on pidgin English in another important plantation country: Fiji.

Writers who have mentioned the language situation on Fiji's early plantations do not provide a very clear picture. For example, the pioneer of pidgin and creole studies, Hugo Schuchardt, writes: "Several sources on Viti Levu have categorically denied the existence of an English Jargon." But he immediately goes on to say, "perhaps because they were thinking of the natives and not of the foreign workers." He also reports that E. L. Layard, the British Consul in Noumea, "believes Bêche-le-mar English is acquired in Queensland and on the Fiji Islands" (Schuchardt 1980 [1883]: 16, 17). In a later article Schuchardt mentions correspondence from the Imperial German Consular Administrator in Apia, Samoa, who says that pidgin English "does exist among the workers recruited from Melanesia who live on the Samoan Islands, the Fiji Islands, and in Queensland." However, correspondence from the German Consul in Levuka reports "no Beche-la-mer exists there," and Lorimer Fison, a missionary in Fiji, says: "Natives of other islands who came to Fiji learned Fijian, not English" (ibid. 1980 [1889]: 24, 28).

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Accounts of other contemporary writers also disagree. For example, Moss (1870:42) says of the imported laborers, "They learn a kind of broken English," whereas Anderson (1880:157-158) says of broken English, "In Fiji, this manner of conversing has not been introduced."

Fiji actually had two different types of plantations. First were the cotton, copra, or sugarcane plantations originally established by individual European residents in the 1860s, and located mainly on the southeast sides of the two main islands (Vitilevu and Vanualevu), and on Taveuni and islands of the Lau group. These were usually small plantations, often less than twenty acres and with fewer than twenty laborers. These laborers first came from Fiji itself, and later mostly from other Pacific islands (mainly Melanesian) that also supplied labor to Queensland and Samoa. Second were the much larger sugarcane plantations first established in the 1880s, mainly by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR), and located on the northwest sides of the two main islands. Laborers on these plantations were nearly all imported from India.

The Indian indenture system in Fiji has been described by Gillion (1962) and other authors, and it is clear that Hindustani was the language used to run the larger CSR plantations. But neither Fiji's role in the Pacific labor trade nor the language situation on the smaller plantations is clear. This fact is pointed out by Clark (1979:62n):

> The Fijian labour trade is not only less well known in general [than the Queensland trade]; there is some uncertainty about the extent to which pidgin English was used there. It seems beyond question that many Melanesian labourers learned some form of Fijian rather than English as a general language of communication on the plantations. . . . On the other hand there are numerous references to individuals who had learned "English" in Fiji. . . . Some later writers identify this form of English as "bêche-de-mer." . . .

'The purpose of this article is to clarify the sociolinguistic picture of Fiji's smaller plantations by documenting to what extent Fijian and pidgin English were used. The evidence comes mainly from published and archival materials, including travelers' accounts, newspaper articles, journals, letters, official reports, and court records. These sources contain observations of the linguistic scene, an indication of contemporary attitudes toward language, and quotations that can be used as linguistic data. Clark (1979:23-24) has commented on the reliability of

this kind of evidence, and he and other authors (such as Mühlhäusler 1978) have used it extensively in their work.

This article first reviews information presented in Siegel 1982 showing that it was Fijian rather than English that was used among speakers of different languages in Fiji before and during the plantation era, It goes on to give a detailed account of the limited use of pidgin English in Fiji, and to present additional evidence concerning the major role of varieties of Fijian. Finally, the article suggests some reasons to explain how and why the sociolinguistic picture in Fiji differed from that of other places in the Pacific region.

Language Use before the Plantation Era

Communication among Fijians

Although the Fijian language is spoken throughout the Fiji group, it consists of many different dialects, some of which share as little as 60 percent cognate basic vocabulary (Schütz 1972:99). Before European contact, dialect diversity was even greater (Geraghty 1984:33), but communication between speakers of mutually unintelligible dialects took place in a variety of Fijian which was, and still is, the lingua franca of the group. This variety is called Standard Fijian (SF) by Geraghty (1984:33). It was most similar to the Fijian spoken around the southeast coast of Vitilevu,[1] home of the two leading political powers, Bau and Rewa.

Fiji was therefore united by an indigenous language of wider communication before European contact. In this way it differed from other island groups of the southwest Pacific, which were characterized by linguistic diversity. For example, Vanuatu has over one hundred distinct languages (Tryon 1976) and the Solomon Islands over sixty (Tryon and Hackman 1983).

Early contact with Europeans

The first Europeans to live in Fiji were the victims of the shipwreck of the *Argo* near Lakeba in 1800. These and later "beachcombers" (Maude 1968:135) were dependent on the indigenous communities in which they took refuge, and therefore learned the language and culture of their hosts. Because of this knowledge, many beachcombers were used as interpreters or "linguists," as they were called, during the sandalwood trading period from 1804 to 1814. That Fijian was used by Euro-

peans in dealing with Fijians is evident in word and phrase lists prepared for use in the sandalwood trade. The earliest of these was compiled by Lockerby in 1809 (published in Dodge 1972). (Geraghty 1978 discusses the variety of Fijian used.)

Fijian was also the contact language in bêche-de-mer trading from 18I3 to 1850. During this period large shore establishments were set up for drying and curing the bêche-de-mer, employing as many as one hundred Fijians. European supervision was often required, and resident Europeans were hired as interpreters or supervisors (Ward 1972:102).

English, from all appearances, was rarely used as a contact language in Fiji in the first half of the nineteenth century. It must have been unusual to find non-Europeans in Fiji who spoke English because writers would comment if they happened to come across one who did. For example, Lockerby mentions a young chief, called Coconut Jack, who could speak a few words of English (Dodge 1972:196). Eagleston (1833-1836:371) remarks that he met a chief off Lakeba who knew English, as he had been a pilot and an interpreter on a ship.

This chief's remarkable ability to speak English was also noted by Mrs. Wallis, wife of the captain of a bêche-de-mer ship who lived at Viwa. She calls him Tubou Toutai and says that be had been to Sydney, where he picked up his English. She gives the following example ([Wallis] 1967 [1851]: 161):

(1) Mrs. Wallis, I got one nice mat in Bau for you; spose you come Bau, I give him to you; spose you no come Bau, I come Vewa, I fetch him you.

Another Tongan man came to Mrs. Wallis' door in 1845 (p. 58) and the following exchange took place:

(2) "Good morning, ma'am; you sewing, sir?"
"Where did you learn your English?" said I.
"Oh, me live with one mission in Tonga; I learn English,
I wash, my wife he iron; suppose you want wash, me wash."

Mrs. Wallis also quotes a long speech by Tommy (p. 128), a Fijian from Tavea who was a member of the crew of her husband's beche-de-mer ship, *The Star:*

(3) . . . when I go shore to buy yams, the chief he no be at the town. I send boy tell a chief to come home Capt Wallis he

> send boat here to buy yams and pig. Tavea man and I go in house where we wait long time for chief. By and by man come in house, he all scared, he say Andrew killed. . . . Then woman go on hill, come back and say, Andrew no kill, he go away in boat. . . ."

In 1842 a visitor to Fiji met Cokanauto, known as Mr. Phillips, a Rewa chief who had been on Eagleston's bêche-de-mer ship and later taken to Tahiti. The following speech is reported (Erskine 1853:461):

> (4) How do you do? Ah! you come see me; all white men see me; man belongen ebery place see me; me like um man belongen noder place.[2]

Although the examples above are said to be English, they are obviously not ordinary English. The writers who quoted them, like many others of the period, did not distinguish between various types of English, at least in their writing (see Clark 1979:33). Other writers, however, say that islanders spoke "broken English" or "a little English," to show that it was not standard.

But these examples do not illustrate merely idiosyncratic broken English. They also show the influence of Jargon English (Mühlhäusler 1979:56-58) or South Seas Jargon (Clark 1979:32-35), an English-based contact language that arose in the Pacific in the first half of the nineteenth century, mainly as a result of whaling and the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades. A jargon here refers to the preliminary result of contact between different linguistic groups. It exhibits features of pidginization, but it varies extensively between different speakers. Thus, it has not stabilized to become a full-fledged pidgin; rather it is a pre-pidgin continuum (Hymes 1971b:68). But despite the variation in a jargon, certain conventions appear that become salient linguistic features of a subsequent stabilized pidgin,

Some of the "English" used by non-Europeans in Fiji contains examples of such conventions from South Seas Jargon (SSJ): (a) a predicate marker, here realized as *he;* (b) use of *belong* (later used in possessive constructions); (c) a verbal transitive suffix, here realized as *him* or *um;* (d) *suppose* or *spose* as the conjunction "if"; and (e) *no* as a preverbal negative marker. Many of these conventions became salient features of later stabilized pidgins in the Pacific (see table 2).

Thus, there is some evidence that SSJ was used to some extent in Fiji, but it appears that it was a novelty and known only by those who had

been involved with maritime ventures. In the above examples, all the speakers had been abroad in ships sailing around the Pacific. Furthermore, many of the part-Europeans (as people of mixed race are called in Fiji) were involved in ship-building and sailing within Fiji, and one contemporary observer (Smythe 1864:19) writes of them: "The natives, of course, do not speak a word of English; and what little knowledge of our language the half-castes have picked up is confined to a familiarity with the nautical idiom spoken by the white man on the beach."

Language use in other parts of the southeast Pacific

In other parts of the Pacific, however, varieties of SSJ were more widely used in association with the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades, and developed into more stabilized varieties such as Sandalwood English (Clark 1979:36-38). Shineberg (1967:79, 84) writes that Sandalwood English or "beach la mar" English, one of the ancestors of Melanesian Pidgin, became the lingua franca during the sandalwood trade in Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and the Loyalty Islands. This trade took place from 1825 to 1865, later than the Fiji sandalwood period, but partly coinciding with the bêche-de-mer period.

The sandalwood trade in Vanuatu and the Loyalties differed from the Fiji trade in several respects. First of all, it lasted for a much longer period and involved much more contact. Second, the trade was with many language groups, and there was no interpreter who could know all the languages. Third, members of one language group were often contracted as laborers to work in the area of another language group. For example, in 1842 Tanna men were taken to the Isle of Pines for three months, and in 1860 there were at least 150 laborers from other islands working on Santo (Shineberg 1967:191-192).

Thus, the language diversity of the island groups west of Fiji did not allow trade to be carried out using any indigenous language. Rather, people of different language groups had to learn some English. And when people of these different groups found themselves together, in sandalwood depots, bêche-de-mer curing stations, or plantations, their only common language was often the SSJ that they had picked up. As this jargon was used as a lingua franca among themselves, it began to develop into a stable pidgin. This situation was parallel to that in other parts of the world where stabilized pidgins developed: speakers of different languages using a jargon among themselves without access to the language from which the jargon is derived (Whinnom 1971:106; Clark 1979:36).

The missionaries

The first European missionaries from the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, David Cross and William Cargill, arrived with their families at Lakeba in 1835. They had both been in Tonga and had learned Tongan which, at that time, was commonly spoken on Lakeba where many Tongans lived. They had also studied Fijian from a Tongan in Vava‘u while waiting for the ship for Fiji.

The missionaries knew the importance of learning the indigenous language and providing written materials. Fijians would not immediately accept Christian doctrines, but they were perfectly willing to be taught to read and write in their own language. Cargill quickly started work on his Fijian Grammar. More missionaries arrived with a printing press in 1838, and in 1839 the first book was printed in Fiji. All teaching and proselytizing were done in the Fijian language, thus establishing the pattern followed for the next seventy years: using Fijian as the language of the churches and schools for Fijians and other Pacific Islanders in Fiji.

The Beginning of the Plantation Era

The plantation era in Fiji began in the early 1860s when some European long-term residents had obtained land and started growing cash crops such as cotton and sugarcane. When the world cotton prices increased as a result of the American Civil War,, many Australians and New Zealanders came to Fiji to start cotton plantations.

The first plantations

Initially, establishing a plantation was similar to setting up a sandalwood or bêche-de-mer station. After a suitable location was found, it was necessary to negotiate with the local chief for the purchase of the land and for laborers to clear it and build houses (see Forbes 1875; Ryder n.d.). The expenses for a newcomer to set up a cotton plantation in 1868 were published in the *Fiji Weekly News and Planters’ Journal* (described by Wall 1923:12). In addition to the expenses for land, laborers, tools, and a cotton gin, the cost for an interpreter was also listed. On the early plantations, the laborers were Fijians, and their language was used to run the plantations. In fact, contemporary writers point out that in order to be a successful planter, one had to know the

TABLE 1 **Origins of Pacific Island Labor in Fiji**

Year	Vanuatu	Solomons	New Guinea Islands	Kiribati	Other/ Unknown	Total
1864	0	0	0	0	0	0
1865	180	0	0	0	0	180
1866	301	0	0	0	0	301
1867	264	0	0	0	0	264
1868	381	0	0	135	0	516
1869	262	0	0	136	0	398
1870	1,348	212	0	224	0	1,784
1871	1,569	336	0	54	316	2,275
1872	1,023	0	0	427	116	1,566
1873	1,232	0	0	34	0	1,266
1874	607	0	0	85	0	692
1875	185	0	0	66	153	404
1876	247	140	0	84	0	471
1877	332	155	0	50	0	537
1878	1,058	202	0	236	0	1,496
1879	1,335	468	0	70	0	1,873
1880	911	1,382	0	68	0	2,361
1881	763	464	0	0	0	1,227
1882	1,022	502	467	102	0	2,093
1883	273	339	662	276	0	1,550
1884	128	585	489	64	0	1,266
1885	50	245	0	0	0	295
1886	145	131	0	1	0	277
1887	70	175	0	28	0	273
1888	71	209	0	0	0	280
1889	62	46	0	0	0	108
1890	35	116	0	40	0	191
1891	79	153	0	136	0	368
1892	58	153	0	1	0	212
1893	0	0	0	0	0	0
1894	0	0	0	14	0	14
1895	24	115	0	67	0	206
1896	19	98	0	0	0	117
1897	0	0	0	0	0	0
1898	0	102	0	0	0	102
1899	8	92	0	0	0	100
1900	0	0	0	0	0	0
1901	7	62	0	0	0	69
1902	0	0	0	0	0	0
1903	17	105	0	0	0	122
1904	3	93	0	0	0	96
1905	12	103	0	0	0	115

TABLE 1 **Continued**

Year	Vanuatu	Solomons	New Guinea Islands	Kiribati	Other/ Unknown	Total
1906	55	184	0	0	0	239
1907	62	502	0	0	0	564
1908	0	210	0	0	0	210
1909	0	361	0	0	0	361
1910	0	78	0	0	0	78
1911	0	110	0	0	0	110
Total	14,198	8,228	1,618	2,398	585	27,027

Note: Reprinted, with permission, from Siegel 1985.

language and customs of the Fijian laborers (for example, Pechey 1870:47; Britton 1870:14).

Imported labor

Although many Fijian laborers were available, the supply was not always steady, and the planters often found themselves short of labor. In addition, some plantation owners wanted laborers they could have more control over, with contracts longer than the twelve months the Fijians would accept. Other Pacific Islanders were already employed in Fiji in the early 1860s and were found to be good workers (Derrick 1950:169; Seemann 1862:413). Thus, in 1864 the first ship was commissioned to recruit laborers from other Pacific Islands, and Fiji joined Queensland, Samoa, and New Caledonia in the Pacific labor trade (described by Parnaby 1964; Corris 1973; and Starr 1973).

From 1865 to 1911 over 27,000 laborers were brought to Fiji from the areas now known as Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides and Banks Islands), the Solomon Islands, the New Guinea Islands region of Papua New Guinea, and Kiribati (formerly the Gilbert Islands). The numbers from each area are given in table 1. (See Siegel 1982, 1985.)

It should be noted here that these areas are referred to in the literature both by their former names and by other names, which. may be confusing to the reader. For example, it was common to refer to Pacific Islanders in general as "Polynesians." In addition, there were many historical misnomers in Fiji concerning the origins of the laborers. Kiribati was known as Tokelau (with various spellings) or the Line Islands (both are actually separate island groups) or as the Kingsmill group (the old name of the southern islands of Kiribati). All Micronesian or Polynesian "Polynesians" were called Line Islanders or *Kai Tokelau* (*kai* meaning

"inhabitant of" in Fijian). In the early days, laborers from Vanuatu were called "Tanna men" or "Sandwich men" (the old name for Efate), referring to the two islands from which most originated. Later, when most of the laborers came from the Solomons, all Melanesians were often classified as Solomon Islanders or *Kai Solomone.*

The language of labor recruiting

The Pacific labor trade came under a lot of public criticism because of several reported incidents of murder and abduction or "blackbirding." But one of the biggest criticisms of the labor trade was that language barriers made it nearly impossible for most recruits, even those who actually volunteered, to really understand the terms of their contracts. The linguistic diversity of areas in which the recruiters worked has been mentioned above. With so many languages, there was no way the recruiters could learn all the languages of the recruits, and some language of wider communication had to be used if any communication was to take place.

Such a language did exist, at least in Vanuatu where most of the recruiting took place in the early years of the Fiji trade. This was "Sandalwood English," which became the lingua franca during the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades in Vanuatu. As pointed out by Shineberg (1967: 193), "contract labour for Europeans was a thing familiar to many of the inhabitants of the sandalwood islands before the Queensland and Fiji 'labour trade' got underway." Therefore, many recruits were probably familiar with Sandalwood English, and it became the lingua franca of the labor trade as well. Used in the trade and on plantations, Sandalwood English developed further so that by the 1870s it could be considered early Melanesian Pidgin English (Clark 1979:39). At this time it became known around the Pacific as "Beach-la-mar."

The many contemporary books and articles written about the controversial labor trade contain references to "English" used for communication between recruiters and Pacific Islanders. But as mentioned above, writers usually did not distinguish between varieties of English. Some accounts say the islanders spoke English, or even good English, but when samples are given, they are clearly a form of early Melanesian Pidgin (Clark 1979:39-40). For example, in 1877 the government agent on the *Bobtail Nag* (Giles 1968:41n) describes a Tanna man who "announced in very good English" that he wanted to go to Queensland On being asked who should receive the trade items given for signing up, he said:

TABLE 2 **Comparative Features of MPE**

English Origin	Function, gloss	Tok Pisin Form
all (1)	3rd person plural pronoun	ol
all (2)	prenominal plural marker	ol
all same	prep.: "like," "the same as"	olsem
all together	prenominal quantifier: "all"	olgeta
along (1)	prep.: "with (comitative)"	–
along (2)	prep.: "to," "at," "from," "with"	long
been	past or anterior tense marker	bin
belong	prep. (genetive)	bilong
bullamacow	"bull," "cow," "cattle"	bulmakau
by and by	future tense marker	bai
catch	verb: "get," "obtain," "receive"	kisim
fellow (1)	suffix to prenominal modifiers	-pela
fellow (2)	plural suffix in personal pronouns	-pela
got	verb: "have"	gat
he	predicate marker	i
him	transitive suffix on verbs	-im
kaikai	verb: "eat"; noun: "food"	kaikai
kill	verb: "strike," "beat"	kilim
man bush	noun compounds (head + modifier)	+
piccaninny	"child"	pikinini
pigeon	"bird"	pisin
plenty	prenominal quantifier: "many," "much"	planti
savvy	verb: "know," "understand"	save
something	"thing"	samting
stop	verb: "be (at a place)"	stap
suppose	conjunction: "if"	sapos
too much	adverb: "very," "very much"	tumas
what name	"what," "which"	wanem
where	relative clause marker	we
you me	1st person inclusive pronoun	yumi

Source: Clark 1979: 10-18.

(5) Me no care, me no belong this fellow place, man here no good—rogue.

In this example the use of *fellow* as a suffix to a prenominal modifier in addition to other features previously mentioned identify it as Melanesian Pidgin English (MPE). These features are among the thirty listed by Clark (1979:10-11) in his comparative study of varieties of MPE, given here in table 2. (The forms in one modern version of MPE, Tok Pisin, are also included.)

It is clear that some recruiters also spoke to the islanders in MPE, as in the following quoted speech of the recruiter (first mate) on the *Bobtail Nag* (Giles 1968:41n):

> (6) Yes, suppose you let him some boy go along Queensland, we buy him altogether [yams], my word, good fellow. Very good, you let him boy come, good fellow place,—, he no no work along a sugar, you savey, he work along o' bully-me-cow . . ."

This example includes additional features from Clark's list: *along* used as a locative preposition "to" or "at," *altogether* meaning "all," *savey* meaning "know," and *bully-me-cow* (bullamacow), "cattle."

Evidence exists to show that MPE was also used in recruiting for Fiji. The government agent on the *Oamaru* writes: "While I had an Interpreter I told him to inform intending Recruits and when I had not, I done the best I could in broken English" (Fiji Immigration Department: 1982). Here are some examples relating to early recruiting specifically for Fiji. The first ones are from testimony given in 1869 by recruits who arrived in Fiji on the schooner *Daphne* (GBPP 1871, XLVIII, 468). Some potential recruits say:

> (7) No, no like go ship.

But the captain of the *Daphne,* Lemoin, replies:

> (8) No, no, you stop ship, by and by you come back . . .

Later Charlie, "a native of Amota Lava [Mota Lava] who speaks English" (and a well-known recruiter in the labor trade), says:

> (9) You no go long way, you stop Tanna, bye and bye you come back.

But once in Tanna, Lemoin says:

> (10) Plenty men here, you go Fiji.

John B. Thurston also used English with MPE features to recruit laborers during a voyage to Vanuatu, as shown in the following examples from his journal. He asked one man (Thurston 1871:16):

(11) Well, what name you got?

Later he says of one prospective recruit (ibid.:53):

(12) Learning that Taveuni was a place "close up salt water" he appeared to pleased, but he declined himself to visit the Garden of Fiji.

Forbes (1875:251) gives the following more detailed account:

> Sometimes curious dialogues, unintelligible as the pigeon English of Shanghai to the uninitiated, take place between the trader and the native, thus:—
>
> (13) *Loquitur Trader:* "You likee come work Fiji?
>
> *Native* (laughing) : "Me no savy" (Don't know).
>
> *T.:* "Fiji very good. Plenty kai-kai bull-y-macow (beef to eat); big fellow yam, big fellow cocoa-nut; very good Fiji."
>
> *N.:* "How many yam (years)? Too muchy work Fiji; no good."
>
> *T.* (holding up four fingers): "S'pose you come by-and-by? Tanna man plenty trade, muskets, powder, plenty sulu (waist cloth)."
>
> *N.:* "Me go; very good. Small fellow ship-a-ship no likee; me go next time."

These examples also include additional features of MPE from Clark's list: *stop* meaning "be (at a place)"; *by and by* used as a future tense marker; *plenty* as a quantifier "many," "much"; *what name* for "what"; *got* for "have"; and *kai-kai* meaning "food." Other features not listed by Clark are *close up* meaning "near," *salt water* used for "sea," and *sulu* meaning "waistcloth," "sarong." This last item is actually from the Fijian *isulu,* "cloth," but it was commonly used in MPE (see Churchill 1911:50).

Fijian Spoken by Pacific Islands Laborers

After the arrival of large numbers of Pacific Islanders, there were two contenders for the plantation language in Fiji: Melanesian Pidgin English and Fijian. Fijian was already used on plantations with Fijian laborers before the importation of Pacific Islanders, and it was known

by the European planters and overseers. But MPE was the language of the labor trade, used for recruiting for Fiji, and was known by many of the laborers. Furthermore, varieties of MPE became the plantation languages in Queensland (Dutton 1980), Samoa (Mühlhäusler 1978), and New Caledonia (Hollyman 1976), where laborers of similar origins were imported. It was shown in Siegel 1982, however, that Fijian or Pidgin Fijian became the main plantation language in Fiji. This section reviews the evidence showing that varieties of Fijian rather than English were generally used by the Pacific Islanders in Fiji and by Europeans in communicating with them. The evidence comes from contemporary observations and reports of language use in three contexts: on the plantations, off the plantations (mainly in urban areas and in courts and magisterial inquiries), and back in the laborers' home islands.

Use of Fijian on plantations

Most contemporary writers observed that the imported laborers were expected to learn Fijian, and Europeans were expected to use Fijian in dealing with them. According to Anderson (1880:93-94), the use of Fijian rather than English on the plantations was almost an unwritten policy. He says of Fijian:

> . . . the language is by no means difficult to learn—a very convenient circumstance to the European settled on one of the islands, and to the traders especially, as well as to planters, whose "boys" wherever they come from—the New Hebrides or elsewhere—require to understand Fijian rather than English . . . The present system of making Fijian the common language of the plantations is decidedly the best method.

An article in the *Fiji Times* on 16 July 1870 announcing a Fijian language class at Levuka backs up his observation:

> A class for the study of the Fijian language would be both practicable and useful. To many it could save the cost of an interpreter, and any planter who can speak the language of his Polynesian labourers has an immense advantage over one that can make himself understood by signs or through a native who knows as much of English as his employer knows of Fijian.

Thus, Forbes (1875:65) writes: "Any whiteman who has some experience in a plantation and can talk a smattering of the Fijian language is

worth at least 50 pounds a year with rations and a house." And the following advertisement appeared in the Fiji Times on 7 June 1871:

> WANTED, Two Overseers for cotton plantations—must have thorough knowledge of Fiji language. Apply P. J., at T. Warburton and Co.'s Levuka.

A letter from a plantation owner to the governor (CSO 1550/1887)[3] shows that even later in the plantation era, after more than 20,000 Pacific Islanders had come to Fiji, laborers were still expected to learn Fijian:

> While making every allowance for the ignorance of these men, it is impossible to pass over in silence or unnoticed instances of misbehaviour, where especially a Polynesian has been sufficiently long upon the estate, or in Fiji, to be acquainted with the Fijian language such at any rate as to prevent his plea of not understanding to hold good as an excuse.

Use of Fijian off plantations

Not all Pacific Islanders worked on plantations. Some were allotted to the colonial government or other employers, mainly in Levuka or Suva. In addition, many time-expired laborers stayed on in Fiji and went to these urban areas, where they were hired as company laborers or household servants. (See, for example, Fiji Legislative Council 1897: no. 21.)

Information on languages used by these Pacific Islanders comes first from members of the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England, who in the 1870s started taking an interest in the Melanesians in Fiji. By 1875 William Floyd had started a school for Pacific Islands laborers in Levuka (Hilliard 1978:106). The Bishop of Melanesia, J. R. Selwyn, visited Fiji in 1880. His visit is reported in the *Fiji Times* (19 June 1880), and the idea of starting a Sunday school for the laborers is mentioned. The Bishop is quoted as saying, "Let the teaching be done in Fijian, a language which nearly all of them know something of." The *Anglican Church Gazette* of October 1893 (p. 161) contains an article by Reverend R. H. Codrington about a visit he made to Fiji. He describes the Melanesian Christians in Suva, mostly Malaitans: "Among themselves they talk their own tongue, in their intercourse with others they speak the current Fijian of the place. . . ." Later, a notice in the *Church Gazette* (1 [November 1924]:13) says of the Pacific Islanders in Suva: "Fijian is their adopted tongue."

Another observation of language use among urban Pacific Islanders is found in a police report concerning trouble with some Malakula men in Toorak, Suva (CSO 3497/1891): ". . . they all came outside toward Ratu Josua and myself in a threatening manner, the majority being armed with clubs, knives and axes, and calling out in Fijian: Mokuta ['kill!'], Kitaka ['do it'], Sauma ['retaliate'], etc. and such like violent expressions."

In nearly all court cases and magisterial inquiries involving Pacific Islanders, their testimony was given in Fijian. The earliest example comes from 1869, when Fijian was used to examine a laborer from Efate in an inquiry into abuses in the labor trade (GBPP 1868-1869, XLIII, 408). Other cases are from the Supreme Court criminal sessions (for example, 25/1879, 33/1894, 4/1898, 79/1914).

In most cases, the magistrates and other court officials knew Fijian or the testimony was translated into English by the court interpreter. Other interpreters were employed only in instances where Pacific Islanders knew only their native languages and not Fijian. This fact is evident in a request from the Attorney General's office for the general Criminal Sittings of the Supreme Court (CSO 2032/1891): "A competent Tokolau *[sic]* interpreter will be required as there are two cases on the calendar in which Tokolaus are concerned who are unable to speak a word of Fijian." These interpreters were nearly always *wantoks*[4] who knew Fijian, and the testimony given in other languages was translated by them into Fijian for the court. One example is that of Mary, who translated the testimony of Kariss from Gilbertese into Fijian, which was in turn translated into English by the court interpreter, William Scott (GBPP 1874, XLV, c. 983).

Regarding the European population, magistrates, missionaries, and plantation overseers were not the only ones who were expected to learn Fijian. This is illustrated in the following episode from the diary of John Hall James (Derrick 1963:84):

> In the evening Dr. Braun . . . told one of the imported labourers to go and fetch a bucket of water and put it on the fire for tea. The poor beggar had to go down the hill almost half a mile in the scrub, and then he came back, not understanding the Doctor's Fijian, he put the water on the fire, that is, he put the fire out, and then had to go back and fetch more. We had a grand laugh at the Doctor, for he can scarcely speak a word of Fijian although he has been here for three years.

Significantly, the laugh was not on the laborer who did not know English but on the white man who did not know Fijian. Another example also testifies to the fact that Europeans were expected to know Fijian, even though this knowledge was not universal (*FT* 19 Oct. 1915): "MacBatti denied stoutly [before the magistrate] that he had expectorated on the footpath, explaining that for some time after his arrest he did not understand what the charge was against him as the Fijian tongue of the constable was unintelligible to him."

Knowledge of the Fijian language was, however, mandatory for European government officials. According to an early policy, colonial cadets who had been in the colony for two years were required by the terms of their contracts to pass an oral and written examination in Fijian (CSO 1136/1886).[5] A new scheme began in 1907 in which officials were required to do a preliminary examination after nine months' service and a final examination after eighteen months (CSO 1931/1907). The officials included stipendiary magistrates, medical officers, clerks of peace, Suva Gaol officials, the Suva sanitary inspector, the matron of the Colonial Hospital, the head attendant and warders of the lunatic asylum, and overseers of experimental stations and road construction.

According to the rules amended in 1928 (CSO 4780/1927), cadets in the civil service had to qualify in the middle standard of Fijian within three years of their appointment. Other government officers were given an allowance of twenty pounds a year for passing the middle standard and fifty pounds for the higher standard. In addition to the posts listed above, the following were also included: officers of the constabulary, district treasury officers, surveyors, the titles clerk in the registrar-general's department, nursing staff in government hospitals, the cashier in the government savings bank, postal clerks, inspectors of plantations, and clerks to district engineers.

The comprehensiveness of the examinations and the number of officers who passed them, in addition to the many reports of Europeans speaking Fijian fluently, indicate that this "bilingual policy" was not mere tokenism.

Use of Fijian by returned laborers

Perhaps the strongest evidence that Pacific Islands laborers spoke Fijian is that they took it with them when they returned to their home islands at the end of their contracts. Fijian was reportedly used by returned islanders for trading with visiting ships (Wawn 1893:199) and was known widely enough to be used by some government agents for

recruiting (Giles 1968 [1877]:19). There are reports of returned laborers speaking Fijian on several islands in Vanuatu: Epi (*FT* 7 Aug. 1880), Nguna (*FT* 9 Aug. 1871), Tongoa (*Fiji Gazette* 18 Dec. 1878), Malakula and Efate (CSO 1809/1883 in 117/1884). There are similar reports from a New Guinea Island, Buka (CSO 1153/1887), and from the Solomon Islands: Mono (Guppy 1887:53), Malaita (CSO 310/1884), Isabel (Woodford 1890:206), Gela (*FT* 2 Oct. 1878), and Ontong Java (*Australian Methodist Missionary Review* 12, no. 5 [1902]:4). In addition, there are reports of Kiribati people speaking Fijian not only in their home islands (off Tarawa), but also in Samoa, where some of them went to work after leaving Fiji (WPHC 4, 215/1895 and 235/1895).[6]

Several writers from Fiji proudly point to the fact that Fiji's returned laborers spoke Fijian rather than the pidgin English learned by the Queensland returnees. Many considered MPE to be merely "bastardized English," full of swear words such as "bloody" and "bugger up." Thus, on a recruiting voyage in Vanuatu, John Thurston (1871:38) observes: "The men returned from Fiji have not learned to swear, which may be owing, perhaps, more to the fact that they learnt to talk Fijian instead of the language of their masters."

In a report of his visit to the Solomon Islands (*FT* 5 Oct. 1881), Captain Maxwell says: "Nearly everywhere in these islands one meets with men who speak English and who have served as labourers in Queensland or Fiji." However, in the same issue, a correspondent is quick to point out the difference between Queensland and Fiji returnees:

> It is evident that Captain Maxwell has not taken much pain to discriminate between labourers who have returned from Fiji and those coming from Queensland. Had he done so, he would have discovered that as all Polynesians so rapidly acquire a knowledge of the Fijian tongue, it is fast becoming the general interpreting medium throughout the South Pacific, our labourers speak and are spoken to in that language, with but a few exceptions, and therefore at least seventy-five percent of the men who return from Fiji cannot speak English—good, bad, or indifferent. . . . The use of "very bad English" may be acquired by the Queensland men; not by those who come to Fiji and acquire the Fijian tongue, and not the English foul talk.

Many other reports also show that Fijian rather than English was not only brought back by the Fiji laborers but also used as a "general

interpreting medium" or lingua franca in the islands. For example, Schuchardt (1980 [1889]:28) reports an 1883 account by Fison:

> They took a barbaric Fijian [Pidgin Fijian], which is not at all mixed with English, back with them to their islands; it is this, not a bastard English, that bids to become the Lingua Franca of Western Polynesia . . . it already serves as a medium of communication both between natives and whites, and between islands of different mother tongues, and . . . it is spreading more and more.

A later report is from Thomson (1896:32): "Fijian has become the *lingua franca* of the Pacific, owing to the numbers of Melanesian labourers who served their time in Fiji and returned to their own islands." Fijian was especially widespread in the south central Solomon Islands of Guadalcanal, Malaita, and Makira, which sent over 7,000 laborers to Fiji. Ivens (1930:44) writes:

> At one time during the earlier years of the Protectorate, when labourers were returning in large numbers to the Solomons, it would have been quite possible to have set up Fijian as the language of government in the Protectorate. Mr. Woodford, the first commissioner, did indeed consider the matter, being himself acquainted with Fijian, but no action was taken.

Woodford himself (1897:29) writes: "Many of the natives . . . have a conversational acquaintance with Fijian; children who have never been to Fiji will address a white stranger in that language. During my visit to Malaita . . . I found in nearly every instance that I was able to get on better with natives in Fijian than in English."

Conclusions

Fijian was the language of the plantations where Pacific Islanders were laborers. Not only was it used by Europeans to work their laborers, but also it was used by the laborers among themselves as a lingua franca. This is evident from its continued use by returned laborers. Finally, Fijian was generally used by Pacific Islanders in Fiji for communication with Europeans and Fijians both on and off the plantations.

Melanesian Pidgin English in Fiji before 1888

Although Fijian was the main language used by the plantation laborers in Fiji, there is evidence that Melanesian Pidgin English (MPE) was known to some extent. The discussion here is separated into two periods: the first half of the labor trade, and the second half, after 1888, when a large percentage of the imported laborers had worked previously in other countries, especially Queensland, where a variety of MPE was the plantation language.

Since MPE was used in recruiting laborers for Fiji, it is obvious that some of these laborers in Fiji knew MPE and may have used it to communicate with Europeans. The following example (Romilly 1886:185) shows the continuity between use of MPE in recruiting and in Fiji:

> The greatest compliment which could be paid him [the recruiter] was one he often received, when a native he had recruited would come up to him in Fiji, and say,
>
> (14) Jemmy, when you came my place, you think me ——— fool; you muchey gammon black fellow; my word!

The following sections give evidence of the use of MPE in Fiji in the same contexts used to present the Fijian evidence: on the plantations, off the plantations, and by returned laborers.

Use of MPE on plantations

I have not been able to find concrete evidence to show that some form of English was used to run any plantation. The *Fiji Gazette* (24 May 1873) reports that a "Sandwich [Efate] man" was hired as an overseer on a Taveuni plantation because he could speak English very well, but there is no indication that he used English in dealing with the laborers under his charge.

The few examples located of English spoken on Fiji plantations come from only two sources. Forbes accompanied forty Solomon Islands laborers on a boat to Taveuni and mentions (1875:43) that "two of them who could speak a little broken English, acted as interpreters for the rest." Later, on a Taveuni plantation, a Tanna laborer said to him (ibid.: 70):

(15) Big fellow tree that.

Partington (1883:58) visited a plantation in Wailevu, Vanualevu, where the "cook boy could speak a little English." Later he quotes him as follows (ibid.: 197):

(16) He big feller hen, but no make'm egg.

These examples show plantation laborers speaking English with MPE features, but it must be remembered that both authors were only visitors to Fiji who did not know Fijian very well.

Use of MPE off plantations

There are a few accounts of Pacific Islanders in urban areas speaking what is probably MPE. The *Fiji Times* (5 July 1878) reports that thirty or forty foreign laborers got drunk and "commenced throwing 'molis' [citrus fruit] at each other" and that when it turned into a brawl, "they used the most disgusting language in English."

A. B. Brewster (1937:101), a long-term resident of Fiji, describes Levuka of the 1870s and 1880s when he first arrived in Fiji:

> Straight-haired olive-skinned people from Rotuma, Samoa, and Tahiti passed to and fro jostling their wooly-haired black neighbours from Tanna, the New Hebrides and Banks Groups and from the faraway Solomon Islands. There they met and conversed in the beche-de-mer or *pidgin* English which with Fijian forms the *lingua franca* of the Great South Sea. We had a local song in those days in the dialect used by our labourers from the scattered islands of the Western Pacific.

(17) Plentee man he come from Tanna and some from Tokelau
De darkies all do go, de field where de cotton grow.
Weed a bit, pick a bit, make plenty savvy,
Allee same, by and by, just so.

This example does have some features of MPE, such as *he* as a predicate marker, *plenty*, and *savvy*. It also includes an additional feature from Clark's list: *Allee same* (all same) meaning "like (this)," "thus." But it also contains features of what appears to be stereotyped black American

English (such as *de* for "the"), which makes one think Brewster may have mixed up his cotton fields.

Wawn (1893:122-123) gives a better example of MPE being used in Fiji. He describes twenty or so laborers, paid off at the end of their contracts around 1878, going into a shop in Levuka. He points out that only one of them knew English, as he had been a house servant in Levuka, This one acts as spokesman for the group, and when he comments to the shop clerk (nationality unknown, but probably European) about some rusty pots, this conversation takes place:

(18) "Very good belong boil yam," remarked the clerk to the English speaking boy . . .
"Very good belong a yam," asserted the boy as to mere passing remark.
"You like calico?" asked the clerk fingering a "bolt" of it all stained and damaged.
"Yes, me like calico," mumbled the lad.

The clerk then notices Wawn looking on, and the conversation shifts into Fijian.

Finally, Goodenough (1876:207) reports another feature from Clark's list used in Levuka in 1873: *piccaninny* for "child." He also says, mistakenly, that *kaikai* is "to eat" in Fijian (ibid.: 331n).

Only a few of the records of magisterial inquiries and Supreme Court cases indicate that Pacific Islands laborers gave testimony in English or acted as interpreters through the medium of English. In one example, Pannekin, a Banks Islander who had been in Fiji three years, knew English, and through him newly arrived laborers were examined in a 1869 inquiry into the labor trade (GBPP 1871, XLVIII, 468). British Consul March writes in 1870: "Many of the natives thus brought before me at the expiration of their terms of service had learnt sufficient English to enable me to speak to them without the aid of an interpreter" (ibid.). Years later, in a Supreme Court criminal case (25/1883), three Solomon Islanders were examined, two in Fijian, one in English. Not in every case, however, was the English spoken by the islanders comprehensible. For example, a magistrate writes of a witness from Maewo (CSO 131/1887): "This man speaks very broken English, much I fail to understand."

Since all records of testimony were written in Standard English, it is difficult to determine what kind of English these Pacific Islanders were speaking. However, there are some isolated examples indicating that

their English had some MPE features. One instance is the testimony of a Tanna man in an inquiry into the labor trade (GBPP 1868-1869, XLIII, 408). The record of his statement uses terms such as *moons* for "months," *gammoned* for "lied," "deceived," *fight* for "strike," and *fast* for "stuck," all of which are features of MPE (see Churchill 1911).

The record of testimony from an inquiry into fish poisoning on Mago island (CSO 2187/1885) contains some statements that also show some MPE features. A Malaita man is reported as saying:

(19) I do not go to the salt water. I stop inland.

And a New Ireland man's statement is given as:

(20) I do not know how to eat fish.

The first example shows the use of *salt water* for "sea" and *stop* for "stay." The second is almost certainly a direct translation of *no savvy*. In MPE *savvy* can mean not only "'know how to" but also "be in the habit of" (Clark 1979:18). It was most probably used in this second sense by the speaker, that is "I do not usually eat fish," but translated in the first sense by the clerk.

I have been able to find only two examples where the clerks give the exact words of witnesses in nonstandard English. The first is from the inquiry into the drowning of a European at Cicia island.[7] This statement is attributed to a man from Santo:

(21) It was "big fellow water."

The second is from a Supreme Court criminal case (SC 21/1882):

(22) Kafalislis take our cocoanut (steal him).

The first shows the use of *fellow* as a suffix on the prenominal modifier (here *big*). The second shows the use of *him* as a transitive suffix on the verb (here *steal*).

MPE spoken by returnees from Fiji

Compared to the number of reports of laborers who returned from Fiji knowing Fijian, there are very few reports of those knowing English (Clark 1979:62n). One report is from Nguna in 1871, where there was

"only one young man who could speak a little English, and he had been in Fiji" (Don 1927:39). The journals of two government agents also mention Fiji returnees in Vanuatu who could speak English (Fiji Immigration Department 1880, 1884). The second specifies that the laborer, a Santo man, had worked for H. Cave and Company in Levuka.

The only sample of English from a returned Fiji laborer comes from Rannie (1912:172-173):

> We could only find one English-speaking native at Vanikoro and he had picked up a very indifferent smattering of the language during a stay in Fiji . . . he asked if we wanted to buy some
>
> (23) small fellow pigeon.

(These "pigeon" turned out to be golden beetles.)

Conclusions

Despite a careful search of the records and literature, the examples given above are the only ones I could find of MPE in connection with Fiji before 1888. Nevertheless these examples, along with the ones used in connection with recruiting, include sixteen of the thirty comparative MPE features listed by Clark. Thus, MPE was known to some extent in Fiji. Some Pacific Islanders probably learned MPE before coming to Fiji. Others who were working in urban areas rather than on plantations may have picked up MPE or some other variety of English in Fiji. It seems clear, however, that English was not used by Europeans to run the plantations. Furthermore, there is no evidence that MPE was used on plantations as a lingua franca among the laborers. Of course it may have been used at early stages among new laborers, but Fijian probably took over as soon as it was learned.

The overall picture, then, is that in the first half of the plantation era MPE was used by Pacific Islanders in Fiji only for communication with Europeans (when either or both did not know Fijian). Therefore, it was used only in a dual-contact situation. As it was not used among the islanders themselves in Fiji (as it was in Queensland and Samoa), MPE did not stabilize further into a distinct variety, and a "Fiji Plantation Pidgin English" never developed.

Melanesian Pidgin English in Fiji after 1888

Before 1888 laborers speaking any kind of fluent English rnust have been a novelty, as shown by the following example from the *Fiji Gazette* (14 Dec. 1878), one of the first reports of the "intelligible English" spoken by a laborer who had previously worked in Queensland:

> A boy came to Fiji in the *Daphne* last week who has been for two periods of three years each to Queensland, and who speaks English intelligibly. When asked why he did not go again to Queensland, he said,
>
> (24) No yam in Queensland, me like yam, me no like kai kai Queensland.
>
> "But," said his interrogator, "you get six pounds a year in Queensland and only three pounds a year in Fiji." He said,
>
> (25) Oh! very well, three pound here all same six pound in Queensland. . . ."

But after 1888, with the increase in numbers of laborers with experience in other countries, the use of MPE in Fiji became more common.

"Old hands"

From 1888 until the end of indenture, approximately 30 percent of all the laborers brought to Fiji had worked before in another country where a form of MPE was the plantation language. Most of these experienced laborers, known as "old hands," had worked in Queensland, but many had been in Samoa or New Caledonia. Four had worked in Hawaii and two in Tahiti. Some had even worked in two or more of these countries. Table 3 shows the number of "old hands" who arrived each year, from 1888 to 1911, and the countries they worked in.

The influx of old hands reached its peak in 1907 with the arrival in Fiji of 437 ex-Queensland laborers. Of these, 351 came directly from Queensland by an arrangement between the two governments, deported as a result of the "White Australia" policy. Large numbers of ex-Queenslanders also arrived the folllowing two years, so that in three

TABLE 3 **"Old Hands," 1888-1911**

Year	Fiji	Queens-land	Samoa	New Caledonia	Other	Total
1888	46 (1)	11 (1)	1	4	0	61
1889	13	18	0	0	0	31
1890	35 (1)	15 (1)	10	2	8	69
1891	65 (3)	25 (3)	9	0	0	96
1892	18 (1)	38 (1)	6	2	0	63
1893	0	0	0	0	0	0
1894	3	1	0	0	0	4
1895	32	18 (1)	8 (1)	1	0	58
1896	17 (3)	17 (3)	3 (2)	2	0	35
1897	0	0	0	0	0	0
1898	9 (1)	12 (2)	10 (1)	3	0	32
1899	19	12	6	0	0	37
1900	0	0	0	0	0	0
1901	3	10	0	0	0	13
1902	0	0	0	0	0	0
1903	15	19	1	0	0	35
1904	29 (29)	29 (29)	0	0	0	29
1905	1	27	1	0	0	29
1906	6 (4)	55 (4)	1	5	0	63
1907	10	437	0	0	0	447
1908	9	97	0	0	0	106
1909	2	115	0	2	0	119
1910	2	16	0	0	0	18
1911	11 (1)	17 (1)	0	1	0	28
Total	345 (44)	989 (46)	56 (4)	22	8	1,373

Note: Reprinted, with permission, from Siegel 1985. Numbers in parentheses indicate arrivals who also worked in another country and are also included in that country's total.

years, more than 650 were in Fiji. Nearly all of these originated from the southeast Solomon Islands.

Another important fact about the old hands is that compared to earlier laborers, large numbers were indentured to the colonial government or large companies rather than to plantations. Therefore, many were congregated in urban areas. For example, of the 650 mentioned above, at least 150 lived in Suva working for the Public Works Department or European business concerns, while approximately 100 worked for the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in Labasa on Vanualevu. Living in urban areas, they were able to form their own communities and continue using among themselves the language they had brought with them.

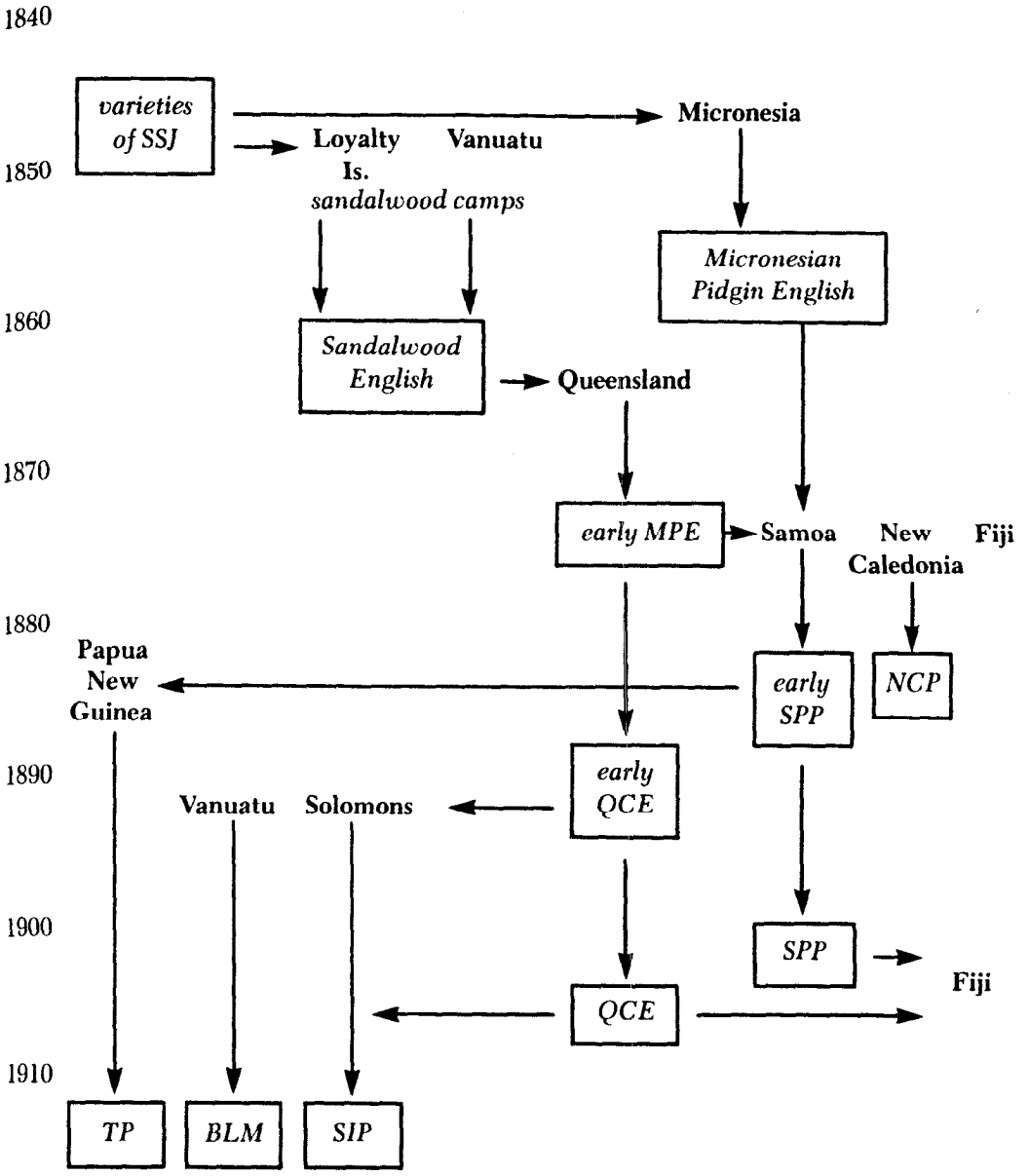

FIGURE 1. The development of plantation varieties of MPE. See page 99 for a list of abbreviations.

Queensland Canefields English in Fiji

Most of the old hands from Queensland had worked in the sugarcane plantations of that state, where early varieties of MPE had evolved into Queensland Canefields English (QCE), or Kanaka English, described by Dutton (1980). (The Pacific Islands laborers in Queensland were known as Kanakas.) In Samoa, early varieties of MPE had evolved into

Samoan Plantation Pidgin (SPP), (described by Mühlhäusler (1978). The early history of these plantation varieties has been touched upon earlier in this work and is briefly recounted here as follows (shown in simplified form in figure 1).

Different varieties of the South Seas Jargon (SSJ) that existed around the Pacific (all in the pre-pidgin stage of development) were learned by people in Vanuatu and the Loyalty Islands during the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades. When these varieties were used by islanders for communication among themselves in sandalwood camps, a more stable variety developed: Sandalwood English. Since the first recruiting of laborers for Queensland took place in areas where Sandalwood English was known, it became the language of the labor trade. And as it was known by many of the laborers, it became the lingua franca of the plantations. Thus, further expansion and stabilization took place, and an early form of Melanesian Pidgin English developed. This MPE in turn became the language of the labor trade.

During the labor trade, MPE was brought to Samoa, New Caledonia, and Fiji. In Fiji, as shown above, MPE did not develop any further as it was not widely used on the plantations. In New Caledonia MPE was used on the plantations for some years but was eventually replaced by a pidginized French (Hollyman 1976). In Samoa and Queensland, however, MPE continued to develop, but in separate ways. In Samoa MPE came into contact with a Micronesian type of pidgin English already in use on the plantations (Mühlhäusler 1983:16), while in Queensland it was in contact with various forms of Aboriginal Pidgin English. Since Samoa was a German colony, MPE had less contact with the English superstratum than in Queensland. Also, after 1885 most of the laborers in Samoa were from the New Guinea Islands, while the ones in Queensland were mainly from Vanuatu and the Solomons. Thus, two distinct subsystems of MPE emerged: Queensland Canefields English (QCE) and Samoan Plantation Pidgin (SPP).[8]

As both of these varieties were taken home by repatriated laborers, their use spread as languages of wider communication in the island groups that had hundreds of languages and no indigenous common language—that is, in Vanuatu, the Solomons, and the New Guinea Islands (but not in Kiribati, which did have a common language). The increased number of speakers and changed functional requirements led to some of the linguistic changes that today differentiate the modern versions of the transported varieties from their plantation pidgin ancestors (see Mühlhäusler 1983). These modern, expanded pidgins are: Tok Pisin (TP) in Papua New Guinea, based mainly on early SPP (Mühl-

häusler 1978); Bislama (BLM) in Vanuatu, based mainly on an earlier form of QCE; and Solomon Islands Pijin (SIP), based mainly on a later form of QCE (Dutton 1980).

Both QCE and SPP were also transported to Fiji by the old hands, but no such expansion took place. Unlike the islands of the laborers, where there was a communication gap ready to be filled, Fiji already had an established indigenous lingua franca. Thus, although these later varieties of MPE were used for a time in Fiji by the old hands and even became familiar to many Europeans, they did not take root in Fiji.

There are many reports mentioning the MPE brought to Fiji by the ex-Queenslanders. For example, St.-Johnston (1927:72) describes the "beach-de-meer" spoken in Fiji in the early 1900s and tells how a Solomon Islands policeman directed him to the government offices:

(26) Up top, past big feller god-house, then along dis side, and writin'-house he stop there.

Further down the page he gives another example:

(27) Disfeller belly belong me he too sore.

St.-Johnston goes on to give his own linguistic description:

> I should explain, perhaps, that the possessive "my" is expressed by "belong me," and as a sort of emphasizing definite article "this fellow" or "that fellow" precedes most nouns. Any woman, or indeed anything of the female sex in the animal world, is known as "Mary." Thus, if I wanted to make a raw Solomon Island recruit comprehend that my wife had gone to town, I should have to say to him, "White Mary belong me no stop!"

By 1909 MPE must have been familiar enough to Europeans for the following letter to be published in the *Fiji Times* (3 July 1909). The letter was almost certainly written by a European as it satirizes not only the use of MPE but also some aspects of the European community:

(28) Mr. Paper man me savey read little bit. Some man he talk along your paper too much. He say he can't catch im servant in Suva work along him house. He no speak true. Plenty boy work all day; he no like work all night. Some house he finish dinner 8 clock. Boy he work all time

> washim up plate finish 10 clock. He can't go see him countryman; police run im in suppose he see im walk along street. What for all same that? Whiteman im play bridge catch im money. Black man can't do all same. Me Christen all same white man. Black man make im first he make im road, garden, catch im fish, make im house, white man come he take im everything. Black man go live bush, white man steal him boy make him work along house and farm, plenty punch him no give him good kaikai., little bit money. White missus all time talk make im swear too much. No good all same that. Suppose missus let im boy finish work 6 clock, come work 6 clock, boy work very good. Plenty come work house. All same give im boy little bit good kaikai, no all time rice. Me long time work house along Queensland, no all same Fiji work all time. Me work big store Suva, finish 5 clock. Night me go long school by-by me savey rite well. Me tell you all news belong you paper. Lot man he look out gold he fine im plenty work belong boy. I think he go house Parlerment make im good law belong man. White man stop Parlerment he to much talk. He want buy all land himself. He no care nother man. You put this in you paper very good me read im, plenty boy savey. No white man speak good belong boy in you paper, never mind he write letter himself true . . . Paper all finish me tell you plenty more next time. Queensland boy no bally fool like black boy stop Fiji.—
>
> I am, etc.,
> Jimmy

Both St.-Johnston's examples and the letter include not only the general MPE features that are found in earlier examples from Fiji but also additional features such as *catch im* for "get" and *along* or *long* as locative or spatial prepositions. But even more importantly they include features from QCE and SPP: Mary meaning "woman," *all time* for "always," and *look out* meaning "search," "look for." These features are found in modern varieties of MPE: Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea), Bislama (Vanuatu), and Solomon Islands Pidgin. Another feature is *little bit* meaning "a little" which is found in Bislama and Solomon Islands Pidgin.

By 1909 at least some Europeans in Fiji had begun to recognize that MPE was a language in its own right. This is evident in the following

request by the Attorney General to the Colonial Secretary for an interpreter for a coming session of the Supreme Court (CSO 5997/1909): "A Polynesian named Ore charged with rape at Taveuni will also be before the Court for trial; from the depositions it appears the accused speaks pigeon English, provision will also have to be made for an interpreter in this case." Furthermore, there is at least one report of MPE being used in a church service for Pacific Islanders. Brummitt (1914:22), a visitor to Fiji in 1912, describes a Methodist service in Lautoka "for Solomon Islanders, who are fairly numerous, and to whom the gospel is preached in 'pidgin English.' "

It is also clear that MPE continued to be used by many of the laborers who elected to stay in Fiji rather than return home at the end of their contracts, and that it was used by at least some Europeans in communicating with them. For example, the officer in charge of the Criminal Investigation Department in Suva testifies in the Supreme Court in 1921 (SC 17/1921): "I cautioned the prisoner in Fijian and Pidgin English."

Foster (1927:193-194), another traveler in Fiji, describes a visit to a Solomon Islands village outside Suva and gives examples of MPE spoken by Lizzie, who came to Fiji as a young girl. She says she remembers *whitemen* (recruiters) coming to her village saying to her father in "beche-de-mer":

(29) Rum, he good fellow. Bime by, you get'm plenty rum, you send Mary stop long Fiji?

Lizzie describes her voyage to Fiji:

(30) This feller boat very small feller. Belly belong me walk about. I was seasick.

As late as 1936, an Anglican parson who worked with the Pacific Islanders in Fiji reports that they spoke "pidgin English" as well as Fijian (Whonsbon-Ashton 1936).

MPE spoken by Fijians and Indians

It was shown above that SSJ, the forerunner of MPE, was known only by Fijians or part-Europeans who were involved in maritime activities. The same seems to be true of MPE until the twentieth century The only example found of MPE spoken by a Fijian before 1900 is given by Wawn (1893:143), attributed to one of his Fijian crew members:

(31) Cappen! man Vila he come!

Two authors from the early 1900s provide samples of Fijians speaking English with some MPE features as well as some Fijian words. The first is the Methodist missionary, J. W. Burton, who reports a conversation with a Fijian boy at the Methodist Mission (which, significantly, he mentions had been sending missionaries to New Guinea, where a variety of MPE was spoken). Burton asks the boy (1910:152), "What is that noise?":

(32) "*Lali,* sir, all same big bell, make 'im *lotu,"* replies the boy, proud of his knowledge of English.

The second author is Beatrice Grimshaw, who traveled around Fiji in 1905 accompanied by Gideon, a Fijian who was her personal servant and interpreter. In her account, both she and Gideon communicate in English with some MPE features. For example, she reports him as saying (1906:54):

(33) Turanga ni koro, he say toa (fowl) an' yam in the pire, pish he cook. He like you stop, kiki (eat).

Later this conversation takes place (ibid.:56):

(34) "Plenty s'ark here" [says Gideon.]

I stopped at the laces of the second shoe and asked, "What shark? All same Rewa shark stop here?"

"Yes, sir. All same. Plentee."

Another example from Gideon is as follows (ibid.:98):

(35) Missi, N-grimshaw! Horsie lie down, by-n'-by he n-dead!

I have found only one reference to an Indian speaking English with MPE features. It comes from Basil Thomson (1894:52), who describes Ramdas, an Indian constable who translates Hindustani into English in the courts:

The wily old Ramdas, constable and priest, came softly to the bench and whispered into its ear

(36) S'pose me fetchum Kurân, disfeller no tellum lie; he too much 'fraid.

Armed with authority, he left the court, going delicately, and presently returned tiptoe carrying on his extended hands a massive volume as if it was an overheated dish. Pausing before the table he said with due solemnity,

(37) By an' by he kissum, disfeller he plenty 'fraid. Dis Kurân belonger me. Abdul Khan he sabe readim, me no sabe, on'y little bit, other feller he no sabe! On'y Abdul Khan sabe!

I have been unable to determine where either Gideon or Ramdas learned MPE, but it is almost certain that they were exceptions to the rule that Fijians and Indians did not speak it.

Conclusions

Large numbers of laborers who had worked in Queensland and/or Samoa brought later varieties of MPE to Fiji, They continued to use this MPE among themselves and to communicate with some Europeans. However, it appears that it did not become established as a means of communication with Pacific Islanders already living in Fiji. This is shown in the following section.

Pidgin English in Fiji Today

Several more recent sources comment on MPE's absence in Fiji in comparison to neighboring countries. For example, the following incident, related by John A. Fraser (1954:96), took place at the Vatukoula gold mine:

Bob Close, who was accustomed to talking in pidgin to the natives of Northern Australia and New Caledonia, wanted a pole for some work on hand. Pointing and gesticulating to make his meaning still clearer, he gave his orders to Eliasi: "Bring one fellow stick long me two times, thick all same this arm belonga me!"

Eliasi quietly replied: "Yes, I understand, Mister Bob. You want a pole twelve feet long and three inches across. I will get it at once."

> . . . Some of the other boys also understand English a little . . . but any attempt at pidgin left them hopelessly puzzled.

However, at least two authors reported that MPE existed in Fiji only fifteen years ago. Wurm (1971:1008) writes: "Beach-la-mar is, more or less in its original form, still used as a lingua franca and contact vernacular in the New Hebrides, and is still known in Fiji." And Hymes (1971a:44) mentions "Beach-la-mar" in Fiji as one example of pidgins that "continue in use without immediate danger of extinction, although without promise of expansion either." Also, a "Fiji Pidgin English" is described by Geraghty (1977, 1984). This section examines these reports to see if some form of pidgin English is actually spoken in Fiji.

Does MPE still exist in Fiji?

In August 1982 I went to Fiji "in search of beach-la-mar" (borrowing Clark's [1979] title). During six months' field work, I interviewed over thirty descendants of Pacific Islands laborers, who live in various *"Kai Solomone"* settlements around Fiji (see Kuva [1974] and Siegel 1984). I also had the privilege of talking to Jioji Abunio, originally from Malaita in the Solomons, before his death in December 1982. He was the only man still living of those who had been recruited and brought to Fiji during the labor trade. But I did not find any beach-la-mar or any variety of MPE still in use in Fiji.

Some of the informants are familiar with a few features of MPE such as *belong, savvy,* and *piccaninny* (see table 2). They learned these few words either from some of the old-timers who came from Queensland or more recently from visiting Solomon Islanders, such as students from the University of the South Pacific, who often visit the settlements. But I found no instance where any MPE is used for daily communication within any community in Fiji. Also, those who know English speak it without any features of MPE.

The information given by Jone Gagalia of Wailoku near Suva is typical. Most of the laborers from Malaita spoke to their children in Fijian. They used their Malaitan language only with *wantoks* of the same generation. Other Malaitans who had worked in Queensland, such as Jone's uncle, knew pidgin English, and often used it to talk with fellow ex-Queenslanders when they first arrived. But they quickly learned to speak Fijian, and if they married, they never used pidgin English to their children, only Fijian or Pidgin Fijian. Some Europeans did speak pidgin English to the ex-Queenslanders, but these were only Europeans who had been to the Solomons or Queensland.

Thus, as shown in figure 1, although MPE was brought to Fiji, it reached a dead end there. It may have been spoken as recently as the early 1970s by some of the original laborers who had worked in Queensland or Samoa, but as they all have since died, MPE in Fiji has died along with them.

Basilectal Fiji English

A colloquial variety of English is currently spoken in Fiji, mainly as an intercommunal language. It is called "Fiji Pidgin English" by Geraghty (1977, 1984), "Colloquial Fiji English" by Moag and Moag (1977), and "the dialect" by Sister Francis Kelly (1975), who gives the most detailed description. I consider it to be really the lower part of a continuum of Fiji English, which has Formal Fiji English at the acrolectal end. Therefore, I call it Basilectal Fiji English (BFE). Fiji English in general needs to be studied in much greater detail, and I consider BFE here only to answer two questions relevant to this study: Is BFE related to MPE, and is BFE really a pidgin language?

The main features of BFE. Some of the main features of BFE, which distinguish it from other varieties of English, are given here. It must be emphasized, however, that the occurrence of most of these features is highly variable. Examples are from two recordings made in Suva. The first is of female first-year secondary students representing nearly every ethnic group in Fiji. The second, made by Paul Geraghty, is of boys four to twelve years old, Fijians and part-Europeans. (Note that as no orthography has been worked out for BFE, standard English orthography is used here. Glosses are given only where the meaning is not clear.)

• Phonology: BFE has a five-vowel system, similar to that of Fijian, plus schwa. The consonant system is close to English; however, /r/ is a trill [r̃], as in Fijian, and some speakers may lack /z/, /θ/, and certain consonant clusters (see Geraghty 1977:4). Intonation patterns are similar to Fijian, for example in raised register throughout for questions.

• Noun phrase: *One* is used as an indefinite article:

(38) Tonight I'm going to one party.

Plenty is the prenominal quantifier:

(39) Plenty people should come and taste the grog.

The pronoun system is as follows: first, *us two* is used as the first person dual inclusive:

(40) I can't give you us two's money because us two poor.

Second, *gang* is used as a plural marker with personal pronouns:

(41) No, but us gang take it for a joke.

(42) What you gang doing?

(43) We gonna be like those gang [i.e., like them].

Third, *fella* is used as the third person pronoun with (+ human) referents, both male and female:

(44) When Jone look up in the tree, fella saw the thing between the leg.

(45) Fella put that fella's hand in front. [He put his hand in front.]

Fourth, *the thing* is often used as the third person with (- human) referents:

(46) You know one time she threw the chalk and the thing hit over here.

The Fijian focus marker ***gā*** is often used in the NP (and also in the VP):

(47) You ***gā***, you ***gā*** tell it.

• Verb phrase: BFE is similar to other nonstandard varieties of English (such as basilectal Singapore English [Platt 1978]) in these variable features of the verb phrase: (a) lack of copula, especially in present tense; (b) lack of third person singular marking on the verb; and (c) lack of past tense marking, except for common forms such as *went* and *ate.*

Other, more unique features of the BFE verb phrase are first the use of *been* as a preverbal past tense marker:

(48) He been swear. [He swore.]

Second, *full* is a preverbal intensifier:

(49) The boy just full shouted.

Third, got is used for "have":

(50) Us gang got the video. [We have a video.]

The Fijian initiation or politeness marker *mada* is often found in the VP:

(51) Wait *mada!*

• Lexicon: Many Fijian words, and a few Fiji Hindustani ones, are used. Also, many English words have shifted or restricted meaning, such as *bluff,* "lie," "deceive"; *grog,* "kava"; *good luck,* "it serves you/him/her right"; and *not even,* "no way!" (see Geraghty 1977:4).

Is BFE related to APE? It can be seen from the brief listing of distinctive features above that BFE bears little resemblance to Melanesian Pidgin English. The most characteristic grammatical features of MPE, such as the *-em* transitive suffixes and the use of *long* and *belong* as prepositions, are absent. Common MPE lexical items, such as *savvy* and *pikinini,* are not found. BFE uses *us two* instead of *you me,* for the first person dual inclusive, and *gang* for a plural pronoun suffix instead of *fellow.* In fact, of Clark's thirty comparative features of MPE (table 2), BFE includes only three: *plenty, been,* and *got,* and all three could easily have been independent developments. As Geraghty (1977:3) points out, then, MPE is most likely not a lineal ancestor of BFE.

Is BFE a pidgin? Geraghty (1977:2) defines a pidgin as "language which is a second language to its speakers with a grammar and phonology resembling that of another language." Even if we accept this definition (which would not be accepted by many creolists), it is still difficult to agree with his view that "almost every aspect of Fiji Pidgin but the forms of the lexical items strongly resembles Fijian" (ibid.:4).

It is true that some of the features of BFE may be attributed to the influence of the Fijian substratum, for example, the inclusive-exclusive distinction in pronouns. Also, compare the use of *one* as an indefinite article to the Fijian:[9]

(52) e yaco mai e dua na vūlagi
3S arrive DIR 3S one DEF visitor

"A visitor arrived."

In addition, the use of *full* as a preverbal intensifier parallels the use of *rui* in Fijian:

(53) odrau sā rui soli-a vaka-totolo
2D ASP INT give-OM MAN-quick

"You two really gave it quickly."

Furthermore, certain BFE idioms are obviously calques of Fijian, for example, *not even* from *sega sara* (negative + intensifier).

On the other hand, much of BFE grammar is English rather than Fijian: consistent SVO word order, *'s* possessive marking and English possessive pronouns, s plural marking, and verb morphology such as the *-ing* durative and some past tense forms. Other features of BFE, such as lack of copula and third person singular marking, may be the result of Fijian influence, but they are also found in other nonstandard varieties of English, and therefore it is difficult to substantiate their origin.

Thus, on a grammatical basis alone it is difficult to classify BFE as a pidgin. It may be, of course, that BFE was once a pidgin, and is now a "post-pidgin continuum," that is, it is being restructured toward more standard English because of strong influence from the English superstratum (Mühlhäusler 1980). But unlike Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani, there is no historical or sociolinguistic evidence that BFE was ever a stable pidgin (or even a jargon with recognizable conventions). Therefore, I think it is safe to say that BFE is not a pidgin language, and no stable form of pidgin English exists in Fiji today.[10]

Why Pidgin English Never Developed in Fiji

There remains the question of why no variety of pidgin English developed in Fiji when the sociolinguistic setting, especially on the plantations, was apparently similar to that of other Pacific areas where pidgin English did develop: that is, in Queensland, Samoa, New Caledonia, and Hawaii. In order to answer this question, several contributing factors are discussed here.

Rural plantations

One explanation for the use of Fijian rather than any form of English as plantation language comes from Wawn (1893:122). He says that the Queensland laborers had a holiday on Saturdays and that they could go

to town and there learn the value of money, plus pick up some English. In Fiji, the situation was different: "The Fijian labourer, on the other hand, was generally employed on some island of the group far removed from either town or store. He acquired but little English, though he quickly learnt the native Fijian." If the rural situation of Fiji's plantations was a significant factor, however, the question of why laborers in Samoa spoke a variety of MPE instead of Samoan still remains. Plantations there were also in rural areas, and since it was a German colony, exposure to English was less likely than in Queensland.

The answer is that what becomes the plantation language is the language the European planters and overseers use to communicate with the imported laborers, not necessarily the one they use to communicate among themselves or with the indigenous population. And it is the plantation language that is adopted by the laborers as their own common language. In Queensland there was no indigenous language of wider communication that was generally used, and the planters and overseers were English speakers. So there was no choice but to use English on the plantations. In Samoa the Germans used a form of Samoan to deal with the Samoans and, of course, used German among themselves. But they used pidgin English, rather than German or Samoan, to communicate with their plantation laborers (Mühlhäusler 1978:74), supposedly because the laborers already knew pidgin English on their arrival. Therefore, in both Queensland and Samoa, varieties of MPE were the plantation languages, and the laborers spoke varieties of MPE among themselves.

In New Caledonia, a form of MPE was first used on plantations run by English speakers. But when the French started gaining control and used their own language to run their plantations, laborers spoke French among themselves and pidgin French developed. The two pidgins, English and French, coexisted for at least fifteen years, until the French, and pidgin French, took over completely (Hollyman 1976:44). In contrast the French in Vanuatu, like the Germans in Samoa, continued to use MPE as it was already the established lingua franca for communicating not only with the laborers but also with some of the English-speaking planters of the British-French condominium (Tryon 1979:75).

In Fiji the laborers also knew some MPE, but the Europeans used Fijian instead to communicate with them. Thus, Fijian became the plantation language, and the laborers used it rather than English among themselves. The question now is: Why did Fiji's Europeans use Fijian rather than English?

Historical continuity: comparison with Hawaii

The most obvious explanation as to why Fijian rather than pidgin English was used as the plantation language appears to be a matter of historical continuity. As shown above, unlike Queensland, Vanuatu, or the Solomons, Fiji had an indigenous language used for wider communication throughout the group. This language was adopted for communication between Fijians and outsiders from the time of first European contact. It was used for both the sandalwood and beche-de-mer trades and extended to use on the plantations.

But Fiji was not the only area of the Pacific where a relatively homogenous linguistic situation allowed use of the indigenous language as the lingua franca. In fact, the situation in Hawaii was remarkably similar to that of Fiji (Reinecke 1969; Bickerton and Wilson n.d.; Day n.d.). From about 1790 English-speaking beachcombers began to live among Hawaiians and learn their language. Some of these men were used as interpreters during the sandalwood trade. According to Bickerton (1979:8), the plantations founded before 1876 were staffed by Hawaiians and "the language of work, the language of control in these plantations had been Hawaiian."

Hawaiian was also learned by imported plantation laborers, first the Chinese, and later Japanese, Filipinos, and other groups (Bickerton and Wilson n.d.), as it was still used as the plantation language (Bickerton 1977:51-52):

> In the early plantation period, Hawaiian became the target language for an immigrant population that might (though by no means always) have received its orders in the field from native speakers of English, but that had far more social contact, both on and off the job, with Hawaiians.

Thus in Hawaii as in Fiji, the indigenous language was used by early European settlers and traders and became the first plantation language. It was also learned by imported laborers both on the plantations and in contact with the indigenous population. Why, then, did the indigenous language continue as the plantation language in Fiji while it was superseded by pidgin English in Hawaii?

Population. Differences in population dynamics between Fiji and Hawaii may be responsible for the differences in language development. First of all, Fiji did not experience the drastic increase in numbers

of imported laborers that Hawaii experienced. Table 4 shows that there was no rapid increase in the number of imported Pacific Islands laborers, so that the number of new laborers was always less than the number of old ones. This fact, plus the large number of reengaged laborers, or "old hands," with experience in Fiji, insured the continuance of the linguistic status quo—that is, the use of Fijian on the plantations.

In Hawaii, however, after the passage of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1876, the sugarcane industry grew "by leaps and bounds" (Reinecke 1969:41). This rapid growth required large numbers of laborers, "imported wholesale" by the sugar planters or the Hawaii government first from China, Japan, and Portugal, and later from Korea, the Philippines, and Spain. Figures are shown in table 5.

A comparison of tables 5 and 6 also shows other population differences between Fiji and Hawaii. The number of Fijians was greater than the number of Hawaiians, and the decrease in the Fijian population was far less severe. Also, the diminishing population trend was reversed for the Fijians in the 1920s, but not for the Hawaiians. Furthermore, the European population in Hawaii was greater than in Fiji and increased more substantially from year to year.

Persistence of Fijian language and culture. Another factor contributing to the use of the indigenous language in Fiji was the continuing survival of the indigenous culture. The decline of Hawaiian language and culture is described by Reinecke (1969:30):

> The aboriginal population was very rapidly declining in numbers, largely because of the foreigners' diseases, and this decline deepened the feeling of hopeless discouragement in the face of Western culture. The people were dying, the language was dying with the people—such was the feeling of many.

The Fijian culture, however, was not so adversely affected, perhaps because there were fewer Europeans in Fiji and because of the colonial government's efforts to preserve the Fijian way of life.

One of these efforts was the "bilingual policy" described above. Because of this policy, many Europeans could speak Fijian well. In Hawaii, however, the situation was different: "Except for missionary and Part-Hawaiian families, few foreigners learned Hawaiian fluently and well" (Reinecke 1969:34).

Education. Another difference between Fiji and Hawaii concerns the language used for education. Like their Fiji counterparts, the first mis-

TABLE 4 **Resident Pacific Islands Laborers and Reengagements**

			REENGAGEMENTS		
				OUTSIDE FIJI	
YEAR	IN FIJI 1 JAN.	NEW ARRIVALS	IN FIJI	In Fiji before	In other country before
1875	5,291	404	20		
1876	4,567	471	189		
1877	3,087	537	382		
1878	2,258	1,496	350		
1879	2,897	1,873	277		
1880	4,116	2,361	302		
1881	5,885	1,227	435		
1882	5,979	2,093	689		
1883	5,883	1,550	1,083		
1884	5,669	1,266	1,087		
1885	5,256	295	806		
1886	3,998	277	703		
1887	2,774	273	630		
1888	2,053	280	404	46	16
1889	2,064	108	76	13	18
1890	2,071	191	30	35	35
1891	2,298	368	131	65	34
1892	2,488	212	91	18	46
1893	2,486	0	87	0	0
1894	2,412	14	74	3	1
1895	2,226	206	67	32	27
1896	2,243	117	55	17	22
1897	2,310	0	0	0	0
1898	2,278	102	1	9	25
1899	2,074	100	1	19	18
1900	1,960	0	3	0	0
1901	1,922	69	1	3	10
1902	1,963	0	3	0	0
1903	1,885	122		15	20
1904	1,967	96		29	29
1905	1,959	115		1	28
1906	2,022	239		6	61
1907	2,162	564		10	437
1908	2,621	210		9	97
1909	2,736	361		2	117
1910	3,004	78		2	16
1911	2,900	110		11	18

TABLE 4 **Continued**

YEAR	IN FIJI 1 JAN.	NEW ARRIVALS	REENGAGEMENTS		
				OUTSIDE FIJI	
			IN FIJI	In Fiji before	In other country before
1912	2,749	0		0	0
1913	2,507	0		0	0
1914	2,504	0		0	0
1915	2,301	0		0	0

Sources: Fiji Legislative Council 1875-1915; Shlomowitz 1986. See also table 3.

TABLE 5 **Population of Hawaii at Various Census Dates**

Year	Hawaiians	Europeans	Other Groups[a] (laborers)	Total
1860	66,984	1,600	700	69,800
1866	57,125	2,200	1,200	62,959
1872	49,044	2,520	2,462	56,897
1878	44,088	3,262	6,531	57,985
1884	40,014	6,612	28,337	80,578
1890	34,436	6,220	42,081	89,990
1896	31,019	7,247	61,214	109,020
1900	29,799	8,547	105,150	154,001
1910	26,041	14,867	137,474	191,909
1920	23,723	19,708	193,796	255,912
1934	21,796	45,888	276,134	378,948

Source: Based on table 1 in Reinecke 1969:42.

[a]Figures include laborers and their descendants from China, Japan, Portugal, Korea, the Philippines, and Spain.

sionaries in Hawaii realized the importance of teaching Christianity through the indigenous language, but they were not so well prepared. As they knew nothing of Hawaiian when they arrived, instruction was given to chiefs in English. Later, English instruction was extended to people of mixed race and select commoners (Reinecke 1969:27).

TABLE 6 **Population of Fiji at Various Census Dates**

Year	Fijians	Europeans	Other Groups[a] (laborers)	Total
1860	?	200	0	?
1866	?	400	481	?
1871	?	2,500	3,000	?
1881	114,748	2,671	6,688	127,486
1891	105,800	2,036	9,735	121,180
1901	94,397	2,459	19,055	120,224
1911	87,096	3,707	43,044	139,541
1921	84,475	3,878	62,198	157,266
1936	97,651	4,028	87,355	198,379

Sources: For Europeans in 1860-1871, see Derrick 1950:146, 156, 195; for Pacific Islanders in 1871, Derrick 1950:169; 1881-1921, *Report on the Census of the Population of Fiji, 1976* (Suva: Government Printers, 1978).

[a]Figures include both Pacific Islands and Indian laborers and their descendants.

But after the missionaries learned Hawaiian, it was this language, rather than English, that became the medium of instruction for most Hawaiians. However, after 1850 there was more and more pressure from both whites and Hawaiians for English to be taught. This view is described by Reinecke (ibid.:45):

> The attitude . . . was thoroughly unselfish in that it aimed at the material advancement of the Hawaiian people, and was thoroughly charged with a sense of the superiority of the English language over the Hawaiian and of the desirability of introducing the former at the expense of the latter.

By 1860 the teaching of English in private schools for Hawaiians was well established. English instruction gradually replaced Hawaiian until in 1896 only fifty-nine students in three isolated schools received instruction in Hawaiian (ibid.:49). Reinecke (ibid.:50) describes the official attitude in an education report:

> The supplanting of the Hawaiian language, not only in the schools but in the mouths of the native population, was passed over in one sentence: "The gradual extinction of a Polynesian dialect may be regretted for sentimental reasons, but it is certainly for the interest of the Hawaiians themselves."

In Fiji, instruction was carried out in the medium of Fijian from the beginning, and the practice continued in nearly all Fijian schools until the late 1920s (Hopkin 1975:171). The situation is described in the report of the Education Commission, 1909 (Fiji Legislative Council 1910:16).

> A considerable diversity of opinion appears to prevail both among the persons who gave evidence before us, and also among the members of the Commission, on the desirability of pressing the teaching of English on natives. A minority of the commission, who are strongly in favour of instruction in English as far as possible, urge that after 36 years of British occupation of these islands, the number of natives now living who can speak, read and write English may be counted on the fingers of one hand. This condition of affairs is all more noticeable from the fact that it is quite exceptionable to find a Fijian youth of the present day who is unable to read and write his own language without a certain amount of facility—bearing testimony to the good work of the Mission schools.

Fijian was also the medium of instruction for the Pacific Islanders. Although some early attempts were made by the Anglican church to give English instruction to Pacific Islanders (*Anglican Church Gazette,* Oct. 1893, p. 161), by the 1900s instruction was all given in Fijian. This is evident in the following statement (*Church Gazette* 4 [Aug. 1926]:7):

> At last the Church's Services . . . have been "done" in the Fijian language for the use of our Melanesian congregations here in Fiji. At one time it may have been that many of the native converts could understand the services in English. That time has passed. . . .

The average European in Fiji supported the missions' use of Fijian in the schools. But it was not from any altruistic sentiment of preserving the Fijian culture. Rather, on the whole it was simply racism—the feeling that the Fijians should stay in their place or that they did not have the ability to learn English. For example, Anderson writes: "It is curious but true, that the introduction of the English language has rather a tendency to aid in demoralising the semi-civilised natives." He adds: "For some reason or other, the more English language and English manners the savage learns, so much the more objectionable does he become" (1880:93, 158).

The testimony given to the 1909 Education Commission by D. J. Solomon (Fiji Legislative Council 1910:49), chairman of the Levuka School Board, is also typical. He said that teaching English to Fijians would not be beneficial "for they are not likely to be used by Europeans to do any important clerical work, as there is no ambition in a Fijian to raise himself to the level of a European." The following statement by Reverend J. W. Butcher (ibid.:58) sums up the attitudes of many Europeans in Fiji: "I cannot possibly bring myself to believe that much real intellectual benefit would accrue to the natives [from learning English] until the quality of the Fijians' brain has been altered."

European attitudes toward pidgin English

One of the minority favoring instruction in English, D. Wilkinson, testified before the 1909 Education Commission (ibid.:62) that English should be taught "provided always it is thorough and not 'pigeon English' which is learned." This statement is typical of the extremely negative attitudes held by Fiji's Europeans toward any type of pidgin English (as mentioned above in connection with returned laborers). For example, Anderson, shown above to be opposed to "natives" learning English, is equally fanatical in his dislike of those who speak MPE. He describes the Pacific Island laborersin Fiji as being "much better than those broken-English speaking 'boys' who worked in Queensland," and asks, "Why is it that the broken-English speaking Tanna and other men in the South sea are such a proverbial bad lot?" (1880:39, 40-41). Anderson is not alone in his feelings. Whonsbon-Aston (1936:37) calls MPE "that abomination of the South Seas." Hilliard (1978:104) describes the attitudes of other members of the Church of England: "but behind the tolerance [of labor recruiting] lay always an English gentleman's disdain for the world of Pidgin English."

Thus, the "old hands" from Queensland using QCE in Fiji were not at all to the liking of the Europeans, whose attitudes are summed up in these quotations from the *Fiji Times:*

> There is a tendency to view the newly imported Queensland Kanakas as "cheeky" and "difficult." We do not think this idea has any better foundation than a local prejudice against a black man speaking "pidgin English." (*FT* 2 Mar. 1907)

> The greatest charge—to date—against them is that they have been baptised, profess Christianity, and express themselves in a

perverted form of English, instead of Solomon-Fijian. (*FT* 9 Mar. 1907)

Summary

The following factors, then, led to Fijian rather than any form of pidgin English being used in Fiji: (1) the availability of an indigenous language of wider communication, Standard Fijian; (2) the establishment of the use of this Fijian in early dealings between Europeans and Fijians; (3) the extension of the use of Fijian to the running of the plantations and to dealing with other Pacific Islanders; (4) the continuing vitality of Fijian language and culture; and (5). the European prejudice against non-whites speaking English, especially pidgin English.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASP	aspect
BFE	Basilectal Fiji English
BLM	Bislama
CSO	Fiji Colonial Secretary's Office correspondence
DEF	definite article
DIR	directional
FT	*Fiji Times*
GBPP	Great Britain Parliamentary Papers
INT	intensifier
MAN	manner
MPE	Melanesian Pidgin English
NCP	New Caledonian Pidgin English
OM	object marker
QCE	Queensland Canefields English
SC	Fiji Supreme Court criminal case
SIP	Solomon Islands Pidgin
SPP	Samoan Plantation Pidgin
2D	second person dual subject marker
SSJ	South Seas jargon
3S	third person singular subject marker
TP	Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)
WPHC	Western Pacific High Commission

NOTES

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1. I am following the current preferred spelling for various Fiji place names, as used in *Domodomo,* the Fiji Museum quarterly: thus, Vitilevu (formerly Viti Levu), Vanualevu (Vanua Levu), and Rabe (Rabi).

2. See Clark 1979:31 for more detailed comments on this quotation.

3. References to official correspondence of the Fiji Colonial Secretary's office (found in the National Archives of Fiji) are abbreviated CSO, followed by the minute paper number/year. Supreme Court criminal sessions are abbreviated SC, followed by the case number/year.

4. *Wantok* is a useful term from MPE meaning "speaker of the same language."

5. The written examination of C. W. Maxwell in 1900 consisted of translating into English a passage entitled "Na Veivulagiti" from the Fijian journal *Na Mata* of October 1900; writing a short account in Fijian of the present conditions in the Macuata district; and translating into Fijian an English passage on Queen Elizabeth 1 (CSO 819/1900).

6. Thanks to Doug Munro for informing me of these reports.

7. This inquiry took place in 1873, before Fiji became a colony, and is reported in the papers of the British Consul of Fiji and Tonga (CSO series 12, General Correspondence, National Archives of Fiji F 4/12-14).

8. Another subsystem of MPE, Torres Strait Pidgin, developed in the Torres Strait Islands, but it was in connection with the beche-de-mer and pearlshell industries rather than on plantations. In 1890 this subsystem began to acquire native speakers, and Torres Strait Creole is today the major language of the area. (See Shnukal 1983.)

9. But as shown in Schütz 1985:328-330, Fijian *e dua* is not congruent with English "a"; it is a marker of generality in discourse rather than of grammatical indefiniteness.

10. Geraghty (personal communication, 27 July 1984) actually agrees that what he calls "Fiji Pidgin English" may not be a pidgin as defined in sociolinguistics, but says that he uses the term because that is how it is commonly known in Fiji. I feel that the term "creoloid" (Platt 1975, 1978) would be more appropriate for BFE.

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THE FIJI LABOR TRADE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE, 1864-1914

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In a recent article in this journal, Colin Newbury outlines the development of Pacific labor markets in the nineteenth century. Newbury's focus is on regional interdependence in the Pacific. He shows that employers in Queensland, Fiji, New Caledonia, Samoa, Hawaii, and French Polynesia could not satisfy their labor requirements from domestic sources, and they were obliged, accordingly, to recruit labor from other islands in the Pacific—such as the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati), the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), the Solomon Islands, and New Guinea,—and from Asia. Newbury argues that a regional labor market came into existence in which recruiters competed for labor (Newbury 1980).

Many contemporary observers called this recruiting activity the "labor trade," and historians have written extensively about it. They have been concerned with such issues as the motivations of recruits, the procedures adopted by recruiters, and the experiences of recruits during their terms of labor. Considerably less attention has been paid to economic issues relating to the working of this regional labor market.

The economic analysis of the labor trade includes a consideration of the wage rates paid by employers to recruits and the "passage money" paid by employers to recruiters for the procurement and return of recruits. Newbury acknowledges that this "topic is relatively unexplored and requires more work from regional business records than has been attempted so far" (Newbury 1980:13-14). Since the publication of Newbury's article, I have completed an economic analysis of the Queensland segment of the labor trade (Shlomowitz 1981a, b; 1982a, b;

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1985a, b). This economic analysis of the Fiji segment of the labor trade provides a complement for the Queensland study.

Drawing on these two case studies of the Queensland and Fiji segments of the labor trade and what fragments of information are available on economic trends in other segments of the labor trade, I will also offer some wider perspectives on the integrated nature of the labor trade in the Pacific more generally. These observations can be viewed as a response to Harry Maude's call for a comparative study of the Pacific labor trade (Maude 1983:70).

Theoretical Perspectives

There are two basic theoretical approaches to the social and economic study of labor markets, and in recent debates on the postbellum American South these have been called the "class" and "market" approaches (Wiener 1979, Shlomowitz 1984, 1985c). According to "class" analysts, the outcomes of employer-labor relations—wages and working conditions—can be understood in terms of the conflicts between the capitalist and the working class and it is the inequality of power between these contending forces and the fact that the institution of the market itself becomes a vehicle for coercion that are emphasized. According to the "market" analysts, the outcomes of employer-labor relations can be understood in terms of the free interplay of competitive forces—employers competing for preferred workers and workers competing for preferred jobs—and the socially meliorative aspects of the competitive process, which afford a measure of protection to workers against the unbridled coercive power of employers, are emphasized.

The central difference in the underpinnings of these approaches is clear: whereas market analysts allow for the diversity of preferences and interests of the individuals making up the groups of employers and workers and assume that individuals formulate and implement their own strategies in the labor market, class analysts invest these two groups of individuals with common psychologies and interests and assume that employers and workers formulate and implement collective strategies in the labor market.

The starting point for an analysis of the labor trade in the Western Pacific is the recognition that the structure of this trade was defined by a legislative framework enacted by colonial governments, and that the operation of the labor trade was supervised by colonial officials. The primary ideological basis of this structure was the notion of the sanctity of legal contracts voluntarily entered into by both parties, who were then obliged to faithfully fulfill the terms of these contracts. This was

combined with a paternalistic concern that the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands and Asia should be protected from unscrupulous and rapacious recruiters and employers.

Accordingly, one theme of this article is that the structure or "boundaries" of Pacific Island labor markets were not simply a reflection of the class interests of planters in their quest for a certain supply of low cost and tractable labor, but that significant constraints were placed on the coercive powers of recruiters and planters.

A second theme of the article is that elements of the market and class approaches can be drawn upon to explain the working of these markets,. In particular, it will be shown that trends in recruiting costs can best be explained in terms of the competitive behavior of recruiters; but trends in wage rates for some legal categories of labor, for some regions, and for some periods of time reflected the collusive behavior of planters while for other legal categories of labor, for other regions, and for other periods of time reflected their competitive behavior.

The Fiji Labor Trade: An Overview

Pacific Island labor was recruited for Fiji between 1864 and 1911. Although contemporaries called such recruits "Polynesian" laborers, they were almost entirely Melanesian or Micronesian in origin. The primary recruiting grounds throughout this period were the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands; smaller numbers were obtained from the Gilbert Islands between 1866 and 1895, and from New Guinea between 1882 and 1884.

The historiography of the Fiji segment of the labor trade is extensive (Corris 1973; Derrick 1950; Legge 1958; Morrell 1960; Parnaby 1956, 1964, 1972; Scarr 1967a, 1967b, 1970). However, despite this considerable research effort, only recently have systematic attempts been made to estimate the total number of contracts that were entered into, voluntarily or involuntarily, by Pacific Islanders to work in Fiji. These estimates, 27,027 by Jeff Siegel (1982) and 26,460 by Shlomowitz,[1] match quite well. About 8 percent of these contracts were for females.[2] The proportion varied from island group to island group: recruits from the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, and New Guinea were overwhelmingly male while there was a considerably higher proportion of females among the roughly 3,000 recruits from the Gilbert Islands, as Gilbert Islanders usually migrated in family groups (Bedford, MacDonald, and Munro 1980; MacDonald 1982; Munro 1982).

As many recruits served more than one indenture contract in Fiji, returning to their home island between contracts, the actual number of

Pacific Islanders who migrated to Fiji is somewhat less than the total number of contracts entered into. Recruits who had previously served an indenture contract in Fiji or elsewhere were called "old immigrants." About 7 percent of all recruits between 1877 and 1911 were old immigrants who had previously worked in Fiji, while about 29 percent of all recruits between 1885 and 1911 were old immigrants who had previously worked in either Fiji, Queensland, New Caledonia, Samoa, or Hawaii.[3] There is also literary evidence that in the pre-Cession period, 1864-1874, some recruits were old immigrants.[4]

After completing their term of indenture, Pacific Islanders could choose either to stay on in Fiji or to be returned to their home island. Over time, an increasing proportion of recruits decided to remain on in Fiji at the completion of their contracts of indenture and, in consequence, the Pacific Island immigrant population in Fiji was made up of an increasing proportion of these time-expireds.

It is well known that Pacific Island labor was recruited to work on the plantations that produced Fiji's export crops. Initially, in the late 1860s and early 1870s, the primary export staple was sea island cotton; during the mid- to late 1870s this changed to copra; and from the early 1880s this has been sugarcane. As will be shown below, Pacific Island immigrant labor was unable to meet the requirements of the sugarcane industry at an acceptable cost, and from the mid-1880s Indian labor was largely substituted for Pacific Island immigrant labor on these sugarcane estates.[5] Despite its higher cost as compared to Indian labor, Pacific Island labor was preferred by copra and fruit planters and by many employers in urban areas; accordingly, Pacific Island recruiting, now on a much reduced scale, persisted until 1911.

In addition to their higher cost, the extraordinarily high crude death rate experienced by the Pacific Island immigrant population between 1880 and 1885, as shown in table 1, made islanders unpopular and encouraged the switch to Indians. The high crude death rate was largely caused by the spread of infectious diseases among newly arrived recruits, aggregated on large sugarcane plantations in the alluvial districts. The steady decline in the crude death rate statistic thereafter can be associated, in consequence, with the increasing proportion of the more seasoned time-expired element in the overall Pacific Island immigrant population, and to the dispersal of the Pacific Island immigrant population to the relatively healthier, small-scale copra and fruit plantations and to urban areas.[6]

The ending of the Fiji segment of the labor trade in 1911 was not brought about by adverse economic circumstances in Fiji, as the eco-

nomic viability of the trade was not in question. Neither was it brought about by the unwillingness of laborers to work in Fiji. Rather, the trade was ended by political decree: recruiting within the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands for employment outside the limits of these groups was simply prohibited, This political intervention was at the behest of local planters within the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands, who desired sole access to this recruiting ground.[7]

The Legislative Framework

The legislative framework that constrained the working of the post-Cession market for Pacific Island indentured labor in Fiji was largely embodied in Ordinance XI of 1877 and Ordinance XXI of 1888. This body of legislation permitted the recruiting of both adults and children, but recruits under fifteen years of age had to be accompanied by one or both of their parents. Two legal classes of recruits were distinguished on the basis of age: "adults" and "youth." Adulthood, for the purposes of this legislation, was attained at the age of fourteen years; "youth," in 1877, was defined as between the ages of ten and thirteen, and in 1888 as twelve or thirteen. Thus, the minimum age of a recruit, specified as ten years in the legislation of 1877, was increased to twelve years in the legislation of 1888. It was further increased to sixteen years in 1908.[8]

The enactments stipulated that prospective indentured laborers were to serve up to five years in Fiji and in compensation were to receive from their employer passage to and from Fiji, a wage of at least £3 per annum (youths were to receive at least £1 per annum), and various payments in kind such as food, shelter, clothes, and medical care. In 1891 the minimum wage of "old immigrants" was increased to £6 per annum.[9] This legislative change simply reflected actual practice since at least 1885 (see table 2). Although this legislation allowed for indenture contracts of up to five years, the Immigration Department, in practice, did not permit any indenture contracts of more than three years.[10]

Thus, the primary constraints on the working of the post-Cession market for Pacific Island indentured labor were the three-year maximum length of the indenture contract and the £3 per annum minimum wage rate to be paid during its duration. Although these constraints were not present in the working of the pre-Cession market for indentured labor, the stipulations of most of the contracts entered into during this period appear to have been consistent with them; there were only isolated cases of contracts of more than three years and/or at wages of

TABLE 1 **Crude Death Rates of Pacific Island Immigrant Population in Fiji, 1874-1914**

Year	Total Population 31 Dec.	Deaths[a]	Crude Death Rate (per 1,000)[b]
1874	5,291	310	
1875	4,567	546	111
1876	3,087	180	47
1877	2,258	166	62
1878	2,897	172	67
1879	4,116	189	54
1880	5,885	475	95
1881	5,979	267	45
1882	5,883	603	102
1883	5,669	509	88
1884	5,256	749	137
1885	3,998	402	87
1886	2,774	169	50
1887	2,053	100	41
1888	2,064	77	37
1889	2,071	71	34
1890	2,298	87	40
1891	2,488	72	30
1892	2,486	85	34
1893	2,412	68	28
1894	2,226	55	24
1895	2,243	73	33
1896	2,310	65	29
1897	2,278	46	20
1898	2,074	38	17
1899	1,960	38	19
1900	1,922	39	20
1901	1,963	25	13
1902	1,885	17	9
1903	1,967	54	28
1904	1,959	66	34
1905	2,022	47	24
1906	2,162	36	17
1907	2,621	77	32
1908	2,736	31	12
1909	3,004	37	13

TABLE 1 **Continued**

Year	Total Population 31 Dec.	Deaths[a]	Crude Death Rate (per 1,000)[b]
1910	2,900	59	20
1911	2,749	40	14
1912	2,507	44	17
1913	2,504	30	12
1914	2,301	15	6

Sources: For 1874-1881, Fiji Colonial Secretary's Office, Minute Paper 2617 of 1882, letter of 13 Nov. 1882; thereafter, Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian).

[a]It was acknowledged by the agent-general of immigration that before 1879 returns of deaths were not regularly sent in and the data are, accordingly, understated.

[b]Based on mid-year population.

less than £3 per annum.[11] Thus, post-Cession legislation was, in large measure, an attempt to codify into law pre-Cession practice.

At the end of the period of indenture or at a later date if the recruit decided to stay on in Fiji, the recruit was to receive a return passage to his/her island of origin. The legislative arrangements for the responsibility for the payment of the return passage distinguished between the "original" employer of the islander during the three-year indenture and the "new" employer of the islander if the islander reengaged with another employer after completing the indenture. (With regard to the employment of any one islander, the original and new employer of the islander were clearly distinguished in the records of the Immigration Department and it is unlikely that original employers could have declared themselves new employers, or vice-versa, without detection by the Immigration Department.) The incidence of the cost of the return passage of immigrants who, on the expiry of their indenture contracts, reengaged with another employer was set out in Ordinance XI of 1877: the original employer was to pay £l and the new employer £2. In Ordinance V of 1883 this was amended: the original employer was to pay one-third and the new employer two-thirds of the estimated cost of such return passage.[12]

Under this legislative arrangement the original employers would have attempted to recapture their one-third portion of the return passage money from the indentured laborer's wages, and the persistence of wage rates at the legal minimum level up to 1904 can be considered evidence of the success of their attempt. Similarly, the new employers attempted to recapture their two-thirds portion of the return passage

TABLE 2 **Indentured Pacific Island Immigrants in Fiji: Distribution of Adult Male Annual Wage Rates, 1877-1911**

Year	£3	£3/4/5[a]	£4	£4/5/6[b]	£5	£6	£7	£8	£9	£10	£12	£14	Number of Contracts	Average Wage Rate (£)
1877	4												4	3.0
1878	862				12								874	3.0
1879	1,169												1,169	3.0
1880	1,490												1.490	3.0
1881	1,109												1,109	3.0
1882	1,741		37		2	19	2						1,801	3.1
1883	1,211		3			21							1,235	3.1
1884	948		24		14	54							1.040	3.2
1885	66	110		1		74							251	4.3
1886	172					64							236	3.8
1887	168					59							228	3.8
1888	151		1			56							208	3.8
1889	70					31							102	4.0
1890	100					45							146	4.0
1891	235				1	57							293	3.6
1892	136					57							193	3.9
1893	2												2	3.0
1894	10					3							13	3.7
1895	67					89							156	4.7
1896	79					28							107	3.8
1897														
1898	64					31							95	4.0
1899	52					32							84	4.1
1900														
1901	51					13							64	3.6

1902							
1903	80		31			111	3.8
1904	49		11	16		76	4.5
1905	5		69	28		103	6.4
1906	26		142	61		229	6.2
1907	16		96	91	15	218	7.2
1908	14		89	88		191	6.7
1909			239	112		351	6.6
1910			61	17		78	6.4
1911			80	29		109	6.5

Source: Plantation Register of Immigrants (Polynesian), 1876-1914, Fiji, Immigration Department, National Archives of Fiji, Suva.

Note: The data in this table relate to 3-year indentures only. The Registers also contain data on indentures of less than 3 years. In 1882 there were eleven indentures for 1½ years and one indenture for 2 years; the wage rates on these subsets were £3 and £5, respectively. The indentures for 1½ years were for Gilbert Islanders; the indenture for 2 years was for a New Hebridean. In 1907 there were 347 indentures for 2 years that were entered into by recruits who had come directly from Queensland; their wage rate was £14 per annum.

[a]£3 for the first year, £4 for the second year, £5 for the third year of indenture.

[b]£4 for the first year, £5 for the second year, £6 for the third year of indenture.

money from the time-expired laborer's wage. Accordingly, the incidence of two-thirds of the cost of the return passage was, in effect, indirectly shifted from the new employer to the Pacific Islander as the proportion of the passage money to be paid was taken into consideration by the new employer when deciding the wage rate to be offered to the immigrant. This line of reasoning was accepted by the Immigration Department: "At present ⅔ of the cost of Return Passage Money on first reengagement forms a tax upon the Immigrants *[sic]* wages who Reengages and a most severe tax, as the second employer deducts the cost of the Return Passage from the wages he would otherwise offer."[13] The Immigration Department also acknowledged that this arrangement, in penalizing the reengaged immigrant, discouraged many of them from reengaging at the conclusion of their indenture contracts. In order to encourage more immigrants to reengage, the incidence of the cost of the return passage was, in consequence, altered in Ordinance XXI of 1888: thereafter, the original employer was to pay the entire return passage money.

The post-Cession legislative framework gave the Immigration Department a central role in the supervision of the labor trade. Before the close of each year prospective employers made application to the Department for the number of laborers they would require the following year. On the basis of these applications, vessels were chartered by the Department to transport the number applied for. On arrival in Fiji, the recruits were detained in the depot of the Department in order to recover from the effects of the voyage before being allotted by the Department to employers. Each stage of the recruiting process was supervised by the Department. For each voyage this involved deciding whether or not to grant a license for a particular recruiting vessel and, if granted, specifying the maximum passenger capacity of that vessel; appointing a government agent to accompany the recruiting vessel to see that the recruiting operation was conducted in conformity with the law; and requiring that the government medical officer inspect the recruits on their arrival in Fiji and pronounce whether they were fit for work.

The Immigration Department did not, however, bear the commercial risk of the recruiting voyage. This was usually borne by specialist middlemen, called "recruiters," who, except for the period 1882-1884, tendered to obtain recruits at a per capita rate, fixed before the commencement of the voyage. That recruiters were unwilling to offer such a fixed rate in the period 1882-1884 reflected, as will be shown below, the increased uncertainty of the recruiting business during this period.

Accordingly, during the period 1882-1884, the commercial risk of recruiting voyages was borne by the employers of Pacific Island labor.

Large planters, either on their own or by clubbing together, were permitted to directly charter recruiting vessels and by special arrangement with the Department were entitled to the allotment of all the laborers they procured.[14] Under this arrangement, the commercial risk of the recruiting voyage could either be assumed by the recruiter, charging a fixed per capita rate, or by the planters themselves. Contemporaries called these "private" charters to distinguish them from the vessels chartered by the Department. The actual recruiting operation for these private charters was still, however, conducted under the auspices of the Department in that for each voyage a license had to be obtained for the recruiting vessel, a government agent had to be appointed, and so on. These two institutional arrangements, "government" and "private" charters, coexisted for the period from 1876 to 1886; thereafter, government charters ceased and the Department left the business of chartering vessels in the hands of private enterprise.[15]

In order to recoup the cost of its supervision of the labor trade, the Immigration Department levied a number of charges: the recruiter had to pay a pro rata share of the salary of the government agent who accompanied the recruiter to monitor the recruiting operation; and the employer had to pay a fee to cover the cost of maintaining the newly arrived recruit in the depot, an engagement fee, and the medical officer's fee. These government charges, combined, do not appear to have exceeded £2 per recruit.[16]

The Immigration Department, on occasion, promoted the trade by subsidizing the cost of recruiting and returning immigrants. The cost of recruiting was subsidized on one occasion: in 1877 the Department paid one-half of the per capita charge of recruiters.[17] The cost of returning immigrants was subsidized on a number of occasions in the 1900s.[18] During the first few years after Cession, when many planters were unable to pay the wages and the return passage of their laborers, the Department financed these expenses, but it attempted to recover these funds from the employers to whom they were advanced.[19]

In contrast to the extensive regulation of the labor trade in post-Cession Fiji, there was little effective regulation of the trade during the period 1864-1874. Before the formation of the Cakobau government in 1871 the labor trade was, in theory at least, under the supervision of the British consul in Fiji. Recruiting vessels were to obtain a permit from the consul, and on the vessel's return to Fiji the consul was to satisfy himself that the recruits had been voluntarily engaged. The whole

arrangement was subject to abuse as the consul had little power to enforce his authority. The enactments of the Cakobau government, No. 8 of 1871 and No. 34 of 1872, were an attempt to place the regulation of the trade on a more official basis. Recruiting vessels had to obtain a license, and on the arrival of the recruits in Fiji the controller-general of labor or the minister of native affairs had to be satisfied that the contracts had been fairly entered into. However, like the British consul before it, the Cakobau government had difficulty enforcing these provisions, and instances of coercion of various kinds, including kidnapping, have been well documented in the literature.

Bonus and Wage Payments

When a recruit entered into an indenture contract, it was customary that a bonus in the form of trade goods be given by the recruiter to the family and friends of the recruit. On occasion recruits requested that the bonus be given in cash on arrival in Fiji. It appears that the maximum such cash bonus was £2.[20]

Although the monetary compensation received by the recruit for labor services performed during the indenture was usually expressed in the form of an annual wage rate, the recruit was not paid annually but received a lump sum accumulated wage payment at the conclusion of the three-year indenture. For the post-Cession period, trends in the annual wage rate for different categories of recruits, males and females, "new recruits," and "old immigrants," can be gauged by using data on wage rates recorded in the Plantation Register of Immigrants (Polynesian). In this Register new recruits were not explicitly distinguished from old immigrants. However, on the basis of other more fragmentary evidence on the relative wage rates received by new recruits and old immigrants,[21] combined with knowledge, as shown above, of their relative proportions in the annual intake of recruits, it is generally possible to distinguish the wage rates received by new recruits from those received by old immigrants.

The following are the most noteworthy trends derived from tables 2 and 3. The wage rate for male new recruits largely remained at the legal minimum of £3 per annum up until 1904; thereafter, most, but not all, new recruits received £6 per annum.[22] Male old immigrants also received the legal minimum of £3 per annum up until 1881; in general terms, their wage rate increased to between £4 and £6 per annum in the period 1882-1884, to £6 per annum in the period 1885-1903, and to £8 per annum thereafter. The wage rate for female new recruits largely

TABLE 3 **Indentured Pacific Island Immigrants in Fiji: Distribution of Adult Female Annual Wage Rates, 1876-1911**

Year	£3	£3/4/5[a]	£4	£5	£6	Number of Contracts	Average Wage Rate (£)
1876	1					1	3.0
1877							
1878	113			1		114	3.0
1879	79					79	3.0
1880	71					71	3.0
1881	63					63	3.0
1882	193					193	3.0
1883	220				4	224	3.1
1884	80		2	2	2	86	3.1
1885	3	9		1	4	17	4.4
1886	20				3	23	3.4
1887	15			1	2	18	3.4
1888	13		2		6	21	4.0
1889	10				1	11	3.3
1890	25		4		6	35	3.6
1891	66				3	69	3.1
1892	8				5	13	4.2
1893							
1894	1					1	3.0
1895	18				16	34	4.4
1896	3				6	9	5.0
1897							
1898	2					2	3.0
1899	10				3	13	3.7
1900						1	4.0
1901	2				1	3	4.0
1902							
1903	10				1	11	3.3
1904	7					7	3.0
1905	5					5	3.0
1906	4					4	3.0
1907	2					2	3.0
1908	1					1	3.0
1909	2					2	3.0
1910							
1911	1					1	3.0

Source: Plantation Register of Immigration (Polynesian), 1876-1914, Fiji, Immigration Department, National Archives of Fiji, Suva.

Note: The data in this table relate to 3-year indentures only. The Registers also contain data on indentures of less than 3 years. In 1882 there were twelve indentures for 1½ years; the wage rate on these indentures was £3 per annum. These indentures were for Gilbert Islanders.

[a]£3 for the first year, £4 for the second year, and £5 for the third year of indenture.

remained at the minimum of £3 per annum throughout the period; from 1883 most female old immigrants received between £4 and £6 per annum.

These statistics suggest, in large measure, the uniformity of payment for different categories of recruits, brought about by the collusion of employers.[23] Yet they also show some flexibility in the response of employers: in the early to mid-1880s employers responded to the increased competition from Queensland recruiters by increasing the wage rate of old immigrants and of some new recruits (at least in the 1884 and 1885 recruiting years), while in the mid-1900s employers responded to the increased competition from local planters in the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands by increasing the wage rate of both new recruits and old immigrants.

In short, minimum wage rates for different categories of recruits were set by the colonial government, and employers colluded to set uniform wage rates for these different categories of recruits—either at these legal minimum rates or at higher rates. Accordingly, recruiters were not free to compete for recruits by offering higher wage rates. In the face of employer collusion over wages, increasing the bonus was the only mechanism that recruiters could employ to compete with one another for recruits.

In the Queensland labor trade recruiters were allowed greater discretion. Although employers colluded to maintain the wage rate of new recruits at the legal minimum of £6 per annum, recruiters were permitted to compete for old immigrants by offering up to £12 per annum (Shlomowitz 1982a:64).

Recruiting Charges

The operations of recruiting labor and returning time-expired labor to their home island were mutually dependent. A vessel licensed to recruit labor could return time-expired labor more economically than if separate vessels were required to do the recruiting and the return of labor. Accordingly, repatriation was generally regarded as ancillary to recruiting, and there were only isolated instances of vessels returning labor that were not also licensed to recruit labor.

The price charged by a recruiter for procuring a laborer, called the "passage money," was considerably in excess of the price charged for returning a time-expired laborer, called the "return passage money"[24] (see tables 4 and 5). It is possible to suggest four separate reasons that together can account for this difference between the passage money and

the return passage money. First, there were, in most years, many more laborers being recruited than laborers being returned (see table 6); this meant that vessels generally had excess capacity on the voyage out to the recruiting grounds and competition among recruiters to take these relatively few time-expireds insured that the return passage money would be kept at a relatively low level,. Second, there was considerable uncertainty in the process of trying to procure recruits but not in returning time-expireds; accordingly, the passage money would incorporate a premium for risk. Third, the process of recruiting was much more time-consuming than that of simply returning time-expireds. Fourth, a bonus was given by recruiters to prospective recruits but not to returns.

The following are the most noteworthy trends in the passage money rates shown in table 4. With regard to recruiting in the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands, there were two marked surges in the passage money leading to higher rates in the periods 1870-1874 and 1880-1885, followed by declines to lower rates in the periods 1875-1879 and l886-1892; after 1892 a higher rate was again charged, and this was maintained until the ending of the trade. Unfortunately, data on passage money charged for recruits from the Gilbert Islands are too sparse to identify any patterns in the relative rates charged for recruiting in the Gilbert Islands as compared to the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands or to identify any trends over time in the rates charged for recruiting in the Gilbert Islands.

The following are the most noteworthy trends in the return passage money rates shown in table 5. With regard to the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands, the rate climbed to successively higher levels over four distinct periods. Before 1875 the rate was between £1 and £1-10s; it increased to between £2 and £3 in 1875-1882; in large measure, to between £3 and £5 in 1883-1884; and, in large measure, to between £5 and £7 after 1884. The limited data on the Gilbert Islands suggests that after the mid-1880s the rate also increased for this region.

To gain an understanding of these trends in the passage money and return passage money, it is important to realize that the Fiji segment of the labor trade cannot be studied in isolation from the labor trade in the Western Pacific as a whole. To a large extent, the labor trade in the Western Pacific was an integrated market for migrant labor with recruiters from Queensland, New Caledonia, Samoa, Tahiti, and Hawaii competing with recruiters from Fiji in procuring recruits from the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, and the Gilbert Islands.[25] Local planters in the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands were also, increasingly, competing for labor in their region. Thus, trends in the passage money and

TABLE 4 **Passage Money Paid to Recruiters for Procuring Pacific Island Indentured Labor for Fiji, 1866-1910**

	New Hebrides and Solomon Islands			Gilbert Islands		
Year	Number of observations	Average £	Range £	Number of observations	Average £	Range £
1866	1	3.0				
1867	2	3.3	2.5, 4.5			
1868	4	4.3	3.0, 5.5	2	4.4	4.0, 4.5
1869	4	4.8	3.0, 6.0	1	9.0	8.0, 10.0
1870	4	12.6	10.0, 15.0			
1871	4	12.0	10.0,14.0			
1872	3	10.7	10.0, 12.0			
1873	2	12.3	10.0, 15.0			
1874	2	11.8	10.0,15.0			
1875	3	5.7	5.0, 6.0			
1876	8	6.5	6.0, 7.0			
1877	8	8.2	7.0, 10.0	1	5.0	
1878	18	8.7	8.0, 9.0	3	7.3	7.0, 8.0
1879	11	8.9	8.0, 9.0	3	7.3	6.5, 8.3
1880	8	10.5	10.0, 12.0	1	8.5	
1881	6	11.8	10.0, 13.5			
1882	8	19.2	13.0, 30.0			
1883	6	27.3	18.0, 36.0			
1884	5	28.8	22.0, 50.0			
1885	6	23.4	20.0, 25.4			
1886	1	13.8				
1888	3	15.0				
1889	1	16.0				
1890	1	15.0		1	10.0	
1891	2	15.0				
1892	2	15.0				
1893	3	20.0				
1895	2	15.5	15.0, 16.0			
1896	1	20.0				
1899	1	28.5				
1902	2	25.5	25.0, 26.0			
1903	1	20.0				
1904	1	25.0				
1905	3	24.7	24.0, 25.0			

TABLE 4 Continued

Year	New Hebrides and Solomon Islands			Gilbert Islands		
	Number of observations	Average £	Range £	Number of observations	Average £	Range £
1906	1	23.0	22.0, 24.0			
1907	1	23.5	22.0, 25.0			
1908	3	22.5				
1909	1	22.5				
1910	1	22.5				

Sources: See note 24.

Note: The actual passage money disbursed, as presented in this table, should be distinguished from the annual estimates made by the agent-general of immigration of this passage money, published in the *Fiji Royal Gazette*.. Children under fifteen were charged at half rates; see FCSO, MP 108 of 1885, letter of 5 Jan. 1885.

TABLE 5 **Return Passage Money Paid to Recruiters for Returning Pacific Island Labor from Fiji, 1868-1909**

Year	New Hebrides and Solomon Islands			Gilbert Islands		
	Number of observations	Average £	Range £	Number of observations	Average £	Range £
1868	1	1.0				
1869	1	1.1	1.0, 1.25			
1870	1	1.0				
1873	1	1.5				
1874	2	1.3	1.0, 1.5			
1875	2	3.6				
1876	1	2.1				
1877	4	2.6	2.0, 3.0			
1878	2	3.0				
1880				1	2.0	
1881	2	3.0		3	3.7	3.5, 4.0
1882	1	2.5	2.0, 3.0	1	3.0	
1883	3	4.6	3.0, 6.7			
1884	3	4.7	4.0, 5.0			
1885	1	6.4				
1886	1	7.1				
1887	1	7.3				
1888	1	6.5				
1889	1	6.3				

continued

TABLE 5 **Continued**

Year	New Hebrides and Solomon Islands			Gilbert Islands		
	Number of observations	Average £	Range £	Number of observations	Average £	Range £
1890	1	7.1				
1891	1	5.8				
1892	1	6.4				
1893				1	5.0	
1894	1	6.4		1	5.0	
1895	1	6.5		1	4.1	
1898	1	6.4		1	5.0	
1899	1	6.3		1	5.0	
1900				1	5.0	
1901	1	5.4				
1902	1	7.6				
1904	1	8.9				
1905	1	14.6				
1906	1	6.0				
1907	1	7.2				
1908	1	6.8				
1909	1	7.0				

Sources: See note 24.

Note: The actual return passage money disbursed, as presented in this table, should be distinguished from the annual estimates made by the agent-general of immigration of this return passage money and published in the *Fiji Royal Gazette*. Under Section 38 of Ordinance XI of 1877 and Section 73 of Ordinance XXI of 1888, the agent-general of immigration was required in December of each year to make an estimate, for the ensuing year, of this return passage money. The return passage money disbursed in 1902, 1904, and 1905 was subsidized by the government.

return passage money charged in the Fiji segment of the labor trade cannot be understood by an analysis of purely local conditions in the Fiji segment of the trade but must be based on an understanding of pressures that developed in the labor trade in the Western Pacific as a whole.

Accordingly, the rise in the passage money charged by recruiters both in the Fiji and Queensland segments of the labor trade in the early 1870s was brought about by the increased demand for labor by both cotton planters in Fiji and sugarcane planters in Queensland; the further rise in the passage money and in the return passage money in the early 1880s was brought about by the increased demand for labor by sugarcane planters in both Fiji and Queenslandz;[26] and. after the mid-1880s the

maintenance of these historically high levels in the Fiji and Queensland segments of the labor trade, despite their reduced scale, is an indication of the increased difficulty in procuring recruits in the Western Pacific as a whole.

The integrated nature of the market for migrant labor in the Western Pacific is illustrated by a consideration of trends in the New Caledonia and Samoa segments of the trade. During the 1870s and early 1880s these segments matched the increase in the passage money in the Queensland and Fiji segments: in the New Caledonia segment: the passage money increased from £4-10s in 1871 and £4 in 1874 to £24: in 1884; in the Samoa segment the passage money increased from £5 in the 1870s to £15 (1883), £19 (1884), and £22-10s (1885).[27]

Although the primary trends in the passage money and return passage money charged by recruiters in the Fiji segment of the labor trade can only be understood by considering the labor market in the Western Pacific as a whole, some secondary trends in these rates are related to more local conditions specific to the Fiji segment of the trade. Three such local conditions can be specified.

First, the passenger-carrying capacity of recruiting vessels, specified in Ordinance XXIV of 1876 to be three adults for every two tons, was reduced in 1879 to one adult for every ton. This reduction increased the costs of recruiting and, in consequence, recruiters increased their passage money rate by between 25 percent and 33⅓ percent. Upward pressure was also placed on the passage money by the curtailment of the recruiting season to the period from April to November, thus avoiding the hurricane season. This restriction was in force for the period 1879-1883.[28]

Second, the level of the passage money relative to that of the return passage money was, in part, dependent, as has been shown above, on the number of recruits relative to the number of returns in any one year. During two exceptional periods in Fiji, 1875-1877 and 1885-1887, the number of returns was considerably in excess of the number of recruits (see table 6). This put upward pressure on the return passage money and downward pressure on the passage money during these periods (tables 4 and 5).[29] However, this is only a partial explanation for the decline in the passage money charged during the periods 1875-1879 and 1886-1892; it is not clear why these relatively low levels persisted through 1878-1879 and through 1888-1892.

Third, employers in Fiji appear to have offered a lower wage than what prevailed elsewhere in the Pacific. For the entire period in which

TABLE 6 **Recruiting Voyages: Some Indicators, 1864-1911**

Year	Number of Voyages[a]	Number of Recruits Introduced and Indentured	Number of Returns[b]	Average Length of Voyage (in days)	Average Tonnage of Vessels	Average Number of Recruits per Voyage	Average Number of Days Spent Recruiting per Recruit Obtained[c]
1864	1	35	35				
1865	3	145	45				
1866	6	423	55	111		71	1.56
1867	7	568	18	191		81	2.36
1868	1	80	0	97		80	1.21
1869	9	398	189	58		44	1.32
1870		1,700					
1871		2,276					
1872		1,227					
1873		924					
1874		754	590				
1875		404	582				
1876		469	1,829				
1877	7	539	1,193				
1878	19	1,520	700			80	
1879	21	1,858	338		73	88	
1880	26	2,534	187	73	99	97	0.75
1881	17	1,275	887	108	110	75	1.45
1882	33	2,036	1,137	110	93	62	1.79
1883	28	1,546	1,277	95	87	55	1.72
1884	22	1,258	922	132	98	57	2.30
1885	6	295	1,171		106	49	
1886	10	277	1,343		105	28	
1887		273	904				
1888	4	278	193		101	70	

1889	1	111	37		143	111	
1890	3	186	119		110	62	
1891	5	369	146	120	84	74	1.63
1892	2	210	140	142	143	105	1.35
1893			11				
1894	1	14	161	85	500	14	6.07
1895	2	206	135	116	350	103	1.13
1896	1	117		161	176	117	1.38
1897							
1898	1	102	276	143	225	102	1.40
1899	1	97	182	188	225	97	1.94
1900			9				
1901	1	69	46	153	133	69	2.22
1902			66				
1903	1	121	0	278[d]		121	2.30
1904	1	96	64	120	106	96	1.25
1905	1	115	40	117	157	115	1.02
1906	3	239	91	104	157	80	1.30
1907	2	213[e]	66	116	157	107	1.08
1908	2	209	89	126	157	105	1.20
1909	3	359	93	118	157	120	0.98
1910	1	78	141	169	157	78	2.17
1911	1	110	96	160	157	110	1.45
1912			219				
1913			0				
1914			209				

Sources: See note 1; FCSO, MP 2617 of 1882, enclosure in letter of 31 Dec. 1881; MP 4088 of 1899, enclosure in letter of 28 Sept. 1899.

[a]In many voyages, vessels departed from Fiji toward the end of one year and did not return until early in the following year. Unfortunately, in reporting these statistics, contemporaries did not follow a consistent procedure in allocating such voyages to particular years.

[b]On occasion, the number of returns included children.

[c]This was calculated by dividing the number of recruits per voyage into the average number of days of a voyage.

[d]This nine-month voyage was noted as the most protracted recruiting trip made from Fiji.

[e]In addition, 347 recruits came directly from Queensland in 1907.

Fiji and Queensland competed for labor in the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands, 1864-1904, employers in Fiji generally offered £3 per annum for new recruits while employers in Queensland offered £6 per annum; after the early 1880s employers in Fiji generally offered £6-£8 per annum for old immigrants while employers in Queensland offered £7-£12 per annum (Shlomowitz 1981a). In addition, the value of the bonus given by recruiters from Fiji appears to have been inferior to those given by recruiters from Queensland, and there is also evidence that the rations given to recruits in Queensland were more liberal than those given in Fiji.[30] Evidence on wage rates in the New Caledonia, Samoa, Hawaii, and Tahiti segments of the trade is more fragmentary but they appear to have been in excess of the wage rates prevailing in Fiji.[31]

From 1884 recruiters from Queensland and Fiji were not permitted to present firearms as bonus payments; nor could time-expired laborers in Queensland and Fiji purchase such weapons out of their wages and take them back to their home island.[32] As this prohibition did not apply to recruiters from other regions, contemporaries considered that it placed recruiters from Queensland and Fiji at a disadvantage (Corris 1973:37-38).

The question whether the relatively low wage rate offered by employers in Fiji affected the success of recruiting voyages in the Fiji segment of the labor trade was much debated by contemporaries. Some argued that the relatively low wage rate did not affect the success of recruiting as it was offset by the non-pecuniary preference of recruits to work in Fiji—climate, food, and the nature of the work being similar to what they were accustomed.[33] Others acknowledged that it affected recruiting in the New Hebrides but argued that it did not affect recruiting in the Solomon Islands, where potential recruits, at least in the 1870s, lacked the knowledge to discriminate among recruiters (Leefe 1878:44).

Most contemporaries, however, acknowledged that the relatively low wage rate had a detrimental effect on the success of recruiting voyages, as potential recruits were quite knowledgeable about the options open to them and the bargaining for terms was well understood.[34] They argued that the relatively low wage rate had a twofold effect on the success of the recruiting operation, namely, recruiters had to spend more time to procure a given number of recruits (and so had to charge higher rates)[35] and/or recruiters had to accept recruits who were inferior, in terms of age and physique, to those being procured by recruiters from

Queensland. As one contemporary expressed it, they had to "put up with the refuse of the labour market."[36]

Statistical evidence on the Fiji and Queensland segments of the trade provides support for the viewpoint that the relatively low wage rate offered by employers in Fiji made recruiting for Fiji more difficult. Comparative data on the average annual number of days spent recruiting per recruit obtained is available for thirteen separate years in the period 1880-1903; during eleven of these years, recruiters in the Fiji segment of the trade had the higher statistic.[37] It appears that this differential in efficiency (as measured by the statistic on the average number of days spent recruiting per recruit obtained) was to some extent at least recouped by recruiters through the setting of higher rates for returning but not necessarily for recruiting labor.[38]

Preferences of Recruits and Employers

The foregoing discussion suggests that potential recruits, in choosing to work in Fiji, Queensland, or in other regions, may have taken into account both pecuniary considerations relating to the acquisition of trade goods and non-pecuniary considerations relating to climate, food, and the nature of the work.[39] Employers also expressed preferences for recruits from different regions. In comparing recruits from within the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands, employers in both Queensland and Fiji generally considered recruits from Tanna and Malaita to be the best workers.[40] Employers in Fiji viewed recruits from the Gilbert Islands with less favor than those from the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands, They were considered a less tractable class of laborers, suitable only for work on copra plantations.[41]

There is also some fragmentary evidence on the preferences of employers for different categories of recruits: males and females, new recruits and old immigrants. Many employers expressed some opposition to females and old immigrants. They considered females to be unsuitable for the heavy work done on copra plantations while old immigrants were considered less tractable than new recruits. In particular, it was suggested that the objection of employers to old immigrants was "because 'old hands' know and claim their rights while raw hands do not. . . . 'old hands' are apt to be more 'cheeky' and objectionable in that way."[42] The argument can be conceptualized as follows: old immigrants commanded a higher wage rate than new recruits in recognition of the experience and acclimatization that they had obtained on their

earlier indenture(s). However, many employers expressed a preference for new recruits—not because they were cheaper, but because they were considered more tractable.

Time-Expireds

The legal framework that constrained the operation of the market for time-expired Pacific Island immigrant labor in Fiji was embodied in a number of ordinances enacted between 1877 and 1890 and a directive of the Fiji Department of Immigration issued in 1897.[43] Time-expired employment contracts were to be made before and registered with either the Department of Immigration or stipendiary magistrates. Between 1877 and 1896 the *first* reengagement contract after the conclusion of the three-year indenture was to be made before the Department of Immigration; *subsequent* reengagement contracts could be made before either the Department of Immigration or stipendiary magistrates. It appears that between 1877 and 1888 most of these further reengagement contracts were made before the Department of Immigration while after 1888 most of them were made before stipendiary magistrates. After 1896 the Department of Immigration in large measure restricted its contract registration activities to the market for indentured labor.

Time-expired employment contracts entered into before the Department of Immigration were recorded in the Plantation Register of Immigrants (Polynesian) and this is extant. The Register contains the following information on time-expired employment contracts: the name, sex, island of origin, and registration number of the Pacific Islander; the employer's name; the dates of the commencement and conclusion of the labor contract; and the wage and when it was paid.

In the Plantation Register time-expired wage data appear in the following way: First is a column for the annual wage rate paid by the employer through the Treasury (e.g., £10 per annum); further columns show when and how this was paid (e.g., £5 every six months); and then written across adjoining columns is information about supplementary payments made by the employer directly to the time-expired at the place of work (e.g., "and £3 direct"). These supplementary payments are listed, inter alia, as "extra," "additional," a "bonus," or a "bounty"; they could be made in advance, in installments during the period of the contract, or at its conclusion. Of the 7,102 time-expired contracts recorded in the Plantation Register, 2,163 (or 30 percent) include some form of extra payment.

In the Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian) for 1883-1885 and 1894-1896, the agent-general of immigration presented information on the average wage rate of time-expireds who had registered their contracts with the Immigration Department. It is clear that the agent-general of immigration, when calculating these averages, included information on supplementary payments because the averages presented in the Annual Reports and those computed, inclusive of supplementary payments, from the Plantation Register match closely.

In order to distinguish between the *first* reengagement contracts of Pacific Islanders in their fourth year in Fiji and any *subsequent* reengagements they may have entered into before the Department of Immigration, it is necessary to know when they were recruited to work in Fiji. This information is recorded in the General Register of Immigrants (Polynesian). By linking information on each Pacific Islander in the General and Plantation Registers through the registration number of the Pacific Islander, the date of arrival of Pacific Islanders who subsequently completed an indenture and entered into a reengagement contract can be retrieved.

It is possible to link information for 6,183 of the 7,102 contracts in the Plantation Register. The attrition is mainly due to registration numbers not always being recorded in the Plantation Register. In addition, there are occasional discrepancies between information in the Plantation and General Registers (e.g., time-expireds contracting after they had been noted as “dead” or “gone home”) and these cases have also been omitted.

In addition to this data set based on individual time-expired contracts, aggregate data on the annual number of reengagements entered into before the Department of Immigration were recorded in the Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian).

The steady increase in the number of time-expired contracts registered with the Department of Immigration up to the mid-1880s reflects the corresponding increase in the time-expired population (see table 7). However, the decline in the number of contracts from the mid-1880s does not imply a corresponding decline in the time-expired population. Rather, it reflects the Immigration Department’s stage-by-stage withdrawal from its function of registering time-expired contracts.

Time-expired contracts registered with the Department of Immigration were usually for twelve months. Only 6 percent of these contracts were for less than twelve months and there were only two cases of contracts exceeding twelve months (see table 8).

Time-expireds received for their labor a monetary remuneration and

TABLE 7 **Number of Time-Expired Contracts Registered with Department of Immigration, 1875-1902**

Year	From Annual Reports on Polynesian Immigration	From Plantation Register	
		Before linking with General Register	After linking with General Register
1875	20		
1876	189		
1877	382		
1878	350	196	
1879	277	164	15
1880	302	193	38
1881	435	350	244
1882	689	689	606
1883	1,168	1,084	1,023
1884	1,087	1,039	994
1885	806	803	775
1886	703	713	682
1887	630	762	729
1888	404	491	463
1889	76	77	77
1890	30	30	30
1891	131	129	128
1892	91	90	90
1893	87	86	84
1894	74	74	74
1895	67	67	66
1896	55	55	55
1897			
1898	1	1	1
1899	1	1	1
1900	3	3	3
1901	1	1	1
1902	3	4	4
Total		7,102	6,183

Sources: Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian); Plantation Register of Immigrants (Polynesian), National Archives of Fiji, Suva; General Register of Immigrants (Polynesian), National Archives of Fiji, Suva.

Note: The statistics obtained from the Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian) and the Plantation Register match quite well. However, there are notable discrepancies in 1878-1881, 1883, and 1887-1888. The discrepancy in 1878-1881 can be accounted for—pages were missing from the Plantation Register for this period.

TABLE 8 **Time-Expired Contracts Registered with Department of Immigration, by Length of Contract, 1878-1902**

	Males			Females		
Year	Less than 12 months	12 months	Total	Less than 12 months	12 months	Total
1878	1	173	174		22	22
1879	5	131	136		28	28
1880	16	140	156	1	36	37
1881	12	292	304	1	45	46
1882	78	548	626	1	62	63
1883	126	863	989	9	86	95
1884	66	873	939	16	84	100
1885	54	687	741	3	59	62
1886	20	617	637	2	74	76
1887	28	690	718	1	43	44
1888	4	466	470		21	21
1889		70	70		7	7
1890		28	28		2	2
1891		123	123		6	6
1892		89	89		1	1
1893	2	75	77		9	9
1894		66	67[a]		7	7
1895		64	65[a]		2	2
1896	4	47	51	2	2	4
1897						
1898		1	1			
1899		1	1			
1900		3	3			
1901		1	1			
1902		2	2		2	2
Total	416	6,050	6,468[a]	36	598	634

Source: Plantation Register of Immigrants (Polynesian).

Note: The statistics presented in this table relate to the complete set of 7,102 contracts recorded in the Plantation Register (i.e., the set is inclusive of those contracts that do not record the registration number of the Pacific Islander).

[a]In 1894 and 1895 there were two cases of Pacific Islanders entering contracts of 24 months' duration.

various payments in kind such as food, shelter, clothing, and medical care. The monetary remuneration for contracts of twelve months' duration entered into before the Department of Immigration is shown in tables 9 and 10. The most noteworthy findings from tables 9 and 10 can be summarized as follows: Before 1882 the wage rate paid to time-expireds was almost identical to that paid to islanders serving indenture contracts. This reflects the successful collusive action of employers in

TABLE 9 **Male Time-Expired Wage Rates on 12-Month Contracts Registered with Department of Immigration, by Years of Experience, 1879-1896**

	3 Years			4 Years			5 Years			6 Years			7-12 Years		
	no.	mean £	st. dev. £	no.	mean £	st. dev. £	no.	mean £	st. dev. £	no.	mean £	st. dev. £	no.	mean £	st. dev. £
1879	13	3.0	0												
1880	24	3.0	0.2	4	3.0	0									
1881	170	3.1	0.5	25	3.2	1.0	9	3.0	0						
1882	349	5.2	1.3	101	5.3	1.0	28	5.6	1.5	4	5.0	0			
1883	549	7.4	2.2	201	7.8	2.4	47	8.1	2.2	13	7.7	2.8	5	6.0	0
1884	319	8.2	2.0	278	10.1	2.7	150	10.3	3.1	62	10.3	2.2	25	11.2	3.2
1885	208	7.7	1.8	164	10.6	2.0	139	10.6	1.8	95	11.5	3.2	58	11.0	2.1
1886	190	7.7	2.2	95	11.0	1.9	92	11.3	1.6	120	11.4	1.7	95	11.8	1.4
1887	225	6.5	1.2	91	11.1	1.7	71	11.4	1.6	97	12.7	2.2	178	12.1	2.5
1888	82	7.7	2.2	95	11.1	1.6	49	11.4	1.9	40	11.2	2.4	172	12.3	2.4
1889	67	7.1	1.5				2	9.5	0.7				1	11.0	0
1890	12	8.1	2.3	16	7.6	2.1									
1891	74	8.5	1.8	41	8.2	1.4	6	8.2	1.1	1	13.0	0			
1892	69	11.2	2.4	10	7.0	1.3	8	7.4	2.3	2	7.5	0			
1893	57	10.3	2.3	12	12.1	0.3	2	11.3	7.4	2	9.3	3.9	1	6.0	0
1894	57	11.8	1.4	2	12.0	0	1	14.0	0				6	9.3	1.9
1895	57	11.7	1.6	6	11.8	0.4									
1896	41	11.6	1.2	5	11.6	0.9							1	7.5	0
Total	2,563			1,146			604			436			542		

Sources: Plantation Register of Immigrants (Polynesian); General Register of Immigrants (Polynesian).

Note: The statistics presented in this table relate to the subset of contracts recorded in the Plantation Register that were linked to information in the General Register. Three cases of islanders who entered time-expired contracts after serving 2-year indentures were omitted; six contracts entered into after 1896 were also omitted. The wage data is inclusive of supplementary wage payments. The number of years between the date of arrival in Fiji and the date of signing the time-expired labor contract is used as the proxy variable for the extent of experience gained on the job. Thus, an islander on completing an indenture and entering a first reengagement contract is placed in the "3 Years" experience category.

TABLE 10 **Female Time-Expired Wage Rates on 12 Month Contracts Registered with Department of Immigration, by Years of Experience, 1879-1896**

	3 Years			4-11 Years		
Year	Number of observations	Mean £	Standard deviation £	Number of observations	Mean £	Standard deviation £
1879	2	3.0	0			
1880	1	3.0	0	3	3.0	0
1881	18	3.3	1.4	11	3.0	0
1882	36	4.3	1.0	17	4.7	0.6
1883	44	5.8	1.5	35	5.6	1.7
1884	23	7.6	2.4	53	7.1	1.9
1885	25	7.1	1.9	31	8.7	1.7
1886	33	6.4	1.6	38	9.2	1.9
1887	12	5.8	1.6	29	8.8	2.7
1888	3	5.7	0.6	18	9.5	2.7
1889	5	6.4	1.5	2	8.0	2.8
1890	1	6.0	0	1	18.2	0
1891	4	6.8	1.0	2	7.0	1.4
1892				1	5.0	0
1893	6	8.7	2.0	2	8.5	2.1
1894	5	9.0	2.2	2	9.0	0
1895	2	9.0	0			
1896				2	9.0	1.4
Total	220			247		

Sources: See source note for table 9.

Note: See note to table 9. Three cases of islanders who entered time-expired contracts after serving 2-year indentures were omitted; two contracts entered into after 1896 were also omitted.

setting the wage rate for time-expireds. Acknowledgement of this collusion was made by the Department of Immigration:

> Polynesians were rarely reindentured before 1882 at wages in excess of the minimum rate of wages for new recruits, viz., £3 per annum. How the low rate was maintained in former days it is difficult to say. That it was maintained is a fact, and that it was maintained to the great dissatisfaction of Polynesians is matter of experience. One can only presume that the labourer was allowed no voice in the matter—the question of wages being settled for him.[44]

In 1882, it appears the agent-general of immigration was instrumental in getting the wage rate of time-expired Pacific Islanders raised by one shilling per week—that is, from £3 to £5-12s per annum.[45] This government initiative seems to have acted as a catalyst for the dissolution of the employer cartel, and after 1882 the market for time-expired labor was significantly opened to the influence of competitive forces.

Although direct evidence on the post-1882 competitive or collusive behavior of employers of time-expired Pacific Islanders does not appear to be available, there is some indirect evidence to support the view that competitive forces were ascendant. Pacific Islanders rarely reengaged to the plantations on which they had served their indenture.[46] High job turnover rates are good evidence that time-expireds were not bound to particular employers. However, in the absence of information on the reasons for their job changes, this evidence on turnover is consistent with the presence of either collusive or competitive forces in the labor market. Stronger evidence for the presence of competitive forces is provided by data on the dispersion of wage rates in any one year and year-to-year changes in the average level of such wage rates. This evidence is presented in tables 9 and 10. There is no evidence after 1882 of either uniform or maximum wage rates being set by employer combinations.

Despite the influence of competitive market forces, however, wage rates of Pacific Islanders on their *first* reengagement remained relatively depressed during the rest of the 1880s. In consequence, a significant gap emerged between the wage rates paid to Pacific Islanders on their first and second reengagements. The explanation for the depression in wage rates of first reengagement islanders can be found in a consideration of the effects of the legislative arrangement apportioning the responsibility for the payment of the return passage of those islanders who opted to remain on in Fiji at the conclusion of their indenture contracts. It has been shown above that during the 1880s this arrangement resulted in the lowering of the wage rate by the amount of the return passage money to be paid by the employer of the first reengagement islander.

A final noteworthy finding from table 9 is that the more experienced male islanders received higher wages.[47] This is further evidence supporting the viewpoint that there existed a flexible labor market for time-expirleds.

The foregoing discussion has dealt with employment contracts registered with the Department of Immigration. Considerably less is known about contracts that were entered before stipendiary magistrates,

Although reasonably complete data is available on the annual number of contracts entered before stipendiary magistrates (see table 11),

TABLE 11 Number of Time-Expired Contracts Registered with Stipendiary Magistrates, 1885-1914

Year	Under Ordinances XXI of 1885 and XXI of 1888	Under Ordinances XVI of 1888 and XI of 1890
1885	10	
1886	46	
1887	60	
1888	95	
1889	199	134
1890	253	242
1891	180	217
1892	233	162
1893	339	206
1894	283	204
1895	198	252
1896	227	218
1897	151	175
1898	267	156
1899	241	173
1900	165	156
1901	228	189
1902	58	248
1903	159	212
1904	103	236
1905	72	140
1906	73	173
1907	52	195
1908	73	185
1909	36	261
1910	28	262
1911		212
1912	2	490
1913		494
1914		450

Sources: Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian); Hunter 1890:48-50.

Note: Time-expireds engaging under Ordinances XXI of 1885 and XXI of 1888 were primarily employed on plantations; time-expireds employed in urban pursuits were engaged under Masters and Servants Ordinances XVI of 1888 and XI of 1890. The contracts for 1885-1888 in this table were entered into before stipendiary magistrates in the provinces (i.e., excluding Suva); the contracts for 1889 in this table were entered into before the chief police magistrate, Suva.

information on the average wages received by these Pacific Islanders is only available for 1889, 1894, and 1895, and then the average is only available for men and women combined. In contracts entered before the chief police magistrate at Suva in 1889, the average wage received

by time-expireds engaging under Ordinances XVI and XXI of 1888 was £12-13s and £11-11s-6d, respectively (Hunter 1890:49). The chief police magistrate also commented:

> . . . it is evident that they [time-expireds engaging under Ordinance XXI of 1888] thoroughly knew and appreciated the merits or demerits of the several plantations on which they were engaged to work. In some cases, they absolutely refused to engage, for the reasons that they either disliked the district, or the plantation, or the kind of work required, or that the wages offered were insufficient. (Hunter 1890:49)

In the mid-1890s the agent-general of immigration reported that the average wage received by time-expireds engaging under Ordinance XXI of 1888 was £14-0s-3d in 1894 and £13-7s in 1895, while the average wage received by time-expireds engaging under Ordinance XI of 1890 was £12-10s in 1895.[48] The agent-general of immigration inferred that this was a competitively determined wage: "Complaint is sometimes rather unreasonably made of the wages demanded by them for their work, as if they alone were debarred from taking advantage of the circumstances by which the rate of wages is customarily governed."[49] The evidence on wages suggests that between the late 1880s and the mid-1890s, time-expireds engaging under Ordinance XXI of 1888 received an increase in wages while time-expireds engaging under the Masters and Servants Acts received no increase.

A comparison of wage rates paid on contracts registered with the Department of Immigration with those registered with stipendiary magistrates shows that the higher rates were received on the latter. As the more experienced time-expireds contracted before the stipendiary magistrates, this finding reinforces the proposition advanced above, that experience had a market value.[50]

A significant number of time-expireds, after completing their first reengagement, did not enter into further employment contracts before either the Department of Immigration or stipendiary magistrates. Some of them entered verbal agreements with employers to work on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis. They were employed at a variety of jobs that included agricultural work, stevedoring, store work, and domestic service. Others took up small lots of land to cultivate sugarcane or other products on their own account. Still others joined together to form small settlements in townships or in country districts where they cultivated small areas of land and obtained occasional employment on plantations

in the vicinity. There were even some Pacific Islanders who became residents in Fijian villages, undertaking a share of the communal work and being rated as taxpayers.[51]

Fiji Indian Trade

The primary focus of this article is the study of the Fiji trade in Pacific Islanders and the placement of this trade within the wider context of the labor trade in the Western Pacific as a whole. However, further comparative perspectives can also be obtained by comparing and contrasting the Fiji trade in Pacific Islanders with the Fiji trade in Indians.

Although detailed studies on the origins of the Indian migrants, the organization and experiences of Indians under indenture in Fiji, and the Fiji sugarcane industry have been made (Gillion 1962; Lal 1980, 1983a, b, 1984; Moynagh 1981), we lack an economic analysis of the Fiji Indian trade. The brief remarks on the Fiji Indian trade in this article are not intended to fill this lacuna in the literature—though they do suggest some of the issues to be addressed in such a study.

It has been estimated that between 1879 and 1916, 60,695 Indians migrated to Fiji under indenture contracts (Lal 1983a:13). The legislative framework that governed the organization of the trade is well known, Recruits were to be indentured for five years; to receive a free passage to Fiji; to work a five-and-a-half-day workweek; and, if their fieldwork tasks were completed, to receive one shilling a day for their labor. The recruits were to provide for their own food out of their earnings. At the conclusion of their indentures, the migrants could either return to India at their own expense or remain on in Fiji. If they chose the latter option, they could claim their right to a free return passage to India after ten years. Employers were to pay the cost of introducing the migrants to Fiji and the colonial government took responsibility for the cost of returning those migrants who took up the option of the free return passage.

The organizational frameworks of the Fiji trade in Indian and Pacific Islanders, accordingly, allowed for significant differences in the types of costs to be incurred by employers of these labor groups. Whereas employers of Indian labor were faced only with the cost of introduction and wage costs that were related to work performed (presented in table 12), employers of Pacific Island labor were faced with the cost of introduction, government charges (such as depot fees), wage costs that were independent of work performed, the cost of providing the laborer's food, and the cost of the return passage. The organizational frameworks

TABLE 12 **Cost of Recruiting and Employing Indian Labor: Fiji, 1884-1913**

Year	Average Cost of Introduction per Statute Adult Allotted[a] £	Average Rate of Passage Money per Statute Adult[b] £	Average Earnings of Males per Working Day[c] (pence)
1884	21.2		8.5
1885	19.1	11.0	
1886	22.3		
1887[d]			
1888	23.3	11.5	
1889	19.2	10.0	
1890	16.8	8.5	9.6
1891	20.0	11.4	8.9
1892	19.1	10.9	10.0
1893	16.3	7.6	10.1
1894	15.4	7.0	11.0
1895	13.1	6.5	10.4
1896	13.4	6.0	11.0
1897	13.9	7.0	11.0
1898	16.4	7.9	11.1
1899	16.4	9.8	11.3
1900	17.9	9.9	11.0
1901	12.9	6.5	11.2
1902	13.0	5.5	11.5
1903	14.8	5.9	11.6
1904	15.6	6.5	11.6
1905	18.2	10.0	10.9
1906	16.0	8.0	11.2
1907	16.5	8.0	11.6
1908	16.0	8.0	12.1
1909	17.4	8.0	12.2

TABLE 12 **Continued**

Year	Average Cost of Introduction per Statute Adult Allotted[a] £	Average Rate of Passage Money per Statute Adult[b] £	Average Earnings of Males per Working Day[c] (pence)
1910	16.7	8.0	11.7
1911	15.8	5.8	12.4
1912	16.5	5.8	12.2
1913	16.9	5.8	12.3

Source: Annual Reports on Immigration (Indian), *Fiji Legislative Council Journals.*

[a]The cost of introduction includes the recruiting expenses in India, the passage money charged by the shipping firm, and the cost of supervising the recruiting process by the colonial government. This actual cost of introduction should be distinguished from the annual estimate of this cost, on which the application and allotment fees were based. By Ordinace No. 1 of 1891, any balance between the actual cost of introduction and the application and allotment fees was to be settled by the parties concerned. A statute adult was defined as ten years and over (Lal 1983a:102).

[b]The passage money refers to the rate at which the shipping firm had tendered to transport Indians to Fiji.

[c]"Non-workers" (i.e., indentured laborers absent from work for the whole year) have not been taken into account in these calculations. They include prisoners sentenced by the Supreme Court, incapables, and deserters. The calculation has been based on a five-and-a-half-day workweek and averaged over a twelve-month period. Workers include field and mill labor; field labor was mostly task-work whereas mill labor was mostly time-work. Before 1900 staff labor—*sirdars* (gang leaders), cooks, hospital attendants, watchmen, and domestic servants—were excluded from this calculation. From 1901 they were included with the general body of field and mill workers.

[d]No laborers were introduced this year.

also allowed for differences in the length of the indenture—five years for Indians and three years for Pacific Islanders—and hence for the period of time over which the capital outlays for recruiting could be recouped.

A comparative cost analysis of Indian and Pacific Island labor would also take into account two further types of costs: an allowance for interest (as capital outlays for recruiting had to be met at the commencement of the indenture) and an allowance for the death of a certain proportion of the laborers during the period of the indenture (as the death of a laborer during the indenture meant that only a part of the recruiting outlays could be recouped).

Contemporary observers were cognizant of the various types of costs that had to be included in such a comparative cost analysis. 'Their rough calculations indicated that Indian labor was considerably cheaper than

Pacific Island labor and this conclusion is supported in a more systematic analysis.[52]

Accordingly, it is unlikely that sugarcane planters would have entertained the idea of reverting to a Pacific Island labor force. In fact, such a strategy would have widened the cost advantage of Indian labor—their attempt to recruit more Pacific Islanders would have put upward pressure on recruiting costs, and they could count on Pacific Islanders experiencing much higher crude death rates on the large sugarcane estates in the alluvial districts as compared to the smaller copra and fruit estates in the non-alluvial districts.

It should also be noted that even if Pacific Island labor had become cheaper than Indian labor in, say, the 1890s and 1900s, the Immigration Department might not have permitted employment of islanders on sugarcane estates in the alluvial districts. From the mid-1880s the Immigration Department had, in large measure, refused to allow Pacific Island recruits to be introduced on the large sugarcane estates in the alluvial districts due to the high mortality there, and it is not at all clear that they would have reversed this policy if the cost advantage had gone in favor of Pacific Island labor in later years.

The coexistence of Indian and Pacific Island labor in Fiji reflects the different requirements of different groups of employers. That copra and fruit planters persisted in employing Pacific Islanders implies that these employers perceived efficiency advantages in employing Pacific Islanders that must have offset the cost advantages in employing Indians. These efficiency advantages could have related to the particular tasks in copra and fruit farming and/or the general view that Pacific Islanders were more tractable than Indian labor. In the latter regard, one contemporary observer suggested that the Pacific Islander was "much in demand with the smaller planter by reason of his gentler nature and general submissiveness to authority."[53]

Pacific Labor Markets

This study has attempted to place the Fiji segment of the labor trade in the context of the labor trade in the Western Pacific as a whole. It has been suggested that, to an important extent, the labor trade in the Western Pacific should be perceived as an integrated market for migrant labor. At first blush this may appear a surprising suggestion considering that while integrated labor markets exhibit a uniform price for uniform qualities of labor, the persistence of the wage differential between what Queensland and Fiji planters offered may suggest that labor markets

were actually disintegrated. The analysis of this article, however, suggests that mechanisms of adjustment to this wage differential were activated, and the effectiveness of these mechanisms of adjustment is strong evidence for the viewpoint that, to an important extent, labor markets were integrated. In particular, labor market adjustment took the form of different hiring standards adopted by recruiters for the two regions, in terms of the age and physique of potential recruits, and the varying degrees of success of recruiters for the two regions, in terms of the time spent and cost, in attempting to procure recruits.

This analysis provides a new perspective to the question of why the wage differential between what Queensland and Fiji planters offered persisted through to 1904—a question that was debated by contemporary observers and has exercised the minds of historians. This perspective is that because labor markets in the Western Pacific were reasonably integrated, the wage differential was not necessarily translated into a differential in the overall cost (i.e., recruiting and wage costs) of employing Pacific Islanders of uniform qualities (in terms of age and physique) in the two regions and that this proposition was understood by contemporary observers. In short, recognizing the economic imperatives of integrated labor markets, Fiji planters probably realized that they had little control over the overall cost of employing Pacific Islanders of uniform quality and, accordingly, any alteration in their wage offers would not: necessarily lessen these overall costs.

This article has also brought to bear another body of evidence in support of the contention that labor markets in the Western Pacific were integrated. This body of evidence relates to the similarity of trends in recruiting costs among the various segments of the labor trade; in particular, the marked increase in recruiting costs in the 1870s and 1880s and the maintenance of the historically high levels reached in the 1880s through the 1890s and 1900s were trends experienced in all segments of the labor trade. It follows that recruiting costs in any one segment of the labor trade were not insulated from changes in the demand for labor in the other segments of the labor trade because such changes in the demand for labor affected the rate at which the common pool of labor in the New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, and Gilbert Islands was being depleted.

NOTES

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1. This estimate was compiled as follows: The number of contracts for 1864-1869, 1,649, is reported in an enclosure in March to Clarendon, 17 Dec. 1869, *British Parliamentary Papers,* 1871, XLVIII, c399, p. 403; for 1870, 1,700, *Fiji Times,* 7 Jan. 1871; for 1871, 2,276, *Fiji Times,* 6 Jan. 1872; for 1872, 1,227, in an enclosure in Robinson to Carnarvon, 12 Feb. 1875, *British Parliamentary Papers,* 1875, LII, c1337, p. 263 (this is an estimate of the number of indenture contracts, presumably of three year's duration, whose term expired in 1875); for 1873-1875, 2,082, in Gordon to Carnarvon, 28 Apr. 1876, *British Parliamentary Papers,* 1876, LIV, c1624, p. 130; and for 1876-1911, 17,526, in Annual Reports on Immigrants (Polynesian), 1877-1914.

These Annual Reports can be located as follows: for 1877, Fiji Royal Gazette, 1878, pp. 51-60; for 1878, enclosure in Fiji Colonial Secretary's Office, Minute Paper (hereafter FCSO, MP) 386 of 1879; for 1879, enclosure in FCSO, MP 704 1/2 of 1880; for 1882, enclosure in FCSO, MP 2766 of 1903; for 1883, enclosure in CO 83/41, Thurston Dispatch No. 145, 31 Aug. 1885; for 1884-1886 and 1888-1914, Fiji Legislative Council Papers. The Annual Reports for 1880, 1881, and 1887 are either missing or have never been compiled.

The difference in estimates, 26,460 as compared to 27,027, is due to Siegel's use of alternative sources: his estimate for 1870-1875 is based on Fiji Times shipping reports, while his estimate for 1876-1911 is based on data in the General Register of Immigrants (Polynesian), National Archives of Fiji.

2. This statistic is based on data relating to 15,474 indenture contracts for the period 1876-1911 recorded in the Plantation Register of Immigrants (Polynesian), National Archives of Fiji. The 15,474 contracts were for 13,848 adults and 1,626 youths. The female proportion of adult contracts was 8.3 percent. The number of contracts recorded in the Plantation Register is less than that in the General Register of Immigrants (Polynesian), 17,818, as a number of pages from the Plantation Register for 1878-1881 are missing.

3. Data on the number of old immigrants is reported in Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian).

4. Britton 1870:18; Pechey 1870:48-49; Report of Captain Chapman, 6 July 1873, CO 83/4.

5. Only occasionally after the mid-1880s were Pacific Island recruits procured for sugarcane farming. However, on one such occasion, 1890-1891, over 60 percent of all recruits were allotted to sugarcane estates, See FCSO, MP 225 of 1892, letter of 12 Feb. 1892.

6. For very detailed discussions of the probable causes of the high crude death rates during the early 1880s, see Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1882-1884.

7. Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1910, p. 5; *Fiji Times,* 4 Mar. 1911; Scarr 1967a:283-284; Corris 1973:147-148.

8. *Fiji Legislative Council Paper* No. 13 of 1908.

9. *Fiji Legislative Council Paper* No. 33 of 1891.

10. *Fiji Times,* 2 Feb. 1878; Dispatch No. 93, 5 Sept. 1879, CO 83/19.

11. March to Clarendon, 17 Dec. 1869, *British Parliamentary Papers,* 1871, XLVIII, c399, pp. 397-398; Dispatch Nos. 184, 3 Oct. 1871, and 240, 4 Feb. 1874, Chief Secretary's Office, Inwards Correspondence—General Records of the Cakobau Government; Report of Captain Chapman, 6 July 1873, CO 83/4; *Fiji Times,* 21 June 1871; *Australasian,* 10 Aug. 1867, p. 168; 22 Aug. 1868, p. 247; 24 Oct. 1868, p. 527; 12 Nov. 1870, p. 630; Brewster 1937:216; Ceres 1869:44-47; Moss 1868:21.

12. The contribution made by new employers amounted to £5-4s-10d (1885), £5 (1886), £4-17s-8d (1887), and £4-10s (1888). This information was published in *Fiji Royal Gazette* and *Fiji Legislative Council Papers.* The statistic for 1884 does not seem to be available.

13. FCSO, MP 2151 of 1887, letter of 24 May 1887 (for quotation). See also MP 2000 of 1887, letter of 25 Aug. 1887; MP 3502 of 1889, letter of 13 Dec. 1889. The economic logic of this argument is expounded upon in Shlomowitz 1981a:75-77.

14. *Australasian,* 21 Jan. 1882, p. 86.

15. FCSO, MP 892 of 1905, letter of 22 Feb. 1905.

16. *Fiji Times,* 7 Jan., 27 Sept. 1882; FCSO, MP 483 of 1880, letter of 17 Mar. 1880; MP 102 of 1884, letter of 28 Dec. 1883; MP 428 of 1902, letter of 18 Jan. 1902.

17. *Fiji Times,* 30 June 1877; 2 Feb. 1878; FCSO, MP 483 of 1880, letter of 17 Mar. 1880.

18. Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1904, p. 6; FCSO, MP 1030 of 1905, letter of 3 Mar. 1905; MP 2697 of 1905, letter of 20 June 1905.

19. Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1878, pp. 21-22 (of draft); Gordon 1897-1912, II, 275, 278, 682, 686.

20. Fiji, Agent-General of Immigration, Journals of Government Agents, 1876-1914.

21. *Fiji Times,* 27 June 1885; *Fiji Royal Gazette,* 1885, p. 9; Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1884, pp. 4-5; 1888, p. 1; 1891, p. 2; FCSO, MP 108 of 1885, letter of 5 Jan. 1885; MP 2697 of 1905, letter of 20 June 1905; MP 576 of 1906, letter of 14 Feb. 1906; MP 3994 of 1906, letter of 20 Aug. 1906.

22. Between 1877 and 1904 there were three occasions when a significant number of new recruits received more than £3 per annum; these occurred in 1884, 1885, and 1895. Evidence is not available on whether the twelve recruits engaged at £5 per annum in 1878 were new recruits or old immigrants.

23. In 1900 it was acknowledged that "there has been a kind of unwritten law that 'old hands' should have £6 and raw hands £3 per annum." See FCSO, MP 4088 of 1899, letter of 30 July 1900.

24. Table 4 was compiled from data in the following primary sources: General Register of Immigrants (Polynesian), passage money on 30 voyages, 1876-1879; Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1878, p. 5 (of draft); 1879, pp. 9-10 (of draft); 1882, pp. 2, 3; 1883, p. 8; 1885-1886, p. 4; 1908, p. 6; Annual Reports on Immigration (Indian), 1881,

1883; FCSO, MP 1031½ of 1877, letter of 27 July 1877; MP 1849 of 1879, letter of 5 Nov. 1879; MP 1875 of 1879, letter of 8 Nov. 1879; MP 483 of 1880, letter of 17 Mar. 1880; MP 295 of 1882, letter of 14 Sept. 1882; MP 2529 of 1882, letter of 2 Nov. 1882; MP 2974 of 1882, letter of 21 Dec. 1882; MP 2031 of 1883, letter of 16 July 1883; MP 108 of 1885, letter of 5 Jan. 1885; MP 1606 of 1885, letter of 18 June 1885; MP 3001 of 1885, letter of 10 Nov. 1885; MP 744 of 1886, letter of 5 Sept. 1885; MP 42 of 1892, letter of 8 Jan. 1892; MP 4088 of 1899, letter of 10 Aug. 1899; MP 428 of 1902, letter of 18 Jan. 1902; MP 473 of 1902, letter of 28 Feb. 1902; MP 892 of 1905, letter of 24 May 1905; MP 2465 of 1905, letter of 13 June 1906; MP 2697 of 1905, letter of 20 June 1905; MP 4467 of 1907, letter of 29 Nov. 1907; MP 654 of 1908, letter of 4 Feb. 1908; MP 4240 of 1908, letter of 8 Sept. 1908; MP 6685 of 1908, letter of 15 Dec. 1908; MP 6393 of 1910, letter of 3 Aug. 1910; *Fiji Times,* 20 June 1871; 9 July 1873; 28 Jan., 22 July 1874; 2 Oct., 24 Nov. 1875; 30 June, 14 July, 17 Oct., 17 Nov. 1877; 2 Feb. 1878; 1 Jan. 1879; 1 May 1880; 9, 16 Nov., 31 Dec. 1881; 7 Jan., 29 Sept. 1882; 23 Feb., 18 Oct., 16, 19 Nov. 1884; 19 Sept. 1885; 27 Feb. 1886; 29 Feb., 21 July 1888; 21 May 1890; 25 Jan. 1893; 17 Feb. 1894; 13 July 1895; 18 Jan. 1896; *Fiji Gazette,* 19 Oct. 1872; *Fiji Argus,* 13 Aug. 1875; 28 May 1876; *Queenslander,* 20 Sept. 1873; *Town and Country Journal,* 5 Aug. 1871; *Melbourne Argus,* 10 Sept. 1870; *Australasian,* 2 June 1866, p. 264; 10 Aug. 1867, p. 168; 22 Aug. 1868, p. 247; 24 Oct. 1868, p. 527; 12 Nov. 1870, p. 630; "Fiji" 1892, 1895; Stephens 1883, 1889, 1890; "Fearful Mortality of Polynesians," *Tropical Agriculturist* 5 (1 Oct. 1885), 271; Leefe 1878:41; March to Clarendon, 17 Dec. 1869, *British Parliamentary Papers,* 1871, XLVIII, c399, pp. 397-401; Circular letter from A. W. Brodziak & Co., 6 Nov. 1883, Fiji Miscellaneous papers, Mitchell Library; Ceres 1869:29, 44-45, 46-47; Moss 1868:21; Pechey 1870:48-49; Brewster 1937:216; Dunbabin 1935:198, 218, 242-244, 299-300; Palmer 1971:222; Udal 1871:19-21; Forbes 1875:73; Wawn 1973:121; *Fiji Planting and Commercial Directory: A Handbook of Fiji* (Levuka, 1879), 27; *Fiji in 1881: Some of the Reasons Why a Royal Commission Should Be Sent from England* (Levuka, 1881), 5; *Handbook to Fiji: New Zealand and South Sea Exhibition 1889 and 1890* (Suva, 1889), 32-33; *Handbook to Fiji* (Suva, 1906), 11.

Table 5 was compiled from data in the following primary sources: for the period up to 1884, Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1883, p. 19; Annual Report on Immigration (Indian), 1881; FCSO, MP 1031 1/2 of 1877, letter of 27 July 1877; MP 1193 of 1881, letter of 5 July 1881; MP 1584 of 1881, letter of 17 Aug. 1881; MP 47 of 1882, letter of 31 Dec. 1881; MP 862 of 1884, letter of 22 Apr. 1884; MP 1807 of 1884, letter of 23 Aug. 1884; *Fiji Times,* 9 July 1873; 22 July 1874; 14 July, 17 Oct., 17 Nov. 1877; 9 Nov. 1881; 27 June 1885; *Fiji Argus,* 31 July 1874; 13 Aug., 13 Sept. 1875; *Melbourne* Argus, 10 Sept. 1870; *Australasian,* 22 Aug. 1868, p. 247; Henning to Thurston, 28 Aug. 1869, *British Parliamentary Papers,* 1871, XLVIII, c399, p. 371; Great Britain, Royal Navy, Australian Station, Vol. XXIX, Australian No. 77, "Labour in Fiji," July 1879, p. 18; Wawn 1973:121; Leefe 1878:41. For the period after 1884, the actual per capita return passage money disbursed was published in the Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian). See also FCSO, MP 1115 of 1905, enclosure in letter of 9 Mar. 1905.

25. On competition among recruiters "mobbing one another and bidding one against the other for recruits," see Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1883, p. 7.

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.

ity 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.

27. For data on the New Caledonia segment, see Evidence of William Sturt, 9 Oct. 1871, to "Committee on Polynesian Labour," Great Britain, Confidential Print, CO 881/4, No. 4, July 1874, p. 230; *Fiji Times,* 22 Dec. 1875; *Town and Country Journal,* 30 Aug. 1884, p. 433. For data on Samoa, see Firth n.d.

Lower passage money rates appear to have been charged for interisland recruiting in the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands: between 1890 and 1914 the range seems to have been from £7 to £14. See Buckley and Klugman 1981:61, 280; Jaciomb 1914:149; Thompson 1970:266; Great Britain, Colonial Office, Confidential Print, Western Pacific, Further Correspondence relating to Affairs in the New Hebrides, 13 June to 30 Dec. 1911; CO 881/12, Australian No. 201, King to High Commissioner, 29 May 1911, enclosure 3 in High Commissioner to Secretary of State, 21 Aug. 1911, p. 36.

28. Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1879, pp. 9-10 (of draft); FCSO, MP 483 of 1880, letter of 17 Mar. 1880; MP 705 of 1881, letter of 18 Apr. 1881.

29. Contemporaries were aware of this set of relationships. See *Fiji Argus.,* 13 Aug. 1875; FCSO, MP 4088 of 1899, letter of 2 Oct. 1899.

30. Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1877, p. 53; 1883, p. 7; FCSO, MP 2974 of 1882, letter of 21 Dec. 1882; Im Thurn 1906.

31. Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1882, p. 4; 1894, p. 1; Leefe, 1878: 41-42; FCSO, MP 2974 of 1882, letter of 21 Dec. 1882; Evidence of Captain Sinclair given to Committee on the Traffic in Polynesian Labourers, 7, 8, Nov. 1871, Fiji, Records of the Cakobau Government; Bennett 1976:17; Miller to Clarendon, 21 Feb. 1870, *British Parliamentary Papers,* 1871, XLVIII, c399, p. 425; Evidence of William Sturt, 9 Oct. 1871, to "Committee on Polynesian Labour," Great Britain, Confidential Print, CO 881/4, No. 40, July 1874, p. 230.

32. It appears that the prohibition against the export of firearms was already in force in the Fiji, but not the Queensland, segment of the labor trade before 1884. See Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1882, p. 3; 1883, p. 7; FCSO, MP 2974 of 1882, letter of 21 Dec. 1882.

33. *Fiji Argus,* 8 Oct. 1875; *Australasian,* 30 Mar. 1878, Supplement, p. 2.

34. Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1877, p. 53; 1894, p. 1; FCSO, MP 4088 of 1899, letter of 30 July 1900; *Fiji Times,* 17 Oct. 1877; 2 Feb. 1878; *Fiji Argus,* 1 Dec. 1876; *Australasian,* 11 Aug. 1877, p. 178.

35. Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1882, p. 3; 1883, p. 19; 1901, p. 2; 1904, p. 2; FCSO, MP 296 of 1889, letter of 28 Jan. 1889; MP 4088 of 1899, letter of 30 July 1900; MP 2710 of 1900, letter of 14 July 1900; MP 3235 of 1900, letter of 17 Aug. 1900; *Fiji Times,* 24 May 1884.

36. FCSO, MP 4088 of 1899, letter of Aug. 1900 (for quotation). See also MP 937 of 1883, letter of 16 Nov. 1882; MP 3235 of 1900, letter on 17 Aug. 1900; MP 4883 of 1901, letter of 15 Jan. 1902; *Fiji Times,* 17 Nov. 1877.

37. For data on Fiji, see table 6; on Queensland, see Shlomowitz 1981b:204.

38. After the mid-1880s the cost of returning islanders from Fiji was usually £1-£2 higher than the £5 charged for returning islanders from Queensland; there is no overall trend in the cost of recruiting for Fiji relative to that for Queensland. For data on Fiji, see tables 4 and 5; on Queensland, see Shlomowitz 1981a:81-82. In a more complete analysis of the relative cost structure of the recruiting operation in the Fiji and Queensland segments of the labor trade, a number of other considerations would have to be kept in mind. For example, recruiters for Fiji, but not for Queensland, had to pay a pro rata share of the salary of the government agent, which usually amounted to about £l per recruit, and Fiji recruiters appear to have offered a bonus that had a lower monetary value than that offered by Queensland recruiters. In addition, the decline in the scale of the Fiji segment of the trade after 1884 might have had an effect on this cost structure.

39. For a general discussion on these considerations, see Corris 1973:38-41.

40. Caulfield 1937:56; Gilchrist 1927:261; Gordon Cumming 1885:59; Forbes 1875:64, 249; Corris 1973:89; Shlomowitz 1982b:354-355.

41. Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1883, p.6; 1890, p. 2; FCSO, MP 194 of 1892, letters of 26 Feb., 1 Mar. 1892; March to Clarendon, 17 Dec. 1869, *British Parliamentary Papers,* 1871, XLVIII, c399, pp. 397-401; "Fiji" 1892:239; De Ricci 1875:170-171; *The Colony of Fiji, 1880: Melbourne International Exhibition* (Levuka, 1880), p. 79.

42. FCSO, MP 4088 of 1899, letter of 30 July 1900 (for quotation). See also letters of 14 July, 7 Aug. 1900; Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1899, p. 2.

43. Ordinances XI of 1877, V of 1883, XXI of 1885, XVI and XXI of 1888, XI of 1890; Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1897, p. 3. On the interpretation and implementation of these ordinances, see FCSO, MP 1775 of 1878, letter of 5 Dec. 1878; MP 838 of 1880, letter of 13 May 1880; MP 1768 of 1880, letter of 14 Oct. 1880; MP 1210 of 1881, letter of 9 July 1881; MP 159 of 1881, letter of 1 Sept. 1881; MP 47 of 1882, letter of 31 Dec. 1881; MP 2534 of 1882, letter of 2 Nov. 1882; *Fiji Times,* 11 Nov. 1885.

44. Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1883, p. 19.

45. *Fiji Times,* 15 Apr. 1882.

46. Annual Report on Immigration (Indian), 1883, enclosure in FCSO, MP 2646 of 1884; *Fiji Times,* 16 June 1888.

47. There was also a monotonically positive relationship between the probability that a time-expired would receive a supplementary wage payment and years of experience. The percentage of male time-expireds receiving supplementary wage payments increased from 29% (with 3 years experience), to 34% (4 years), 38% (5 years), 44% (6 years), 51% (7 years), 53% (8 years), 60% (9 years), and 72% (10-12 years). The percentage of female time-expireds receiving supplementary wage payments increased from 15% (with 3 years experience), to 18% (4 years), to 19% (5-11 years).

48. Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1894, p. 3; 1895, p. 3.

49. Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1894, p. 7.

50. However, this conclusion will be biased to the extent that employers commuted their obligation to provide rations to time-expireds by the payment of higher money wages. See Annual Report on Immigration (Polynesian), 1894, p. 3.

51. FCSO, MP 838 of 1880, letter of 13 May 1880; *Fiji Times*, 10 Feb. 1894; Annual Reports on Immigration (Polynesian), 1890, p. 2; 1892, p. 3; 1894, p. 7; 1895, p. 7; 1896, p. 6; 1901, pp. 5-6; 1904, p, 6; 1907, p. 8; 1912, p. 4; 1913, p. 3.

52. *Fiji Times*, 28 Feb. 1894; 18 Jan., 14 Mar. 1896; Shlomowitz 1985d (for analysis),

53. *Fiji Times*, 18 Jan. 1896.

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SAVIOURS AND SAVAGES: AN ITALIAN VIEW OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MAORI WORLD

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Early New Zealand history is the product of English writers. Non-English sources, with the exception of a few in French, are little known. However, there are two major nineteenth-century works written in Italian, both cited by various authors writing about Pai Marire[1] or the Roman Catholic missions in New Zealand, but not always accurately or at great length. Neither work it seems has been translated into English, and they have therefore not been available to a wider public in the hundred or so years since their publication. These two works are *I Protestanti tra i Selvaggi della Nuova Zelanda ossia Storia del Pai Marire*, by Ottavio Barsanti; and *Storia della Nuova Zelanda e dei Suoi Abitatori* (two volumes) by Felice Vaggioli.[2] Both authors were Roman Catholic priests from Italy: Barsanti, a Franciscan, lived in New Zealand from 1860 to early 1866, and Vaggioli, a Benedictine, from 1879 to 1887. These were particularly difficult times for the Maori people. Barsanti arrived just a few months after the outbreak of war in Taranaki and left when Pai Marire was at its height. Vaggioli arrived at the time Te Whiti's ploughmen were at work in Taranaki. Their views of the nineteenth-century Maori world could not but be colored by these events.

Their views were also colored by the religious attitudes of the time. The Protestants had been in New Zealand since 1814 when Samuel

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Marsden sent "pious mechanics" to the Bay of Islands to civilize and Christianize the Maori. These C.M.S. missionaries were followed in 1822 by Wesleyans, and although neither mission had an auspicious beginning, by the late 1830s the long years of missionary effort had at last begun to bear fruit. The arrival of the Roman Catholics in New Zealand in 1838 caused consternation in the Protestant world. The Roman Catholic doctrine of the one true church and the claim to sole right to interpret the Bible were a challenge the Protestants could not ignore and one that led to a bitter doctrinal controversy. The Catholic missionaries regarded all Protestants as heretics; many early C.M.S. and Wesleyan missionaries did not even regard the Catholic church as Christian. The fact that its first missionaries were French and that they moved into areas already evangelized by the Protestants only added to the air of mutual distrust.[3]

When Italian priests arrived in New Zealand in 1860 they were, like the French Marists, beyond the pale of colonial society—but at least they were not seen by the English as a political or nationalistic threat. Their relations with the French, and later the Irish, were often uneasy; the Protestant missionaries were not kindly disposed toward them; and the Catholic Maoris were a minority and often disaffected group. The Italians were few in number and since at first they could speak neither Maori nor English, nor hope to find many Italian speakers in the colony, their lot was a lonely and difficult one. This essay attempts to show how their culture, their religion, and their experiences in New Zealand shaped their view of the nineteenth-century Maori world.

Barsanti: The Protestants among the Savages of New Zealand

Father Ottavio Barsanti, O.S.F., arrived in Auckland on the *General Teste* on 30 December 1860. He was the superior of a party of six Franciscan priests and three lay brothers chosen by the Minister General of the Ara Coeli convent in Rome to accompany Bishop Pompallier on his return from Europe where he had gone to seek extra workers for the Diocese of Auckland.[4] The Ara Coeli Franciscans were a federation of different Observant groups, now a single order, the Order of Friars Minor, or O.F.M. Barsanti, who was then about thirty-three years old, belonged to the Observants Minor of the Umbrian Franciscan Province and was a lecturer in theology at Assisi.

Barsanti has been variously described as "a very bright but self-willed man" of "imperious disposition, quick-tempered, suspicious and prone to violence,"[5] and "a colourful ruffian . . . a suitable subject for an

opera or musical comedy."[6] In a letter to Rome on 4 October 1875 he described himself as "a professor of philosophy, doctor of sacred theology, preacher and apostolic missionary."[7] He was an intelligent and well-educated man who considered himself an authority on church law, which knowledge he put to good use defending his position vis-à-vis various priests and bishops in New Zealand and Australia during his tempestuous career in the Antipodes.

The Catholic archives in Auckland, Sydney, and especially Rome contain a considerable amount of material—letters, sworn statements, the results of official enquiries, denunciations, claims and counter claims, testimonies, locally printed pamphlets, and even photographs of the good prelate—referring to his various contests with the local church authorities. The greater part of this material emanated from his period in Australia, which lasted almost twenty years and where he was described as "a thorn in the sides of Archbishops Polding and Vaughan."[8]

But Barsanti's five years in New Zealand were no less stormy. He was adept at exploiting difficulties of bishops in controlling members of religious orders and in manifesting the unwillingness of his own order, the Franciscans, to have its problems solved in a way that would diminish the order's control over its own affairs. It was not unusual at: the time for the church to ship "difficult" priests to the colonies in much. the same way that aristocratic families dealt with their "difficult" sons. He may even have been made superior of his group in an effort to appease him and to diminish his querulousness, but in vain, for within months of his arrival in New Zealand he had crossed swords with Bishop Pompallier over the question of his leadership of the group. Pompallier planned to use the Franciscans in the Maori mission and gave them North Auckland as their field of work. Joseph Garavel, a French priest who had arrived in New Zealand with Bishop Pompallier in 1850 and who in the late 1850s was "much more in touch with the Maori mind than Pompallier or any other priest,"[9] was sent: to work with them and introduce them to the Maori people. This, Barsanti claimed, was tantamount to putting Garavel in charge of them, thus breaking the agreement made in Rome. Toward the end of 1861 he objected to the location of the house given the Franciscans by Pompallier as their convent or friary. This was Pompallier's "best building," the stone St. Mary's College at Takapuna, a two-story building with about twenty acres of land around it. Barsanti considered it too far away from Auckland, so without consulting Pompallier he and his group abandoned St. Mary's and moved into central Auckland where they rented a house.

When Barsanti turned up at the Cathedral he was told by James McDonald, the vicar general, that his action incurred an automatic suspension. Barsanti was so incensed that he hit or jostled McDonald who was dressed for Mass and carrying the chalice, which fell to the ground and broke. Since such a physical attack carried an automatic excommunication, Pompallier held an official enquiry into the affair with sworn witnesses and all the formalities of a church court. The papers from this enquiry were sent to Rome together with a statement from Barsanti, who also sent many letters to the different authorities in Rome making all sorts of accusations against Pompallier and McDonald. However, Barsanti appears to have been relieved of the excommunication and suspension by Pompallier, but also removed from the superiorship of the Franciscans. He was sent north to join two other Franciscans in the Hokianga district, where he remained officially until 1866.[10]

Barsanti left New Zealand without the permission of either the bishop or his own superiors, and in a letter to Rome in October 1875 he claimed to have been accepted into the Sydney diocese in February 1865.[11] He surely means 1866 for on page 155 of his book he reports seeing Hauhau prisoners in Auckland on 5 February 1866, and on page 39 he speaks of reading the January 1866 issues of the *Daily Southern Cross*. Pompallier, in a letter to Cardinal Barnabo in Rome dated 30 May 1866, refers to the friendly relationship he now enjoys with the Franciscans "above all since the Rev. Fr Barsanti left."[12] However, disagreements between a later bishop and the Franciscans ultimately led to the withdrawal of the order from the diocese. Bishop Croke, writing to Rome on 30 August 1873, said: "The Franciscans, ever a source of much trouble and anxiety have left and I have been fortunate enough to fill their places with good Irish priests."[13]

In Sydney, Barsanti at first found favor with Bishop Polding and for a time acted as his secretary. He was invited to give the clergy retreat in 1867 and was sent to Rome in that year in connection with an enquiry into the integrity of Auxiliary Bishop Sheehy. He acted as secretary and theologian at the 1869 Melbourne synod of Catholic bishops, but he soon incurred Polding's displeasure and spent the next three years in "exile" at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne.[14] During the 1870s he conducted a bitter fight with the Catholic archbishop of Sydney, Roger Vaughan, about which there is an enormous amount of material in the archives of the Propaganda Congregation, Rome. Barsanti even supplied pictures of himself taken by Sydney photographers in the late 1870s, which show him as "a stout, round-faced person with at least two chins and a crucifix stuck in his belt like a weapon."[15]

On 21 May 1875 Barsanti was suspended from the exercise of priestly functions in the Sydney archdiocese by Archbishop Polding, with prompting and support from his chosen successor, Vaughan. Barsanti had had warnings and at least one previous but brief suspension by Polding for repeatedly failing to perform his regular duties. The situation was made worse by his being; often drunk in public, by his bullying verbal assaults on both his fellow priests and lay people, and by at least one case of physical assault: he hit a servant girl on the head with a tumbler and "almost killed" her, allegedly because she was too slow in refilling his glass. This, like his attack on McDonald at the Auckland Cathedral, was cited as a typical example of his violent nature and ungovernable temper.

On 4 October 1875 Barsanti made the first of a series of regular appeals to Rome, claiming he was being denied justice in Sydney. Archbishop Vaughan, writing to the Franciscan general superior to seek Barsanti's recall, had emphasized that he had already been moved from both Auckland and Melbourne for stirring up trouble among the priests, among other reasons, and actually asked that he be sent to the Holy Land, to which he had been assigned at some stage and where he may have worked before coming to New Zealand (although this is not clear from the records). Between 1876 and 1883 Vaughan accumulated an impressive pile of testimonies against Barsanti supporting the view that he was, in Vaughan's words, "a scandal and a terror to the people" and had "made a house of the Devil wherever he lived." He was said to have spent most of his time in the "lowest" public houses drinking spirits, arguing violently, and singing raucous songs. Several priests testified to his gluttony, with a great range of anecdotes. Most stressed his "vulgarity": he habitually drank with "the lower classes" and played cards with them for prizes of drink as well as money.

But the papers Vaughan sent to Rome in his efforts to get rid of Barsanti were more than outweighed, literally as well as figuratively, by those Barsanti sent, which even included a locally printed verse denunciation of Vaughan he had written: "To Lord Roger in his Warpaint." But his pièce de résistance was surely his letter of 31 August 1878 to the papal secretary of state recommending himself for appointment to the vacant see of Auckland, claiming that an Italian bishop was needed to break "the monotony of Irish abuses."

The picture of his activities is less clear after 1879, but in 1881 Vaughan confirmed to Propaganda that Barsanti was still writing to him and that he refused to reply until Barsanti showed some willingness to withdraw accusations and "make reparation." Fr. Sheridan, who

administered the Sydney archdiocese following Vaughan's sudden death in Europe in August 1883, and who had been a witness to the "assault by tumbler," wrote to the cardinal prefect of Propaganda on 5 May 1884, and mentioned that Barsanti was "settling down" as assistant priest in Newtown, an inner Sydney parish. But this letter was followed by another from Sheridan dated 27 May announcing Barsanti's death on 23 May 1884. He said Barsanti had been admitted to the hospital for attention to an "indisposition." The still doubtful state of Barsanti's position in the eyes of church officials is emphasized by Sheridan's remark that there was no time to give him the sacraments but he hoped Barsanti was in a state of grace. He died in St. Vincent's Hospital, Sydney, and was buried in St. Thomas' churchyard, Petersham.

This then is the colorful author of the pious work on the Protestants among the savages of New Zealand. It is clear from his book that in his five years in New Zealand Barsanti had no personal contact with the followers of Pai Marire and very little with any Maoris. The nearest he came to the Hauhaus was the day in Auckland (5 February 1866) when he witnessed the arrival of thirty or so prisoners, which caused a "sensation of profound commiseration" in his heart.[16] Barsanti's knowledge of both Maori and English at this time was limited, but he read widely and the newspapers of the day were full of information on the progress of the wars between the two races and the spread of Pai Marire.

> As to the sources from which I have drawn the material, I would say it is drawn purely from experience, because Pai Marire is an empirical contemporaneous fact which has passed before my own eyes. However . . . I have taken care not to impose my own views and ideas. That which I report . . . [is] lifted bodily from public sources, that is from the New Zealand newspapers . . . I have taken care to remain always acquainted with the facts and to avoid as far as I could all false intelligence and anachronism. To remove the suspicion that I was expressing my own particular opinion when I have had to touch on some odious fact, I have always called on the authority of others on the subject. (P. 5)

His main informants were probably two priests who had had close contact with the Hauhaus: Grange, whom he knew in Auckland, and Garavel who moved to Sydney in 1864. Barsanti also made great use of *Fraser's Magazine* and the *Daily Southern Cross* (which he always wrote *Daily Southren Cross*). Although Barsanti states that his book was

written in New Zealand, it was not published until 1868 and was certainly finished in Australia. It is a small volume of 268 pages with copious footnotes, which should be read according to Barsanti "because they are as necessary as the material contained in the body of the work. Some are historical . . . others philological . . . some are relative to the customs of the natives, a knowledge of them being . . . necessary to the understanding of their genius and to an appreciation of the strangeness of Pai Marire" (p. 4). However, Barsanti's explanations of Maori words and customs clearly demonstrate his limited knowledge of the language and understanding of the people about whom he purports to be writing.[17] In Barsanti's five years in New Zealand he developed firmer views on Protestantism than he did on the Maori. The subtitle of his book, *Story of Pai Marire,* is something of a misnomer. Pai Marire was just a convenient weapon with which he attacked Protestant heresy:

> Now that I live among Protestants and I know a good many of them, and each day I find I must examine the foundations and the consequences of their belief, I must confess that all that is attributed to Protestantism is only too true and that the colors in which it has been painted are not black enough to emphasize its ugliness and deformity. (P. 2)

Barsanti's book is not valuable as a history of Pai Marire but as an expression of his view of the reasons for such a movement, which initially he defines as "a new religious system established by the savages of New Zealand by adulterating the Bible and applying to their own needs ideas gleaned from Protestantism" (p. 9). The book is divided into six parts dealing with general, historical, and doctrinal "notions" of Pai Marire, and the development, causes, and results of Pai Marire. The last two parts are purely a reflection of Barsanti's views; the first four are largely a colorful description of the movement "as it has been painted by those who have been in contact with the followers of Pai Marire and have known at first hand their actions" (p. 8).

Under the heading of "Spirit of Pai Marire" Barsanti describes Pai Marire as "a mass of falsities and heresies, a sect, a conspiracy, a web raised on the foundation of odium and contempt of the Pakeha" (p. 28). He then details seven reasons why the Maoris hate the Pakehas and concludes that "Pai Marire, considered subjectively . . . is but a consequence of that bitter hatred which the natives of New Zealand bear towards the Pakehas" (p. 35). He has already noted that "although Pakeha is a general term . . . it would seem that the natives apply this

name only to the English and it is to the English they direct all their odium" (p. 33). The reasons Barsanti gives for the Maoris' hatred of the Pakeha tell us more about Barsanti's thoughts than about those of the Maori, although in the 1860s such thinking was fairly widespread and certainly represented in the newspapers of the day. He goes on to say that Pai Marire

> considered objectively is without a doubt a web, a party, a sect, which has as its aim to gather together all the sentiments and ideas of the natives whereby to lead them under the banner of a religion to set up a nation, establish for themselves a monarchy, revive their customs, and draw up their own legislation, the Mana of the New Zealanders. (P. 36)

Mana, according to Barsanti is "a Maori expression which means the might or kingdom of the New Zealanders and corresponds to *pro aris focisque* of the Latins and *trono ed altare* of the Italians" (p. 20).

At the end of part 1 Barsanti asks whether the "followers of Pai Marire should be called 'rebels' as the English call them" since

> the English Crown can only claim sovereignty in New Zealand by virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the nature of that treaty being what it is, it must be concluded that in the view of all nations and in the light of the rights of all peoples, the Maoris are not rebels through struggling for their sovereignty and refusing to subject themselves to the dominion of Queen Victoria, who to the tribes of New Zealand is still a foreign ruler. (P. 44)

He goes on to ask whether they are rebels because they follow Pai Marire, "in as much as it is a formal protest against the teaching of the Evangelicals of London" (p. 45) and concludes that: indeed they are not, for while "unbelievers are obliged to submit to evangelical precepts from the moment they acquire a sufficient knowledge of the Gospel," the preachers of the Gospel must be "validly instituted and legally sent by He who has the authority" (p. 46). Barsanti, as an "eye witness" of some of these "evangelizers or preachers," is adamant that

> such missionaries have no divine mission . . . and since they preach not Gods truth, but their own private opinions, their dreams, their aberrations regarding the Bible, it follows that

> the people before whom they present themselves have no moral obligation to heed them, to believe them, and to submit to the doctrines they preach. Thus the Maoris, denying these ministers by turning to the religion they themselves have founded, cannot in any sense be termed "rebels." (P. 47)

Barsanti is just warming to his theme. In part 5 he says that it is certain that the actions of the English, especially in matters of religion, have brought about a notable change in the character and disposition of the natives.

> England sends only idlers, vagabonds, incorrigible rogues, drunkards and swindlers to its colonies. . . . In New Zealand the first Englishmen to set foot were escaped convicts, deserting soldiers and sailors. . . . These were followed by another class of man known as missionaries, but who were in reality cobblers, shop keepers, street sweepers, bar patrons who began their mission with adultery, rape, theft, homicide and who, by accomplishing such a mission, gained their independence and became "gentry." Now what stability, what morality, what religion, what concept of Christian truths and maxims could these poor savages acquire in contact with men of such character and under the tutelage of such missionaries? (P. 171)

In looking for the cause of Pai Marire, Barsanti examines the view of Bishop Selwyn and the opinions expressed in the daily newspapers and finds the causes to which they attribute its genesis but "contributing causes and not the true efficient cause." The true cause is nothing less than Protestantism. "Far from being an inspiration of Catholicism, as some fanatical Anglicans would shamelessly assert, Pai Marire is a natural product of Protestantism" (p. 117). He frequently cites the Protestants' fundamental error, in his view, of allowing their followers to read and interpret the Bible for themselves. "Even those who do not know the letters of the alphabet are entreated to provide themselves with a Bible . . . for merely possessing it and casting an eye at it morning and night is sufficient to become acquainted with all the beautiful truths and maxims contained therein" (p. 196). But he expresses other views too about the causes of Pai Marire. In a passage on pages 37-40 it seems clear he accepts the basis of Pai Marire as nascent nationalism, a response to loss of land, loss of mana (even though he did not recognize it in that terminology).

> Banished from their lands, worsted in all their undertakings the Maori had begun to despair of success. There is no courage equal to the courage of fanaticism. It is this which has infused a new spirit in the Maori race. . . . But Pai Marire is also something more than fanaticism, more than a frenzied impulse of a savage people. . . . It is a political and religious movement, a patriotic and nationalist movement. . . . (P. 40)

Later Barsanti attacks the Maori language monthly newspaper *Te Haeata,* published by the Methodist Mission in Auckland between 1859 and 1862, as "one of the most impious and wicked newspapers . . . the cause of all the religious ills among the natives, for in the way it has ridiculed the Catholic Church and its practices and glorified Protestantism, it has led the Maoris to hate the religion of the Pakehas and to renounce their God" (p. 197).[18] He then argues that the cause of Pai Marire is not that the Maoris have misinterpreted the Bible, but that as true Protestants they have exercised their liberty of conscience and have rejected it altogether (p. 199). "Pai Marire then, is naught but a logical consequence of the principles of Protestantism, the result: of all the teaching given the Maoris by the Protestant ministers" (p. 200).

The final part of Barsanti's book deals with the results of Pai Marire. These he sees as being the disappointment it brought to the Protestant ministers, to the Bible Society, and to the missionary societies in London; and the failure of the Protestant missions in New Zealand. "The real cause, the intrinsic and philosophical cause of the unhappy outcome of the Protestant missions among the savages of New Zealand" is that Protestantism "considers man first of all as a material being, created for commerce, and not as a spiritual being created for his God" (pp. 244, 246)—thus Barsanti echoes Marsden and Williams and the civilizing/Christianizing dichotomy of the early days of the C. M. S. in New Zealand. But it is the ordination of Maori ministers that Barsanti deems to be the final reason for the failure of the Protestant missions, for they

> came to the conclusion that even the Pakeha ministers were no more nor less than were the Maori ministers . . . that they had no more need of Pakeha ministers. . . . From the idea of ministers and their ministry they passed to the religion they represented and concluded that it was a vile thing. . . . The end result of it all was that they abandoned themselves to indifference. (Pp. 265-266)

Barsanti concludes his pious treatise on Protestantism among the savages of New Zealand as follows:

> Thus through the teaching and institution of Protestantism, the Maoris denied what little Christianity they had received, set themselves against all religious sentiment and threw themselves into the arms of Pai Marireism which, if one excludes the secret odium and bitterness against the Pakehas which constitutes its being and reduces it to its ultimate expression, is naught: but a new genre of indifferentism, the only fruit that Protestantism has harvested from all its sweat and all its labours in the New Zealand mission. (P. 268)

The religious attitudes of the times were certainly more remarkable for bigotry than for understanding between the various sects and churches. As previously stated many early C. M. S. and Wesleyan missionaries did not even regard the Roman Catholic church as a Christian church. William Williams seemed almost unable to write "Catholic" priest or missionary, referring to them instead as "Popish" or "Romish." Catholic missionaries regarded Protestants as heretics; Lampilla referred to them as "children of the devil" and to William Williams as a "false prophet who in sheep's clothing seeks only to deceive and devour his brothers."[19] Each side accused the other of being responsible for inspiring the fanaticism of Pai Marire. Barsanti's views are not too extreme when judged in the climate of his time, but a modern reader is tempted to wonder whether his pious writing was not perhaps some kind of penance for his outlandish behavior.

Vaggioli: Story of New Zealand

Domenico Vaggioli, in company with another Benedictine priest and four lay brothers[20] came to New Zealand with Archbishop Steins, arriving on the *Ringaroona* on 23 December 1879.[21] Vaggioli belonged to the Cassinese Congregation of the Primitive Observance, a branch of the Benedictine family formed with missionary work in mind. The Franciscans had left Auckland in 1873 and the city had been without a bishop for nearly six years. Propaganda in Rome had approached several orders asking if they could undertake mission work in the Auckland diocese and the Benedictines had offered to help on the understanding that they would serve a trial period of some years, during which they would decide whether to take over the diocese. As a result of this

arrangement Auckland had a Benedictine bishop, Dom Edmund Luck, for fourteen years from 1882 to 1896, and an association with the Benedictine community that lasted for fifty years.[22]

Dom Felice Vaggioli, O.S.B.,[23] and Dom Cuthbert Downey were the first Benedictine priests to arrive in New Zealand, and they were followed later in 1880 by another six, mostly from the new Ramsgate community in England. Newton was assigned to the Benedictines as their main center, but on 9 February 1880, Vaggioli was appointed to Gisborne. This was due in part to the Gisborne priest having been moved to a vacancy caused by James McDonald's appointment to the Maori Mission, and in part perhaps to the fact that Vaggioli was "an energetic and masterful man who seems not to have worked very closely with his confrères,"[24] and a "difficult man, restive under authority,"[25] although all the Benedictine priests in New Zealand seemed rather difficult men to control.[26] Simmons describes Vaggioli as energetic, intelligent, and scholarly;[27] in the photograph in his *Storia della Nuova Zelanda* he looks stern, ascetic, and forbidding. His first task in Gisborne was to learn both English and Maori, which he did to good effect, gaining the support of settlers-of all denominations and putting the Gisborne parish, which he reportedly found debt ridden, on a firm footing and restoring the poorly built church. He remained in Gisborne until September 1882 when he returned to the community in Newton and was appointed by Bishop Luck as chairman of the committee to gather offerings and subscriptions toward the payment of the debt on their new church of St. Benedict.

In 1885 Vaggioli was appointed to Coromandel where he "suffered from the lack of understanding on the part of the missionary sisters, but found great consolation in his apostolate among the poor woodcutters of the district."[28] The "missionary sisters" were the Sisters of Mercy who had gone to Coromandel when their convent and school were established in 1882. The Irish Sisters of Mercy had first arrived in New Zealand with Pompallier on 9 April 1850. Those who "tackled the roaring settlements full of red-shirted goldminers and bushmen were obviously no pious shrinking violets. . . . Their weapons were the school and their skill as nurses which made them invaluable to Catholics and Protestants alike."[29] It is not clear why Vaggioli did not get along with them—perhaps because he was Italian and they Irish. Although the Irish-English antagonism predominated, there was certainly nationalistic feeling among and between the various religious groups of the day.[30]

Vaggioli was transferred from Coromandel in 1887, and at the end of

that year, due to ill health, he returned to Italy where he eventually became abbot visitor of the Italian province of the Cassinese Congregation of the Benedictines. He died on 23 April 1921. Little has remained in the records of Vaggioli's work in New Zealand, but it is said that he was "an erudite and attractive personality and a good and successful priest in New Zealand, who did a good job in both Gisborne and Auckland, where he was famous for his sermons and talks."[31] Not the colorful character Barsanti was, Vaggioli's name may not have been well remembered in connection with New Zealand had it not been for his massive two-volume history published in Parma in 1891 (vol. 1) and 1896 (vol. 2). The work shows that he gained a good knowledge of the country through firsthand contact and through wide reading.

Vaggioli's two volumes are a general history of New Zealand modeled more or less on A. S. Thomson's two volume *Story of New Zealand* (1859). Volume 1 is divided in two parts, the first of which deals with the physical aspects of the country, the second with its native people. Volume 2 deals with both races, European and Maori, from first contact till 1887. They were written, he said, in compliance with the "exhortation of the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith in his circular of 1883 to all the Catholic Missions of the world . . . to collect and preserve for history what they could discover from the savages about their ancient customs and usages."[32] Vaggioli also read widely among the early writers on New Zealand and quotes extensively and translates many passages from Thomson, Taylor, Servant, Hochstetter, Grey, Williams, Maning, Rusden, and Barsanti. The value of these two volumes lies not in their content, but in their color; the story is old, but the perspective is new. Vaggioli's sources are familiar enough, but he did not always agree with the views of those early writers, especially with their views of the Maori race. He did not agree, for instance, with "the illustrious Doctor Thomson" that "the heads of the New Zealanders are smaller than those of the English" nor with the view that the "intelligence of the New Zealanders is inferior to that of Europeans." He believed that the Maori of old were "sober, honest and hospitable, respecting others" but that, mingling with Europeans they

> lost their simplicity and exchanged their hardworking and frugal ways for slothfulness, debauchery, drunkenness and other vices shown them by the English colonists, without gaining any of their good qualities. From this it may be seen that the opinion of those who called the New Zealanders stupid and pusillanimous is quite without value. (Pp. 263, 264)

Thomson's writing is touched with what was later called Social Darwinism, but he also exhibited the sort of racist views that were becoming common among the English of the day. His writing "mirrored the attitudes and concerns of the colonists."[33] Vaggioli feared for the future of the Maori race, but for moral, not racial reasons. In fact he has an altogether nonracist view of the Maori people as ordinary human beings, some good, some bad, some intelligent, some less so, but all, unhappily, led astray by the English. Thomson's Maoris are childlike; Vaggioli's are adults, but misguided. They will perish as a race not because they are racially inferior but because the English, instead of raising their moral standards simply added more vices to those they already possessed. "Poor unhappy New Zealanders! Protestantism planted in their hearts indifferentism above all else; and reduced them to a state of moral and religious degradation worse by far than that which they knew prior to the invasion of the cultured Europeans" (p. 573).

Vaggioli is generally more restrained than Barsanti in his criticism of Protestant missionaries;[34] his severest condemnation is reserved for the English merchants and settlers. Volume 1 ends with a discourse on cannibalism which "commerce and English civilization did not in half a century succeed in ending or diminishing" since "the English merchants sought only profits and their own enrichment to the detriment of those poor simple islanders." Cannibalism did, however, cease to exist in 1843 and

> the glory of this solemn victory over the most tremendous barbarism may not be attributed either to commerce or to ephemeral modern civilization, or to the Protestantism introduced by the English; no this glory is entirely due to the teachings of the Catholic Church and to the preaching of its zealous evangelical apostles established there in 1838. (P. 671)

A certain degree of bigotry is to be expected in nineteenth-century missionary writing, but this sort of statement, that the Catholics were able to achieve in five years what the Protestants could not achieve in twenty-five, is unfortunate in the light of Vaggioli's generally enlightened tenor of writing.

Volume 2 opens in the same vein. The missionaries at the Bay of Islands are blamed for not preventing discord between the two races and the atrocities and villany of the whalers and merchants. This is not New Zealand history as seen through Italian eyes; it is simply a rerun of

the well-known Catholic-Protestant controversy. It would have taken more than a handful of missionaries, Protestant or Catholic, to "instil a little humanity" among the Europeans present in New Zealand in the 1820s and 1830s. As Vaggioli himself says, the British government was unable to control its subjects in a country specifically claimed to be "not within His Majesty's Dominions."[35]

It is when Vaggioli writes of the wars of the 1860s that an Italian view of New Zealand history emerges.

> Until 1859 those poor savages believed that the Colonial Government as well as the English Government would always respect their recognized rights. . . . But in 1860 they were obliged to change their minds, convinced at last . . . that the Colonial Government ranged against them meant to enforce its unjust pretensions through the muzzle of a gun and was determined to subjugate them or crush them. . . . After four years of fierce struggle the insurgent Maoris saw themselves forced out of their peaceful dwellings; saw with immense anguish their churches, villages . . and all other belongings . . . consigned to the flames; they saw with horror the sacreligious profanation of their burial grounds and the mortal remains of their revered ancestors vilified and thrown to the winds . . . they saw many of their loved ones perish from hunger, from cold and from privation and all of them reduced to the most squalid misery; they saw themselves insulted, reviled and subject to the most villainous indignities on the part of the colonial militia and unprincipled settlers; they saw that the soldiery had neither religion nor conscience, nor decency; but were all intent on drunkenness, immorality and every other irregularity.[36]

This nineteenth-century view of the justice of the Maori cause would not have endeared Vaggioli's writings to his contemporary Pakehas, as Simmons suggests.[37] A century later it: has a surprisingly modern ring.

Vaggioli deals with Pai Marire briefly in volume 1 and more fully in volume 2. He uses Barsanti as his source and gives what amounts to a summary of Barsanti's account of Horopapera, of the meaning of Pai Marire terminology, of the propagation of the movement, and of the tragedies at Opotiki and Whakatane.[38] Vaggioli disagreed with Barsanti on some points, however. For instance Barsanti believed Tamihana had gone over to the Hauhaus. In a note on page 39 he comments that the author of an article in *Fraser's Magazine* was mistaken in believing that

he had not done so, that the article was written before the publication of another in "all the newspapers of New Zealand," reporting that Tamihana and Rewi had "unfortunately espoused the new cause." Vaggioli says Tamihana "did not take part in the fanaticism of the Hauhaus; . . . he ever sought the good in the two races and union and peace between them, as did Bishop Selwyn, Sir William Martin, Mons. Pompallier, all the Catholic missionaries and many other honourable and upright people in the Colony" (p. 434). Barsanti was more susceptible to the sensationalist press than was Vaggioli, and was more bigoted in outlook. Vaggioli is prepared to accept "the Maori view, expressed in the official documents compiled by Volkner's killers and sent to the Government in Auckland" (p. 434), that Pai Marire was a response not to Protestantism, but to the treatment the Maori received at the hands of the English settlers.

Vaggioli follows Barsanti in his account of the killing of Volkner, of Grace's escape from Hauhau hands, and of Garavel's supposed part in the affair.[39]

> Notwithstanding the clear proof of the falsity of the accusation hurled at Father Garavel and the Catholic priests, all English writers either maintained total silence on the subject or gave credit to the lies put out by Hadfield by declaring it a proven fact that the Catholic Missionaries had a part in the death of Volkner. . . . Among these betrayers of the truth must be counted Rusden, who prides himself on having written his History from official documents! Unhappy history; what hands you have fallen into! (P. 435)

In fact Rusden has very little to say about Catholicism or its missionaries, but mentions that the Pai Marire liturgy was supposed to be compounded partly of Roman Catholic elements. However, he suggests that Kereopa and his followers appreciated that "a recognition of the Pope of Rome was treachery not only to the Queen but to the very essence of English freedom" and that they courted the religion of Rome as a means of breaking down Maori loyalty to the Queen.[40] It is fanciful to suggest the Hauhaus understood all the implications of the Reformation, but this does not amount to Rusden's having accused the Catholic missionaries of having a part in the death of Volkner. Vaggioli also accuses Rusden of "passing over in a single sentence" the Maori lapse from Christianity when they observed "the conduct of the majority of the militia and colonists who passed for Christians without observing the laws of Christianity" (p. 436). Yet Rusden's and Vaggioli's views on nineteenth-

century Maori-Pakeha relations are not dissimilar. Rusden's three volume *History of New Zealand* published in 1883 is, according to Hocken, "a full and scholarly work, abounding in laborious research and criticism, discounted by strong philo-Maori views, and censure on the treatment adopted towards the natives since our first contact with them and especially during the war of 1860-69."[41] The *History* was suppressed after a trial for libel brought against Rusden by John Bryce (Minister of Native Affairs in the Hall, Whitaker, and Atkinson ministries from 1879 to 1884), who claimed he had been defamed by certain statements in the book.[42]

Vaggioli quotes Rusden word for word—but without acknowledging the fact—on the role of the Maori Land Court in dispossessing the Maori of their land. He also uses Rusden as a source of information on Te Whiti, to whom he devotes eleven pages. He called Te Whiti "more of a politician than all the politicians in New Zealand," "a man without peer in the annals of the Maoris," and said of him that his attitude was "that of one who aspired to become the Saviour of the Maori race." However, Vaggioli found it "surprising that this man endowed with talent and intelligence, with the just ideas which he has about the various Protestant sects and about the Catholic religion, persists in maintaining his religious errors" (pp. 510, 515, 516).

Vaggioli's history ends on a somber note. The colonists of New Zealand in the 1870s are far from models of virtue and morality, and the Maoris are even further. They are less barbarous but not better than their ancestors, and from the Europeans they have learned vices but not virtues. "If this is the civilization intended to be gifted to the Maoris, better would it have been for them to remain in their ancient state of barbarity and simplicity" (pp. 544, 546). Vaggioli notes the rapid material progress made by New Zealand "under the enterprising spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race" but concludes: "Only the Maoris see themselves slowly disappearing; conscious of being unable to survive the invasion of the colonists they prepare to perish with a fatalistic resignation which stirs pity" (p. 547). The Maori have lost: heart and hope, not because they are inherently inferior to the European, but because they have turned their back on Vaggioli's God. But his dire predictions of a terrible end apply equally to the colony, whose increasing debt will cause its "ephemeral grandeur to vanish like the mist" (p. 547).

Conclusion

New Zealand in the later nineteenth century was not an easy place in which to fulfill a missionary vocation. Gone were the early days of more

egalitarian race relations; gone the heady days of mass conversions. Rather than winning converts the missions were losing many of those they had made earlier. If the Protestant missionaries with a good command of the Maori language found the times difficult, how much more difficult it must have been for Italian religious, fresh from Europe. They had come to fight a losing battle on all fronts. One way to salvage something from their time among the "savages" was to bring a knowledge of them to a wider audience at home, where New Zealand was little known. But their limited command of the Maori language meant that they understood them only in their own terms. They were dependent too on English-language sources, which were in themselves subjective and with which they often disagreed, so that at times their writing tells us more about the writer and his view of English Protestants than it tells us about the Maori. The Protestants were missionaries of English culture as much as they were missionaries of religion. The Catholic Church was more tolerant of the local laws and customs of its converts; its missionaries were taught not to draw parallels between the customs of the natives and those of Europe, to accept harmless native customs, and to use caution in eradicating others.[43] So they were less judgmental of the Maori than they were of their fellow Pakeha. We might talk then of a Catholic view of the nineteenth-century Maori world, were it not for the fact that many of the Irish seemed to have the same sort of racist views as the English. The Italian view, like the French perhaps, was not a racist view. The Maori was not seen as inherently inferior, his ways were not necessarily to be changed. He was to be made Christian, that is Catholic, and thus would inevitably become civilized. He would become a Maori Catholic, not a Catholic Maori. It was Protestantism, not race, which held him back, so judgments were made in moral not racial terms.

This different point of view would in itself be sufficient to make the writings of these two Italian priests interesting and valuable. They are also valuable in that they are almost the only record in Italian of the nineteenth-century Maori world. Barsanti was bigoted and biased, but no more so than many of his Protestant contemporaries. In his personal problems he had first to struggle with Satan and then with his bishop, and he found a convenient scapegoat in the Protestants. His book is not so much the story of Pai Marire as a pious treatise inspired by the bitter doctrinal controversies of the times and calculated to create a sympathetic reception in his readers. Barsanti, like Vaggioli, perhaps understood well enough the reasons underlying Pai Marire. He talks of Protestant missionaries taking land from the Maori in great quantities and

paying only with trifles, and reports that the Maori were impressed when the Roman Catholic missionaries did not take land. He quotes newspaper articles emphasizing the importance of land, yet he chooses to play down this most fundamental reason in favor of spirited attacks on Protestantism, Protestant missionaries, and Protestant methods. It is perhaps an act of atonement of one fallen from grace.

Vaggioli's writing is more soundly based. His *Story of New Zealand* is a comprehensive history and deserves to be better known. He wrote with more judgment and less bias than Barsanti. He had a wider knowledge of the country and a deeper understanding of and compassion for the Maori people; and though he was dependent on English-language sources for much of his information, his view and judgment differed. All the missionary writers were products of their culture, their religion, their time, and all were writing for a home market on which they were dependent for funds to prosecute the struggle against darkness and heresy and bring salvation to savage souls. It is as well for Barsanti and Vaggioli that they were able to write in a language little understood on this side of the world. Had they written in English their books may have suffered the same fate as Rusden's, for their writings record a period in New Zealand's history when it was not at all clear who were the saviours and who the savages.

NOTES

1. Pai Marire, founded in 1862 by the prophet Te Ua, was one of the many attempts on the part of the Maori to adjust to intensifying European contact. Pai Marire literally means "good and peaceful," and it is necessary to distinguish between the religion as devised by Te Ua and the interpretation put on it by his followers. Early writers described it variously as "blasphemous nonsense," "a return to barbarism and superstition," and "a struggle to preserve national existence." Paul Clark's *"Hauhau": The Pai Marire Search for Mauri Identity* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, Oxford University Press, 1975), was "A more positive approach to Pai Marire, one that emphasizes its adaptive qualities." But whereas Clark saw the movement as based on a new and uniquely Maori religious foundation, Lesley Head in her "Te Ua and the Hauhau Faith in the Light of the Ua Cospel Notebook" (M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1983) says it was a Biblical religion firmly within the Judeo-Christian tradition. Her view is based on "a full and accurate translation of a difficult text previously only partly or wrongly translated." Obviously the last word has not been written on this complex movement.

2. For an annotated translation of excerpts from all three volumes, see Hazel Riseborough, "Saviours and Savages: An Italian View of the 19th Century Maori World" (BA Honors Research Exercise, Massey University, 1983).

3. See Jane Thomson, "Some Reasons for the Failure of the Roman Catholic Mission to the Maoris, 1838-1860," *New Zealand Journal of History* 3 (1969), 166-174, for a discussion on the difficulties faced by the Roman Catholics and on Catholic-Protestant discord.

4. ACPF SRC Oceania, vol. 6, f. 1078. (Reference given by Fr. E. R. Simmons.)

5. E. R. Simmons, *In Cruce Salus: A History of the Diocese of Auckland 1848-1980* (Auckland: Catholic Publications Centre, 1982), 139, 155; Simmons, personal communication, 20 April 1983.

6. A. E. Cahill, personal communication, 29 May 1983.

7. Mr. A. E. Cahill of the History Department, University of Sydney, kindly supplied information from the archives of the Propaganda Congregation, Rome, the Vatican's "Colonial Office." His sources are ACPF SRC Oceania, vol. 11, 1877-1878, folios 469-721; vol. 12, 1879, folios 6-7, 208-212, 1119-1161; vol. 13, 1880-1881, folios 432-501; and vol. 14, 1882-1884, folios 937, 1101, 1136. Most of the information on Barsanti in Australia used in this paper is from these sources.

8. T. J. Linane, "From Abel to Zundolovich," *Footprints* 1, no. 3 (1971), 23. This list of priests who worked in Australia in the nineteenth century appears regularly in *Footprints,* the quarterly journal of the Diocesan Historical Commission, Melbourne. The article on Barsanti was from information supplied by Fr. Angelo O'Hagan, Box Hill, Victoria.

9. Simmons, 63.

10. Fr. E. R. Simmons, personal communication, 20 April 1983.

11. See note 7.

12. Quoted in Simmons, 76.

13. Quoted in Simmons, 119.

14. Linane, 23.

15. A. E. Cahill, personal communication, 29 May 1983. Fr. E. R. Simmons kindly loaned a photograph from the Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives that shows Barsanti in similar guise but presumably many years younger.

16. Ottavio Barsanti, *I Protestanti tra i Selvaggi Della Nuova Zelanda ossia Storia del Pai Marire* (Turin: Pietro Di G. Marietti, Tipografo Pontificio, 1868), 155. Subsequent references will be given in parentheses in the text.

17. See Riseborough, Research Exercise, 61-62.

18. *Te Haeata* was nothing exceptional when compared in tone to many of the publications of the day issued by both Catholics and Protestants. See Riseborough, Research Exercise, 158-166, for Maori text and English translations of the articles from *Te Haeata* that so raised Barsanti's ire.

19. Jane Thomson, "The Roman Catholic Mission in New Zealand 1838-1870" (M.A. Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1966), 60.

20. Simmons, 143; but there is some disagreement on the composition of the party. Vaggioli (vol. 2, p. 519) says there were three priests and two lay brothers.

21. The name of the vessel is variously spelled "Ringaroonia" (*Herald,* 23 December 1879) and "Ringarooma" (*N. Z. Tablet,* 19 December 1879); its date of arrival is given both as 22 and 23 December.

22. Simmons, 142-143.

23. This was Domenico Vaggioli's religious title and name. He was known in New Zealand as Father Felix Vaggioli, as the Benedictine title Dom was not used there.

24. David Parry, "The Subiacan Mission to New Zealand," *Tjurunga: An Australasian Benedictine Review* 8 (1974), 340.

25. Sr. M. Gregory, personal communication, 26 August 1983.

26. Simmons, 165.

27. Ibid., 144.

28. Parry, 340.

29. Simmons, 167.

30. See, for example, Simmons, 169-170, 185.

31. Fr. E. R. Simmons, personal communication, 20 April 1983.

32. Felice Vaggioli, *Storia della Nuova Zelanda e dei Suoi Abitatori,* vol. 1 (Parma: Tipografia Vesc. Fiaccadori, 1891), 1. Subsequent references to this volume will be given in parentheses in the text.

33. M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Maori Origins and Migrations: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, Oxford University Press, 1979), 74.

34. But William Williams comes in for a lot of criticism. See Riseborough, Research Exercise, 119, 142.

35. Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity: British Intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, Oxford University Press, 1977), 52-53.

36. Felice Vaggioli, *Storia della Nuova Zelanda e dei Suoi Abitatori,* vol. 2 (Parma: Tipografia Vesc. Fiaccadori, 1896), 357. Subsequent references to this volume will be given in parentheses in the text.

37. Simmons, 139.

38. V. Lanternari, in *The Religions of the Oppressed* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1963), 248-256, citing Vaggioli and failing to mention Barsanti, uses this as his main source on the history of the movement in his account of Pai Marire.

39. See Riseborough, Research Exercise, 69. For a well-documented account of the killing of the C.M.S. missionary Volkner by Hauhaus in Opotiki in 1865, Garavel's supposed involvement, and the execution of Kereopa in 1872 for his complicity in the crime, see Clark, 20-21, 31-41.

40. G. W. Rusden, *History of New Zealand,* vol. 2 (London: Chapman and Hall; Melbourne and Sydney: George Robertson, 1883), 286-287.

41. T. W. Hocken, *A Bibliography of the Literature Relating to New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1909), 348-349.

42. A. H. McLintock, ed., *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand,* vol. 2 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1966), 303.

43. Thomson, "Roman Catholic Mission," 95-96.

REVIEWS

Donald Lawrence Brenneis and Fred R. Myers, eds., *Dangerous Words: Language and Politics in the Pacific.* New York: New York University Press, 1984. Pp. xii, 284, index. Cloth $30.00. Paper $15.00.

Reviewed by George D. Westermark, University of Santa Clara, California

Political anthropology has been reinvigorated in recent years by the infusion of new approaches. Two orientations that have received increased attention are sociolinguistic and symbolic analyses (Bloch 1975; Cohen 1976; Paine 1981; Parkin 1984). *Dangerous Words,* which grew out of a symposium on "Language and Politics in Oceania" held at the 1980 Annual Meetings of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, provides us with a fine collection of articles blending these two orientations.

Dangerous Words begins with an excellent introduction by the editors, Fred Myers and Donald Brenneis, that integrates the chapters theoretically. Their central concern is to study the relationship between political structure and forms of speaking, a project for which they think the Pacific provides an ideal comparative setting. Two themes dominate the introduction: (1) the role of political language in constituting polities, and (2) the differences of language use in egalitarian and hierarchical political systems. Because these themes are complexly interwoven through the various chapters, I will not attempt to do justice to each author's contribution, but simply single out points to illustrate the book's major themes.

In line with the currents of the action-theory approach in political anthropology, Myers and Brenneis emphasize the need for a processual view of language use in political events. Language is not merely a transparent vehicle for communicating information, but a critical means for manipulating situations. The editors rightly criticize action-theorists, however, for their stress on strategy and contest in the pursuit of political power. Ignored in the individual-centered analyses of action-theorists are the social values that are the foundation of competition, Rather than take such values for granted, the editors argue that we must understand the critical role political speech plays in establishing and reestablishing them.

In his individual contribution to the volume, Brenneis reveals how indirection can be significant in political language. Through religious speeches, Fiji Indians make veiled accusations against opponents that stimulate community involvement in the resolution of their disputes. Such speeches are used to create the polity lacking in a context without formal authority. The community arbitration sessions that follow these speeches entail direct (or "straight") language so that a community consensus can develop regarding the situation. This does not result in a declaration of guilt or innocence; however, as Brenneis points out, it does serve to restate the cooperative relationships that should characterize community life.

The editors make clear that the contributors to *Dangerous Words* are, for the most part, not linguists, and thus that their primary concern is to situate language within broader social contexts. The chapters vary, however, in the extent to which they emphasize the formal properties of language. William McKellin's intricate analysis of Mangalese political speech highlights the formal aspects of allegory used to communicate indirect messages regarding community issues. By restricting the audience capable of interpreting the correct message, ambiguous language allows allies to "voice" their responses to sensitive issues without threatening their relationship in public debate.

Annette Weiner demonstrates that in the Trobriand Islands a similar respect for autonomy is maintained through the use of figurative speech. By concealing the direct meaning that "hard words" convey, political messages are exchanged without precipitating confrontations. Weiner's analysis also shows the relations between figurative speech, the exchange of objects, and magical modes of communication. Each of the modes allows Trobrianders to express their intentions without openly violating the personal space of others.

Papua New Guinea gender asymmetry is shown by Rena Lederman

to be one aspect of the broader context in which political debate occurs. Focusing on Mendi intra-subclan public meetings, Lederman indicates how such discussion contributes to a public understanding of political activities. Individuals may not agree to accept the group's conclusions, and they are free to disagree; nevertheless, the construction of public understanding of events makes a significant contribution to sustaining the existing political order. Moreover, because this discussion excludes the voices of women, it implicitly restates the male dominance of Mendi life.

The concern for autonomy expressed in the four chapters mentioned above is illustrative of Myers and Brenneis's second theme. Oratory in these situations recognizes individual freedoms at the same time that it gives recognition to the existence of political bonds. Such reestablishment of the polity is unnecessary in hierarchical systems, say Myers and Brenneis, since established political positions continue across generations. Hierarchical political speech serves to validate the distribution of social values as it is constituted. Recognition of this distinctive use of political language in egalitarian and hierarchical systems leads the editors to question Bloch's (1975) simplistic use of the category "traditional societies" in his attempt to relate speech forms and social control.

One of the few weaknesses in *Dangerous Words* is the uneven distribution of cases between hierarchical and egalitarian societies in the Pacific. Only two of the nine chapters are devoted to hierarchical societies. Further, these two examples come from Polynesia, leaving the political complexity of Micronesia unrepresented. Nevertheless, the contributors concentrating on hierarchical systems nicely illuminate the intricacy of political speech in these situations.

One of these contributors, Alessandro Duranti, examines how different social events create "frames" that modify specific Samoan speech genres. The modifications are related by Duranti to interaction and to the social function of speech. George Marcus, the other, shows how political language in Tonga shifts between formal and informal forms in the conversations between chiefs and their estate populations. Marcus explores these shifts through three interrelated perspectives: psychoculture, interpersonal politics, and sociopolitical organization. Through their conversations, middle-range chiefs in modern Tonga are balancing their status and their personal knowledge of the estate's population in order to retain their political power.

Since the Pacific has undergone such dramatic political developments during the past fifteen years, it will certainly be an area ripe for future research on political language. And the theme of language used to

mediate social change is one that emerged from several chapters, though it is given less explicit attention by Myers and Brenneis. Several contributors provide useful insights on how communication styles have responded to the impact of external political forces.

Through the course of years of interaction with coastal state authorities—indigenous states, European colonialists, and Indonesian nationalities—the Wana of Suluwezi have developed a poetic style of speech emphasizing verbal disguise and external relations. Although they have maintained a high degree of autonomy, Jane Atkinson links their shifting settlements and egalitarianism to the need for noncoercive mechanisms for establishing their polities. She shows that a poetic speech form, Kiyori, accomplishes this end, as leaders attract followers through their demonstration of wit and wisdom. Atkinson also notes that frequent references to external authorities in Kiyori increase group unity by creating a sense of shared danger.

A similar form of artistic speech used in public meetings is described for the Ilongot of the Philippines by Michele Rosaldo. The case of the Ilongot represents a different response to change in that they have chosen to give up their use of the "witty" style of speech called *purung.* As a result of growing exposure to education, cash employment, national law, and, most especially, Christian mission teachings, Ilongot are no longer willing to risk the potential consequences of angry confrontation that could emerge from *purung.* Rosaldo makes clear that this rejection of a particular speech form is one part of a broader shift away from a style of life that emphasized energetic exchange and violence.

New political institutions operating at the local level have been a source of change in the Pacific. Deborah Gewertz examines the reaction of the Chambri people, who live along Papua New Guinea's Sepik River, to alterations in traditional patterns of alliance caused by the Australian-imposed local government council. In this case, ritual exchange becomes the medium of communication selected by the Chambri to reassert dominance over their former neighbors and barter partners from the Sepik Hills. As do a number of other chapters, Gewertz's contribution shows us the complex role played by items of exchange in establishing a shared political order.

In the best of all possible worlds, *Dangerous Words* would be more representative of Pacific societies and would examine more fully the role of political language in social change. That it does not is evidence of the relative youth of linguistic studies in political anthropology. What we do have in this volume is a fascinating collection of articles sensitive to the symbolic basis of power in political cultures. For Pacific studies, the

volume creates a point of departure for all future anthroplological research on politics; for political anthropology, *Dangerous Words* makes a major contribution toward refining our conceptions of language and culture in the political process.

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John Charlot, *The Hawaiian Poetry of Religion and Politics: Some Religio-Political Concepts in Postcontact Literature.* Monograph Series, No. 5. Laie, Hawaii: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1985. Pp. ix, 86, notes, appendixes. $8.00.

Reviewed by Serge Dunis, Université d'Avignon, France.

In this tersely written monograph, John Charlot forcefully demonstrates the importance of chants and songs in the study of postcontact Hawaiian history. Focusing on the political and religious status of chiefs and leaders, he first reminds us of their cosmic role to show how this theme remains cogent throughout the monarchy period and our times. Then he stresses how Kamehameha I successfully met the challlenge of the contact period by uniting the islands and reforming Hawaiian culture so that it could endure:

> I mua, e **nā pōki'i,** a inu i ka wai'awa'awa, 'a'ohe hope e ho'i mai ai.
> Forward, younger brothers, until you drink the bitter water; there is no retreat into which to return. (P. 6)

Literature played a major role in this struggle for identity under **Kalākaua.** Indeed, "The Four Chiefs"—**Kalākaua,** his sisters Lili'uoka-

lani and Likelike, and his brother Leleiohoku-constituted a real Academy. The resulting renewal of chant and dance bears all the characteristics of classicism: recurrence of the same themes, terms, and patterns. As an example of introduced literary form, the national anthem illustrates this process of singling out elements of traditional culture for the purpose of perpetuating them, despite or thanks to oversimplification.

A specialist in Polynesian culture myself, I appreciate John Charlot's concentration on the value of language proper, which is an obligatory way to gain access into cultures that were formerly oral. Lunalilo uses the important Hawaiian poetic: device of ambiguity in his anthem *E Ola ka Mōʻī i ke Akua* (p. 16). This anthem can be read in two different ways. Charlot has already aptly broached this subject in *Chanting the Universe* (Hong Kong and Honolulu: Emphasis International, 1983). Like word games, poetry was instructional and gave opportunities for brilliance and the display of learning (p. 13):

> *I ka ʻōlelo ke ola, i ka ʻōlelo ka make.*
> In the word, there is life, in the word, death.
> (*Chanting the Universe,* 42)

It is one of John Charlot's great merits, not only as a scholar but as a translator, that he shows the strong power of Polynesian words. Three and four different levels of meaning can be expressed in the same line:

> *Haele pū ka huaʻōlelo me ka nane.*
> The word goes together with the riddle.
> (*Chanting the Universe,* 43)

In my own reconstruction and interpretation of pre-European Maori society (*Sans tabou ni totem. Inceste et pouvoir politique chez les Maori de Nouvelle-Zélande.* Paris: Fayard, 1984), I repeatedly unfold this astonishing versatility of Polynesian words, which can express a whole rite, a whole myth, a whole practice on their own. Therefore, I fully agree with Charlot when he concludes that poetry has been overlooked by historians (p. 29). *He Himeni* is clearly abandoning the theocentric view that all good comes from Cod and returning to a traditional Hawaiian view of the chief. The anthem resembles not a Christian prayer but a chant in praise of a chief. Kalākaua's victory in the election is described as a conquest that resembles those of Kamehameha I: he unites the islands to establish order. This warrior theme—standard in the Kalākaua literature—is the direct opposite of Lili'uokalani's empha-

sis on Christian peace. All these characteristics identify *He Himeni* as an example of the Kalākaua propaganda literature (p. 20).

Religio-political chants and songs of the postmonarchy period take over the same tradition while adapting to the new circumstances. Isn't the right chief necessary for the well-being of the community and the cosmos? Kalākaua becomes the *makua* of the genealogy the same way as Kamehameha I in *Hawai'i Pono'ī*. The theme of the dependence of the chief or leader on the people, first used to rally them behind the monarchy, now helps win elections. Hawaiians being "*ka po'e i aloha i ka 'āina*, 'the people who love the land,' " Charlot elucidates:

> 'A'ole mākou a'e minamina
> I ka pu'ukālā a ke aupuni.
> Ua lawa mākou i ka pōhaku
> I ka 'ai kamaha'o o ka'āina
>
> We do not value
> The hill of dollars of the government.
> We are satisfied with the rock,
> The wondrous food of the land.

Thus:

> In my opinion, it is based on the expression *'ai pōhaku* 'eat rock,' used for someone who has nothing else. The Hawaiians have been dispossessed and are reduced to what, for the non-Hawaiian, appears to be worthless. But the poet transforms this pejorative expression into a positive description of Hawaiian culture. . . . The Hawaiian eats the rock and is formed by it into a pua of Hawai'i. He brings the land inside of himself and thus becomes one with it. (Pp. 27-28)

True to his holistic theme of the Hawaiian chief, Charlot concludes thus:

> The strong poetic bent of important public figures might not have been without influence on their views and policies. Indeed, my study of religio-political chants and songs indicates that poetry was felt in that field, just as it was in others, to be the most congenial form for the expression of feelings and philosophy. Only by achieving some appreciation of that poetry, I

> would argue, will we be able to understand the concerns and coherence of certain Hawaiian policies and tendencies. (P. 29)

In his lush appendixes Charlot makes a series of good points. For instance, do we have clear evidence for the early use of *akua* for living chiefs? Well attested for the short period from Kamehameha I's death through the early missionary period, this use is difficult to demonstrate from earlier literature and might well go back to Kamehameha I's own restructuring of Hawaiian culture. The reader will also enjoy having the full version of the Hawaiian texts.

In his detailed notes, Charlot comes up with treasures like the example of Lili'uokalani speaking of the *'ō'ō* bird: "this bird sucks the honey on which it subsists. They are true Hawaiians; flowers are necessary for their very life" (p. 75).

My last comment is actually a compliment: this monograph is too short. I am looking forward to enjoying a more complete survey of the available literature.

Janet Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand.* Auckland: Longman Paul, 1984. Pp. iv, 270, illustrations, maps, glossary, index. $39.95.

Reviewed by Peter Bellwood, Australian National University

This is a well-designed and readable book that fills a rather surprising gap in Pacific archaeological literature. It is the first volume devoted entirely to an integrated account of New Zealand prehistory (excluding the Chatham Islands) written by one author and not restricted to a particular theme or region. Successive chapters deal with Maori origins in tropical Polynesia, the New Zealand environment, biological anthropology, prehistoric material culture, economy, social life and settlements, conflict and communication, and art. The conclusion focuses on the question of prehistoric culture change, and a very useful list of excavated sites is included in an appendix.

The author, Janet Davidson, has been involved in research in New Zealand prehistory for the past twenty years and has spent much of her career as an archaeologist at the Auckland Museum until moving to join her husband, Foss Leach, at the University of Otago in Dunedin. She has therefore acquired firsthand knowledge of most of the major recent developments in New Zealand prehistory and has the knowledge and maturity of style to produce what is without doubt a book of historical significance.

The contents of the book are basically descriptive and very detailed in places with respect to the archaeological record. Polemic, invective, and jargon are mercifully lacking, and the author discusses the opinions of other scholars very fairly. The basic philosophy of the book, with respect to the evolution of New Zealand Maori society over the thousand years or so of its prehistory, may best be described as "gradualist" —the author does not subscribe to the recently dominant view that the record can usefully be divided into two successive and polarized phases (here termed East Polynesian and Maori but also referred to as Archaic and Classic Maori by other authors), and she stresses cultural continuity and gradual change through time. The major dimension of cultural variation is in fact regarded as space rather than time; in 1769 the differences between the prehistoric cultures of areas as far apart as Auckland and Otago were, for environmental reasons, greater than those between either area and its regional founding ancestor. Davidson also rejects the idea that aspects of Classic Maori culture were spread by tribal migrations from a single northern region of origin, and likewise the assumption that tribal traditions can usefully be equated with aspects of the archaeological record. However, the significance of localized population expansion (and occasionally retraction) is recognized, especially with respect to the spread of ideas and techniques via the movements of high-ranking or skilled personages.

The end result is a prehistory with no assumptions about progress or directionality of culture change in the New Zealand record. This is perhaps less stirring than previous theories of *patu*—wielding, fort-building Classic Maoris thrusting down the coasts of the North Island between 1350 and 1500, but it may also be the correct interpretation for current archaeological knowledge. The author still favors a periodization of the archaeological record, but now in three rather than two periods: Settlement (to A.D. 1200), Expansion and Rapid Change (1200-1500), and Traditional (1500-1769).

In a concluding section the author stresses the need for more detailed regional studies in New Zealand prehistory, pointing to biological anthropology, art, and warfare as major aspects requiring more investigation, The highly successful archaeological project focused on Palliser Bay in the southern North Island during the 1970s must surely serve as an excellent model for future regional studies, and the influence of this project on current interpretations of New Zealand prehistory is evident at many points in the book.

Coming some thirty years after the beginning of the modern phase of New Zealand archaeology in the 1950s, Janet Davidson's book is a welcome documentation of the breadth of the data base and demonstrates

the maturity being applied to its interpretation in the 1980s. New Zealand is a country with a brief but intriguing prehistory. Perhaps we are no longer entitled to regard this prehistory as a record of rapid evolution from hunter-gatherer bands to horticultural chiefdoms; indeed, current research appears to document almost as much devolution as evolution in certain aspects of cultural complexity. But the moas and their necklace-clad hunters are still there, as are the fortified *pa* and the *patu*—wielding warriors. Indeed, the superb illustrations in this book show how far basic factual knowledge of New Zealand prehistory has advanced in the past twenty years.

I hope this book will be read by many people (not just prehistorians) with an interest in Pacific peoples and their past. It is an account of one of the most interesting and adventurous episodes of recent, non-Western human colonization and as such is of Pan-Pacific significance.

Janet W. D. Dougherty, *West Futuna-Aniwa: An Introduction to a Polynesian Outlier Language.* University of California Publication in Linguistics Series, No. 102. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. Pp. xviii, 687, map, photos, figures, appendixes. Paper $40.00.

Reviewed by Niko Besnier, University of Southern California

West: Futuna and Aniwa are spoken on two islands of the same name, situated near Tanna in Southern Vanuatu. Both are dialects of the same language, one of fifteen-odd Polynesian "outlier" languages spoken by Polynesian enclave communities in the Melanesian and Micronesian cultural areas. These communities are generally believed to be the result of throwback migrations postdating the early settlement of Triangle Polynesia. Until recently little was known about the Polynesian outlier languages. In the last decade or two, however, descriptive analyses of the grammar and lexicon of a number of these languages have been published. Janet Dougherty's "introduction" to West Futuna-Aniwa, which complements, reanalyzes, and expands Reverend Arthur Capell's earlier work on the same language, is a welcome addition to the still-limited but fast-growing body of documentation on these languages.

The by-product of a year of field research (which was primarily focused on lexical semantics and cognition), Dougherty's monograph consists of a grammatical sketch of the two dialects (pp. 1-147), a West Futuna-Aniwa and English lexicon (pp. 149-621), and a set of six topi-

cal vocabulary lists in an appendix (pp. 622-681). While both dialects are described in the book, the West Futuna dialect is far more thoroughly treated than the Aniwa dialect, as the author's acquaintance with the Aniwa dialect was through secondhand sources and non-Aniwan informants.

The book begins with a chapter on phonology, in which the phonemes and the major phonological features of the language are described and illustrated. This is followed by a chapter entitled "Grammar," which is divided into fifteen sections, each dealing with a particular morphological or syntactic feature ("The Noun Phrase," "Interrogative Pronouns," "Relativization," etc.). The approach adopted in the grammatical description is atheoretical, and the aim is to provide a general overview of the major sentence structures of the language. The discussion is supported by many examples and several tables. Comparative data from other Polynesian languages are occasionally provided. The last section of the chapter consists of the three-page transcript of a traditional folktale.

The longest section of the volume is devoted to a West Futuna-Aniwa and English lexicon, followed by an English finder-list. Each entry is carefully translated, illustrated, and cross-referenced. Substantial explanations are provided for grammatical morphemes, kinship terms, children's games, and other lexical items whose translation into English is less than straightforward. The lexicon follows a strict alphabetical arrangement (as opposed to being arranged by roots), which makes the lexicon more accessible to nonspecialists. The six appendixes, which follow the English to West Futuna-Aniwa finder-list, list place names and personal names, kinship terms, body-part names, plant names, animal names, and numerals. These lists will prove to be a useful source of data for comparative research on ethnotaxonomic systems.

West Futuna-Aniwa presents a number of unusual structural features. Some of these, like the presence of an archaic trial number (in addition to singular, dual, and plural) in the pronoun paradigm, are already known to students of Polynesian linguistics. Other unusual features, particularly in syntax, are documented here for the first time both for West Futuna-Aniwa and for a Polynesian language. For example, West Futuna-Aniwa exhibits a wide array of basic sentence patterns that are not reported to co-occur within the same language elsewhere in the Polynesian family; similarly, "serial constructions" (structures in which several verbs are concatenated together) are attested widely in non-Polynesian Vanuatu languages, but not in Polynesian languages.

To know that these structures exist in West Futuna-Aniwa is valuable

in itself. However, linguists will wish to find a more detailed treatment of them than Dougherty provides. For example, a more thorough analysis of the pragmatic and stylistic distribution of the various basic sentence patterns would have made the monograph more appealing to the comparativist and typologist alike. Moreover, little information is given about the sociolinguistic aspects of the data presented, despite the fact that the author mentions in the introduction that linguistic data were collected from a wide range of sociolinguistic contexts. A more sociolinguistic and discourse-oriented approach would have been most appropriate to an analysis of West Futuna-Aniwa syntax, given that the structure of the language appears to mark many subtle variational distinctions.

Nevertheless, Dougherty is to be commended for having made available an important and timely document. Its inclusion in the University of California's well-established Linguistics Series is well deserved. It is hoped that the publication of such ground-breaking materials will be followed by more detailed linguistic and sociolinguistic analyses of the data presented.

Janice Reid, *Sorcerers and Healing Spirits: Continuity and Change in an Aboriginal Healing System.* Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1983. Pp. xxv, 182, maps, photos, appendix, index. Paper $15.95.

Reviewed by Paul Alan Cox, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah

Yirrkala settlement, northeast Arnhem Land, Australia. Mandjinga, an aboriginal woman in her late twenties, steps outside her small home at night to investigate a noise. She suddenly collapses with severe chest pains and quickly loses consciousness, victim of a *galka* (aboriginal sorcerer) attack. Her family calls a health worker, who transports her to the hospital at Nhulunbuy where she is found to have contusions and lacerations on her hand, armpit, and underneath her chest. Regaining consciousness in the surgical ward, Mandjinga is found by the nursing sister to be in great pain with considerable stupor. The hospital staff assures a crowd of forty of her clan members gathered outside the hospital that she will recover within twenty-four hours. The next day, when Mandjinga is clearly still seriously ill, her clan dispatches a *marrnggitj* or traditional healer to her bedside in an attempt to save her life. While preparing to place the sacred healing and divining stones on Mand-

jinga's breasts, the *marrnggitj* is discovered by the nursing sister, who immediately orders him to leave the hospital. Later, the wife of a missionary comes to Mandjinga with tapes of hymns and Bible readings, telling Mandjinga that she will have to choose between the "witchdoctor" and Jesus. Mandjinga makes a slow recovery during magical therapy with the *marrnggitj*. She is grateful for the kindness shown by the missionary's wife and for the attention of the health workers, but affirms that illness caused by a *galka* attack is not amenable to treatment by Western medicine.

This anecdote from Janice Reid's remarkable book on Australian aboriginal healing systems, *Sorcerers and Healing Spirits,* typifies the inherent epistemological and conceptual conflicts between Western medicine, Western religions, and aboriginal cosmologies as expressed in healing practices in a variety of preliterate societies. As can be imagined, the gulf is profound, yet Reid ambitiously attempts to bridge it by producing an empathetic but detailed exploration of Australian aboriginal ethnomedicine. Reid's objectives are not merely to document traditional healing practices of the Yolngu people of Yirrkala, but to provide a philosophical justification of these practices within the context of an aboriginal cosmology. Her motivation is the fact that

> most people who work with Aborigines, including health personnel, are unaware of the complexity and theoretical elegance of contemporary Aboriginal medical systems. It is my hope that this study of one such system will not only be of interest to academic colleagues but helpful to doctors, nurses, and others working in cross-cultural settings, most particularly in Aboriginal health care. (P. xiv)

In the tradition of Evans-Pritchard's work on the Azande of Africa, Reid explores the rich tapestry of aboriginal belief systems and concludes that "Yolngu beliefs about causality in illness are not illogical superstitions. . . . Sickness, sorcery, and social events are linked in a logical structure which is comparable to that of a Western. Scientific theory . . ." (p. xx). In making such a surprising assertion, Reid is indeed on solid ground, since Yolngu ethnomedical theory, as elucidated by her, would indeed qualify as science to several recent philosophers of science, most notably Feyerbend and possibly Kuhn. It is indeed a tragedy of major proportions that current pharmacological research tends to ignore ethnomedicine's potential as an important source of information for Western medicine. Such ethnocentrism in scientific circles has

not always been the case. As recently as twenty years ago, major pharmaceutical firms routinely retained ethnobotanists and anthropologists to investigate aboriginal healing practices; the seminal work of Fricke at Stanford on the Subanan of Mindanao was in fact supported by the pharmaceutical house of Smith, Kline, and Beckman. Nor were such studies without their fruits; as recently as 1980 the National Prescription Audit revealed that 25 percent of all prescriptions issued in the United States were derived directly from plants. Most of these were in fact identified through studies of native pharmacopeias; one need only cite quinine, disogen steroids, or digitalis to prove the value of ethnomedicine. Yet time is running out for studies such as Reid's. In twenty to thirty years most opportunities for ethnomedicinal studies will be gone, victims not only of encroaching Westernization and tropical deforestation, but also of overt hostility from Western medical practitioners. In Samoa, for example, the *taulasea* or native healers begin practice only after lengthy apprenticeships, and they rival trained botanists in their knowledge of the local floras, using a precise lexicon of terms to discuss plant taxonomy and morphology, particularly of pharmacologically active plants. Yet they are routinely dismissed as "bush doctors" and their access to patients is severely restricted by the local medical community.

The fact is that, as Reid amply demonstrates, traditional healers and sorcerers serve a variety of important functions in aboriginal societies ranging from psychotherapy to law enforcement. Thus to the Yolngu, the *galka* or sorcerers in fact serve mainly to exact penalties for transgressions of religious restrictions such as uttering sacred words in the wrong place or stealing sacred objects. *Galka* also serve to enforce reciprocal ritual and economic obligations between various clans, as well as to avenge personal grievances over broken marriage contracts or adulterous behavior. The Yolngu are not without respite from the destructive actions of the *galka,* however, since the native healers or *marrnggitj* are looked to by community members for "reassurance, healing, explanation and protection when serious illness and death threaten" (p. 57). Although *marrnggitj* differ from other Yolngu in their healing powers and knowledge, recognition of *marrnggitj* is a community function that requires a potential healer to have had a supernatural experience, to demonstrate an ability to cure the sick, and to attract a clientele and establish a practice. The communal endowment of a *marrnggitj* is made clear by Reid:

> Whatever the predisposing personal attributes of those who become marrnggitj, there is evidence that becoming a marrng-

> gitj is as much a matter of the collective wishes of the group as it is of a person's inclinations. Rather than individuals being born marrnggitj or achieving this status, the office appears largely to be thrust upon them. (P. 66)

Thus native healers in the Yolngu culture are much more important to aboriginal society than, say, M.D.'s are to Western society since they are the embodiment of communal wishes and the means of maintaining communal cohesiveness.

Sorcerers and Healing Spirits is a profoundly humane book, a book with heart, and yet a book that clearly presents Yolngu concepts of disease, etiology, and therapy in considerable detail. Janice Reid. is to be congratulated for writing one of the better ethnomedical treatises to appear in recent years. My only complaint with the book is that Reid fails to give sufficient botanical details of Yolngu herbal treatments; perhaps we can hope for further work on this topic in the future.

Michael W. Young, *Magicians of Manumanua. Living Myth in Kalauna.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. Pp. x, 318, maps, illustrations. $24.95.

Reviewed by Jean Guiart, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris

Myth is one of our easiest contemporary philosophical concepts. As such it tends to express the fact that men may act, collectively or individually, in an apparently irrational way, and that oral or written tradition telling a touching or dramatic story linked with an imaginary past, or a very much transformed one, can be a dynamic factor in our minds, fostering actions as if by rule or law.

The choice of the word myth sterns from our Western classical education, and its explanation begins with the Greek stories that formed the basis of Aeschylean tragedies. The new fashion of using the term "foundation stories" does not shed any more light than the "myths of origin" used formerly. So it is well that Michael Young has kept the word myth, which makes easier reading in his discussion of Claude Levi-Strauss and Maurice Leenhardt who have done likewise.

There is happily no Greek reminiscence in this book to blur the picture. But one would have hoped for a wider discussion—in Melanesian terms at least, if not of the South Pacific as a whole. Anything close to the Trobriand Islands carries, ipso facto, a theoretical tone. The comparison with Malinowski is to the point, but New Caledonian myth

could have been looked at more closely, as well as the lessons we can derive from Raymond Firth's very complete analysis of the Tikopian tradition, and what can still be culled from the excellent material given us so early by Reverend Codrington. Too many in the new crop of eastern New Guinea scholars write as if nothing has ever been observed and analyzed in the eastern Pacific, even if in fact they are rediscovering what others have already shown—in Vanuatu, in Fiji, among Maoris, or in Samoa or the Solomons. Margaret Mead's funny idea that one should not read before going into the field, so as to bring in a virgin mind—as if such a thing existed—seems somewhat to still hold sway.

Michael Young goes much further and brings us back to the core of anthropology, through his own work as well as through his discussion of Claude Levi-Strauss's structural analysis of myth and of Maurice Leenhardt's experienced and intuitive approach to the same subject. Looking at the author's data, one point comes immediately to the fore: that the Western method of going about collecting life stories only lands a researcher in the middle of a whole collection of new myths. The Melanesian authors want to discuss their own status and function (so as to justify them) much more than recount small events in chronologically ordered sequences. This we know from the type of traditional vernacular literature elicited in New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, Vanuatu, as well as Maori oral traditions and others. Michael Young rediscovers (and it is good he does that job for an American public) the existence of different variants, more or less coherent, more or less contradictory, of which individuals or corporate groups consider themselves the owners, or part-owners. They do not easily accept the idea of making them public, at least in all details, even if they know that their particular version is well known by their neighbors. Young discovers too that the very same person, at different times, will not give exactly the same version. This should be expected and is current fashion all over the Pacific and elsewhere; the same rules play in Catholic or orthodox continental Europe regarding the lives of saints of the healer type, in what is called the Golden Legend.

Another aspect of myth that has rarely been shown so accurately (except by Elsdon Best for the Maoris of New Zealand) is the way a vernacular text of a myth contains, in detail, the recipe for the ritual actions that accompany it. In fact, this is typical of the region, although insufficiently shown in the literature where the necessary formulas to be chanted, and not spoken, have often not been given in the course of the myth. We must go back to the Maori *karakia* to learn how small pieces of poetry interspersed within the prose are in fact charms thought to be

effective per se. Many vernacular texts from other regions can be understood in the same way, even if much too well written English, German, or French translations have made difficult such a later analysis. Close comparison, as is possible in the South Pacific, can fill in some of the holes of our knowledge,

Magicians of Manumanua is one of the best cases in point. But why this reference to magic and magicians, which is taken for granted by the author? From the very first monographs on the area, and W. H. Rivers' still extraordinarily useful survey of Melanesia, we know that the different societies and cultures of the Melanesian arc and Fiji all show ways by which the entire environment—plants, animals, and atmospheric phenomena—is shared between corporate groups; each group is responsible for one or more ritual, the function of which is to insure the positive, or negative, existence of some factor such as the growth of yams, taro, or breadfruit, the multiplication of fishes, the control of the sun, the wind, or the rain, the abundance of mosquitos, and so on. The man who insures that there will be a good crop of breadfruit can. also cause every orchard to be barren. This double aspect has been known at least since Rivers and Leenhardt, and its existence has been confirmed everywhere since, although Western theologians ignore it and our Middle Ages have differentiated between the white and the black arts. It is such common knowledge among Christian village dwellers that it does not occur to them to state it; in any case the negative side has generally been hidden from missionaries, or any white man around, so as not to create trouble.

I have shown elsewhere, as regards Tanna in southern Vanuatu, the existence of a ritual designed to fill human bellies, or empty them, according to circumstance—the interpretations come after the facts—or to the whims of the ritual's owner. I have tried to compare this case, and others, with the fertility rituals described by Arthur Bernard Deacon for the Seniang area of South West Bay, Malekula, Central Vanuatu, who linked them with the *nembrbrkon*, a site inside a grove where a local group stacks the bones of its dead members and has its priest act out a rite the aim of which is to obtain the multiplication, or the control, of everything needed for human well-being, one species or environmental factor in each site. This means magic has nothing to do with this, the formula prayers being always addressed to a mythical being, or deified ancestor, his name being at times too sacred to be uttered. The presence of the dead is a witness to the fact that we have here straight religious phenomena.

Nevertheless I do consider that the ideological construction we have

over Melanesian and Polynesian island groups has been best put together and explained in Michael Young's timely study, if one only accepts the word magic as a convenience, keeping in mind the essential link between the mythical figure and the ritual. It is unfortunate that Malinowski's continuous use of the word magic has led in this case such a charmed life. Evidently Reo Fortune's *Sorcerers of Dobu* has been an unconscious model for the title of the book, although it does not figure in the bibliography nor in the discussion. Codrington and Rivers are not included either, which is a pity. The chance of available English translations or studies has brought in Levi-Strauss and Leenhardt, the latter for the very evident "alive" aspect of the myth studied, with its status, competition, and emotional connotations; the former for his celebrated structural analytical technique.

Levi-Strauss tends to think that few have understood the fine details of a method born from the very poor situation of South American anthropology regarding the study of myth at a certain time in history. In fact, Michael Young is not giving us a structural analysis of myth in Kalauna; he is using a structural approach to establish the links between living myths and a very much alive ethnography: his own. He does not need, as Levi-Strauss did, a logical tool to go further and deeper than what has been published in the literature. Michael Young works directly with the culture and has no need for a conceptual bridge to mediate between him and the people (although, like all of us, he forgot to ask certain questions when in the field).

The resulting study makes good reading, although less when the author inserts some Freudian touches to his picture. The problem was not an easy one, the danger being always to confuse analysis and description. Recounting the myth in other words is nothing other than adding glosses to a text without being sure of their validity. All clerics dealing with the Holy Scriptures know the difference. Part of this book is an attempt to make us understand the social and ritual content of the myths. It is often brilliant and persuasive, at times slightly repetitive, but that is the result of the rules of the game laid down by the myths themselves.

I was sorry to find that an important aspect of myth has been left out: a careful mapping of the place names cited in the texts, which would have brought to light either the geography of social and ritual relations, or the extent and detail of land tenure claims of the group owning each myth. Few researchers have been equipped by their training for solid mapping work in the field, although the work is much simplified today by aerial photographs. I tried to show long ago the importance of such

an approach, but the explorers in this field have been Gregory Bateson for the Iatmul in 1936, Douglas Oliver for the Siuai in 1949, and Ward Goodenough for Truk in 1951. But apparently one is not a prophet in one's own country and the American section of the anthropological profession is still not ready to accept this viewpoint. It seems nevertheless impossible to have a complete view of the information content of any oral tradition without analyzing this aspect in detail. Anthropologists are abandoning surveying techniques to geographers, who publish wonderful maps but are untrained in the job of examining the value of each point in space versus the rest of the culture to which it belongs. Methods of studying oral traditions in Central Africa have left out the spatial aspect of the information contained, except in very general terms, probably due to the fact that such enormous distances would have to be covered that nobody dares start such a herculean labor. In Melanesia, where distances are manageable, anthropology is still a one-man field; it is a pity that little account is taken of this lesson.

A case in point is Young's treatment of Goodenough island, twenty-five miles at its widest diameter; better analytical devices—regarding the spatial signification of the different texts given in translation—than the cursory maps published would have been appreciated. Although the author's text has left out all that was repetitive, which would evidently put off a nonspecialized reader, it is evident by what is said that the sequences are being played in a very precise landscape, along rivers and coastal areas and from one island to another. The hero of the myths is in each case described as doing this or that:, extraordinary actions justifying in each case a symbolic rite, translated in a chanted formula, each time at a given spot. These places should have been put in relation to the ritualized social relations (positive or negative) between corporate groups and the way land tenure expresses them at the same time as the identity of each group. The symbolic, that is social, value of the yam, taro, or banana exchanges, whether the result of negotiation or aggression, is enhanced by the fact that they come from such and such a garden, the location of which is known by both sides, the givers as well as the takers. The author is right in describing yams as being close to human: yams coming from one place have more prestige than yams coming from another; some locations might make yams unfit for consumption except for the owners of the land, or could have the consequence of lowering the prestige of the recipients. The map of the invisible world is intellectually superimposed upon the one dealing with human society, Anthropology has to be able to draw both maps, which would then show in analytical detail aspects of institutions and struc-

tures that cannot be satisfactorily brought out in words, and which no reader could otherwise begin to understand.

This perhaps too impassioned plea had to be put to the specialized reader. It must be then said that Michael Young has seen through very important facets of this Pacific island culture. I would not vouch, from what I have read, that he realizes that the so-called Polynesian societies are very close to the Melanesian societies in all respects. The frontier between them is in the author's choice of words: he does not use the word chief, although he could have done so. The consequences would have been as vague as anywhere else in the area where the word chief is put forward. The author deals with a situation where three men play a crucial role, and an inherited one, regarding the control of the universe for the benefit of the local human society. That is the definition of a chief anywhere in the area and especially in the eastern Pacific. Michael Young shows moreover how an upstart, coming from a junior line, builds himself a special position through the organization of a competitive festival, using both his curative prowess, his powers of divination in dreams, and veiled threats of using sorcery or negative fertility magic; the last instance is perhaps a protection against the dangers of wanting to become a "big man" when one is not born one. This is no specific Goodenough island situation.

The connotations in the area of the uses of both the words "big man" and "chief" are quite vague; we simply have no equivalent in our language to the concepts born from Pacific island societies. One of the interesting aspects of Michael Young's study is that this fundamental ambiguity of the Western anthropological knowledge on Oceania appears clearly, through the author's careful use of vernacular concepts. The competitive situation he describes in Goodenough island is not very far removed from the intensity and the dangers of competition Albert Wendt shows in any large Samoan village of today: how ambitions build up and range from temporary triumph to more or less well-accepted failure and misery. Living in a Melanesian or Polynesian village, where private life exists only for a few hours at a time in a faraway garden, is no small feat, and means, for us, an extraordinary capacity to control one's emotions, except through the institutionalized outlets offered by the culture. Fighting with taro, or with yams—and thus pushing murder and cannibalism into a faraway unromantic past—is a marvellous invention, a way of mobilizing energies and expressing anger and hostility in such a way that one will get back the expected compensation in food as well as in prestige, and at the same time a deep satisfaction, if one wins the day.

But in this culture so cleverly described, where shall one find the specificity of Goodenough island (outside of the linguistic aspect), if all Pacific islands societies tend to show the interplay of the same factors? One problem here is that the author, like Fortune on Dobu, deals only with one village and does not seem to have the information allowing him to compare the Kalauna society to all the other villages of the island. We are being offered as an implicit issue what personal comparison we can try on our own with the Trobriand Islands culture as described by Malinowski. This is not easy, as we do not know enough, if anything, of the cultures of Fergusson island and the Amphlett's, Goodenough's immediate neighbors. To be useful, scientific comparisons should proceed from place to place, so as to establish all the meaningful chains between institutions, and at each level of detail, where they change or are being reversed, Pacific islands societies acting as logical players in a widely dispersed game of doing different things with more or less the same pack of cards.

One of the aims of anthropology is to try and anchor deeply the analysis of the fundamental concepts built for itself by a given culture, what Bateson called *ethos* and what has often been described as "values." At this point Kalauna does have originality, trying to foster a model of leaders in the same way as Victorian England, but on another basis. Elsewhere the idea of leaders is that they must be fat and well fed so as to insure the fertility of the land. Here the choice is reversed, the careful use of food being an ideology, with charms being uttered in an attempt to make men and women capable of eating as little as possible, even leaving some food to rot as a token of the hoped for controlled food consumption. This very aesthetic view of how man should deal with his environment ought to be looked at in conjunction with better information on that precise environment: the different value of soils available, the amount of arable land versus that which is too mountainous to be gardened, and so on. Are there physical factors, compared with other islands, or other village situations, that could explain this trend? Is it Kalauna's interpretation of things in Goodenough island, a way of differing from the rest of the villages, or is it specifically Lulauvile lineage in Kalauna, or Goodenough in the Massim area? Somebody will have to tell us, some day. We are given some indication that the concept of *manumanua* holds sway on a wider area than the rather small one intensively studied here. The interlocked conceptual systems which it is part of are certainly of the better explained ideological worlds in recent years. The concept of *unuwewe,* bringing a leader to exact revenge by creating an imbalance in the normal functioning of the universe and

thus playing against his own kin, is related to innumerable cases in the area. A man, in a situation to exert such power but not obtaining the social recognition that is his ambition, and thwarted in one of his schemes, compensates for the loss of face (or of *mana* in Codrington's or Maori words) through recourse to the invisible world. One can send grubs or a plague of mosquitos to another group, but a hurricane or drought will hurt everybody. A person who decides to employ such a mythical revenge will need to be able to stand firm before all the emotional pressures. In our own world how could anyone keep family and kin affiliations if thought to be responsible for a tragedy of such magnitude, endangering everyone's capacity for survival?

I would suggest that the specificity of Kalauna here is to show us how the conceptual system based on the ambiguous (negative and positive) control of the universe can be pushed to its logical limits, upon which a quasi philosophy can be built. There is no need to look for any Freudian or Yungian aspect in this. Every item recorded by Michael 'Young, in myth and in life stories, is cohesive with all the others. If competition uses as much of the negative powers as the positive ones (instead of relegating the first to the realm of the untold, and what should be the unthought), we have an extraordinarily pessimistic view of life:, both for the ancestors, the cultural heroes, and the living people. Kalauna perhaps has gone further than elsewhere. I would like to know what its women, who are rarely allowed to speak in this book, have to say about all this, since through their stillborn children or through their own deaths, they are the principal victims of any leader's *unuwewe.*

I would nevertheless say that Michael Young should not be astonished, as a result of all the tragedies described, to see even brothers break apart, Quarrels between siblings are a universal factor, and in Melanesia maybe the most important factor of social change: the exiled brother must be given a new status elsewhere, which tends to make the local society receiving him each time a bit more complex. Quarrels have never ceased and there are still examples every day. All communities have perfectly good reasons for breaking apart perhaps once a generation, and all would reclaim—give a wife and access to land—somebody having seceded, or having been excluded from his own group. Villages grow by attracting unattached individuals around a hereditary chief or a big man—people fleeing from somebody's wrath, from the fear of sorcery, or from retribution for their own witchcraft activities. All sorts of people will agglomerate around the "posts" of one place, creating thus a temporary opposition between a local, well-endowed aristocracy and a certain form of pleb, until intermarriage manages to blur the earlier

distinctions and grandsons belong to more or less everybody, classificatory-wise. Then tensions can start to enter in, big man-type ambitions to flourish, and the community is doomed to explode in its turn, at the same time as prophetic cults and millennial movements bring a new cohesive factor answering the problems brought in by the white man's presence. Island situations, as well as our own, are eternally dialectic.

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