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CONTENTS

Articles

- Growing Old in Changing Micronesia*
LEONARD MASON 1
- Savage Island or Savage History: An Interpretation
of Early European Contact with Niue*
SUE MCLACHLAN 26
- The "In-Charge Complex" and Tobian
Political Culture*
PETER W. BLACK 52
- Key Elements in the Evolving Political Culture
of the Federated States of Micronesia*
DANIEL T. HUGHES AND
STANLEY K. LAUGHLIN, JR. 71

Editor's Forum

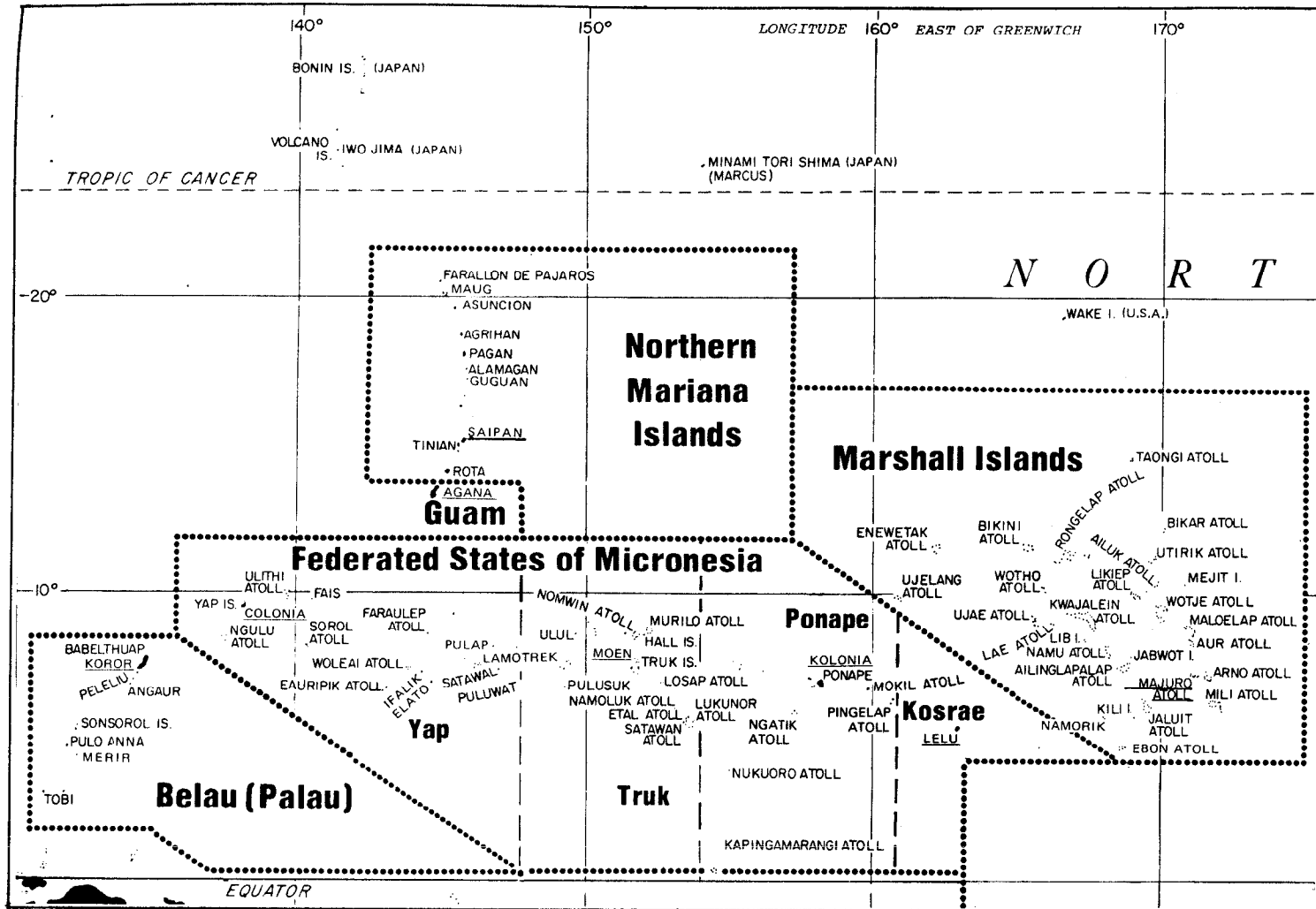
- Aspects of Political Culture and Institution Building
in Melanesia: The Constitutional Planning in
Papua New Guinea and the Special Committee
on Provincial Government in Solomon Islands*
EDWARD WOLFERS 85

Reviews

- Joan Abramson, ed., *Photographers of Old Hawaii*
and Rick Golt, *Hawai'i Hawai'i*
(JUDI THOMPSON) 109
- H. C. Brookfield, ed., *Population-Environment Relations
in Tropical Islands: The Case of Eastern Fiji*
(BRUCE KNAPMAN) 113

R. M. W. Dixon, <i>The Languages of Australia</i> (MICHAEL WALSH)	117
Edwin Doran, Jr., <i>Wangka: Austronesian Canoe Origins</i> (OLAF RUHEN)	119
Aslaug and Johannes Falkenberg, <i>The Affinal Relationship System of the Australian Aborigines in the Port Keats District</i> (ALLEN RUMSEY)	122
Judith Farquhar and D. Carleton Gajdusek, eds., <i>Kuru: Early Letters and Field-Notes from the Collection of D. Carleton Gajdusek</i> (TERENCE E. HAYS)	125
Bryan Farrell, <i>Hawaii, the Legend that Sells</i> (KAREN ANN WATSON-GECEO)	128
Norma Grieve and Patricia Grimshaw, eds., <i>Australian Women: Feminist Perspectives</i> (KAY SAUNDERS)	132
Noeline V. Hall, <i>I Have Planted . . . :</i> <i>A Biography of Alfred Nesbit Brown</i> (CHARLOTTE CARR-GREGG)	133
Bruce W. Hodgins, Don Wright, and W. H. Heick, eds., <i>Federalism in Canada and Australia: The Early Years</i> (S. R. DAVIS)	137
Christine Holmes, ed., <i>Captain Cook's Final Voyage: The Journal of Midshipman George Gilbert</i> (JAMES R. GIBSON)	140
R. L. Kirk, <i>Aboriginal Man Adapting: The Human Biology of Australian Aborigines</i> (JOSEPH P. RESER)	141

Hal B. Levine and Marlene Wolfzahn Levine, <i>Urbanization in Papua New Guinea, A Study of Ambivalent Townsmen</i> (ANNETTE B. WEINER)	143
Mac Marshall, ed., <i>Siblingship in Oceania: Studies in the Meaning of Kin Relations</i> (HENRY P. LUNDSGAARDE)	145
Captain Henry Byam Martin, <i>The Polynesian Journal</i> (PAULINE N. KING)	148
W. H. Oliver and B. R. Williams, eds., <i>The Oxford History of New Zealand</i> (COLIN NEWBURY)	151
Thomas J. Osborne, " <i>Empire Can Wait</i> "; <i>American Opposition to Hawaiian Annexation, 1893-1898</i> (WILLIAM TAGUPA)	156
Kenneth L. Rehg with Damian G. Sohl, <i>Ponapean Reference Grammar</i> (PAUL L. GARVIN)	158
Solange Petit Skinner, <i>The Nauruans</i> (EUGENE OGAN)	161
Brian Sutton-Smith, <i>A History of Children's Play: New Zealand Playground 1840-1950</i> (RONALD S. JACKSON)	162
Andrew C. Theophaneous, <i>Australian Democracy in Crises. A New Theoretical Introduction to Australian Politics</i> (KAY SAUNDERS)	164
Wayne S. Wooden, <i>What Price Paradise? Changing Social Patterns In Hawaii</i> (GORDON PI'IANAI'A)	165
Announcement	168
Books Received and Book Notices	169



MAP OF MICRONESIA (Hawai'i Geographic Society, 1982)

PACIFIC STUDIES

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GROWING OLD IN CHANGING MICRONESIA

by Leonard Mason

Introduction

Older people in the scattered island communities of Micronesia have traditionally been held in high regard, almost in spiritual awe, by other members of the society. They have been accorded special respect and deference, both in language and in nonverbal behavior, by those who are younger. They have been sought out for their treasuries of age-old lore and for their years of accumulated wisdom and experience. They have exercised undisputed authority concerning the administration of land and other property belonging to the kin groups in which they held seniority. They have enjoyed the rights and perquisites accompanying their inherited responsibilities.

It is with sorrow and a feeling of emptiness that one must admit how the status of the aged in most Micronesian societies has declined in recent decades. Introduced forms of elective government and the priority given to formal education has led to a shift of authority and influence away from the elders to a rising generation of elitists schooled in the new ways. The traditional channels of communication between the older people and youth are falling into disuse. The migration of young and middle-aged folk to the urban centers and port towns for gainful employment has left many elders alone in their home villages and lacking in support for their day-to-day needs. In an increasingly cash economy, the older islanders have few opportunities to obtain money except for the modest sums they receive from relatives working in the urban centers. They must, of necessity, continue to depend on a subsistence way of life but without the security once guaranteed them by a fully functioning system of family and community cooperation and obligation.

Modernization of the traditional past in Micronesia has by no means been restricted to the period following World War II. The colonial regimes of Spain, Germany, Japan, and the United States had already significantly altered island cultures during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The transformations taking place today are simply more extensive and are paced so rapidly that islanders in general, as well as the older people, find it hard to accommodate without considerable confusion and disorientation. The critical issues which challenge the present leadership are how to direct that change and how to control its rate of speed so as not to unduly disrupt the stability of island communities and the security of Micronesians as individuals.

The needs of the elderly as a constituency to be serviced are not always easy to identify in Micronesia. Seniors voice their concern about being left out of contemporary affairs. While family support is often not available when most needed, the traditional pride felt by family and community causes resentment against outside aid for their elders. Many of the aged feel trapped between the past and the future. They have no clear signals about how to resolve the difficulties they are experiencing. Some observers regard the elderly as the principal casualties of the changing times. This may well be true, but the problems they face are not theirs alone. The answers to their dilemmas doubtless will be found ultimately in the solutions reached by members of the whole society.

On a more positive note, many traditional concepts such as the sharing of land rights and the extension of familial ties are still acknowledged as core values providing an essential foundation for a continuing island life-way. Changes in technology and innovations in social, economic, political, and religious practice may suggest to the casual observer that Micronesian traditions are dead. To the contrary, beneath that surface awareness, more careful observation will reveal a persistence of traditional orientations throughout most of the region. This is what island leaders have in mind today when they talk about "The Pacific Way," which is a prideful recognition of the characteristic manner in which Pacific peoples, including the Micronesians, continue to perceive traditional relationships with their environment and with each other.

General Background

Micronesia, the regional focus of this paper, is regarded by most anthropologists and geographers as one of the three major divisions of Oceania. It is located in the westernmost Pacific and is almost entirely north of the equator. Of the other two regions, Melanesia is an arc of

large islands extending from Papua New Guinea in the west to Fiji in the east, all of them lying south of the equator. Polynesia is contained within a large triangle to the east and is marked at its outer limits by Hawaii, Easter Island, and New Zealand.

Geographically, Micronesia consists of four archipelagoes: (1) the Marianas in the northwest, (2) the Carolines in the west and central part, (3) the Marshalls in the east, and (4) the Gilberts (now the major part of Kiribati, a former British colony which became independent in 1979) in the southeast. Two isolated islands should also be included, Nauru and Ocean (Banaba) Islands which lie south of the equator and west of the Gilberts. The first three of the archipelagoes are administered by the United States. In this paper, discussion of the condition of the elderly will be limited to this area.

American Micronesia extends 2,800 miles from west to east and about 1,100 miles from south to north. It covers an ocean area of 3,000,000 square miles, the equivalent of the continental United States. However, the land area, composed of an estimated 2,200 islands, adds up to only 930 square miles. This is less than one-seventh of the land contained in the State of Hawaii. The general picture of Micronesia is one of many small islands scattered over a very wide expanse of the western Pacific.

Island topography is important for understanding the cultural attitudes of Micronesian communities in traditional terms as well as for options about development in modern times. It is customary to distinguish between "high" islands of volcanic origin and "low" coral islands or atolls. The former are found in all of the Marianas and in Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae in the Carolines. Guam, the largest of these, is 212 square miles in area and accounts for about one-fourth of all the land in American Micronesia.

The rest of the Carolines and all of the Marshalls are coralline in nature. Most of them are atolls consisting of a coral reef encircling a saltwater lagoon with a varying number of islets on the reef rising to no more than 20 feet above sea level. In the atolls, land is extremely scarce, soils are deficient, drinking water is in critical supply, and plant species are restricted by the harsher ecology. However, the lagoon and the deep sea beyond the reef provide an almost unlimited resource of marine food. Understandably, low islanders are more oriented toward the sea in their view of the world, while high islanders look more to the resources of the land, despite the relatively small compass of their domain.

Climate throughout most of the region is oceanic and tropical with high temperatures and humidity, although the prevailing tradewinds moderate living conditions. Annual rainfall ranges from 70 to 150 inches with

some seasonal variation. Typhoons usually originate in the central Carolines and then move west or north into the Marianas. They may cause extensive damage although regional warning systems now keep danger to human life to a minimum.

To compose a simple statement about Micronesian traditional life will do no justice to the richness and variety of the islanders' mores as these affect the lives and status of the elderly. Such an effort may also be misleading because "Micronesia" and "Micronesians" are terms coined by foreigners to identify artificial concepts. They imply a greater heterogeneity than has ever existed in the region. The diversity of traditional practices, most of which are still viable today, must be appreciated if the reader is to be sensitive to the implications for developing social services and social policy for the elderly.

Cultural differences within Micronesia have evolved over several millennia of relative isolation of island groups from each other. Scholars agree that ancestors of the Micronesians arrived as early as 3000 to 2000 B.C., sailing to the Marianas and western Carolines from the Philippines. They brought with them food plants, such as coconut, taro, breadfruit, and yam, along with a viable farming and fishing economy. Around 1500 B.C. central and eastern Micronesia began to be settled from the south by canoe parties originating in eastern Melanesia, about the same time that forebears of the Polynesians moved on to Tonga and Samoa from the same homeland. Comparative linguistic research has identified more than a dozen distinct languages in Micronesia, including Palauan, Yapese, Chamorro, Trukese, Ponapean, Kosraen, Marshallese, and others. Today, English is the single medium of communication among these disparate speech communities due to the operation of American schools throughout the territory.

As in language, there are comparable differences in the social, economic, and political sectors of culture which continue to characterize ethnic entities in Micronesia despite the common overlay of Western custom in historic times. The following summary attempts to generalize about certain features of the traditional culture important for understanding the contemporary scene, such as kinship groupings, social reciprocity, economic exchange, land tenure, status and rank, authority, and the supernatural.

Most island settlements outside the more urbanized centers of population are quite small and are dispersed along the shoreline. Growing up in the islands has generally meant to learn, by informal means, about the network of rights and obligations operating within the immediate family and household and, by extension, in the lineage, clan, and community.

Critical factors affecting the shape of these social configurations are age, sex, kinship, and residence. Taken together, these factors determine an individual's status and role within the larger society. The specific patterns of social organization vary in detail from one culture to the next. Adoption of children is quite common and generally involves close relatives. Adolescence in traditional Micronesia was not unduly stressful. Even today, premarital sex is condoned within limits defined by time-honored views about incest. Marriage was strongly influenced by familial needs and loyalties and has been affected only moderately by individual preferences in the context of acculturation. Death and funeral rites are ritualized to insure a clear passage of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld and to ease the adjustment of those who are bereaved.

Households consist generally of a nuclear family plus varying numbers of extended family members, such as, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins, and function as the principal economic units in production and distribution of goods and services. The matrilineal principle of descent commonly prevails in the larger networks of social relationships. Land is shared and administered by a kin group, which most often is the lineage or clan. Land is the foundation of political power and authority as exercised by kin group heads. In some societies, paramount chiefs hold authority over more extensive territorial entities. Social class distinctions have been elaborated in most of Micronesia and depend largely on preemptive land rights and descent through the female line. However, males traditionally enjoy superiority over females, at least in the public view. Age contributes importantly to social status among individuals, with the advantage on the side of the elderly. Within the community, competition for social position by kin groups is conducted in a formal manner by excessive displays at public feasts where exchanges of food and other goods occur among rival parties. On certain occasions, tribute is rendered by individuals and their kinfolk who seek favors from the traditional chiefs.

Religion, in a formalistic sense, was never developed as much in Micronesia as it was in Polynesia and Melanesia. However, Micronesians responded actively (and many still do) to their perceived supernatural environment. Their concepts of ancestral ghosts, sorcery, spirit possession, illness, and healing continue to affect their physical and mental well-being, even as they seek medical aid from Western doctors and participate in Christian worship. A rich body of legend, myth, and folklore still enlivens the world-view of the older generation, and is being revitalized among younger Micronesians through bilingual and bicultural education in the public schools.

The islanders' attitudes about time focus on the present, except as social status or rank may be enhanced by reference to ancestral legacies. In that case, genealogies reaching into the past are valued to establish individual and family credentials. Micronesians express less concern about their future. Whatever lies ahead may be seen as continued growth along paths already charted. Or, the future may be accepted without question as "whatever will be, will be," an attitude which has sustained many island communities through times of scarcity and repression in the course of Micronesian history.

Magellan sighted the Marianas in 1521. It was not until 1668 that Spanish impact on local Chamorro society began in the guise of Catholic missionary and governmental punitive actions which by the end of the seventeenth century had reduced the native population to a fraction of its former numbers and had delivered a mortal blow to the indigenous culture. The next two centuries resulted in progressive hybridization (more specifically, hispanicization) of Chamorro culture and race as Spanish, Filipino, and Mexican forces altered the native heritage. Guam became a supply station for Spanish galleons sailing between Mexico and the Philippines. Meanwhile, during the early nineteenth century, several hundred Carolinians from the atolls between Yap and Truk had migrated to Saipan and laid the basis for a Carolinian minority in the Marianas north of Guam.

The Spanish-American War resulted in the annexation of Guam as a territory by the United States in 1898. The Navy Department had responsibility for maintaining a naval station on the island. Programs in public health and education were launched. In the ensuing years, Guamanians came to feel an intense loyalty to the United States.

Official policies by Germany, which succeeded Spain in the Marianas and the Carolines in 1899 and which had already established a protectorate in the Marshalls in 1885, emphasized commercial trade and production of copra. Administrators worked with island chieftains in a form of indirect rule regarding copra production, tax collection, and labor conscription for public works projects. The traditional powers of the chiefs were somewhat curtailed in areas of land tenure and social class privilege.

At the start of World War I, Japan met no resistance in taking over the German holdings in Micronesia. The League of Nations in 1920 confirmed Japan in retention of the islands as a mandated territory. Micronesian elders, who now are in their sixties, were born during this time. At first, Japanese interests predominated in commercial agriculture and fisheries to benefit the national economy at home. Most of the labor for these industries was provided by colonists from Okinawa who were relocated in

the islands to relieve population pressure in southern Japan. For the islanders, public health services improved and elementary schools stressed Japanese language and morals and vocational subjects. Traditional island authorities were superseded by the Japanese-controlled administration. Micronesians became a minority people in their own homeland.

By 1937, Japan's military interests had gained priority and were implemented in selected locations in Micronesia in anticipation of that nation's offensive against the United States and countries in the South Pacific and Southeast Asia. Guam was occupied by Japanese forces in 1941. Severe dislocations of the Guamanian population occurred, as also in Micronesia wherever Japan's military concerns prevailed.

In 1944, American invasion forces seized strategic island locations in the Marshalls, Palau, and Marianas. Guam was retaken, and extensive air and sea facilities were constructed in support of the final attack on Japan. Guamanians, with nearly a half century of exposure to Western culture under U.S. territorial administration, moved swiftly after World War II to identify more closely with the American way of life and to disassociate themselves from their less westernized neighbors in Micronesia.

The United Nations in 1947 approved the U.S. government to administer the region as the newly created Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI). The Navy Department was delegated responsibility for the islands until 1951 when the Department of the Interior was given that charge by the nation's president.

Meanwhile, on Guam, local pressures for self-government were recognized by the U.S. Congress in 1950 when the latter approved legislation to establish Guam as an organized territory. At the same time, Guamanians were granted U.S. citizenship. Federal administrative control of Guam passed from the Navy to the Interior Department.

In the Trust Territory, top priority went to development of schools and hospitals. Measures were also initiated by the administration to set up legislative bodies at municipal, district, and territorial levels with membership restricted to Micronesians who were elected by popular vote. Less attention was given to developing the islands' physical infrastructure and economic self-sufficiency. From the early 1960s, however, increasingly large sums of money were poured into the territory in support of a burgeoning bureaucracy headed by American appointees and staffed by Micronesians.

This had the effect of making the islanders more and more dependent on federal grants-in-aid to finance their rising expectations in consumerism. Hordes of Micronesians migrated from rural areas to the more urbanized district centers. They were attracted by the concentration of hospital

care, post-elementary education, administrative services, western forms of entertainment, businesses catering to increased consumer needs, and transit facilities which improved communication by sea and air with the outside world. This movement to the district centers created serious problems common to urbanization elsewhere in the world, and depleted the labor resources and personnel needed to maintain the more traditional social structures in outlying rural areas.

Negotiations between the territorial Congress of Micronesia and the U.S. government regarding a more permanent political relationship got underway in 1969. Before long, however, serious differences on this issue arose among the Micronesians. In 1978 the Northern Marianas separated from the rest of the territory to become a commonwealth within the United States system, with citizenship to be granted upon termination of the trusteeship. By 1979 the Marshall Islands had also elected to go their own way, seeking a freer association with the United States and rejecting U.S. citizenship. In that same year, the newly formed Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), a union of Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae states, followed a somewhat parallel course. Finally, in 1981, the Republic of Belau (Palau) was inaugurated in anticipation of a similar tie with the United States. Negotiations continued between each of the last three entities and the U.S. government regarding final details of the free association status, but by 1983 had not yet been concluded. The proposed relationship would provide financial aid and self-government to the new Micronesian states in return for guarantees of U.S. military freedom of action in Micronesia to defend the nation's security in the Pacific.

Guam, over the years, has made some small progress in achieving more self-government, as the result of U.S. congressional actions which allow Guamanians to elect their own executive officials and to have a non-voting delegate sit in the nation's House of Representatives.

The Changing Position of the Elderly

As evidenced by the foregoing discussion, any assessment of the status of the elderly in contemporary Micronesia must adopt a multifaceted approach if proper recognition is to be given to the complex mingling of geographical, cultural, and historical factors which have affected the present complexion of island populations in quite different ways. The situation of older persons today reflects the rate and direction of social change experienced by *all* members of the society. The elders, of course, represent within their own lifetimes a longer exposure to change than those who are younger. Many of the elderly people have had but one gener-

ation to accommodate a fairly traditional life-style to one of increasing dependence on external resources controlled by global forces. Other seniors have inherited cultural forms which were already altered by decades, even centuries, of contact with Western nations. On a graded scale of modernization, some populations (including the elders) appear to have assumed nearly the whole cloak of American custom, as in the case of Guam, while others still retain their essential nature as island Micronesians. However, as noted above, some societies have changed more rapidly than others, and hence have endured much greater stress.

A few examples, which follow, may help the reader to understand the complexities of change in the region and its effect on the position of the island's senior citizens.

At one extreme, the coral atolls lying between Yap and Truk represent a relatively uncomplicated organization of social and political cultures. They display a realistic relationship between the subsistence economy and the sparse island ecology, and manifest an absence of significant change under foreign administrations. Only very recently have these people become acutely aware of the new options open to them in the context of the political nationalism that is sweeping Micronesia.

Midway on the scale are the Marshall Islands, another atoll region with a similar resource base, but there the sameness ends. A traditionally stratified society with autocratic powers wielded by paramount chiefs, the Marshallese have seen foreign development of their copra industry, conversion by New England missionaries of the Protestant faith, extreme deprivation as a battleground between Japan and the United States in World War II, resettlement and radiation exposure of whole communities during the nuclear weapons testing programs in the late 1940s and 1950s, and dislocation and discrimination occasioned by construction and operation of the Pacific Missile Range at Kwajalein Atoll. In the 1970s, the Marshallese adopted a parliamentary form of national government and continue to bargain intensely with the U.S. government concerning the terms of a compact of free association.

A third example, at the other end of this spectrum of change, is Guam, largest of the Mariana Islands. The people of this territory have preserved only a vestige of traditional Chamorro culture, which is overlaid with Spanish customs assimilated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After 1898 they were ruled as an American naval station, were ruthlessly occupied by Japanese forces during World War II, and were reluctant hosts to U.S. development of their island as a major military air and sea facility in support of that country's security in the western Pacific. Guamanians now seek closer economic ties with postwar Japan and other

Asian countries and are currently striving to improve their political status in terms of greater self-government and closer union with the United States.

A more precise picture of the position of the elderly in contemporary Micronesia may be gained by brief resumes of their situation in three areas of the region which in very broad terms will depict some of the differences alluded to in the preceding general statement. These areas are (1) the Caroline and Marshall Islands which comprise the principal part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and together have a somewhat similar history of Western contact and change even though marked cultural contrasts abound within the area; (2) the Northern Mariana Islands which are linked with the former area in events of this century but have a strikingly different history prior to that time; and (3) Guam, southernmost of the Marianas, whose people shared much of the same cultural and historical heritage with the rest of the Marianas until the beginning of the present century, but have followed quite separate courses since that time.

(1) *Caroline and Marshall Islands.* The summary statement on traditional culture included in the section on "General Background" is fairly accurate for the area now under discussion. The principal cultural divisions are the high island societies of Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae and the low island groups of the Marshalls in the east and the so-called Outer Islands between Yap and Truk. (A useful reference for more details on ethnography of the region is Alkire, 1977.)

As noted earlier, linguistic differences follow the above pattern. The elderly are especially restricted to using the language of their own society. A few of them are able to communicate in Japanese, but most have not had opportunities to learn English, as the younger people have done in American schools since World War II.

Census data from 1973, the latest detailed count available until the 1980 census is more fully published, indicated a very young population with 47 percent of the total 98,051 inhabitants being under 15 years of age. Those 60 years and above, about 6,000 persons, accounted for only 6 percent. Women in the latter group slightly outnumbered men (TTPI, 1973).

The same data revealed a significant difference in the residence patterns of older people. Of the total population, 39 percent resided in the more urbanized district centers, while only 30 percent of those 60 years and above lived there. More of the elderly have preferred to remain in the rural and more traditional outer islands. The concentration of Micronesians in the centers was most marked in Palau (Koror) and the Marshalls (Ebeye and Majuro) where over 50 percent of the district populations

lived in the sites named. By comparison, only 39 to 41 percent of senior persons resided in the centers. In the other districts (Truk, Ponape, Yap, and Kosrae), the centers claimed from 21 to 35 percent of the total population, and the elderly consistently numbered about six points less than that. The migration to the centers has involved mainly middle-aged adults, and this has created serious problems for the elderly in outlying villages because of the decline of able-bodied labor and of persons needed to fill the essential roles in the middle age level for proper functioning of the islands' social and political systems.

In the district centers, most of the inhabitants have immigrated from many different home communities, some of which manifest contrasting traditional modes of living. For example, in Colonia, the Yapese population has been augmented to a limited extent by atoll peoples from the outer islands east of Yap. Similarly, in Kolonia, the Ponapeans have had to share their island with atoll dwellers from other Micronesian (and Polynesian) outliers in the area. Consequently, there is a relative lack of integration in district center social organization. (For more details on the differences in life-styles between the centers and the outer islands, see Mason, 1975.)

In such circumstances as these, the elderly are the ones who suffer most. They are for the most part reduced to caring for their younger grandchildren while the parents are working, and they are deprived of normal socializing outside the extended family household. They live on land which does not belong to them or to other members of the family, for the land must be rented from local landowners. The elders are removed geographically from traditional resources for subsistence food and materials normally utilized for housing and clothing. They must depend upon income earned by other members of the household who work for the government or in the private sector. In the urbanized setting, the aged are unable to assert their accustomed prerogatives and cannot employ to advantage their time-honored skills and knowledge.

Even in the outlying villages, where most of the elderly have opted to stay, the traditional assets of seniors have been minimized by the gradual encroachment of Western living patterns. This can be observed in new food preferences and innovations in clothing and housing. However, the elders retain some security in their continued attachment to ancestral landholdings and to the social status and authority associated with the land. On a modified scale, they also participate in the customary exchanges among kinfolk and they observe traditional occasions of importance. Where family composition has been less affected by out-migration, the older people continue to enjoy support from their children and other

relatives who are younger than they. In matters of physical and mental well-being, they still rely on indigenous healing practices and seek spiritual security in old and familiar ways. At the same time, it must be noted, they visit local dispensaries staffed by island health aides and attend local church services led by native pastors or visiting priests.

Almost all Micronesians in the region are now reported as Christians. The 1973 census data reported 55 percent as Protestant, 39 percent as Roman Catholic, and 3 percent as traditional. The last statistic represented almost wholly a nativistic movement in Palau called *Modekngei* which began early in this century as a synthesis of native values and Christian practices. The older generation is more active in church participation than are young persons. The districts varied significantly in their support of Protestant versus Catholic organizations. Thus, the people in Kosrae and the Marshalls were Protestant by an overwhelming margin, due primarily to the mission efforts of New England Congregationalists who arrived in eastern Micronesia as early as the 1850s. Support for Catholicism was equally compelling in Yap and the Outer Islands of that district. Palau also leaned more toward a Catholic commitment. In Ponape and Truk districts, however, the memberships of the two faiths were more evenly matched. Throughout much of the region, the Catholic church under the direction of Jesuit priests has been active in developing a local leadership in a cadre of deacons recruited from the island congregations. Some Micronesians have been ordained as priests. Protestantism is almost entirely controlled by islander-led church associations. In recent years, the islands have seen increasing activity by fundamentalist and other church groups.

Another facet of the aging process is the degree to which islanders have acquired formal schooling. According to the 1973 census data, among those 55 years and older, about 36 percent reported no formal education and 63 percent claimed one or more years of elementary training. The latter experience was gained either in the first three grades of Japanese schools conducted for island children between World Wars I and II, or in the so-called "Bible" schools maintained for the most part at Protestant missions. Women appeared to have been less educated than men, especially in the Yap and Truk districts.

In regard to economic activity, among those 60 years and over, 67 percent reported no employment at all. About 25 percent were engaged in "village" labors, such as farming, fishing, and copra or handicraft production. Most of those in this category were males and this kind of work was more typical in the Yap and Ponape districts. The remaining 8 per-

cent worked in the “money” economy, earning wages from government or private employment and were almost exclusively males.

A final comment must be added regarding the condition of communities (and their elderly) in the Marshall Islands who were either relocated in the 1940s from Bikini and Enewetak Atolls to make way for U.S. testing of nuclear weapons or were exposed to massive radioactive fallout at Rongelap and Utrik Atolls during the 1954 test of the first hydrogen bomb. These people, some 600 in all at the time of their initial crises, have since then suffered great hardship in social and ecological adaptation to resettlement sites or in illnesses as serious as thyroid abnormalities requiring corrective surgery. In these four communities, the elders have borne a major share of the stress encountered in the disruptions created by the military testing programs.

(2) *Northern Mariana Islands.* Although legally still part of the Trust Territory, the people of this former Marianas District have rejected union with their Micronesian neighbors in the Carolines and Marshalls and are now in transition to commonwealth status and U.S. citizenship. Their cultural heritage, originally a variant of Micronesian tradition, has been drastically altered since the seventeenth century under colonial rule by Spain, Germany, Japan, and finally the United States. Today the quality of life in the Northern Marianas reflects Western (more specifically American, since World War II) values and practices more than that of any community in the Carolines or Marshalls. An exception to this statement may be discerned in the status of the Northern Marianas elderly who find themselves increasingly losing touch with the younger generation in both language (English is the speech medium of youth) and cultural experience (the elders relate more to their socialization under the Japanese between World Wars I and II, which none of the youth have ever known.)

A further division affecting the status of older people is the ethnic cleavage within the society between the Chamorro majority and the Carolinian minority. Long ago, ancestors of the Chamorro were the only inhabitants of the island chain and possessed a language and culture with affinities among other indigenes of western Micronesia. In 1815, forebears of the Carolinians sailed to Saipan, largest of the Northern Marianas, seeking new residence after their home atolls in the area between Truk and Yap had been devastated by a typhoon. Carolinians today retain much of their cultural identity, compared with the Chamorros whose cultural modes have been strongly hispanicized. Inter-marriage between the two groups is not common, and a certain antagonism stems from a Chamorro tendency at times to disparage the capabilities of the Carolinians in

contemporary affairs. The latter use their own language among themselves although by necessity most have learned to speak Chamorro as well. Popular estimates suggest that Chamorros outnumber Carolinians about three to one.

Using the same census data (TTPI, 1973) as in the previous section, one notes again a very young population with 48 percent of the total 12,581 native inhabitants being under 15 years of age. Persons 60 years and above numbered only 570, accounting for 4.5 percent of the total population. Women in this age group outnumbered males by nearly 6 percent. Widows were more numerous than widowers by almost three to one. About 86 percent of the local population lived on Saipan, political and commercial center of the islands. Almost 8 percent lived on Rota Island, reportedly the most conservative community in the group. A significantly higher proportion of seniors counted on Rota may be due to the movement of many middle-aged Rotanese to Saipan for employment (comparable to the migration from rural areas to urban centers as already noted for the Carolines and Marshalls), leaving a larger percentage of older people at home in the security of a more comfortable environment.

The overwhelmingly Roman Catholic commitment in the islands is well documented in the 1973 census data. Among those who reported a religious affiliation, nearly 94 percent were Catholics and barely 5 percent were Protestants. The priests, who are of the Capuchin Order, exercise a great influence in community affairs and provide spiritual comfort in times of family crisis. Among the elderly, whose generation stands closer in time to the dominant role of the Church in the Spanish period, the women especially find much satisfaction in the social and ritual gatherings associated with the church calendar. The Carolinians, because their ancestors came to the Marianas late in the Spanish regime, seem to show less commitment to the Church traditions although, like the Chamorros, they are predominantly Catholic in membership.

In the Northern Marianas, the elderly are much better educated by comparison with the rest of the Trust Territory. Among those 55 years and older, according to the 1973 census, less than 14 percent had received no formal schooling, while 82 percent reported some elementary education, and 4 percent had been to high school. The disparity between the sexes noted for other districts in the Trust Territory was much less apparent here. This doubtless reflects the greater opportunities for education in the Northern Marianas under the Japanese between the two World Wars, when the number of immigrants from Japan many times outnumbered the local population and influenced the social as well as the economic situation.

As regards economic activity among those 60 years and over, 53 percent reported no employment at all. About 18 percent were engaged in "village" labor, mainly growing crops and livestock, and almost all were males. "The remaining 29 percent worked in the "money" economy, most of them employed by the government. Only few women reported working for wages.

Outwardly, Marianas people live very much as do many Americans in the material aspects of their daily lives. But American observers will be misled if they assume that this apparent assimilation applies to other areas of the culture. Kinship ties are widely extended, and within the family there is great respect for older people. But family support systems are eroding, the range of effective kin obligations is narrowing, and parents are losing control of their children as the latter seek more freedom of individual action apart from the constraints of family and church.

(3) *Guam*. When Magellan discovered Guam in 1521, it was inhabited by Chamorros as were the other Mariana Islands. The people of Guam, living under Spanish colonial rule from the mid-seventeenth century and subject since 1898 to American territorial administration, have undergone drastic changes in their cultural and racial heritage. Guam now presents an image of a modern, urban, cosmopolitan community in which the number of non-Chamorro immigrants has increased to the point where residents of Chamorro ancestry are in danger of becoming a social minority on their own island. However, the blending of ethnic groups has given a special flavor to the island society. In this commingling of ancestral strains, the Chamorro people still represent the core and provide a certain social stability within the larger Guam community.

It is difficult to determine the relative size of age groups in the local population because the U.S. decennial censuses include American military personnel and their dependents who are based on Guam for limited tours of duty. Government planners on Guam tend to use a constant figure of about 22,000 to represent this shifting population. On that basis, the more permanent residents in 1980 numbered about 84,000. Until details of the 1980 census are published, a household survey of the civilian population, conducted in 1975 (Government of Guam Department of Labor, 1976), will provide a useful basis for understanding the status of the elderly. A relatively young population was indicated, with 41 percent being under 15 years of age. Those who were 60 years and older, about 4,000 persons, accounted for about 5 percent of the total. In this age group, the women outnumbered men about five to four.

According to the same study, the ethnic composition of Guam's local population was 56 percent Chamorro, 7 percent mixed Chamorro-

Filipino or Chamorro-Caucasian, 19 percent Filipino, 9 percent Caucasian, and the rest Micronesian or Asian. The median age for Chamorros was 18, but for the Filipino and Caucasian groups it averaged 26, probably due to the larger number of adults immigrating in these populations. About 88 percent of local people were American citizens, and the rest held permanent resident alien status. According to the 1970 Census (United States Department of Commerce, 1973), about 16 percent of the island's non-military population was foreign-born, and three-fourths of these were native to the Philippines.

A University of Guam survey (Haverlandt et al, 1975) reported that most Guamanian families were nuclear in type (that is, parents and children only), but that one-fifth of all households included one or more other individuals. Many of the latter were either widows or widowers, usually a parent of the wife in the household. Traditionally, a Chamorro woman was expected to provide primary care for her elderly parents.

Another study conducted in 1978 on a 10 percent sample of Guamanians 55 years and over (Kasperbauer, 1980) found that most of Guam's elderly were literate, and that 95 percent spoke at least two languages (usually English and Chamorro or a Philippine language such as Tagalog). Chamorro was the favored conversational medium, although English was acceptable. Nearly three-fourths of the sample had completed between three and eight years of elementary education, and less than 6 percent reported no formal schooling. This record surpasses that of the elderly in the rest of Micronesia and attests to the priority placed on public school training by the American government after Guam was annexed in 1898. Of the two-thirds who had been born on Guam, a remarkable 70 percent had traveled off-island to visit children or other relatives living in the United States and elsewhere. Over 60 percent were residing with their spouses, and about the same number owned their own home. Nearly everyone interviewed was "comfortable" in his/her present situation, even though some noted the lack of such conveniences as electricity, telephone, indoor bathroom, and hot or cold running water.

Although Chamorros and Filipinos as ethnic populations on Guam are associated with different linguistic and cultural traditions, they now share many social practices as the result of a generally similar experience in past generations, in both Guam and the Philippines, under Spanish colonial rule and American territorial control thereafter. This shared heritage is true especially among the elderly. Both groups are relatively at ease with American customs which now prevail on modern Guam. Both are supportive of Roman Catholicism as taught from Spanish times, and the Church plays an important role in the family and community affairs of

each. Both ethnic groups value children and foster the ideal of large families which was originally part of their island customs, and was reinforced by Spanish influence. This continues to be true on Guam today even though the influence of planned parenthood is evident in the smaller size of households. Reciprocity within the extended family continues to be an important principle in social interaction. Respect for older people, be they parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, or godparents, is a common theme which survives.

It should be noted that nearly 50 percent of Guam's women are employed outside the home, usually in order to insure sufficient family income to meet Guam's high cost of living. Such working wives must still manage the home in all of its aspects. Therefore, if there are elderly persons in the household, they are much valued as an aid in easing that burden.

Villages in southern Guam are more traditional in following Chamorro custom. Residential areas established more recently in north-central Guam have a higher proportion of Filipinos. Among Chamorros, a number of community organizations have sprung up which are devoted to the promotion and preservation of traditional language, culture, and the arts, thus manifesting a new commitment to strengthening Chamorro identity among both young and old. Filipino associations have also been organized on Guam, especially among the women, in support of charitable and other local projects, thereby achieving greater visibility and benefit for Filipino ethnic identity.

Nowadays, the ability of families on Guam to accumulate monetary wealth and to spend conspicuously is seen by many as more appropriate for improving one's social standing than by traditional exploitation of land and marine resources. Territorial and federal government assistance to the elderly is often viewed as an extension of the customary kinship support system, when senior citizens find it increasingly difficult to depend on the time-honored caring responsibilities of their younger and more individualistically oriented kinsmen.

Social Services and Social Policy for the Elderly

As stated in the introduction, the wants and needs of the elderly in modern, Micronesia are not always easy to assess. This poses a challenge both to local island governments and to externally based public and private agencies. First, there is the problem of identifying the material needs of older people and of determining whose responsibility it should be to help meet those requirements. Where a Western cultural orientation is

manifest in the more urbanized communities, the elders' concerns about housing, transportation, income, food, and health are similar to those which are generally voiced in American cities.

Second, and more compelling in the final analysis, is the question of what can be done to satisfy the social and psychological needs of senior persons. They want to be accepted as an integral part of their community, to be able to assume responsible roles in local affairs by giving from their fund of experience and knowledge, and to feel proud in making those contributions to a society which places increasing emphasis on inputs from younger, middle-aged members. The present situation of the elderly calls for a great deal of humanity and cross-cultural sensitivity in the planning and implementation of formal programs which are intended to assist the region's senior citizens (Mason, 1981c).

Before reviewing the federal programs funded since the early 1970s under the Older Americans Act, it should be pointed out that, in addition to the traditional support available to elders at the community level, there is a continuing source of assistance in the programs implemented by church organizations. Today, the older generation is more committed and active in church participation than the younger people, many of whom have drifted away from the church. Hence, the elderly stand to benefit in greater proportion from the ministrations of church officials. Also not to be overlooked in this regard are ongoing government programs designed to help the population as a whole in such matters as housing, transportation, income, community development, public health, and other social services. Some of these activities are funded from locally derived revenues and others are made possible by categorical grants from federal agencies whose jurisdictions have been extended to include the U.S. territories.

Older Americans Act. Federal legislation was enacted in 1965 to provide financial support for program planning and development on behalf of the elderly in the United States. As amended in later years, the Act led to creation of state and area agencies to serve as advocate and focal point for concerns of the elderly and to plan comprehensively for the coordination of services among agencies and organizations in the public and private sectors. Principal objectives of the Act are to enable senior citizens (identified as persons sixty years of age and older) to achieve maximum dignity and security in a home environment through appropriate support services and to remove barriers to their economic independence in government and business. Application of the Act was extended to the U.S. territories, and by 1970 grants were being made to "state" agencies in Guam and the Trust Territory. The Administration on Aging (AoA) had been set up in Washington within the Department of Health, Education,

and Welfare to oversee all programs conducted under the Act. Region IX of AoA includes California, Hawaii, Nevada, Arizona, and the Pacific territories, namely Guam, Northern Marianas, Trust Territory, and American Samoa. The regional office is located in San Francisco.

Guam was the first of the Pacific territories to be funded under the Act. Elderly programs on that island are managed by the Division of Senior Citizens in the Department of Public Health and Social Services. Contracts for delivery of services are arranged by the division with other government departments and with private organizations. Program development in the Trust Territory (TTPI) has been the responsibility of the Office on Aging in the Community Development Division of the Department of Public Affairs at headquarters on Saipan. Implementation has been carried out by district offices established for that purpose in Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, Kosrae, and the Marshalls, and formerly in the Northern Marianas. In the Carolines and Marshalls, the aging programs are implemented by means of contract agreements between the local offices and other government departments such as Public Health and Education. When the Marianas District separated from the rest of the Trust Territory in 1978, funding was provided by AoA directly to the new commonwealth government where the program is managed by the Division on Aging in the Department of Community and Cultural Affairs with field coordinators based on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota. Administration of elderly programs elsewhere in the Trust Territory is being transferred from TTPI headquarters to the new governments, that is, the Federated States of Micronesia (Ponape, Truk, Yap, and Kosrae), the Republic of Belau, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands. However, until negotiations between the U.S. government and these three entities are finalized, TTPI headquarters will continue to hold responsibility for the AoA grant.

Services to the elderly in all of the region have been determined primarily by the regulations and guidelines of the Older Americans Act. Program variety within the region reflects local needs assessments and also administrative priorities. In general, most of the following services are available to the elderly, at least in the more urbanized centers of population (in the Carolines and Marshalls, communities in the outer islands tend to be slighted owing to problems of inter-island transportation and the smallness of the aged populations):

a) *Health* (health screening, health education, home care for the frail elderly, geriatric nursing, direct medical treatment in clinics and dispensaries, medical referral for specialist aid),

b) *Nutrition* (nutrition education, congregate hot meals at senior centers, home-delivered meals for shut-ins),

- c) *Homemaker* (outreach aid for home chores and personal care),
- d) *Multipurpose senior centers* (social, recreational, informational),
- e) *Transportation* (to medical centers, to senior centers, for visits to relatives and friends, for shopping),
- f) *Cultural* (employment in community service projects, teaching in schools about traditional subjects, historic and cultural preservation projects, handicraft production),
- g) *Counseling* (legal aid, employment and training opportunities, personal and family problems).

In the Trust Territory, some AoA funds have been approved for home renovation, especially in the outer islands where houses occupied by older persons were badly in need of repair. Generally, the region's administrators have avoided premature or inappropriate institutionalization of the elderly. Their aim has been to meet the needs of the aged in the context of home and community support, with supplemental assistance being provided from external sources only when sorely needed. Guam is somewhat exceptional in that a housing project for senior citizens has been completed recently, and similar projects are planned for other communities on the island where senior residents will be able to enjoy continued close contact with relatives and lifelong friends and neighbors.

Older persons have generally had to rely on the same medical facilities that are available to everyone in the community. Only in a few instances, on Guam for example, have special programs been developed for geriatric care. Private medicine in the Western sense is available almost nowhere except on Guam. Many older people in the region prefer to seek diagnosis and treatment of their ills by traditional practitioners, whose methods as a rule have either been ignored or not been encouraged by hospital and clinic personnel except on a referral basis. The primary causes of death among the elderly are heart disease, cancer, diabetes, and hypertension. Government programs such as Medicaid and Medicare have not operated long enough in the islands for very many older people to receive help. However, in the case of Guamanians who served with the U.S. military before or after World War II, veterans' benefits provide their elderly dependents with care at federal hospitals.

Typical problems which have challenged administrators of aging programs in the islands include the following:

- a) Recruitment of qualified local staff,
- b) Training of service providers, project managers, and advisory council members to improve their understanding of the intent of the Older Americans Act and to enhance their ability to implement its provisions,

c) Difficulty in coordinating projects for the elderly with other government departments, which is due in part to poor communication and to low visibility of the aging program,

d) Lack of imaginative and resourceful leadership in project planning and implementation, and

e) Neglect of the monitoring and evaluation components in developing project designs (East-West Center, 1974).

Aging is a process which begins at birth. Today's island youth will be the elderly generation in three or four decades. Age in years is not a realistic measure to apply across the board among the diverse cultures in Micronesia. Definitions of who is "elderly" will vary locally, and may be related to various factors such as physical capacity, health, mental agility, and judgment. One Marshallese told the author years ago that a man is considered to be "old" when he no longer can climb a coconut palm to get down some drinking nuts. In general, "being old" in the islands has a much more positive connotation in comparison with the usually more negative images prevailing in the United States.

The experiences of a decade in administering programs for the elderly in Micronesia has shown that the unique cultural and historical character of each locality militates against application of a standardized approach in program planning and implementation (Mason, 1980, 1981 a and b). It is also evident that a community-based effort with primary input from the elderly themselves is essential for a successful operation. In this regard, the contributions of local advisory councils on aging have been useful and should be encouraged even more. The suggestions of others in the community during public hearings on proposed elderly programs should be solicited with greater vigor.

Public assistance legislation like the Older Americans Act, which was designed to meet the needs of the elderly in the United States, cannot properly be transferred *in toto* to Micronesia to ease the burdens of the island elderly. In a study of the aging program in Truk, one researcher has concluded that "Aging in the Micronesian context is sufficiently different from aging in the American context that in spite of slight modifications, our federal programs for the aged are often inappropriate, wasteful, and perhaps even harmful when applied in Micronesian settings" (Borthwick, 1979).

Within the island societies of which the elders are a part, there persists a lack of real enthusiasm for government aid to the aged. This statement is more true for the Carolines and Marshalls, less so for the Northern Marianas, and least for Guam. The reason for such differences probably lies in the more traditional practices still prevailing in the Trust Territory

as compared with the more Americanized or urbanized attitudes expressed in Guam and the other Mariana Islands. Where a negative sentiment exists among community leaders it is largely due to continuing pride in the tradition that kinfolk should take care of their elders, and to an unwillingness to recognize that a growing number of senior citizens have needs today which are not always met adequately by traditional support systems.

Since the 1960s, a heightened political consciousness in the islands has opposed continuance of any form of colonialism. The emerging leadership is composed mostly of younger people, reared and educated in an artificial environment created over the years by a succession of colonial regimes. These new island leaders have had little opportunity to learn the skills required to manage contemporary affairs, now that Micronesians have been granted self-government that approaches independence. This situation calls for heroic efforts by island administrators in their newly assumed offices as they attempt to resolve the many conflicts of public interest and priorities arising from the stresses of government in transition.

In this setting of uncertainty, the elderly are able to offer a broader perspective, one gained from lifelong experience with the transition from traditional modes of life to the open-ended and non-directed social interaction in which they now find themselves involved. Elders in Micronesia may well constitute a vital resource for island leaders if they are invited to assist in restoring that spiritual essence of island living which makes life really worthwhile. That ideal is now endangered by the overwhelmingly materialistic concerns of the island governments in matters of political status and economic development.

Conclusion

In viewing the status of the elderly and the problems of service delivery in government aid programs, Micronesia presents a tantalizing potpourri of variables to confuse the unwary observer and to confound the program administrator. Not only is Micronesia a puzzling entity to the ill-informed American venturing into the islands from a bureaucratic post in the United States, but the region is also in turmoil within because of the marked contrasts in cultural, historical, and ecological character that distinguish one society from another.

Traditionally, in the specific custom of each locale, the elderly have been highly regarded for their age, their wisdom, and their reservoirs of knowledge. Their advanced years have given them authority, respect, privilege, and the leisure to enjoy the twilight of their lives. Two in-

stitutions underlie this position of advantage. One is the extended family in which the elders sit at the apex of the generational hierarchy. The other is the shared ownership or use of land by the extended family where land rights are the ultimate basis of social and political status.

Unfortunately for the elderly, change has visited Micronesia over the past two or three centuries, as it has everywhere in the world. The processes of westernization, urbanization, or modernization, by whatever name, have eroded the time-honored heritages of custom in the islands--in some places much more than in others. The intrusion of a monetary economy, new political forms and practices, sectarian Christianity, and universal public education has placed the older people in an untenable situation where the guidelines of a lifetime no longer enjoy unanimous acceptance and where the prerogatives of being old have lost their substance and meaning.

Part of the problem faced by elders in modern Micronesia has to do with material concerns about health, housing, food, transportation, and income--how do they support themselves in this strange consumer-oriented world? But a larger part of the problem involves the social and psychological needs of the older generation in what is fast becoming a foreign culture to them.

Then, too, it must be noted that some of their uncertainties about the present (and the future) are defined quite differently in the various sub-areas of Micronesia. Guam stands at one end of the spectrum of change and seems almost as American as an island population can be. The reason for this exception lies in the longstanding association of Guam with the United States as a territorial possession. The other islands in the Marianas chain have had a more complex history in the twentieth-century succession of German, Japanese, and American administrations.

When it comes to the rest of the Trust Territory, the Carolines and the Marshalls, pressures for change from foreign nations and cultures have generally been much less evident. These islands, in turn, must be differentiated into two worlds: (1) the more urbanized port towns or district centers, such as Koror, Moen, Kolonia, or Majuro, and (2) the outer islands which are visited less frequently by agents from the outside world when field trips touch at an island for only two or three days before the next visit a month or more later. In the hinterland of Micronesia, tradition is understandably more vigorous. Yet, even here, the outer island populations have been decimated by the migration of middle-aged adults to the urban centers in search of employment or other attractions associated with the new Micronesian way.

Federal programs supported under the Older Americans Act of 1965, as amended, have delivered services to the elderly in the region for a decade, providing health care, hot meals, part-time employment in cultural projects, counseling, and the like--comparable to what has become ritual in senior citizen programs in the United States under the same legislation. These services are helping the elderly in the islands to meet their new-found material needs, but less has been achieved in the social and psychological aspects of their situation. Here is where imagination and ingenuity are required of program administrators and government leaders alike. The answers to the dilemmas of the elderly are not theirs alone. The answers must ultimately be found in the solutions achieved by the entire society in the constant adjustment to present day conditions required of Micronesians in every age group.

In the final analysis, the elderly want to be valued as human beings, not as casualties of the changing times. In this desire, they are not really different from most people in the world today. They can also be a positive resource in helping their island communities to forge a meaningful bond between the older traditional ethic and the newer values that are emerging from the maelstrom of societies stressed by too rapid change.

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SAVAGE ISLAND OR SAVAGE HISTORY? AN INTERPRETATION OF EARLY EUROPEAN CONTACT WITH NIUE

by Sue McLachlan

Introduction

Early European contact with Niue was limited. The first known, and recorded, visit to this Pacific island took place on the 21st of June 1774 when the British ship *Resolution* arrived at Niue and spent a day sailing down part of the coast. Captain James Cook and some of his men made two brief landings during which they engaged in limited encounters with the Niuean inhabitants.

The historical significance of this event from the past is that the ensuing actions and reactions of this incident restricted the time spent on Niue Island and influenced Cook's choice of name. Cook states "The conduct and aspect of these Islanders occasioned my nameing (sic) it 'Savage Island' " (Beaglehole 1959:437). The emotive connotation attached to the name 'Savage Island' is likely to have given pre-conceived value judgements of the people before any later European encounters, and perhaps predetermined expectations of Niuean behavior. Later records appear to indicate that violence was expected and therefore frequently made particular note (of all seemingly aggressive behavior, with very few observations or attempts to describe any other general Niuean customs, behavior, or ritual in detail. The Niueans interpreted the European label 'Savage Island' as meaning they were cannibals, which did little for their self esteem.

The wider implications of this visit are that Cook's interpretation of the situation resulted in them taking leave of 'Savage Island' without any further encounters with the people. The emotive context of these preliminary interactions became the focal point in the recording and justifying of the events, and inhibited wider observations and more objective descriptions of Niue and the Niueans. As a consequence of this the early recorded historical information about the inhabitants is limited.

Historians and many other writers appear to have accepted the views of Cook's party as a true and accurate version of events. Therefore these implicit value judgements of the "savage" inhabitants at that time have remained as a valid interpretation of historical events. Historians have not

seriously considered the possible interpretations of the actions of these early European territorial invaders from an indigenous viewpoint. Little attempt has been made to discover Niuean customs and ritual behavior to arrivals on their shores, or how they may have interpreted signs and symbols and behaviors of foreigners. This raises the issue that if events are viewed from one bias then questions and issues tend to be asked and examined in terms of that bias, and questions that may elicit different information and interpretation may remain unasked and unanswered, thereby perpetuating a European-biased historical view of the Niueans for future generations. In my view there are enough assumptions and anomalies in the journals of Cook's party and other historical records to warrant re-examination, and possibly a re-interpretation, of Niuean behaviors and attitudes during the period of early European contact.

Discussion

The journals of Cook, Forster, and Sparrman reporting their visit to Niue indicate that these 18th century explorers did not consider that their actions may be transgressing other peoples' rights, or that these actions may be interpreted as acts of aggression from an indigenous viewpoint. It would appear that Cook's party adopted a superior stance of unquestioned right to land and establish a claim on other peoples' shores. They raised the British Colors (Forster 1777:433) and freely examined the possessions and property of the inhabitants (Beaglehole 1959:434, 435, 436).

Upon landing, Cook and his men took up defensive positions in the anticipation of aggression prior to any possible contact with the Niuean inhabitants (Beaglehole 1959:435). The landing party did not refrain from making use of their position of attack and superior weapons by firing on the inhabitants who appeared, before their reception had been adequately determined or resolved. Cook describes these actions as follows:

I saw we should be exposed to be attacked by the Natives, if there were any, without our being able to defend ourselves. To prevent this as much as could be and to secure a retreat in case of an Attack, I ordered the Men to be drawn up on the rock from whence they had a view of the heights and only my self and four of the gentlemen went up to the [Niueans'] boats, where we had been but a very few Minutes before the Natives, I cannot say how many, rushed down the Chasm out of the wood upon us; the endeavours we made to bring them to a parly was to no purpose, they came with the ferocity of wild Boars and threw thier (sic)

darts, two or three Muskets discharged in the air did not hinder one of them from advancing still farther and throwing a nother dart or rather a Spear which pass'd close over my shoulder; his courage would have cost him his life had not my musket missed fire, for I was not five paces from him when he threw his spear and had. resolved to shoot him to save myself, but I was glad afterwards that it happened otherwise. At this instant the party on the rock: began to fire at others who appeared on the heights, this abated the ardour of the party we were engaged with and gave us time to join our people when I caused the firing (sic) to cease, the last discharge sent all the Indians to the woods from whence they did not return as long as we remained, we did not know that any were hurt. (Beaglehole 1959:436-7)

The implicit assumptions, exemplified in the above statement were that, as the locals did not attempt to parley, ignored the muskets fired in the air, and threw spears that nearly hit the Europeans, the Niueans were wild savages, dangerous and unable to be communicated with intelligently. These early explorers presumed that their attempts at communication or interaction were commonly understood ways of initiating contact between people. They did not account for the view that their behavior may have been considered improper format on other peoples' territory. The men from the *Resolution* regarded encounter behaviors as having universal interpretations. Cook's party assumed that to parley was a standard form of greeting, and that the noise of muskets fired in the air would be interpreted as a warning of the potential killing power of these weapons. The probability that the Niueans would not have had any experience with firearms and their dangers does not seem to have been considered. Cook makes the assumption that the throwing of the spears at such close range was a sign of intention to kill, and does not appear to take account of the fact that spears were familiar weapons to the Niueans, or that a person who was skilled in the use of the weapon may have intentionally controlled the near miss if he "was not five paces from him." (ibid). There is an imposition of European knowledge and 18th century ethnocentric views on the interpretation of the situation that occurred on Niue during Cook's visit.

After Cook's departure there was a time lapse of 53 years before the English missionary John Williams arrived at Niue in 1830. Williams provides the following description of his arrival.

Arriving opposite to a sandy beach, and perceiving some natives on shore, we waved a white flag, which is the signal used to obtain friendly intercourse. Instead, however, of launching their little canoes, and accepting our invitation, they waved one in return; and, on perceiving this, we immediately lowered our boat and made for the shore; but on approaching it, we found the natives arranged in hostile array, as if to repel an invasion. Each of them had three or four spears, with his sling and a belt full of large stones. When they had arrived within one or two hundred yards of the reef, our natives lay upon their oars, spent a few moments in prayer, and then proceeded to the shore, making signs to the savages to lay down their weapons. This they did readily when they perceived that there were no Europeans in the boat; and, coming down to the extreme point of the reef, they bade our people welcome, by presenting the *utu*, or peace-offering.

This custom appears to be very general among the inhabitants of the Pacific Isles, and consists in presenting to the visiter (sic) a bread-fruit, a piece of cloth, or some other article, with the sacred cocoa-nut leaf, which they call *Tapaa*, attached to it; on receiving which the stranger returns some trifle, as a token of amity, and a kind of ratification that the intercourse shall be peaceable. This ceremony having been performed, the natives launched some of their canoes, and advancing towards our vessel, but evinced, by their cautious movements, and the respectful distance they kept, that they indulged in the most fearful apprehensions. (Williams 1837:294-5)

If we compare the format of establishing contact between Cook's party and Williams' approach there are some marked differences. Firstly, unlike Cook, Williams did not immediately launch a boat for shore but attempted to communicate off-shore. Williams assumed that the waving of a white flag was an internationally recognized signal of "friendly intercourse," and was surprised when the Niueans waved one in return instead of coming out to the ship in their canoes as he expected. Denning (1979:61) illustrates that the European assumption of a universal interpretation of peaceful intention in the symbol of white flags was not always given this connotation in the Pacific. He states (ibid) that holding white bark cloths "was ceremonial, a ritual whereby the Marquesans were bringing these Gods from Beyond the Skies under their control." It would

seem that the Niueans had similar symbols and that they were used in rituals to prevent evil from encroaching, rather than the European connotation of flags as invitations to approach.

The *fue* was an emblem carried by the leading *toa*, to be thrown down before the enemy as a challenge. . . . It was handed down from father to eldest son, as it was thought to contain the family *mana*. Tofolia gives the following account: ‘The *fue* was a very sacred thing, it was like a flag’

The Niueans also had a flag, *matini* consisting of a tapa cloth, or a yam leaf, bound to a stick. It was not carried in war, however, but was hoisted when a *patuiki* was anointed, and was also used in rain-making ceremonies. Niue traditions relate that the *matini* was brought to Niue from Tonga by Tihamau. (p. 26) It is interesting to note that the word *matini* does not appear in the Tongan vocabulary. In Samoa the word means a leaf sacrifice to keep away ghosts. Any flag is now called a *matini*, but the small signalling flags of ships are called *fue*. (Loeb 1926:95)

Given this ethos of flags one may well speculate on the reaction of the people of Niue to Cook’s party “performing the idle ceremony of taking possession” (Forster 1777: 165). Niuean interpretation of these symbols may account for the fact that as the boat from Williams’ ship approached the shore “the natives appeared to be arranged in hostile array” (1837:294). There is very little direct evidence to ascertain if it was customary for the Niueans to carry spears and stones when greeting arrivals but judging from Powell’s account (1968:41) it would seem that spears were part of ritual shore greetings.

The local party from Williams’ boat did not proceed directly to the shore but paused one to two hundred yards from the reef and made signs to the Niueans to lay down their weapons. Unfortunately Williams does not elaborate as to the type of signs that were made but they were obviously more effective than the gestures Cook’s party made in their attempts to communicate. Williams assumes that the Niueans laid down their weapons when they saw there were no Europeans in the boat, but there are many other speculations that could be made just as readily. It could have been that, unlike Cook’s party who carried muskets which are not unsimilar to clubs, Williams’ party did not carry weapons. (This is not specifically stated anywhere in Williams’ account.)

Alternatively, it may possibly be speculated that the seated posture of the boat load was more in accordance with Niuean custom than the upright stance of Cook's shore encounter and attempts to parley. Smith (1903: 177) states,

The appropriate (*gali*) way of speaking in Niue in former days, was not to stand, but sit cross-legged, or kneel on one knee on the ground. This latter posture is frequent at the present time. . . . This is *maimaina*, deference, respect, a word which appears to be native to Niue. . . . There is another Niue word for this humble attitude, *hufeilo*, which apparently meant originally, to prostrate, to abase oneself to a conqueror, to beg one's life. The conquered formerly acted in this manner, kissing the feet of the conqueror and bringing a present at the same time. This was done in such a manner as not to give the victor time to refuse. Inferentially, if the present was accepted, the life of the petitioner was spared.

I think it would be fair to say that in Niuean terms Cook constantly adopted the stance of aggressor/conqueror and infringed on Niuean customs and rituals. For a start, Cook's armed party did not hesitate to land and set up their crew in defensive positions possibly accompanied by naval whistles of command, in accordance with Cook's disciplined approach to life. Smith (1903:201) states:

The gods sometimes communicated with mankind through the proper channels, and they spoke in a whistling voice (*mapu* and *mafu*). The Niue folks have an objection to whistling on that account.

Despite the preliminary overtures Williams' party did not actually land before, or even after, the exchange of gifts took place (confirmed in Williams p. 296).

Loeb states (1926:67) "Trespass on fishing reserves was considered as much of a theft as trespass on the bush plantation" (Also see Ryan 1977:137, 138). Cook's party continued to trespass and infringe local customs on land:

The captain with us walked into the chasm where we found four canoes. . . . Some were covered with coarse mats, and contained fishing-lines, spears and pieces of wood which appeared to have

served as matches for fishing at night. The captain laid a small present of beads, nails, and medals on each canoe; but whilst he was so employed, I perceived a troop of natives coming down the chasm, and instantly acquainting our company of it, we all retired a few steps. Two of the natives, dressed with feathers, and blackened as the other before mentioned, advanced towards us with furious shouts, and spears in their hands. We called in friendly terms to them; but to no purpose. The captain endeavoured to discharge his musket, but it missed fire. He desired us to fire in our own defence, and the same thing happened to us all. The natives threw two spears. (Forster 1777:166)

It can be seen by this statement that from a Niuean point of view Cook and his men committed some very aggressive behavior. They transgressed by examining the canoes, and fishing equipment, some of which was subject to ritual and sacredness. (See Loeb 1926:96). Cook's laying of a present on each canoe would hardly have conformed to the Niuean ritual of gift exchange in terms of the manner of presentation, and the value of gift itself. Williams (1837:296, 297) states:

We gave our wild guest a present, which consisted of a hatchet, a knife, a looking-glass, and a pair of scissors; none of which, however, did he appear to prize, not knowing their use; but just as he was leaving the vessel, he caught sight of a large mother-of-pearl shell, which one of our people was handling, and springing forward, he seized it from him, and appeared, from his frantic expressions of joy, to have obtained an article of superlative value.

Forster's account shows that Cook and his men did not adopt any posture of *maimaina* or *hufeilo* but maintained a superior stance and displayed immediate aggressive actions by raising their firearms.

In his description of the encounter with the Niueans, Cook states:

two or three muskets discharged in the air did not hinder one of them from advancing still farther and throwing a nother dart or rather spear which pass'd close over my shoulder; his courage would have cost him his life had not my musket missed fire, for I was not five paces from him when he threw his spear (Beaglehole 1959:436-7).

Cook, whilst acknowledging the Niuean's courage, interpreted this action as an intention to kill. Perhaps it may be interpreted that the Niuean was testing Cook as a brave *toa*. Loeb states (1926:130-1):

It was the custom of proficient *toa* to bend down on one knee when a spear was thrown at them, and catching the spear in mid air, hurl it back to the enemy.

Niueans were obviously very familiar with spears and their usage. Loeb (1926:129, 130) listed 11 types of spears that are individually named. To be able to identify so many spears by different labels for each one must surely signify that spears were an important part of the material culture. As Niuean male status was largely acquired according to one's prowess as a *toa* (warrior) it seems reasonable to assume that spear throwing skills were encouraged and possibly developed from an early age. If this was the case one could hardly expect a proficient spear thrower to miss Cook as a target from less than "five paces" (Beaglehole 1959:437). Therefore it may reasonably be assumed that Cook was not the direct target. A spear that was intentionally thrown to pass close over the shoulder places the recipient in a favorable body position if he were to acknowledge custom by catching the spear and returning it. This action would have put Cook in the position of acquiring the status of a proficient *toa* in terms of Niuean ethos and world view.

Thomson (1902:121) reports on a ritual he observed containing other speculations of the interpretation of encounters:

The warriors now engaged in mimic duel. A short man brandished a paddle-club with both hands challenged another armed with a spear. Contorting his features into the most horrible grimaces, the club man rushed upon his antagonist, and appeared to be on the point of cracking his skull, when he seemed to take alarm at the spear and retired step by step before the others on-set. Thus by alternate rushes the fight swayed to and fro, until both the duellists were out of breath and gave place to others. The feints were so cleverly done that more than once I feared for a moment that they had lost their heads in the excitement, and that one or the other would receive a dangerous wound. What they must have looked in war paint, with tangled locks over their eyes and matted beards chewed between their teeth, it was easy to imagine, and I think that the success of the performance, which was so popular that we had to interfere when we had had

enough of it, was due to the fact that it was not play-acting at all, but actual warfare as it was waged in the old days; for as I shall presently explain, there is good reason to believe that hand-to-hand fighting was seldom more than a series of feints persisted in until the weaker vessel ran away, leaving his antagonist master of the field.

Thomson's description illuminates the dexterity of the Niuean warriors who clearly had excellent control over their weapons. It also appears to highlight the importance of ritual behavior in an encounter. This is likewise demonstrated in the following description where a Niuean is returning to his home after spending a period of time with the missionaries in Samoa:

When the vessel arrived at Niue, it was determined that at first Fakafitienua alone should land. Good Captain Morgan took him in the boat to the reef; he jumped out, and swam ashore. The captain, who possessed a true missionary heart, watched with anxiety; he saw him reach the beach, and go directly to a cave in the rock; he took thence a spear. In a short time a native descended from the cliffs; he too, went to the cave and took a spear. They poised their weapons, brandished them, and seemed about to fight; when suddenly they dropped them, rushed together, and fondly embraced each other. (Powell 1868:41)

Tom Ryan provides another version of this event (but he does not specify the source):

A missionary witnessed the scene as Fakafitifonua met his relatives on the beach: 'there was a peculiar and striking ceremony. He and another began by feuding with spears. When having finished the others threw him a *maro* and then they embraced each other. (Ryan 1977: 11)

This event would appear to indicate that spears were an important part of ritual behavior for arrivals to Niuean shores.

Cook describes encounter with Niueans in terms of his interpretation of behavior without any consideration of ritual, or how his aggressive behavior may have been interpreted by the Niueans. Denning (1979:64) in

discussing reports of early European contact states, “The very selectivity with which the Europeans described the chaos they witnessed is an indication of the values and assumptions which coloured their experience.” Cook assumed that advancing behavior and the throwing of spears was an intention to kill. He imposed his own values on the situation and if his musket had not misfired he would have killed the Niuean who advanced upon him. It would have been justifiable retaliatory behavior and the logical or inevitable outcome from an 18th century European viewpoint.

But, was killing the logical or inevitable outcome of aggressive encounters from a Niuean viewpoint? Smith (1903:211) discussing the use of weapons states, “There was an art displayed in avoiding (*kalo* or *patali*) the spears thrown”. Thomson (1902:128) speculates about Niuean intentions when he states,

King Tongia, [Niuean King] it is true, could talk of little less than the warlike exploits of himself and his fathers. But one of his Majesty’s anecdotes has left me to wonder whether Niuean warfare often over-stepped the limits of beard-chewing. He was relating how an ancestor of his, the greatest warrior the world has known, met the second greatest warrior in single combat. The battle-light glowed in Tongia’s left eye as he described the weapons, the strength, the courage, and the ferocious aspect of the warriors. At his recital the stoutest heart must have quailed. But noticing that the battlefield of this historic duel was no larger than the dining room of a suburban villa, and knowing that only one of them could have come out alive from a combat in so confined a space, Mr. Lawes inquired which of them was killed. “Oh neither!” said the king, and passed lightly to other battle stories.

Despite the Royal Society and Navy’s instructions to Cook’s expedition to treat the island peoples with kindness and humanity (which no doubt inhibited the recording of contrary behavior) there is evidence that the aggressive responses of Cook’s party did harm the Niueans.

The effect of the small shot fortunately stopped the natives from rushing upon us, and gave us time to retreat to our men, who continued to fire with great eagerness, while any of the natives remained in sight. Two of these in particular, standing among the bushes, brandished their weapons in defiance a considerable while, but at last retired, one of them appearing to be wounded, by the dismal howl which we heard presently after. (Forster 1777: 166)

With the amount of firing that is openly acknowledged in all of the accounts and often at close range it would not be unreasonable to assume that more were wounded if not killed. However, although accounts freely speculate on the actions of the “savages” they seem reluctant to divulge the consequences of their own actions and reactions. For instance, Sparrman (1776:129) states “Although the small shot only whistled about the ears of our spiteful enemies (a few may have pierced the skin) it frightened them away.” Cook is even more vague such as “we had reason to believe none were hurt” (p. 435) and “we did not know that any were hurt.” (p. 437).

The European foundered in his attempt to apply his values and his judgements to a society completely outside his experience. . . . He had no way of understanding his world except in terms of his own experience. . . . The European sometimes reacted violently to the situations he did not understand and tragedy resulted. (Denning 179:63)

Cook’s ethnocentric interpretation of their encounter with the Niueans by virtue of the fact that it was recorded became the accepted bias, and the view of the Niuean people present at the encounter remained unknown and unrecorded to counteract the European view of the events. The power and the influence of the written word as accepted truth is aptly demonstrated when one examines some of the documents that form part of recorded Niuean history.

Cook’s records predetermined European attitudes to the people of Niue for following generations of European visitors. The name “Savage Island’ he bestowed upon Niue was intended as a summary statement of Cook’s view of his encounter. This hostile act alone was influential in perpetuating these early European visitors’ ethnocentric views in that it projected preconceived notions of expected savagery for following visitors to Niue who accepted without question Cook’s emotive interpretation as accurate, and frequently seem to invoke unconfirmed speculations, and/or search for broad confirmatory evidence which often was more apparent than real.

After Cook, the next European visitor to Niuean shores was Williams whose views and motives for encounter were undoubtedly influenced by Cook’s historical legacy, as the following statement shows:

Waving to pass an island discovered by Captain Cook, which, in consequence of the ferocious character of its inhabitants, he

called '*Savage Island*,' we determined to touch there, and leave with them the two Aitutakian teachers, to impart the knowledge of that Gospel by which, *savage* (sic) as they are, they will ultimately be civilized and blessed. (Williams 1837:293)

Even those who were not motivated by Missionary fervor to seek out likely candidates for conversion accepted the given label "Savage" as an unquestioned and predetermined fact as evidenced in the following account from a whaler's journal and published in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* 1840:

This island is one of the discoveries of Cook which, from the attack made by the natives when he attempted to land there, he names "Savage Island."--All who have seen its wild and naked inhabitants can bear witness to the justness of its appellation. (Ward 1967: 177)

Other non-missionary visitors refer to Cook's account with the expectation of accuracy prior to landing and most seem influenced by the name of Savage Island and Cook's descriptive use of the term "wild boars." In his visit to Niue in 1849, British Admiralty Captain Erskine enlightens the reader as to the crew's preconceived expectations in the following description:

As few of us had ever seen men in the savage state before, and these had been described by Captain Cook as more completely so than any of the islanders of the Pacific, it may be supposed that we looked at them with much interest, every telescope in the ship being pointed at the canoes. (Erskine 1853:25)

Likewise, in 1862, when the H.M.S. *Fawn* visited Niue, Hood's writing prior to arrival reveals that Cook's influential words were widespread:

Our destination being in the first place, Niue or Savage Island regarding which little appears to be known. When that great navigator and most correct observer, Captain Cook discovered it, he succeeded as usual in landing, but did not manage to hold the slightest communication with the natives, who came down, he

said, with the ferocity of “Wild boars.” Hence the name he bestowed upon their island, which, by all accounts, it still deserves. (Hood 1863:9)

However it is in the missionary accounts that we find Cook’s view reiterated and expanded by speculative statements often inadequately backed with any concrete evidence. In 1859 the missionary, Turner, landed on Niue and was amazed at the “civilized” development which he attributed to a decade of evangelical activities. Turner states (1861:523-4):

... these are the children of the men who rushed out upon our great navigator Cook “like wild boars,” and who, for sixty years after his time, kept to the determination that no stranger should ever live on their island. They repeatedly rushed out upon parties of white men as they did upon Captain Cook, and were sometimes fired upon. Natives of other islands, who drifted there in distress, whether from Tonga, or Samoa, or elsewhere, were invariably killed. Any of their own people who went away in a ship, and came back, were killed.

Statements such as the above, and the following, seem concerned to present a negative and often unsubstantiated account of the behavior of the people of Niue and use Cook’s view to validate their biases. Hutton’s account of his missionary work further exemplifies this bias when he states:

In the year 1774 Captain Cook discovered an island to the westward of the Hervey group, to which he gave the appropriate name of Savage Island. . . . The natives, subsequently estimated at 4000 souls, were in appearance and character not less repulsive than the land they inhabited, and would probably [have] remained in the same degraded condition to the present day had not the missionaries rightly judged that the lower they had fallen, the greater was the necessity for raising them. (Hutton 1874:134)

In my view, the missionaries could possibly be regarded as having an ulterior motive in reiterating and perpetuating Cook’s classification of the Niueans as the most savage of the people of the Pacific. By re-emphasizing this impression of savages they elevated the worth of the work done by the missionaries in terms of transformation. Thus, these evangelists had a vested interest in reinforcing Cook’s legacy. However, it seems to me

that the mere fact of the relatively short period in which this alleged transformation and drastic change in the Niuean character took place presents an anomaly which in turn makes the initial European character assessment of “violent savage” suspect.

In the European reports I was able to consult, I found (apart from castaway Brown’s involuntary landing--see below) no specific evidence of Europeans actually landing on Niue between Cook’s landing in 1774 and the missionaries Harbutt and Drummond’s landing in 1857 (see Bibliography and Appendix I). The missionary contact period began in 1830, but the information they acquired for their accounts about the Niueans appears to be obtained in off-shore visits from shipboard observations, and hearsay or second-hand reports given to them by Aitutakian and Samoan missionaries, or Niueans who were in some stage of the process of “missionization.” This being the case there may be grounds for inferring that selected information was requested and selected information was received.

European missionary sources acknowledge that, although converted Niueans, Peniamina and Fakafitienua were landed in 1846, real “progress” in evangelizing the “savages” was not made until the Samoan missionary teacher, Paulo, was landed in October 1849. Thus, according to the sequence of missionary events, transformation from violent savages to gentle Christians was accomplished in a period of eight years. When the missionaries, Harbutt and Drummond, actually landed on Niue in 1857 they were able to make direct observations of on-shore attitudes and behavior:

The Savage Islanders must be a very ingenious and industrious people [and]. . . . The Savage Islanders are a remarkably mild and intelligent looking people. (Murray 1888:376, 377)

These types of direct observational statements present a marked contrast from previous missionary assessment statements of Niuean character.

Erskine, Captain of H.M.S. *Havannah*, visited Niue in July 1849, three months prior to the landing of Paulo, the Samoan teacher who, according to missionary accounts, “converted” the Niuean character. Erskine’s description of his shipboard encounters with the Niueans lends credence to the inference that perhaps the interpretation of the Niueans as aggressive savages as perpetuated by the missionaries was suspect. Erskine offers views and descriptions of behavior that contradict previous emphases of character. He states:

The expression of their countenances was intelligent and prepossessing. . . . They refused tobacco, which was offered to the first comers in the shape of cigars, lighted to show them the nature of it, saying it was “tabu”; nor would they touch it, putting our hands gently back. (p. 27). . . . One only ventured below into the gun-room, and he insisted upon somebody holding him by the hand, as if to secure him from injury (p. 28). . . . They seemed to have a remarkable regard for property. (p. 29). . . . Altogether they impressed me very favourably with their dispositions; nor did they seem to be at all wanting in natural capacity. (p. 30) (Erskine 1853:8-33)

If Erskine’s account and evaluations of character are to be accepted then it would seem that the Niueans already possessed qualities that the missionaries attributed to the results of evangelical activities of Paulo. (See Appendix I for sequence of arrivals.)

Why were the Niueans labeled “Savages”? It seems their behavior was not the sole determinant when imposing this label upon the Niuean people. Appearances obviously had a profound influence upon the early European visitors. They placed the Niueans in the category of savages at the extreme end of the continuum of civilized and uncivilized people according to their 18th and 19th century world view. Forster (1777:435) declares, “their civilization little advanced, since they are savage, and go naked.”

The Europeans viewed themselves as civilized and with this opinion came the connotation, overtly or covertly, that a civilized appearance meant being white, groomed, fully clothed, and constrained in physical behavior. The descriptions of the explorers all focussed on similar aspects of appearance in terms of nakedness, dark skin color, and signs of black painted skin and unruly behavior, as justifying evidence of savages. (Cook 1774:435, 438; Forster 1777:432, 433; Sparrman 1853:129). The missionaries likewise indicate their ethnocentric biases in their descriptions of appearance and behavior, many of them recounting Williams’ description of the appearance and behavior of one man as a typical example.

His appearance was truly terrific . . . his countenance most forbidding; his whole body was smeared with charcoal, his hair and beard were both long and grey, and the latter, plaited and twisted together, hung from his mouth like so many rats tails. He wore no clothing, except a narrow slip of cloth around his loins,

for the purpose of passing a spear through or any other article he might wish to carry. On reaching the deck the old man was most frantic in his gesticulations, leaping about from place to place, and using the most vociferous exclamations at everything he saw. All attempts at conversation with him were entirely useless, as we could not persuade him to stand still for even a second. (Williams 1837:295)

Other descriptions further emphasize the missionary notion of acceptable appearance as being cleanliness, tidiness and modesty.

One who saw some of them in 1840 describes them as “in a state of absolute nudity, not tattooed, (sic) but besmeared in a most diabolical fashion, and having long hair and a beard. (Powell 1868:28)

As the following extract demonstrates, if Niuean behavior and appearance did not accord with the British view the category of “savage” was considered most apt.

When strangers visited them their excitement knew no bounds, and broke through all restraint. They realized most fully one is accustomed to form of the savage--wild, fierce, ungovernable. Many of them wore long hair, which hung down upon their shoulders in the most disorderly manner. Clothing they dispensed with as an unnecessary incumbrance. (Murray 1888:358)

An extract from the Rev. Lawes letter reporting on his landing 20th August 1861 claims:

The people are very lively and energetic, and no doubt fully meriting the name which Captain Cook gave them. We could not help contrasting the two landings--the present and the past. Now they are all clothed, joyfully welcoming their missionary,--then they were naked savages, rushing down like wild boars upon their visitors. (Murray 1863:397)

The focus that is portrayed is that to be “very lively and energetic” is not the way of a disciplined restrained Englishman and unless one is fully clothed one cannot be termed as “civilized.” Lawes’ account also shows

that despite observed contradictory evidence a label such as “savage” has a long-lasting impact that recurrently seeks confirmation, inadvertently or otherwise.

There also appears to be a covert assumption of cannibalism attached to the label “savage,” as may be evidenced by the fact that in 1849 Captain Roger of the whaleship *Beaver* was charged with abandoning crew member Brown to the cannibals of Savage Island, but the case was discharged on a legal technicality (Ward 1967:170, 175). The Niueans according to Loeb were not cannibals but they

believed Captain Cook called them [such] when he named Niue “Savage Island”. . . . The Niueans resent the use of the name “Savage Island” applied to their homeland by Captain Cook (“Savage” is translated as *kai tagata* cannibal). (Loeb 1926:30, 175)

Evidence from Williams’ 1830 visit supports the absence of cannibalism on Niue. After deciding not to leave Aitutakian missionaries on Niue in case their goods were stolen, Williams, not wishing to be thwarted in his attempt to impose Christian beliefs upon the Niueans, chose another alternative. He attempted to induce some Niueans to accompany them with the purpose of converting them en route, and returning them to missionize, and thus “civilize,” their own people. Williams admits it was with considerable difficulty that they succeeded in getting two youths to accompany them and he comments on the Niuean reaction at their departure.

As soon, however, as the youths perceived we were losing sight of their land, they became frantic in the expressions of their grief, tearing their hair, and howling in the most affected manner. We had recourse to every expedient to inspire their confidence and assuage their grief, but for the first three or four days their incessant howlings were of the most heart-rending description; we could neither induce them to eat, drink or sleep. When animal food was offered to them they turned away with disgust, and howled most piteously: for having never seen it before they concluded that we were cooking and eating human flesh, that we had taken them aboard for the same purpose, and that when our present stock was exhausted they were to be put to death and devoured. (Williams 1837:298-99)

One would perhaps not be viewed as remiss for interpreting accounts such as the above as indicating that cruel acts of mental violation were committed against the Niueans by the missionaries. Other missionary accounts report the use of similar tactics of removing Niueans from the familiarity of their homeland which forced them to confront the conflicting attitudes and life-styles that were imposed upon them.

[In 1840 the missionaries] succeeded in inducing three natives to come with them. These were brought to Pangopango and left there. One of them died shortly after their arrival; another a silly, thoughtless, young man left in a whaler after he had been some months on Tutuila and we heard no more of him; the third, who took the name of *Paulo*, turned out a steady thoughtful young man. He became an inmate in our family [the church] and continued with us till his death in 1852. He was for many years a member of the Church, and a remarkably consistent character in the main; and though he made one or two slips towards the close of his life, I cannot but hope that he was safe at last. (Murray: 165)

I have suggested that the early European visitors feared violence because of the “savage” appearance of the Niueans and sought to confirm their reactions to this appearance in their observations of Niuean actions during encounters. In the early part of this article I sought to demonstrate that the actions of Captain Cook and his men could be interpreted as aggressive acts by the Niueans who, therefore, could be seen to have been justified in reacting accordingly. However, despite violations committed by these early Europeans, the Niueans did not, in fact, harm them. I propose to examine other actions that indicate the Niueans were not as savage or violent as projected fears anticipated. A bias is prevalent in most accounts of early contact with Niue which frequently attempts to confirm Cook’s view of the Niuean people, yet there is evidence to suggest that this was an unwarranted view.

After Cook’s visit 56 years elapsed before the next written report of an encounter with Niueans and this came from John Williams. This missionary entrepreneur regarded the people as “the most wretched and degraded of any natives I have ever seen” and expressed the view “that religion which alone will be effectual in taming their ferocious dispositions, reforming their savage habits, and rendering intercourse with them safe and beneficial” (1837:299). In spite of Williams’ opinion he obviously did not think they were violent to the point of randomly killing,

as, in response to a request from the missionary teachers from Aitutaki not to be left at Niue, Williams states (1837:298) “we, of course acceded to their request not however, apprehending that their lives would be in danger, though, in all probability they would have been plundered of everything they possessed.”

European ethnocentric values and judgements can be detected, yet again, in the above quotes, but, was safe and beneficial intercourse really at issue? Further examples of Niuean actions bring into contention the claims that European visitors were not safe among the people of Niue:

Williams himself did not land on Niue, and the first European to do so since Cook’s visit seems to have been on October 27th 1837, when the New England whaleship, *Beaver*, forced overboard a seaman named Brown (Ward 1967:173). The Niueans fished him from the water, then held council as to whether or not an epidemic should be risked by allowing him to remain alive. Finally it was agreed that he should be given food and a canoe, and when a ship passed off the island he paddled out to it. (Ryan 1977:10 using W. G. Lawes to J. Tidman:19.4.1862)

One cannot help but contrast the actions of the Europeans and the actions of the Niueans as embodied in this situation. The behavior of the Europeans in forcing their fellowman into the sea off an island named Savage Island which the European crew believed to have been inhabited by cannibals, (refer Ward 1967:170), can hardly be viewed as anything less than a violent act of aggression. Contrast this with the humane behavior of the Niueans in rescuing the European from the sea, sparing his life when they thought their own lives may be at risk, and then providing him with sustenance and a highly valued means of survival by way of transport, and one is left wondering who are the savages? This occurrence is the first recorded onshore encounter between Niueans and Europeans since Cook’s landing and would appear to be contrary evidence to the “hostile to all comers” view propagated by the missionaries.

Other instances of early contact with Europeans support the alternative view that it was not the intention of the Niueans to indiscriminately and unjustly harm visitors. On June 25th 1840 the vessel *Samoa* belonging to the London Missionary Society arrived at Niue:

The party sailed on their important but perilous undertaking. Their danger arose chiefly from the smallness of the vessel. The

Savage Islanders are bold, powerful men, and they have large numbers of canoes, which they manage with great dexterity, and in which they move with great celerity. Hence it would have been a very simple matter for them to have surrounded and taken possession of the little craft in which our party sailed and in that case, what a plight would they have been in! The natives came upon them in a very rough and boisterous manner, but a kind Providence watched over them, and the natives did not attempt to injure them. They kept buying up their clubs and spears as fast as they were able, and in that way strove to keep them disarmed. (Murray 1876:164-65)

This account gives some indications of the effects of preconceived notions. The Europeans expected “savages,” they saw an ethnicity that they could not relate to in terms of their own values of appearance and behavior and experienced (and very likely projected) the emotion of fear. This state of emotion, in all probability, influenced their interpretation of the encounter. Even so, despite the bias of interpretation, the account does not produce any clear evidence of aggressive behavior.

If the missionaries had a vested interest in perpetuating Cook’s view of the Niueans as the wildest of savages why did others not contend this view more strongly? Dening (1980: 18) states:

Cook was an English hero, not a French one. French visitors to the Pacific of his day pointed to the violence of his ways, his attachment to property and discipline, the wounded and dead he left on many Pacific islands. They were correct. No matter how exercised he was to carry out the instructions of the Royal Society and Navy to treat the island peoples with kindness and humanity, no matter how chagrined he was at the actions of his men, he never discovered how he could moderate the behaviour of others whose systems of social control he could not understand nor use, except by violence.

Perhaps the above statement illuminates the central issue. Cook was an *English* hero and most of the early accounts of the Niueans, missionaries included, are by Englishmen. Descriptive phrases such as “the great navigator” (Powell 1868:26; Hood 1863:9) “and most correct observer” (ibid.) indicate hero status, and history shows that it was not really “form” to question the words and actions of popular English heroes. These early English visitors to Niue not only admired Cook but to a large

extent could readily understand and identify with his Englishman's view of the world with its inherent expectations in terms of appearance and behavior. They, not infrequently, displayed an ethnocentric and an imperial attitude of superiority to other ethnic groups. For example, in 1873, British Naval Commodore Goodenough (1876:189) addressed the Niue Fono as follows:

As I stand here I cannot but remember that it is just a hundred years ago since the first English man who visited you--the great Captain Cook, was driven from your shores by you, with spears and clubs. He was succeeded by Williams, whom you would not receive, but who succeeded after a time in sending people to teach you. Now! how great is the change! Instead of spears and axes, I see everyone well clothed and well taught, and living in good houses.

To whom do you owe this, and how has it come about? You owe it to the men who came from England to teach you and to live among you.

Goodenough interpreted the absence of spears, the symbolism of clothing, cleanliness and orderliness as a change from "savages" to a more civilized people he could understand. With paternalistic arrogance he attributed this change to the Englishmen who visited Niue. Clifford Geertz claims (1973:93):

culture patterns have an intrinsic double aspect: they give meaning, that is, objective conceptual form, to social and psychological reality both by shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves.

The evidence would suggest that once the missionaries had shaped superficial external changes of a cleaned, clothed, tidied Niuean appearance the English were now in a state of mind to perceive the Niuean character and attributes more clearly and accurately.

Conclusion

Symbols function as models by which we understand reality and they are models which we make into reality. Cook, and the visitors to Niue from the *Resolution*, assumed attitudes such as a right to go ashore on foreign soil and investigate foreigner's possessions, and to declare British Sovereignty. They made presuppositions of a universal interpretation of

encounter rituals and behaviors, such as showing a white flag, attempting to parley, and firing muskets. These were symbols which functioned as models of reality by which they understood reality. When the Niuean responses did not conform to their presuppositions, Cook's party focussed on aspects of empirical evidence, such as nakedness, blackness, spears and boisterousness, to shape reality to their understanding. These were symbols which represented the antithesis of their own behavior and appearance and they became the models for "savages" through which they interpreted events. Europeans who followed had the connotation of the label "savage" in their heads and when they visited Niue they searched for confirmation of their predictions in the symbols of nakedness, spears, etc.

Cognitive theorists maintain people use their own "Theory of the World" to enable them to predict phenomena. It is this ability to predict events that enables the human mind to comprehend and therefore learn from phenomena. If they are not able to predict then bewilderment or a state of confusion occurs. Cook and his men failed to predict Niuean reactions to their actions and confusion resulted. Hence, it is highly likely that they did not comprehend phenomena. In other words, that which was perceived was probably misinterpreted.

Cook's bias in his written account of the encounter with the Niueans had an impact on subsequent European visitors who perpetuated this bias until it became a largely uncontested, historical fact. The name "Savage Island," which the Niueans understandably resent, persisted for a very long time and is still occasionally used (see Appendix II).

Cook initiated attitudes to Niueans that resulted in a chain of events that cannot be obliterated from history. However, in my view, contradictory evidence and opinion has been presented that repudiates these attitudes to Niueans and demonstrates historical injustice.

In my opinion several counts of tragedy did result from Cook's visit to Niue. The aggressive actions and violent reactions of Cook's party probably resulted in physical tragedy for the Niuean people in that it appears highly likely that some of them were wounded if not killed.

A sociological tragedy occurred in that Cook's account of his interpretation of events is accepted as an impartial and accurate account of the behavior of the Niueans. This limited European viewpoint became the only point of view about the early Niueans to outsiders. It was widely known and readily accepted resulting in the imposition and perpetuation of this bias for generations to come. The jaundiced eyes that followed focussed dominantly on anything that could add to the claims of violent savages often to the neglect of any other aspects of the society.

By naming Niue “Savage Island,” Cook placed his feelings firmly on the map for posterity. Not only did he influence travelers following him by the immediate emotive connotation attached to the word “savage,” but, because this name was retained for a lengthy period of European history in the Pacific, it will remain forever as a referent in history. Thus Captain Cook’s visit, albeit short, to the shores of Niue is, in my view, an historical tragedy.

Sue MacLachlan of the University of Auckland is the graduate student winner of the 1982 Best Paper Award contest sponsored by the Institute for Polynesian Studies.

APPENDIX I

Notes in historical sequence on arrivals and departures that involved European contact with Niue as referred to in the literature consulted.

1774 (June 20th)	<i>Resolution</i> --British Explorer Cook landed.
?	Possibly a whaler--Missionary Williams reports.
1830 (June)	<i>Camden</i> --Missionary Williams visited and took 2 Niueans Uea and Niumanga.
1831	<i>Messenger of Peace</i> visited--Rev. Crook returned Uea and Niumanga.
?	Niumanga escaped on a whale? timber? ship.
? 1832	Peniamana brought to Samoa in American Whaler by Captain Simpson.
1837(October 27th)	John Brown put overboard from whaling ship <i>Beaver</i> by Captain William J. Rogers.
1840 or previous?	Whaling ship visited according to report in <i>Boston Daily Advertiser</i> .
1840 (June 25th)	Missionary vessel <i>Samoa</i> , Mr Hunkin visited--attempted to land Samoan Christians, 3 Niueans brought to Samoa.
1842 (April)	Missionary vessel <i>Camden</i> , Mr Buzacott visited--attempted to land Peniamina and Fakafitienua who had been brought to Samoa previously in a whale ship.
1846 (October)	<i>John Williams</i> --Captain Morgan, Rev. W. Gill, Rev. H. Nisbet visited. Peniamina and Fakafitienua landed.
1848	<i>John Williams</i> returned, missionaries Turner & Nisbet visited.
1849 (July 6th & 7th)	H.M.S. <i>Havannah</i> --Captain Erskine visited.
1849 (October)	Missionaries Murray & Sunderland visited and Samoan missionary teacher Paulo landed. Chief Laumahina taken to Samoa and 1st pig landed. 2 Niueans brought to Samoa.

1852 (June)	Missionaries Murray & Sunderland visited and Laumahina returned to Niue.
1852	British frigate <i>Eugenie</i> visited, damaged Niuean property and killed several Niueans.
1854 (January 1st)	Missionaries Murray & Sunderland visited.
? (November 24th)	Missionary Hardie visited.
1857 (August 1st, 2nd, 3rd)	Missionaries Harbutt & Drummond landed.
1858 (August, 2 nights)	Missionaries Stallworthy & Gill landed.
1859 (December 12)	Missionary Turner landed.
1861 (August 20)	Missionaries Murray, Rev. and Mrs Lawes and Mrs Pratt landed. The Lawes took up residence as first European Missionaries.
1862 (June 5)	H.M.S. <i>Fawn</i> --Captain Hood landed.
1862 (November)	<i>Trujillo</i> , --a blackbirder, took about 50 men.
1863 (January 28)	<i>Rosa Patricia</i> , --a blackbirder, took about 33 men.
1863 (March 9)	<i>Rosa Y. Carmen</i> , --a blackbirder, took about 19 men.
1866	H. W. Patterson, Samoan agent for Messrs Godefroy and Son of Hamburg, came as first resident trader.
1867	Mission ship <i>John Williams</i> wrecked at Lepetu, Mafeku.
1867	R. H. Head, agent for Trader Bully Hayes, came as a resident trader--married a Niuean woman.
1868	Rev. F. E. Lawes arrived to take up residence.
1872	Dr. George Lawes left Niue.
1872	Brig. <i>Ocean</i> Captain Lyons, wrecked at Tuapa.
1873 (November 4)	H.M.S. <i>Pearl</i> . Commodore Goodenough landed.
1877	Barque <i>Irole</i> , Captain Scott, wrecked at Tuapa.
1879	Sir Arthur Gordon visited and appointed Mr R. H. Head as Acting Deputy Commissioner.
1900	Basil Thompson, Envoy Plenipotentiary landed and proclaimed Niue a British Protectorate.
1900	Lord Ranfurly, Governor of New Zealand visited Niue and formally annexed the island.

APPENDIX II

In an attempt to establish the period in which Niue was called and/or referenced as Savage Island I consulted the following:

1. *New Zealand Navy--Hydrographic Department*: The Hydrographic Department informed me that they kept and issued current maps in use only. They still used one map which still had the label Savage Island and no reference to Niue on it. This was a small scale British Admiralty Chart and used as reference, showing the distance between places. Reference Chart B.A. 2683.

The N.Z. Navy Hydrographic Department also checked the "Pacific Islands Pilot" Volume II, 9th Edition, 1969. In this reference Niue was referred to as "Niue or Savage Island" and this was not changed in the last correction supplement No. 9 1981.

2. *The University of Auckland Library*: A brief search was made by the reference staff and the staff of the N.Z. and Pacific room to attempt to establish when and if there had been a specific name change from Savage Island to Niue. Some more recent publications were found that still referred to the name Savage Island, namely,

1977 "*Webster's New Geographical Dictionary.*" G. & C. Merriam Company, Springfield, Massachusetts. (p. 850: "Niue or Savage Island".)

1978 "*The Penguin Encyclopedia of Places*" 2nd Edition. W. G. Moore, Penguin Books, England. (p. 563: "Niue [Savage] Island".)

3. *Pacific Islands Year Books, Pacific Publications, Sydney*: I consulted all the available editions of the Pacific Islands Year Books in the Auckland University Library. The following information was obtained:

The maps stated "Niue or Savage Island" up to and including 9th Edition 1963. After that "Niue" only was listed.

The section titles stated "Niue or Savage Island" up to and including 6th Edition 1950. After that "Niue" only was listed.

It was of interest to note the comments in the history section with reference to Cook, the name, and the Niueans. (see following)

Comments from Pacific Islands Year Books

1939 (3rd Edition) p. 61:

Niue was discovered in 1774 by Captain Cook, who gave it the name of Savage Island. The natives, however are quiet and peaceful, but, at the time of Captain Cook's visit they seem to have conducted themselves in a peculiar way.

1942 (4th Edition) p. 61:

Niue was discovered in 1774 by Captain Cook who gave it the name of Savage Island. The natives who are a rather remarkable section of the Polynesians--they are thought to be a remnant of a very early migration--were then fierce and unfriendly but now they are quiet and peaceful. They are very industrious, and are much in demand as labourers and sailors.

1944 (5th Edition) p. 99:

Comment as for 4th Edition.

1950 (6th Edition) p. 137:

Comment as for 4th & 5th Editions plus this sentence: Culturally they possess a slightly lower standard than other Polynesian groups.

1957 (7th Edition) p. 136:

Captain James Cook was the first European to visit Niue Island making three landings on the west coast on June 20 1774. He met with a hostile reception from the inhabitants and in consequence named the island "Savage Island." The name Savage Island is deeply resented by Niueans and is in fact seldom used.

1963 (9th Edition) p. 148:)

1968 (10th Edition) p. 157:) Comment as for 7th Edition.

1972 (11th Edition) p. 157:)

1977 (12 Edition) p. 243:

The European discoverer of Niue was Captain James Cook who made three landings on the west coast on June 20 1774. Because of the fierce appearance and hostile conduct of the islanders he called it Savage Island. This name persisted for more than a century but has now fallen into disuse, and deservedly so for it does not and probably never did describe the inhabitants.

1978 (13th Edition) p. 229:

Comment as for 12th Edition but stopping at the word disuse, omitting the last sentence phrase.

1981(14th Edition) p. 307:

Comment as for 13th Edition.

THE IN-CHARGE COMPLEX AND TOBIAN POLITICAL CULTURE

“The politics of a country can only be an extension of its ideas of human relationships.” V.S. Naipaul¹

by Peter Black

Introduction

The people of Tobi (a remote island in the new Republic of Belau) organize their relations with one another around a complex of power and morality which is named by them *Hosuar*. English speakers translate this word as “in charge”.²

The ideas and values which underlie the “in-charge” complex are primarily folk psychological in nature, drawn as they are from Tobian commonsense notions about persons. Understandings about fear, shame, rage, and other emotions--as well as assumptions about the relations between maturity, sexuality, intelligence, and self-control--are all involved in the in-charge complex. That complex, in turn, structures political behavior both within Tobian society and across its boundaries. And, as ever more compelling waves of social, economic, and administrative change break upon their small and intimate society, Tobians consistently construct their responses in terms of the in-charge complex. That complex, then, plays a very important role in the island’s evolving political culture. In this paper I report on this feature of Tobian political process and then, in order to demonstrate the close ties between folk psychology and political culture, I sketch in the network of assumptions, beliefs, and ideas out of which the in-charge complex arises.³ First, though, I need to introduce some essential background.

Tobians

Tobians make their homes in two places: Tobi island itself, tiny, remote, and isolated; and Eang village in Koror, the capital of Belau.⁴ Eang is a small, encapsulated village in which Tobians have lived with people from the other three southwest islands of Belau (Sonsorol, Merir, and Pulo Ana) since shortly after the turn of the century. Speaking dialects of a

common tongue which is closely related to the languages spoken in the outer islands of Yap, sharing many cultural traits, and woven together by ties of marriage and adoption, the Eang villagers form a community which differs in many ways from the surrounding Palauan society. Palauans speak an almost totally unrelated language and possess a sharply dissimilar culture. They also possess numerical, economic, and political supremacy. There are more than fourteen thousand Palauans and only about one-hundred and twenty Eangese, of whom about half are Tobians.

The Eang people earn the cash necessary for their subsistence through wage labor. Historically, that labor has been entirely outside Eang, within Palauan-dominated commercial and governmental enterprises. Such labor is necessary because Eang is not suited for the fish-and-garden subsistence economy which the residents maintain on their home islands. Cash is also necessary for the purchase of the many consumer goods available in Koror but not on the home islands. Additionally, the town of Koror contains many bars and cinemas which the Eang people patronize. These attractions, along with the much more rapid pace of urban life with its many new experiences and people, make of Eang a powerful magnet for the Southwest Islanders.⁵ Its strongest attractions, though, are its hospital and high school, neither of which is found in the Southwest Islands. The reasons people give for coming to Eang from their home islands almost always have to do with their need, or that of one of their close relatives, for access to one of those two institutions.

Life in Eang is not untypical of life in any of the small marginal communities which form part of all the headquarter towns of the old Trust Territory of the Pacific. Most of the labor offered by these communities is unskilled; traditionally in Eang it has meant temporary work as stevedores. A good deal of drinking and minor juvenile delinquency occurs. The social controls which work so well on the home islands do not function well in the towns. During the day many people leave the community to work, attend school, or go to the hospital either for treatment or to visit friends and relatives. Those who stay at home form small groups to work their small gardens, tend babies, listen to the radio, and sleep. In the evening drinking groups form, taxis take others into Koror for entertainment, and there is much visiting back and forth. Very often in Eang, especially on rainy mornings when the place is a sea of mud and hangovers are worsened by the necessity of getting to work, one can hear someone wistfully remark that things are probably much better on Tobi. "I bet they are eating tuna *sashimi* now on Tobi, or maybe even turtle, and we can't even afford to buy canned mackerel." Yet even as they are saying this, Tobians savor the irony of knowing that the chances are good that at

the same moment someone on Tobi is saying, "I really want to drink some cold beer. I bet in Eang right now they are drinking Kirin beer and smoking Winstons, while all that we have are coconuts and twist tobacco." In fact, people have often told me that if they could find a place with both fresh tuna and cold beer they would never leave. As it is, the two poles of their society complement each other nicely. Eang's (relatively) fast pace and consumer goods are matched by Tobi's secure, relaxed atmosphere and plentiful high-prestige foods. Therefore it is not surprising that, except for a small number of permanent residents in Eang, every Tobian spends some time in each place.⁶ At any one time about half of them can be found in Eang and the rest on their home island. People spend varying amounts of time in either place; the longest stay is no more than two years or so. The shortest possible stay in either place is three months, because that is the length of time between visits of the government field-trip ship which runs between Koror and the Southwest Islands and provides the only method of transit between these two centers of Tobian society.

The island of Tobi is one of the most remote and isolated of all the Micronesian islands. Located alone in the extreme southwestern corner of the old Trust Territory, it is a flat, low, well-watered coral island, possessed of a fringing reef but no lagoon. Small in size (only about one-quarter of a square mile in area), its interior swamp has been converted into pit gardens for growing taro. Rich in coconut trees, breadfruit, and papaya and with plentiful marine resources available, the island is capable of supporting many more people than its current resident population of sixty or so.⁷

In the absence of marked climatic seasons, Tobi's years are structured by the semiregular visits of the field-trip ship. Both the pace and nature of daily activities vary considerably depending on the length of time since the last ship. In this manner time flows with a much different, more rhythmic beat than in Eang.

A field-trip cycle begins with the wild spurt of activity which meets the coming of the ship. Loading copra and unloading supplies; attending governmental meetings of various kinds; flocking to the church for religious services with the visiting priest (the entire population forms a single, devout Roman Catholic congregation which does not have a priest in residence); and, of course, gossiping--all these and other activities occur at a frantic speed during the three or four hours the ship is hove to off the island. Then comes a party in which all the liquor which has come ashore is consumed. It begins on the beach as the ship slowly disappears from sight (not to return for from three to six months) and continues until all the liquor is gone. This can take a week or more. During this time,

newly arrived store goods form most of the foodstuffs and manufactured cigarettes are the only ones smoked. Fresh arrivals and stay-at-homes debrief one another on all the things which have happened on Tobi and in Eang since the last ship, tensions which have built up during the preceding months are dissipated, and changes in personnel due to arrivals and departures are assimilated.

Gradually, people begin to pick up the threads of their ordinary activities. Women once again begin intensive gardening; men again set out in their canoes for the fishing grounds. School begins again and the epidemic of colds and gastrointestinal disorders, which almost always accompanies the ship, passes.

A month or so after the ship's departure a few people (mostly those heavily in debt) begin cutting and drying copra. Gradually more and more people take up this task until, except for necessary subsistence activities, no one is doing much of anything but making copra. In anticipation of the ship's next visit people begin preparing supplies to send to friends and relatives in Koror, and those who are planning on taking the ship to Eang make arrangements for their departure.⁸ Finally the ship appears from over the horizon and the excitement of ship day once more erupts.

The contrast with Eang is marked. There, except for the arrival and departure of individual Tobians, the coming of the ship makes remarkably little impact on daily life. While daily life on Eang is punctuated by the going and coming of people to work, school, and hospital, days are much less neatly internally segmented than on Tobi. On the island, twice-daily church services (at six A.M. and six P.M.), radio conferences with Palau four times a day to transmit weather data (at three and nine, day and night--when the radio and generator are working), and the marching of the island's children to and from school all serve to divide daily time neatly. These differences between Eang and Tobi in the nature and pace of activities are directly related to differences in political processes characteristic of each community.

Political life in both Eang and Tobi is complex, and neither place forms an arena totally isolated from the other. Nevertheless the two communities do form distinctly different political environments, and the main foci of political activity in the two places differ significantly. In Eang the central political issue facing the residents is the achievement and maintenance of access to the economic and service sectors of Palauan society. Such access is both the *raison d'être* and the necessary precondition for Eang's continued existence. This challenge is made severe by the tenuous nature of the title which Eang residents have to their lands.

On Tobi the central issue is the maintenance of ecological and social balance within a very fragile ecosystem. Traditional solutions were religiopolitical in nature, and the challenge to the Tobians over the last fifty years or so has been to retain that feature of their adaptation while integrating externally sponsored religious and political change. Tobians have been much more successful (so far at least) in solving this problem than in regularizing Eang's relations with Palau. On both issues, though, the Tobian response has been very creative and in both instances it has been built around that feature of their sociocultural organization which I call the in-charge complex.

The In-Charge Complex

Tobian society can be viewed as a vast array of linked dyads.⁹ In each of these pairs of persons, one member is superior to the other. Tobians say that the senior person is "in charge" of the other.

The best way to begin to think about in-charge relationships is to consider the relationship of a child and its parents. Parents, for their child's own good, must supervise its behavior. The younger a child, the more closely its activities are monitored--which is to say that the younger the child the less its personal autonomy. Parents are responsible for their child's behavior and they exercise that responsibility directly and often while the child is very young.¹⁰ As the child matures, it gains greater and greater freedom of action. Often parents (conforming to a very widespread pattern in the Pacific) delegate to it responsibility for a younger sibling. This is the beginning of the *transitive* dimension of the in-charge system. A parent is in charge of a child who, in turn, is in charge of a younger child, so the parent is also in charge of the younger child. As the family matures, the children's relationships maintain their hierarchical nature. Elder siblings are in charge of younger. As children reach puberty, gender becomes important in determining hierarchy. Unless there is a gap of two or more years between a girl and her younger brother, he will begin assuming an in-charge stance toward her.¹¹ By the time both parties are adults, no woman is in charge of her brother, no matter what their relative ages.

As people marry, they fall into new in-charge relations. Husbands are always in charge of their wives. Furthermore, should the husband die or the marriage break up, some other man--a brother, an uncle, or a father--will assume that role. A woman does have people junior to her in in-charge relationships--younger sisters, daughters, and daughters' children, for example--but all through her life she will be either directly or in-

directly in the junior role vis-à-vis some man. For a man, the course of life is different. By the time he is in his late thirties (full adulthood comes relatively slowly on Tobi) it is very likely that no one, with one significant exception to be discussed later, will be in a position to interfere in his affairs. No one will be in charge of him. As a fully mature adult male he has a degree of autonomy not enjoyed by any other member of his society. But as adult maturity gives way to old age (signaled by the cessation of certain kinds of fishing and the adoption of a walking stick), his sons or other younger men become in charge of him.

There is much more which can be said about this system of relationships. Among the more important observations is the following: Certain women rich in property and kin are central political figures on Tobi. For them, their junior relationship to the man in charge of them is very much a *pro forma* arrangement. This is an example of a larger generalization which is that the content of the relationship can vary considerably from dyad to dyad. Both the nature of the decisions referred by the junior to the senior person for approval and the actual exercise of the veto vested in the senior person differ markedly from relationship to relationship.¹² To understand why such women continue to observe in-charge formalities (which are felt by them to be onerous), as well as to understand the other features of the in-charge complex described above, it is necessary to consider Tobian ideas of human (or at least Tobian) nature. But before doing that I want to describe the way in which Tobians have drawn on this complex to meet political change.

Tobian Political Innovation

Traditional Tobian culture was the creation of a people whose ancestors had solved the problems of survival on small, vulnerable islands. The challenge to Tobi's first inhabitants was to fit those solutions in detail to their new home, a challenge which they met very successfully. The challenge to each succeeding generation has been to maintain that hard-won balance.¹³ Those solutions, on Tobi as in many other "traditional" societies, were and are codified in "custom" (*mou mou*). Leadership on Tobi consisted of ensuring compliance with custom. Custom, in turn, was placed within the realm of the sacred. The office of chief, the status which combined ultimate political and religious legitimacy, was the key social mechanism for guaranteeing compliance with custom and thus the maintenance of social and ecological balance. The chief was (and is), the Tobians say, *in charge* of their island.

Modern Tobian history begins with the arrival of the Germans in western Micronesia in the early years of this century. It was then that the first sustained contact with societies beyond Tobi's reef was achieved. Many changes, the most fundamental of which has been the loss of autonomy, have flowed from that contact. During the troubled course of this difficult process, the traditional religiopolitical solution to the problem of social and ecological balance has been significantly altered.

Tobians are now Christians and their Catholicism is largely orthodox, at least on the surface. The basic reason for their conversion (which occurred *en masse* in the 1930s) was that a series of disasters had convinced them that their aboriginal religion was no longer functional. In another paper I presented an ethnohistorical account of the events of their conversion (1978). In that paper I point out that, despite their orthodoxy, the Tobians have created a kind of metatheology out of some of the remembered sayings and behavior of the priest who converted them. That is, they have created a corpus of teachings which they use to justify their Catholicism. One of the fundamental tenets of that metatheology is that the missionary (a long-dead Jesuit priest named Father Marino) is in charge of them. Their understanding is that he sits on high now, watching over their activities, and will judge them after their death. Since other elements of the corpus are taken as revalidating much of traditional custom, it is evident that what the Tobians have done is to change the basic charter for this religious component of their society while maintaining its essential function intact. The other leg of the traditional mechanism for maintaining balance was, as I have said, political. Here too the Tobians have successfully incorporated externally sponsored change.

Beginning in the 1950s, as part of their desire to "democratize" and "modernize" the Micronesian societies recently captured from the Japanese (who had earlier gotten them from the Germans), American officials of the Trust Territory government decreed the election of Magistrates. This office was meant to replace what was seen as the outdated, arbitrary, and authoritarian traditional status of chief with something more in line with "the modern world." On Tobi, as elsewhere, the initial response to this command was confused and divisive. An analysis of the early elections reveals that no incumbent magistrate was ever reelected. This was primarily due to the fact that incumbent magistrates inevitably had a falling out with the chief (who had often been an early supporter). These difficulties, in turn, flowed with monotonous regularity from the perception that, in urging Trust Territory administrative policy upon the constituency, the magistrate was acting as though he were in charge of the island. It was not until the mid-1960s, with the election of the present

incumbent, that stability was achieved. This man, who has served ever since, managed to escape his predecessors' fate by coming to a *modus vivendi* with the chief.¹⁴ The arrangement they worked out is as follows: The magistrate is in charge of government things such as taxes, censuses, and elections, while the chief is in charge of custom. Further, and drawing on the transitive character of in-charge relations, the chief also holds ultimate veto, even over government-sponsored programs and projects. As Tobians might phrase it, Father Marino is in charge of everyone, in this life and the next, but the chief is in charge of the island's people. He is the only one who can intervene in the behavior of middle-aged men who in turn are directly or indirectly in charge of everyone else. The magistrate, under the chief, is in charge of government (meaning the external administration). The chief, who because of his descent retains a semisacred character, is still the main human actor ensuring compliance with the subsistence and social norms or customs which, in the people's minds, allow them to live together successfully in their tiny and vulnerable society. Under this dispensation they have been able to live a satisfying neo-traditional existence with its clear-cut rhythms and patterns. In Eang, though, the situation is very different.

The Eang settlement came into being during the German administration, with a combination of factors leading to its creation. A severe typhoon had devastated the island of Merir (Tobi was not affected). Palauan society had suffered severe depopulation in the nineteenth century and had not yet recovered. When the Germans brought the survivors from Merir to Koror (which they were developing as a port town), several powerful Palauan leaders made generous and competing offers for what they must have seen as potential reinforcements for their underpopulated villages. After a couple of false starts, the Germans established the Merir people in the outskirts of Koror on some empty lands called Eang on the island of Arkapasang. The local Palauan leadership turned over title to those lands through the Germans to the Merir and other Southwest Island people. Through the years of this century that community has continued to grow, attracting people from all the Southwest Islands.¹⁵

Palauan society is markedly hierarchical. Its numerous clans, as well as its many villages, are all rank ordered. Even within villages, hamlets are ordered, and even within clans, lineages.¹⁶ For various reasons, ethnocentrism being among the most important, Palauans have traditionally ranked Southwest Islanders below even the lowest of Palauan groups. There are many exceptions--open-minded and generous Palauans have brought about many friendships and even a few marriages between the two groups--but in general Tobians and other Southwest Islanders are

looked down upon by Palauans.¹⁷ Lacking economic or political power, then, the Eang community's access to the commercial and administrative institutions of Koror, dominated by Palauans, is fragile. As economic conditions continue to deteriorate in Palau, with ever-increasing unemployment, competition for the unskilled jobs held by Eang people increases. Further, as the Palauan population expands rapidly, pressure on Eang's lands can only increase. Finally, as the Americans pull out of Micronesia, administrative and judicial positions are increasingly being filled by Palauans so that, despite the Eang people's very clear (on paper) title to their land in Eang, it is more and more possible that they will lose their lands. Their response has been to seek a Palauan to be in charge of Eang. I want to relate briefly three incidents from Eang's history to illustrate this and to show why this solution has not, and perhaps cannot, work.¹⁸ The first episode occurred during the 1930s, the second in the early seventies, and the third in the early eighties.

During Japanese times one of the senior Palauan merchants, a man of some economic and political power, took an interest in the Eang community. Although no one ever told me that this person was in charge of Eang, it is clear that he had become a kind of patron of the community. He was, it is said, very kind to Eang people; he hired them whenever he could and tried to "help" them. One day he came to Eang and told some Tobi people that many people in Palau were laughing about them because of some scurrilous rumor which was making the rounds. (It is a measure of Tobian discretion that no one could ever "remember" what the rumor was.) He told the Tobians that there was an even more scandalous story going around about a very well connected Palauan maiden, the daughter of an important chief. She was said to have been seen in her garden by a Korean farm worker, calling out the name of her absent lover while masturbating with a tapioca root. Now, coming up at this time was some sort of festival of native arts, sponsored by the Japanese, to be held in a large field in downtown Koror. When the day dawned, virtually the entire population turned out. Part of the festival was to be a dance competition between different communities. When Eang's turn to dance arrived, out came six Tobian men in women's dress, carrying between them a large coconut-frond basket. With their leader calling out a cadence in Japanese, they marched to the center of the field, where, watched by thousands of Palauans, they set down the basket, began an obscene dance, pulled a large wooden object out of the basket, and called out in unison and in Palauan, "Here is a tapioca!"

According to all accounts, a riot nearly broke out. Only the quick action of police and soldiers prevented the enraged and insulted Palauan

spectators from physically attacking the bewildered and frightened Tobians, who were hustled back to Eang by the Japanese. This is a favorite story among the Tobians to this day. Several of the dancers are still alive and, when asked, are only too happy to relate the tale, complete with dance steps and shout. But when we look past its humorous aspect we can see that it resulted from a serious misreading of Eang's place in Palau and the role of that Palauan businessman. In essence, the Tobians had acted as though they were in a position to publicly sanction a prominent Palauan. People who are in charge of others on Tobi frequently use them in precisely this fashion in order to exert their authority over third parties. And public violations of important norms are often danced about, with the chief's blessing. But that Palauan businessman was not, in any meaningful way, in charge of them, and they had, in fact, no such place in Palauan society.

The second incident involved an election. During the 1970s, the stresses on Micronesian societies increased dramatically. This was certainly true in Palau. Those stresses were reflected in Palauan politics, which took on a vitality and excitement which had been absent during the preceding years of stagnation. During one district-wide election in the early seventies, feelings were running particularly high. Two respected Palauans were competing for the support of the Southwest Islands and Eang. Each represented a different political party, which in turn reflected both old and new fault lines within Palauan society. When the results were announced, it became apparent that virtually the entire Southwest Islands vote (including that from Eang) had gone to one of the men; unfortunately, he had lost the election. The morning after this outcome became public, a canoe appeared on the front lawn of the Royal Palauan Hotel. Whoever had placed it in this most public of locations had accompanied it with a sign which said that the Eang people should sail back to their home islands. Another low point in the relations of Eang to Palauan society had been reached.¹⁹

In discussions with people at this time, when the Eang people were feeling lost and besieged, I learned that they had hoped their candidate would be in charge of them, securing for them access to jobs, schools, and the hospital. Again they had misread the situation. Not only had they chosen a person who could not win (he was badly defeated), but they had had unrealistic expectations for what he would have been able to do for them even if he had won.

The final episode happened more recently. My source of information on it is a Palauan friend active in politics. As part of the constitutional negotiations leading up to the emergence of the Republic of Palau, it was

decided that the old municipalities would become states. I am not in the possession of many details here, but I was told that the High Chief of Koror proposed to incorporate Tobi and the other Southwest Islands within the State of Koror. Apparently there was considerable opposition to this scheme; and, so far as I know, it has joined the proposed Palau Superport in oblivion--at least for now. I can only speculate, but it seems likely to me that some discussions with Southwest Islanders must have preceded the High Chief's public announcement. Perhaps the public proposal, whose defeat did no one any good, could have been avoided if in those discussions the Palauan side could have been brought to see the unacceptability of a suggestion that the chief and Father Marino be replaced by an outsider and. if the Southwest Islanders had been able to communicate precisely what their hopes for an in-charge relationship with a powerful Palauan entailed. The fundamental difficulty remains, however. To my mind, at least, the complexity and diversity of Palauan society render the in-charge complex a massively inappropriate vehicle for the structuring of relations between Southwest Islanders and Palauans.²⁰ To answer why the Tobians remain wedded to this strategy, as well as to answer why they have chosen it on their home island to structure their incorporation of externally sponsored religious and political change, we must ask why they remain wedded to the in-charge complex itself. This is another way of asking why it is that socially and economically powerful Tobian women accept a junior role in in-charge relationships that they dislike. To answer these questions we need to turn to Tobian folk psychology.

Tobian Folk Psychology

In the Tobian view of human nature the only true adults are men between middle age and senility. Only individuals of this class fully possess the prime virtues of self-restraint, competence, and independence. Females and all other males are thought to be capable of exhibiting these characteristics only in varying degrees of approximation. In other words, there is a single model of the good person, of which men of middle age are thought to be the best examples. Everyone else, lacking the two virtues of self-restraint and competence, is deprived of the third: independence. These people have someone placed in charge of them.²¹

Women, children, and young and senile men are all thought to have imperfect impulse control. Therefore it is necessary for the well-being of everyone that people who do have this control be permitted to interfere in their affairs. Stories, songs, and legends tell again and again of the di-

sasters which happen when women, children, or senile men act on their own. These disasters all involve conflict.

Tobians believe--with some reason, in my opinion--that their society rests on a delicate balance of enlightened self-interest and self-restraint. They are keenly aware of all the many serious conflicts which exist. These are conflicts over resources and political office that can and do persist for generations. They also know that associated with these conflicts is a good deal of very negative emotion. Hatred, fear, and jealousy are feelings Tobians experience in themselves and attribute to others. Yet Tobians are also aware that survival on their island depends on mutual cooperation. Complex subsistence activities demand the participation of everybody. In this small society, each person must be able to draw on the labor of everyone else. Each person thus must be willing to help everyone else, even in the face of profound dislike. Furthermore, Tobians value, and are largely successful in achieving, an extremely pleasant tone to their daily interactions. A good-humored pleasantness is a trait in which everyone excels and is the single most important feature in making Tobi the delightful place that it is.

Objectively speaking, it is possible to see that much of the success which the Tobians achieve in their collective creation of a mutually supportive and largely benign society is due to their use of ghosts as mechanisms of displacement. I am quite confident that much of the hatred and fear which are associated with the hidden dispute structure is deflected onto these culturally constituted defense mechanisms. This is the kind of observation toward which traditional psychology and psychological anthropology lead one; and it is probably, as I say, valid as far as it goes. But if we go further and consider the Tobian understanding of these matters, we learn that they attribute their success to self-control. This is an idea very like the notion of the exercise of the will in Western folk psychology. There is a crucial difference between these two psychological models, however. People in the West tend to hold that controlling negative emotions is an act of limited usefulness because such emotions are so powerful that they will eventually be expressed in one way or another. Tobians, on the other hand, believe that a fully mature person can contain bad feelings indefinitely, especially if it is in his (the ethnographically correct pronoun) self-interest.

Tobians consider that the network of disputes which troubles their society is of a single piece--engaging, as it does, everyone in one way or another. Therefore, they fear that the direct expression of any one dispute would bring the entire network into the open, with all its attendant negative emotions. This, they fear, would render their island uninhabitable.

They especially dread the public shaming which the exposure of old wrongs would entail. Intense public shame, they say, leads to ghostliness, and ghostliness to violence. Thus, the creation of in-charge relations makes a kind of inevitable sense to them. Middle-aged men, they believe, are far-sighted enough, intelligent enough, and strong-willed enough to resist socially dangerous impulses. They can see that it is in their best interests to deny those impulses which could wreck both their society and their personhood. Everyone else needs a kind of external controlling agent--that is, someone in charge of them. Only the chief (and certainly not the magistrate) is considered, by virtue of his semisacred character, to have a truly altruistic stance toward the island and its society; and so only the chief has no one (at least no mortal) in charge of him.²¹ Even the adult men, then, have someone who can interfere in their behavior if their self-interest leads them to threaten the social and ecological balance.

As I have said, in-charge relationships make a kind of inevitable sense to Tobians. Starting with what they take to be the givens of human nature and considering the situations in which they find themselves, in-charge relationships are logical outcomes. Whether we are speaking of the Eang community, Tobi island, or powerful middle-aged women, Tobian organization of political behavior is predicated on Tobian understandings of the meaning of personhood. And as long as those understandings persist, people individually and collectively will fit or try to fit themselves into in-charge relationships.²²

Political Culture and Ethnopsychology

The pioneering study of political culture was carried out by Almond and Verba and reported by them in 1963. Drawing on the tradition of national character studies in anthropology (by then largely abandoned), they carried out comparative research on the political cultures of five contemporary democratic nation-states. In this work they defined political culture as "specifically political orientations--attitudes toward the political systems and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system" (1963:12). Thus there are two components which Almond and Verba saw as important in political culture: the political system and the self. In this paper I have focused on the latter. To do this I have drawn on the developing field of ethnopsychology. It is my belief that such an enterprise may offer the field of political culture a way out of certain conceptual difficulties. For, just as anthropological studies of national character have been revitalized within psychological anthropology by replacing standard social science notions of the person with ethnopsychologically

and phenomenologically relativistic or “emic” concepts of the self, so political culture can benefit by contextualizing the self.

In Almond and Verba’s work, and also in the work of those who have followed them, the self is taken to be both a constant and a theoretical primitive. As a concept it seems to owe its characteristics to a combination of Euro-American folk notions of personhood and identity with ideas drawn from the works of Marx, Freud, and G. H. Mead (works which themselves exist in a complex relation of mutual influence with western folk psychology).

Traditional studies of political culture focus on the connection between the self and the political system. The self is taken to be the same in every society, while the political system (naturally) varies. The problem for the analyst is to explain variation in “attitudes,” “values,” and “beliefs”—the connectors of the self to the political system. The explanatory strategy adapted has much in common with an early, no longer viable style of anthropological analysis. Faced with the task of explaining some bit of seemingly bizarre behavior, the analyst asks himself or herself, “What conditions would lead *me* to engage in that behavior?” This is the “if-I-were-a-native” mode of analysis, and it has been largely discredited within anthropology. It seems to me that with their a priori assumption of an essential identity between themselves and the selves of the members of various polities (Japan, Israel, Latin America, Mexico, Massachusetts, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Italy), political culture theorists are making the same error.²³ They ask, for example, “If I were a Mexican, how would I act in a political system featuring corruption and bureaucracy?”

Rejecting the a priori assumption of uniformity, one is led to attempt an explanation for behavior or beliefs in terms drawn not from the analyst’s experience but from the subject’s. The question becomes, “What is it like to be a Mexican political actor?” In order to answer such questions I think we need to take into consideration indigenous notions of being.

Much of the preceding has been presented in a rather *telegraphic* manner. I have strung together a series of assertions without always supplying adequate substantiation. Since the paper was demonstrative and programmatic in intent, I hope that (whatever the plausibility or lack of it in the various points which I have made) the utility, or at least excitement, which an ethnopsychological perspective can bring to studies of political culture is apparent.

NOTES

1. I spent a total of two and a half years with the Tobi people--six months at the Tobi settlement in Eang near Koror and the rest on the island itself. The first stay was as a Peace Corps volunteer from 1967 to 1968 and the second as a predoctoral researcher from 1972 to 1973. This latter period was financed by an NIMH Grant (UPMS 5 TOI MH 12766). I wish to thank my colleagues (both anthropologists and sociologists) here at George Mason, whose comments have led to many improvements in this paper. The line from Naipaul is from "The Return of Eva Peron" (1981, 66).

2. *Hosuar* has a variety of meanings. For example, English speakers sometimes translate it as "is responsible for" and other times as "owns." The particular translation given it depends on the context in which it appears. When that context is the relations between people, the word is always translated as "(to be) in charge." The semantic connotation of "in charge" is primarily a cultural construct. The system of relations between people which it structures is a social artifact. To avoid confusion I have found it best to call the former the *in-charge symbol* and the latter the *in-charge system*. When I refer to both together (certainly the most ethnographically accurate usage) I use the phrase *in-charge complex*.

3. For a good example of work on the relations between folk psychology and political behavior see Myers (1979). For ethnopsychology see Hallowell (1955), Wallace (1970), and Geertz (1976), who all set the stage for the recent upsurge in interest. Caughey (1977 and 1979) and Lutz (1982a and b) both analyze other Micronesian folk psychologies. For further discussion of Tobian folk psychology see Black 1977 and n.d. b. For an analysis of the folk psychology of Tobian gender relations see Black (1981).

4. Considerable confusion exists about the correct name for the new republic which is emerging out of the old U.S. Trust Territory District of Palau. The latest and most authoritative usage seems to be to keep "Palau" for use in English while replacing it with "Belau" in situations in which the Palauan language is being used. In any case, Tobians call the place "Panug."

5. It is impressive that only in Koror do Tobians meet *strangers*. Within their own society, everyone knows everyone else. In any interaction the older person commands the younger's entire biography, while for the younger person the older is inevitably a significant other, known since birth.

6. This is also true of Sonsorol and Pulo Ana but is not the case with Merir, all of whose people now live in Koror. (At least I think they do. Periodically there are rumors that the Merir-people are going to recolonize their home island.)

7. Tobi's recent demographic history is starkly tragic. In 1910 a German government vessel arrived. A reasonably careful census was taken and nearly 1000 souls were counted (Eilers 1936). Shortly thereafter, perhaps as a result of this very ship's visit, influenza struck and the population was halved and halved again. The population then began a steady decline, only arrested in the mid-sixties. This second, slower decline was due to reproductive failure associated with various pathologies.

8. Among these preparations the most important are arrangements for care of valued possessions (e.g. canoes) and relationships (especially in-charge relationships with spouses and children). At this time also, people introduce more and more Palauan words and phrases into their speech. By the time the ship actually arrives some people are speaking nothing but Palauan. During the visit of the ship almost all of the interactions with outsiders are carried out in Palauan. After the ship leaves, the rate of Palauan usage drops dramatically as people purge their speech and return to "pure" Tobian.

9. Of course, Tobian society is much more complex than this. Residence, marriage, kinship, descent, gender, and age, as well as more temporary interest or work groups, are all important in the organization of social relations. For purposes of exposition only, I have allowed these to remain in the background while focusing on the in-charge system. That system interrelates in a variety of ways with these background features. Some of these ways will become apparent in what follows.

10. The very widespread pattern of early childhood adoption increases the number of such relationships for the child.

11. This is a time during which cross-sex sibling tension is at its greatest. Other points of transition (such as that from middle-aged dominant male to elderly subordinate) are also often times of tension and stress for those involved in them.

12. Furthermore, in-charge relations can be temporary. For example, the sister of a recently deceased man is expected to go into a year's mourning, governed by various prohibitions. So is the widow. Often the sister will be placed in charge of the widow for the duration of the mourning.

13. Typhoons, droughts, fish migrations, destruction of the freshwater lens upon which all life depends, and epidemics are only some of the physical disasters which threaten that balance. Social disruption, ranging from a breakdown in communal cooperation at necessary tasks to outright violence, is also a constant threat to the Tobian adaptation.

14. See my paper "Conflict Morality and Power in a Western Caroline Society" (n.d. a) for a more detailed treatment of this topic. See also McKnight (n.d.).

15. There was until recently a Tobi settlement of two or three families on Malakal Island near the harbor for the Port of Palau.

16. The absence of such ranking of groups is one of the strongest contrasts between Tobian and Palauan society. For the ethnography of Palau see Barnett (1949), Vidich (1949), McKnight (1960), Force (1960), McCutcheon (1981). A very important new work is Smith (1982).

17. Palauan attitudes toward Tobians in the past have swung between patronizing and loathing. There is some evidence that this is beginning to change. In the past a good deal of stereotyping was engaged in by Palauans vis-à-vis Tobians--most of it negative.

18. Second only to the problem of gaining secure access to Palauan institutions, Eang is faced with the necessity of creating stable leadership within the community. Here, too, the in-charge system plays a role, and it is only considerations of space which force me to omit a discussion of this situation.

19. Lest the picture painted here be left unrealistically bleak, I should point out that there have also been high points in the relations between the Southwest Islands and Palau. Most of these involve a Southwest Islander succeeding dramatically in the outside world in a way that Palauans can identify with and take pride in. Such a case was that of a Southwest Islander who served in the Viet Nam War and rose to become a captain and a helicopter pilot before being killed. Married to a Palauan, this man was a hero to both Palauan and Southwest Islanders.
20. Perhaps as a way of organizing relations between individual Tobians and individual Palauans (and maybe even up to the level of the family), such an attempt makes sense. But on the communal level Palauan society is simply too complex and factionalized to permit Tobians as a group to use the in-charge complex to manage their relations with it.
21. It seems to me that Tobians claim an exaggerated fear of the person in charge of them in order to disguise from themselves and others how powerful a social sanction gossip is. This is not the place to develop this notion, but this usage, along with the desire to be thought a "good" person, provides powerful reasons for people to submit themselves to the in-charge system. The primary reason, though, is a general acceptance of the ideology sketched in above.
22. In another paper I raise several questions about the conditions under which folk psychological systems in general and Tobi's in particular might be reasonably expected to change (Black n.d. b).
23. For Germany, Italy, Mexico, Great Britain, and the United States, see Almond and Verba (1963). For Israel see Etzioni and Shapiro (1977). For Latin America see Harris and Alba (1974). For Japan see Richardson (1974), and for Massachusetts see Litt (1965).

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70 The In-Charge Complex and Tobian Political Culture

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KEY ELEMENTS IN THE EVOLVING POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

by Daniel T. Hughes and Stanley K. Laughlin, Jr.

Introduction

The process of changing four districts of the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands into the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) has already begun. Obviously, as this new political entity emerges, a political culture will evolve that will reflect the altered political structure. We would hypothesize that a key element in the evolution of a new political culture in the FSM will be the process of renegotiating and redefining the allocation of powers among the various levels of government created by the FSM Constitution. We would maintain that any constitution can only adumbrate a division of authority and cannot anticipate all the questions that will arise in day-to-day government. Hence, the continuing vitality of the federation will depend in large measure on the capability of the structure continually to redefine the allocation of powers. There will be a reciprocal relationship between this process of renegotiation or redefinition and the political culture of the FSM; each will influence and be modified by the other.

Another major element in the evolution of a new political culture will be the role of the traditional leaders of the various island societies of the FSM. Particularly significant will be the resolution of potential conflict between the traditional rights and privileges of indigenous leaders and the civil rights of individuals (both of which have been explicitly guaranteed in the constitution). Another key factor in the evolution of the political culture will be the part, formal and informal, that traditional leaders assume at the federal level of government. In this paper we shall discuss the reasons these factors will be so important in the evolving political culture of the FSM.

Historical Background

The United States has administered the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall islands as a United Nations trust territory since 1947. In the early years, the United States government pursued policies which resulted in economic stagnation and dependency for these islands as well as political

subordination to the United States. The primary program for development during this period was a low-cost, low-profile program of health, education, and welfare services with some political innovation. Early in the 1960s, however, under pressure from within the United States government to secure the islands for national security purposes and from the U.N. to move Micronesia toward self-government, the Kennedy administration inaugurated an extensive program of economic and social development. Construction or improvement of roads, airfields, and port facilities was undertaken, New schools and educational projects, including a crash program in teaching English involving accelerated recruitment of American teachers, were designed to expand the language and literary skills of Micronesians and their opportunity for further training abroad. The annual appropriation of United States funds steadily increased, creating more government jobs and drawing larger and larger numbers of Micronesians into wage work with the Trust Territory administration (Mason 1974; McHenry 1976). So many federal aid programs were extended to the area that a "welfare economy" blossomed in Micronesia (Marksbury 1979; Peoples 1978).

During this period the United States also expanded its program of political innovation. In the 1960s steps were taken to streamline the district legislatures, making them less cumbersome and more efficient. The Congress of Micronesia was chartered in 1965 to provide a territory-wide legislative body to participate in policy formation and to furnish the foundation for future self-government (Meller 1969). Peace Corps lawyers furnished technical aid in legislative preparation, bill drafting, parliamentary procedure, and record keeping. In the early 1970s the Nixon administration inaugurated the "Micronization" of the territorial and district administration. Micronesians, often educated in U.S. colleges and universities, returned and replaced Americans in ever higher positions of responsibility throughout the administrative structure. The total effect of these programs was to stimulate increasing awareness among Micronesian leaders of the potential for self-determination and autonomy. This awareness was expressed in resolutions of district legislatures and of the Congress of Micronesia for independence or, at least, for "free association" with the United States. The same theme emerged in student papers and protests, in platforms of emergent political parties, and in formal negotiations with the United States concerning future political status.

In 1975, with encouragement and support from the United States government, Micronesians held a constitutional convention and drafted the constitution for the Federated States of Micronesia. In that same year the United States agreed to the petition of the Northern Marianas for com-

monwealth status, and the transition to that status began in 1976. After that, separatist movements also began in Palau and the Marshalls. In a referendum on July 12, 1978, both of these districts voted to reject Micronesian unity under the proposed constitution, while the other four districts accepted it. Thus, there would be four political entities in the former United States Territory of the Pacific Islands: the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, the Federated States of Micronesia (Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae), Palau, and the Marshalls (with separate constitutions).

In 1980 the United States signed pacts with the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and Palau agreeing to establish a relationship of “free association” with each of these three autonomous states. According to these agreements, these states will manage their own internal and foreign affairs and the United States will be responsible for the defense and security of the area.

Principles of Federalism and the FSM

The history of federalism, including the history of the United States, suggests two principles that appear to be almost universal. First, the basic document, the constitution, can never define the allocation of powers between the central and the local governments with enough specificity to avoid continuing disputes over the proper spheres of each level of government. As Justice Holmes remarked (1920) in describing the experience of the United States under its written constitution, “It was enough for [the draftsmen of the Constitution] to realize or to hope that they had created an organism; it has taken a century and has cost their successors much sweat and blood to prove that they created a nation.” Despite the fact that the United States Constitution has nearly two hundred years of judicial precedent interpreting it, the United States Supreme Court still devotes a substantial portion of its time to answering questions concerning the allocation of powers within the federal system (Freund 1963). Federalism, of course, is not a matter solely for courts. It is also a matter of constant legislative concern. With the exception of a few issues of clearly federal nature (e.g. national defense and foreign relations), hardly a matter goes before the United States Congress in which there is not a debate about whether the subject might not better be handled by state governments. At many points in United States history, political parties have taken their stands on “states’ rights” or the need for national legislation to solve critical problems such as civil rights violations or economic depres-

sion. It seems likely that issues will arise in the FSM that will cause leaders to line up on either side of a states'-rights-versus-nationalism dichotomy.

The districts of the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands always dealt with a strong central government, but it was a government backed by the power and resources of the United States. Under the FSM Constitution the new states enjoy considerable autonomy. How much of their new power state leaders and officials will be willing to continue to share with a central government with presumably fewer resources than its colonial counterpart will be a critical issue in the future of the Federation.

The second seemingly universal principle of federalism is that the formative years are the most precarious. The early years of the United States witnessed heated and increasingly violent resistance by various states to federal authority culminating in the Civil War, in which the Union was preserved only by force of arms (Nye 1963). More recent federations, such as Nigeria, have had similar experiences. Some, such as the United Arab Republic, failed to overcome these obstacles and consequently disbanded.

Not surprisingly, when a federation is being formed, the most profound reservations are often held by those who have the most power in the constituent units. United States constitutional historians point out that state office-holders constituted the major resistance block to the adoption of the new Constitution (Rossiter 1966). The problem is even more complex where, as in Micronesia, in addition to local elected leaders the society has another local power group: leaders from the traditional social systems.

While traditional leaders have always played an important role in post-World War II Micronesian politics, their participation in the introduced political system, at least above the local or municipal level, has usually been informal. For the most part, American administrators of the trust territory officially ignored traditional leaders (Fischer 1974:169-70). However, the traditional leaders did play a formal role in some district legislatures, particularly in the early years of the trust territory. For example, the Ponape Island Congress, established in 1952, was a bicameral legislature with one house, known as the Nobles' House, made up of paramount chiefs and other nobles. At first, the chiefs played an active role in the congress. But many found themselves handicapped by lack of fluency in English and lack of formal education in parliamentary procedures. Also, the chiefs were unaccustomed to having their positions challenged publicly. The chiefs gradually withdrew from the Ponape Island Congress in favor of a behind-the-scenes role; and in 1958 the Ponape Island Con-

gress was replaced by the Ponape District Congress, a unicameral legislature whose members were all elected from the general population (Meller 1969:125-26; Hughes 1974:96).

Although the Congress of Micronesia, which began in 1965, did not allocate any seats specifically for traditional leaders, over the years a few traditional leaders were elected to the congress; and some of them, such as the renowned Petrus Mailo of Truk, were extremely influential in the congress (Meller 1969:314-419). However, the influence of such men was always on an individual basis, and the traditional leaders never acted as a group at the congress. This situation changed when the traditional leaders emerged as a visible political force at the constitutional convention in 1975.

The convention call set aside twelve seats for traditional leaders from the various districts. These leaders took an active part in the "Con Con." They made up half the membership of the special committee which worked out compromises on many sensitive issues. Thus they had a great influence on the final versions of the constitution (Pinsker 1980:19). Their influence was particularly strong in addressing the issues related to preserving their own traditional prerogatives.

Article IV of the Micronesian Constitution enumerates a Bill of Rights patterned after the U.S. Bill of Rights. But the fifth article protects the "role" and "function" of "traditional leader(s) as recognized by custom and tradition." To further emphasize its commitment to preserving the role of traditional leaders, the constitutional convention adopted a resolution to that effect and provided that a copy of the resolution should be included with all duplications of the constitution. The resolution provided in part:

It is the consensus of this Convention that all due honor and respect continue to be accorded to the traditional leaders of Micronesia, and nothing in the Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia is intended in any way to detract from the role and function of traditional leaders in Micronesia or to deny them the full honor and respect which is rightfully theirs.

Article V of the Micronesian Constitution authorizes the legislators to protect the "traditions of the People" by statute and states that, if such statutes are challenged as violating the Bill of Rights, "protection of Micronesian tradition shall be considered a compelling social purpose warranting such governmental action." The term "compelling" purpose has a special meaning in U.S. constitutional law; it refers to a concern of such

importance that at times it can warrant curtailing a fundamental right (Tribe 1978:602-3). This is no doubt the meaning that the Micronesian draftsmen meant to have here. That, however, would still leave to the courts the problem of determining if a particular statute were in fact necessary to protect Micronesian tradition, and if it did so with the smallest necessary infringement on individual rights ("least drastic means"). The "least restrictive means" or the "less restrictive alternative" test is a subsidiary aspect of the compelling state interest doctrine. When a state seeks to justify an infringement of a fundamental right by reference to a compelling state interest it must demonstrate that the state interest cannot be satisfied by alternative means that would have less adverse impact on the fundamental right (Stewart 1960).

The manner in which these conflicts are resolved in specific instances will be crucial in determining the nature of the Micronesian federation and in fact may determine its success or failure.

Limitations of a Constitution in Allocating Power

Since World War II, emerging and older nations have been attracted to the concept of federation. It offers a means by which small societies may band together to advance common interests while maintaining a substantial degree of autonomy in each constituent unit. Federations have been tried in Africa (Nigeria), Asia (Malaysia), the Middle East (United Arab Republic), and elsewhere. The concept is not, however, an easy one to put into practice. The allocation of power will inevitably be contested. At best, a constitution can outline the division of authority (Holmes 1920). Within that framework specific application will have to be resolved on a case-by-case basis in the legislature, the courts, or both. In essence, federalism must consistently be renegotiated and redefined. It is, of course, of the essence of federalism that the central government have supreme and binding authority in its areas of competence. Local vetoes or nullification result in a loose confederation unable to take effective action on matters of mutual importance (Almund 1966).

In all federations critical junctures will, however, be reached when a constituent part is forced to accept a central government policy that is strongly opposed in its own district or state. If this happens too often or involves issues that the dissenting district considers vital, the union itself will be imperiled. The United Arab Republic was formed in 1958 of a merger of Egypt, Syria, and Yemen. It disbanded in 1963 because Syria resented what it perceived as Egyptian domination of the federated government. In United States history the southern states attempted to secede

because the central government opposed them on certain issues they considered vital, such as slavery, and because the southern states perceived a history of central government positions contrary to their own regional interests (Nye 1963). Because in the past one hundred years the United States federation 'has produced a relatively stable government, its constitutional system has frequently been used as a model for proposed federations. Under that model the judiciary has ultimate (and formal) authority to resolve disputes over the allocation of powers. The FSM has used that model. However, as U.S. history has also demonstrated, the acceptance of the supremacy of the judiciary in constitutional matters does not come easily (Jackson 1941). Particularly in early years, judges themselves will be suspected of regional biases. For an American model of federalism to succeed, the legitimacy of the courts must be accepted.

Traditional Leaders as Middlemen in the FSM

In an area such as Micronesia, where strong traditional systems still exist, the support or opposition of traditional leaders will no doubt have an important bearing on the success of institutions and thus the viability of the Federation. In many federations, especially in the Pacific, the process of negotiation and renegotiation will not only involve the distribution of power among the various levels of government, but it will also include a shifting balance in the influence of introduced political and legal principles in contrast to the indigenous principles. The following quotation from *Pacific Courts and Justice* (1977:vii) can validly be applied to political as well as to legal principles:

In every Pacific country law and justice have been influenced by introduced principles and practices, but in every country some aspects of the traditional order remain--in some cases very strongly. Some years ago many people assumed that the traditional elements would soon be totally replaced, but it has not been so or likely to be so. Each Pacific country is evolving a unique amalgam of local and foreign precedents in creating its own system of justice.

Little is known or recorded about these systems or about their needs--individually and for the Pacific as a whole.

It has been rare, if not unique, for many of the traditional leaders to participate as a group in the territorial level of government in Micronesia.

In Micronesia, as in other colonial systems, the formal activities of the traditional leaders have, by and large, been limited to the local level. But the traditional leaders' participation at the 1975 Con Con make it clear that they were effective middlemen in the formulation of the Constitution of the FSM (Pinsker 1980:17-19). Since the FSM Constitution allows states to reserve seats for traditional leaders in the FSM Congress, the potential exists for them to play a similar role there.

A number of anthropologists have analyzed the role of political middlemen and have used a variety of labels to designate this role. Redfield discusses "hinge" groups that serve as intermediaries linking the local peasant community and the state (1956). Wolf uses the term "cultural broker" to describe a person who mediates the interests of the local communities and the interests of the national government in Mexico (1956). In reporting on his work in central Italy, Silverman uses the term "communitynational mediator" for the same role (1967). In this view a political middleman is one who "interrelates and articulates the needs, aspirations, resources and traditions of his local village or tribe to the corresponding demands, supplies, resources, and jural order of the province and the nation" (Swartz 1968:199-200). At the Con Con the traditional leaders certainly served as middlemen in this sense.

Legitimacy has been defined as a "type of support that derives not from force of its threat but from values held by the individuals formulating, influencing, and being affected by political ends" (Swartz, Turner, and Tuden 1966:10). In other words, a political regime is legitimate when it is supported by the principles and values of the political community in question. Easton refers to this type of support as ideological legitimacy (Easton 1965:289-304). Where a political regime enjoys ideological legitimacy, those individuals who occupy positions of authority will be supported by a structural legitimacy derived from the regime. Also, authorities will enjoy a personal legitimacy when their support depends "not on their conformity to an accepted regime but upon the extent to which the members see the occupants of authority roles as personally, in their behavior and symbolism, worthy of moral approval" (Easton 1965:302).

At the Saipan Con Con and in the new federal legislature the traditional leaders have been given structural legitimacy. Their participation in the Con Con not only influenced the drafting of the constitution, but it also enhanced the legitimacy of the constitution with many of their followers (Pinsker 1980:41). The question now is, can and will the traditional leaders enhance the legitimacy of the new federal legislature and, perhaps more important, the federal supreme court?

Cohen (1975) suggests part of the answer to the question with his explanation of the dynamic nature of legitimacy. For Cohen, legitimacy is not simply a structural given; it is something that a shrewd leader can manipulate and increase through the use of power, in order to increase his power. Cohen focuses on the strategies that leaders use to present themselves in such ways that they can be perceived as legitimate, i.e., as fulfilling the significant values of the system. Cohen goes still further and attempts to analyze the way in which leaders modify or utilize values and principles to enhance their legitimacy and to increase their power.

The values and principles that the traditional leaders of Micronesia utilized to enhance their legitimacy and effectiveness at the Con Con were embodied in an ideology called "the Micronesian way," as Pinsker (1980) has described and analyzed. This ideology had been developing at the Congress of Micronesia, but it was not fully articulated and utilized until the Con Con itself. The "Micronesian way" stresses the principles of consensus and respect. According to this ideology, delegates should manifest great respect toward other delegates--particularly toward traditional leaders--and should avoid embarrassing them by confronting or contradicting them publicly. Disagreements are mediated more through private discussion than through public confrontation, and the importance of consensus in public is stressed. Because of the principles embodied in the "Micronesian way," the traditional leaders participated effectively in the Con Con (Pinsker 1980:12-13, 19). They succeeded in passing a resolution which guarantees that the constitution will not be interpreted in any way that will detract from the role of traditional leaders or will deny them due honor and respect. How this principle will be reconciled in practice with the equally explicit principles in the Constitution regarding the civil liberties of individual citizens will be a major question to be resolved. It can also be anticipated that the power of traditional leaders will be sorely tested when they come into conflict with perceived economic interests entailed in Federalism. This may be particularly critical when the economic interests of certain districts come into conflict with traditional values of the other districts. Say, for example, that the attempt to develop a national fishing industry conflicted with chiefly rights in one district. Will the legislators from the nationalistic side of the dispute give the dissenting traditional leaders from other districts the sort of respect they would accord their own traditional leaders? In short, will the "Micronesian way" stand up under the pressure of day-to-day federal government as it did in the Con Con?

Silverman's concept of "testing out" may prove useful here. For Silverman, "testing-out" or "experimenting" is a process involved in the

continual dialectic between the conceptual form and the institutional form. It is a process that becomes particularly important in times of major sociopolitical change, such as the formation of a new political structure in a former colony. In the "testing-out" process, concepts from the past and present are used to construct different social forms. Through this testing, new concepts are clarified and are given tangible form as institutions, which in turn modify the concepts themselves (Silverman 1971:14; Pinsky 1980:16). We anticipate that the "testing-out" concept will be useful in understanding the renegotiation that will take place in the early years of the FSM as the potentially conflicting principles of civil liberties and economic exigencies, on the one hand, and the prerogatives of traditional leaders, on the other hand, are balanced out in specific cases.

Conclusion

In this paper we have developed several major assumptions or hypotheses. First, we maintain that with the emergence of a new political entity in Micronesia--the Federated States of Micronesia--a new political culture will evolve that will reflect this altered political structure. Second, we hypothesize that a key element in the evolution of a new political culture in the FSM will be the process of renegotiating and redefining the allocation of powers among the various levels of government recognized by the FSM Constitution. Since a constitution can neither spell out the division of authority in detail nor anticipate all questions that will arise concerning the distribution of authority, the continued vitality of any federation will depend to a great extent upon the ability of the system to continually redefine the allocation of powers. Third, we assume that a major element in the evolution of a new political culture will be the role of the traditional leaders of the various island societies of the FSM. Particularly significant will be the resolution of potential conflict between the traditional leaders and the civil rights of individuals (both of which have been explicitly guaranteed in the constitution).

Finally, in light of these hypotheses and on the basis of the material presented in this paper, we would recommend that within the next few years research projects be conducted to study the evolving political culture within the Federated States of Micronesia. The purpose of such studies should be not only to understand the changing political culture of the Federated States of Micronesia but also to gain greater insight into the process of federation.

Acknowledgments

Our account of the constitutional convention is based on a variety of sources. In the summer of 1975 the anthropologist-author Daniel T. Hughes spent approximately two months visiting all the district centers in Micronesia to conduct a pilot study for a proposed research project on political change planned by a group of anthropologists and political scientists. He found the constitutional convention a frequent topic of conversation in all the districts. From July 23 to July 31 Hughes was on Saipan attending formal sessions of the constitutional convention, interviewing selected convention delegates and officers, and reviewing convention documents. During that period he also discussed the events of the convention extensively with Dr. Norman Meller, the senior consultant at the convention. Both authors have analyzed the final product of the constitutional convention, the FSM Constitution. We have also relied on the interpretation and analysis of the events of the constitutional convention in Eve C. Pinsker's paper (1980) presented at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, which is based on an extensive review of the journal of the constitutional convention and on interviews with former convention delegates in 1979. A more complete version of her analysis is found in her M.A. thesis (1981).

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82 Key Elements in the Evolving Political Culture of Micronesia

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84 Key Elements in the Evolving Political Culture of Micronesia

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EDITOR'S FORUM

ASPECTS OF POLITICAL CULTURE AND INSTITUTION-BUILDING IN MELANESIA: CONSTITUTIONAL PLANNING IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN SOLOMON ISLANDS

by Edward P. Wolfers

This paper is concerned with two attempts to adapt national political systems established under colonial rule to Melanesian¹ society: the constitution-making process in Papua New Guinea and decentralization in Solomon Islands. Both provide interesting insights into Melanesian political leaders' perceptions of their countries' political systems shortly before independence as well as insights into efforts to devise systems of government that, respectively, accord with "Papua New Guinean ways" or "*fitim* Solomon Islands" (Papua New Guinea 1974a:Part 1,2/3, 2/12-2/15; Kausimae 1978:43). It is also possible in the former case to review the founders' conceptions of how particular institutions would operate in the light of up to six years' experience and to inquire into the relative influence of endogenous and exogenous factors in shaping the beliefs, values, and patterned behavior (cf. Verba 1965:513; Pye 1968:218) of Melanesian political leaders and their publics since establishment of those institutions.

Establishment and Operation of the Constitutional Planning Committee in Papua New Guinea and the Special Committee on Provincial Government in Solomon Islands²

By the time the Constitutional Planning Committee was established in Papua New Guinea (1972) and the Special Committee on Provincial Government in Solomon Islands (1977), a tradition seemed to have been established in both countries that major constitutional changes--and even important policy changes, in relation to land, for example, should take place only after the widest possible popular consultation. In both cases, the tradition owed something to the absence and, later, the weakness of political parties and other organizations which articulate and aggregate public opinion in other countries. In the circumstances of both countries, coloni-

al administrators and Melanesian politicians who believed that popular consultation was necessary to legitimate major changes or was right in itself had no real alternative to direct consultation with the people. In Papua New Guinea, such consultation had the additional advantage of justifying the Australian government's policies to foreign critics by showing that proposals which were more conservative than those which its critics advocated nonetheless anticipated popular demand (Wolfers 1971a:149-50). But it would be wrong to conclude from the existence of the tradition that popular views had a decisive influence on Australian government policy when vital national or electoral interests were at stake (as in July 1970, when substantial transfers of executive power were announced by the Australian prime minister without prior consultation with Papua New Guinean political leaders [Wolfers 1971b:131-38]).

When the Constitutional Planning Committee was set up in Papua New Guinea, the government seemed to have reservations about repeating the nationwide tours undertaken by previous Select Committees on Political and Constitutional Development, mainly because it believed that there would not be sufficient time (it hoped to have the committee's report within nine months, in time for consequential legislation to be in force at the inauguration of internal self-government on 1 December 1973). But the committee strongly favored a tour, which ultimately involved public meetings at more than 100 centers in all subdistricts of Papua New Guinea. In Solomon Islands the Special Committee on Provincial Government held public meetings in 134 villages and provincial headquarters. Both committees also received many more written and oral submissions (Wolfers 1977a:313; Solomon Islands 1979:5).

In his speech announcing the government's decision to establish the Constitutional Planning Committee, the then-chief minister, the Honorable: Michael Somare, referred specifically to his government's commitment to the preparation of a "home-grown" constitution--a constitution "suited to the needs and circumstances of Papua New Guinea and . . . not imposed from outside" (Papua New Guinea 1972:279).

The commitment had a number of possible connotations: that the constitution should be legally autochthonous--that is, it should not owe its legal authority to foreign legislation--(Wheare 1960:89); it should be devised by Papua New Guineans for Papua New Guinea; it should be the product of negotiation between Papua New Guinean political actors (that is the embodiment of a "political settlement"); it should embody values, practices, and beliefs which are common--and perhaps peculiar--to Papua New Guineans.

The decision to establish the Special Committee on Provincial Government was consistent with any or all of the last three interpretations.

Somewhat ironically, the commitment to a "home-grown" constitution in Papua New Guinea was influenced by foreign precedents--mainly, the constitution-making process which had been followed in Western Samoa (Davidson 1967:chapters 10-13; cf. Roberts-Wray 1966:298-301).³ In Solomon Islands, both the procedures and substantive proposals which had been followed in establishing provincial government in Papua New Guinea influenced the government, the Special Committee, and other participants in the process of devising a system of decentralized government suitable to local circumstances. The Special Committee also had criticisms of the Papua New Guinea system brought to its attention.

Both the Constitutional Planning Committee and the Special Committee on Provincial Government were government--not parliamentary--committees, though the first consisted entirely of members of parliament and the second contained six parliamentarians out of a total which reached seventeen. But, while formally answerable to the government, both were assured of the right to present their reports directly to the respective national legislatures. The membership, and especially the effective leadership, of both committees assured them of a certain independence from the respective governments of the day. The provision of independent consultants enhanced their independence from the public services. In Solomon Islands, but not in Papua New Guinea, the widespread expectation that the committee's report would be followed by a government white paper, as had been the case with reports of previous committees, seemed to incline the government to leave the committee largely to its own devices on the ground that it would have its say later. In Papua New Guinea, the unexpected tabling of a minority report, followed by a government paper and the United Party proposals (Papua New Guinea 1974b,c,d) produced the most severe parliamentary crisis for the government before independence.

In negotiating the compositions of the two committees, both governments seemed to accept certain assumptions about the appropriateness of the processes chosen for institution-building in their respective countries' political milieus. Their first assumption was that the questions with which they dealt were in some way above or outside politics (that is, that government members should not be numerically dominant in either body--though the Papua New Guinea government initially sought to be so). Secondly, they assumed that a small number of parliamentarians could repre-

sent the wider legislature (both as to parties and regions in the case of Papua New Guinea and as to regions in the case of Solomon Islands).

The first assumption, combined with a reluctance by committee members to take--and sometimes even to listen to--advice from public servants, meant that both committees' reports lacked a systematic input from the executive (the Constitutional Planning Committee much more so than the Special Committee on Provincial Government). The second ignored the weakness of both party and regional groupings in the two countries' legislatures; and, as consensus and an *esprit de corps* developed in both committees, so they not only failed to "carry" the other groupings with them but posed a challenge to whatever cohesion the other groupings, including the government, had (again, much more so in the Papua New Guinea case than in the Solomon Islands case [Loveday and Wolfers 1976: chapters 10-12]).

The internal procedures adopted by both committees also reveal considerable information about the political cultures of national politicians in both countries. Both spent a great deal of time in what might fairly be described as "ground clearing"--discussing many different political questions in general terms in order to define what individual members hoped to achieve and to discover where they stood on contentious issues (information which could not be assumed from party or other organizational affiliations). Both displayed a marked propensity to look for consensus, but in a way which did not necessarily mean that everyone gave a little in a collective search for compromise; it sometimes meant that the most intransigent participant in a discussion got his way through sheer exhaustion on the part of members who would not outvote him. Ultimately, both committees had to resort to taking votes; and, on one subject--the question of who should hold title to land in Honiara--the presence of firm advocates of two opposing positions combined with the unwillingness of other members to take sides to produce a situation in which the Special Committee on Provincial Government failed to resolve a contentious issue (Solomon Islands 1979:13). Both committees paid close attention to the submissions they received, though they sometimes dealt with them in the manner of Rousseau's sovereign interpreting the general will--preferring what people "really" meant to what they actually said (Rousseau 1913). The legitimacy which was attached to their reports by virtue of the country-wide tours and other submissions, as well as the committees' respective *esprit de corps*, made them powerful opponents of those who would alter their recommendations--though, again, the expectation that there would be a government white paper, the ministerial experience of some committee members, and the actual involvement of some eight

members in a functioning system of decentralized government tended to moderate both the recommendations and the conflict in Solomon Islands.

Adapting National Political Systems to Melanesia

The notion that a constitution should be "home-grown" in all or any of the senses listed has obvious nationalist appeal.⁴ Three of the four senses outlined above will be familiar to students of modern political history, especially those familiar with the U.S. Constitution. But the fourth point out requires further exploration, particularly in its application to Melanesia, an area famed for its structural diversity and small precolonial political communities.

The idea that it is possible to prepare a "home-grown" constitution or institutions fitted to local circumstances 'in the fourth sense outlined above' rests on two assumptions: (1) that the people in each of the two countries have sufficient in common to make it possible to speak of Papua New Guinea or Solomon Islands as having national values, practices, and beliefs; (2) that what they have in common is relevant to, and consistent with, the existence and continued functioning of the nation-state. The preamble to the Papua New Guinea Constitution affirms both propositions in its reference to "development . . . through the use of Papua New Guinean forms of social, political and economic organization" (Papua New Guinea 1975a: Preamble, 5). The Solomon Islands Constitution affirms the first, in somewhat paradoxical fashion, in the preamble through invocation of "our common and diverse heritage," and suggests elsewhere that at least "traditional chiefs" might have a role in provincial government (Solomon Islands 1978:Preamble, section 114 [2]). The Papua New Guinea Constitution also refers to the variety of the country's peoples (Papua New Guinea 1975a:Preamble, 5 [4]).

Many nationals of both countries disagree with the first proposition, though they differ among themselves as to whether the most significant communities of value and belief are to be found among close kinsmen or inhabitants of a single village; members of linguistic or cultural groups; or people in particular provinces, regions, or former colonial territories. Some, including senior public servants, argue that what nationals of their country have in common is irrelevant to, or inconsistent with, modern government, education, and business practice. Those who believe in the existence of Papua New Guinean ways are not agreed--and sometimes not clear--as to whether those ways have precolonial, colonial, or even post-colonial origins. And some of the most fervent advocates of a return to precolonial Melanesian ways tend to see or emphasize those features of

the past which are consistent with the Christian faith, the cash economy, and the nation-state--even to the point of denying the prevalence and bloodiness of precolonial warfare.⁵

A further question which arises in the context of dealings between nationals of either country and outsiders is whether the shared characteristics of Papua New Guineans or Solomon Islanders extend to all Melanesians, Pacific islanders, formerly colonized peoples, and/or people from developing countries. It is implicit in many discussions of the relevance of foreign precedents, the advantages of international--especially regional--cooperation, and the merits of supporting anticolonial movements in dependent territories or the proposals for a new international economic order.

In their reports, the two committees claimed that their recommendations were appropriate to local circumstances. In the case of the Constitutional Planning Committee, that "what has influenced us above all . . . has been the desire to meet Papua New Guinean needs and circumstances" (Papua New Guinea 1974a:Part 1, 1/2). In the case of the Special Committee on Provincial Government, the claim was that it had "tried to give the words 'provincial government' a Solomon Islands meaning" (Solomon Islands 1979:10). But even the final report of the Constitutional Committee, which makes the claim more strongly and more frequently than the report of the Special Committee on Provincial Government, does not provide a full account of the main features of Papua New Guinean society.

Neither report explains at length how two of the most obvious and widespread features of precolonial Melanesian political systems--suspicion of outsiders and statelessness--can be reconciled with the nation-state. But, theoretical problems aside, both contain the products of concerted, partial attempts to adapt a centralized and imposed state to Papua New Guinean and Solomon Islands society--mainly, through decentralizing power to elected provincial governments.

(i) *Decentralization*

Decentralization of power is regarded by many Papua New Guineans and Solomon Islanders as a way of reconciling the nation-state with Melanesia and as a means for bringing government, in the well-worn phrase, "closer to the people." The constitutions of their countries suggest that decentralization is a worthwhile goal in itself (Papua New Guinea 1975a:Preamble, 2 (2); Solomon Islands 1978:Preamble). But it seems fair to say that, in the case of the two committees under discussion, their recommendations on the subject--and specifically on the establishment of a

system of provincial government--were heavily influenced by more immediate political and administrative considerations, including a perceived need to accommodate, or forestall, secessionist movements while building on existing systems of administration.

Members of both committees tended to believe that political decentralization would attract opponents of the inherited political and administrative system, involve them in government, and thus acculturate them to the nation-state. One of the main risks they ran was that political and administrative decentralization would provide the infrastructure for effective secession.

By way of answer to criticisms that have been made of both committees' recommendations, one is tempted to argue that no system of government yet devised can meet all needs and eliminate conflict (though supporters of provincial government in both countries have sometimes sounded as if they expected it to do so); that both sets of recommendations were framed in the context of immediate political situations as well as in the light of long-term considerations; that both are the products of negotiation among Melanesian politicians; and that, even if the recommendations went beyond expressed or "real" public opinion, both committees consisted of political leaders engaged not only in assessing but in mobilizing that opinion. More often than not, the main source of criticism of both committees has been uneasiness, on the critics' part, at the prospect of elected political leaders replacing appointed public servants as decision makers.

In both countries, advocates of political decentralization have had aspirations varying from bringing about specific changes, such as improving local schools, to gaining greater resources for rural development, to ensuring that government is generally subject to political control (Wolfers, Conyers, Larmour, and Ghai forthcoming:4-7, 47, 123). The Constitutional Planning Committee, though not the system of provincial government that was established in Papua New Guinea after 1977, tried to take into account this variety by allowing for the introduction of provincial government in stages, with movement from one stage to another subject to local control.

Neither committee argued that provincial government is wholly consistent with precolonial Melanesian political values and beliefs. However, the competitiveness of electoral politics, if not the holding of a specified office for a fixed term (Langness 1972:933), bears some resemblance to the competitiveness of "big man" politics; and the decentralization of power goes some way toward recognizing the autonomy of local commu-

nities. Moreover, both committees recognized that many people in both countries had come to identify themselves and interact with wider communities than before. The units of government to which they recommended that power should be decentralized were essentially colonial artifacts; and respect for the autonomy of provincial governments prevented both committees from devising means of enforcing--as distinct from encouraging--further decentralization to precolonial political communities.

In Papua New Guinea, the constitution protects local government councils, which were generally set up by the colonial administration, against suspension or abolition by a provincial government acting on its own (the concurrence of the national parliament or the national executive council is required [Papua New Guinea 1977:Section 187I (4)]). The Ministry of Decentralization has conducted an inquiry into appropriate forms of government at the local or community level, and come up with a varied range of options for provincial governments to consider. Some provincial governments have experimented with further decentralization to community governments, though their approach has sometimes been formalistic and niggardly in the powers transferred. The colonial administration sometimes sought to take local practice into account by defining council wards in terms of kinship groups instead of references on a map. The Kainantu Local Government Council in the eastern highlands has reorganized its wards into area communities (*eria komunitis*) based on local affinities. But the General Constitutional Commission has repeatedly called for serious thought to be given to further decentralization "down from the Provincial level to the villages" (Papua New Guinea 1980a:iv).

In Solomon Islands, the role that chiefs should play in government was repeatedly discussed during the constitution-raising and in the Special Committee on Provincial Government. As in the North Solomons Province of Papua New Guinea, where the same issue arose before independence, the proposed role was gradually reduced. Anxious as they said they were to find a role and show respect for local leaders, educated national and provincial leaders in both countries were generally reluctant to give chiefs substantial power beyond the local and traditional sphere.

The discussion of the role that chiefs should play in Solomon Islands was particularly revealing for what it showed about the attitudes of national and provincial representatives toward local leaders.⁶ Those attitudes owed something to deep personal conviction that those leaders should be respected, to the proximity and salience of local leaders in national constituencies which have an average population of only a little more than 5,000, and to sometimes millenarian claims to personal or communal ascendancy over rivals.

When anthropologists who had worked in Solomon Islands were asked for advice about the role of chiefs, they tended to be skeptical as to their very existence. But many Solomon Islanders say that they have chiefs. Some claim to be chiefs. Chiefs also figure in the constitution (Solomon Islands 1978:section 114 [2]).

Analysis of the ways in which the term was used suggests a certain imprecision. In fact, when the Special Committee used the term in its report, it referred to "recognized chiefs," of which there are clearly some, and coupled them with "other traditional leaders" (Solomon Islands 1979:28). The position of "recognized paramount chief of a province" (Solomon Islands 1979:18), which received separate mention and is accorded special functions, appears to be a relatively recent--and sometimes only a potential--creation.

(ii) Other issues

The Constitutional Planning Committee had much broader terms of reference than the Special Committee on Provincial Government and hence more opportunities to adapt the nation-state to Melanesia and more problems with which to grapple. Its final report contains many claims that particular recommendations accord with Papua New Guinean ways and values; it also contains exhortations to public officials to be responsive to the needs and aspirations of the country's people. The constitution imposes a "duty" on "all governmental bodies to apply and give effect to" the national goals and directive principles, which include a commitment to "Papua New Guinean ways." Thus, every government body is required to do its best to bring about

a fundamental re-orientation of . . . attitudes and . . . institutions towards Papua New Guinean forms . . . and a continuous renewal of the responsiveness of these institutions to the needs and attitudes of the People

and to foster "respect for, and appreciation of, traditional ways of life and culture." But only the Ombudsman Commission in its capacity as administrator of the Leadership Code can enforce the duty through the courts (Papua New Guinea 1975a:25[1], [2], [4]; Preamble 5[1], [3]).

In its recommendations on the executive, the Constitutional Planning Committee said that the executive power should be vested in a group, the National Executive Council, instead of a single person "in accordance with the practice of most of our societies, in which decisions are made by a group. . . ." It proposed that Papua New Guinea should not have a head

of state and that the functions of the office should be distributed among other office-holders--partly because a head of state "would be contrary to the customs of most of our people" and a "foreign idea" (Papua New Guinea 1974a:Part 1, 7/1).

Ultimately, the Constituent Assembly did not accept the Constitutional Planning Committee's proposed arrangement for distributing the functions of a head of state but did accept part of its argument. A separate head of state, the queen, is represented in Papua New Guinea by a governor-general--symbols of continuity with the colonial past. But, as the Constitutional Planning Committee proposed, the head of state has been deprived of almost all discretion.⁷

Few members of the Constitutional Planning Committee or of the Constituent Assembly seem to have been impressed with arguments in favor of combining the functions of head of state and head of government into an executive presidency, though the combination would, arguably, have been consistent with the failure to distinguish clearly between power and authority in precolonial Papua New Guinean societies (Langness 1972:928). The chief minister, who would have been the most likely successor to such an office, was not alone in opposing such a bold departure from the Australian precedent, even though his deputy, Sir John Guise, had previously advocated what he termed a "semi-presidential system," which seemed to be a form of executive presidency (Guise 1973:38-39).

When it came to citizenship, the committee recognized the arbitrary nature of the country's international boundaries--the frequency of movement and the strength of local ties across them--and the difficulty of determining exactly to which territory some people belong. It therefore recommended that Papua New Guinean citizenship should be granted automatically on independence day to any person who had "no real citizenship" and was descended from "two indigenous grandparents," all of whose own grandparents were born in Irian Jaya, Solomon Islands, or the Torres Strait Islands (Papua New Guinea 1974a:Part 1, 4/14; cf. Papua New Guinea 1975a:section 65[1]-[3]. Cf. also Solomon Islands 1978: section 20[1][b], which confers citizenship on persons whose grandparents were indigenous to Papua New Guinea or Vanuatu).

An earlier proposal, which made Papua New Guinean citizenship more accessible to the descendants of a union between a Papua New Guinean father and a foreign mother than to the descendants of a union between a Papua New Guinean mother and a foreign father, seemed to owe more to inequalities and legally enforced distinctions during the colonial period than to traditional Melanesian male chauvinism (cf. Wolfers 1975: 135).

At many points in its report, the Constitutional Planning Committee sought to ensure that institutions which were to be set up to suit Papua New Guinea at independence would continue to adapt thereafter--hence the emphasis on popular sovereignty, executive accountability to the legislature, and the appointment of constitutional office-holders, including judges, for terms of years instead of for life. The provisions in the Papua New Guinea constitution establishing the Law Reform and General Constitutional commissions (Papua New Guinea 1975a:section 260, Schedule 2 [Part 6]) make it easier for the political system to keep changing as society changes, just as the Special Committee on Provincial Government hoped that the law reform and other reviews it recommended (Solomon Islands 1979:37-38, 95) would also do. The Leadership Code and the proposed Investment Code might also be regarded as parts of the wider attempt to ensure that government would be responsive to the people of the country by regulating outside influences.

However, many recommendations in the Constitutional Planning Committee's report--and the Papua New Guinea constitution--owe as much to the requirements of modern government generally as to conscious decisions that they were particularly appropriate to Papua New Guinea (see, for example, the chapters dealing with the public services and disciplined forces [Papua New Guinea 1974a:Part 1, chapters 12, 13]). Others embody compromises influenced by immediate pressures--for example, the proposal that the Public Services Commission should consist of four members "broadly representative of the various areas of the country" (Papua New Guinea 1974a:Part 1, 12/6). By implication, at a time when regional movements were becoming important foci of attempts at political mobilization, the recommendation meant that one commission member should come from Papua, one from the New Guinea islands, one from the highlands, and one from the New Guinea mainland coast. For politicians from the highlands, in particular, the formula gave some assurance that a person from their region of the country would be at the head of a public service in which highlanders held a very much lower proportion of positions than they formed of the total national population. For others, it managed to do so without mentioning--and, perhaps, thereby strengthening support for--the regions.

A few recommendations, including those providing for freedom of movement and sexual equality, seem more consistent with ideas which were current in liberal democracies in the 1970s than in precolonial or colonial Papua New Guinea. The Leadership Code, which was intended to ensure that national leaders would have "a genuine commitment (Papua New Guinea 1974a:Part 1, 3/2) to the national goals and directive

principles, including "Papua New Guinean ways," raises interesting questions in relation to the adaptation of the nation-state. The main aim of the Leadership Code as envisaged by the committee was to prevent and punish abuse of office, corruption, and collaboration with foreign businessmen by designated holders of elective, constitutional, statutory and other senior public offices. But political and economic entrepreneurship have often gone together in precolonial, colonial, and, now, independent Papua New Guinea (Finney 1973:115-21; Good 1979:114-18; Hegarty 1979:199-202). Refusal to acknowledge the demands of kin and affines may be as "corrupt" by precolonial standards as their acceptance would be under the Leadership Code (a statement by a member of the Public Services Commission in 1981 that there was nothing wrong in using his position to help a relative certainly seemed to suggest so). Some Papua New Guineans believe that the provisions of the Leadership Code which prevent ministers and their families from holding directorships in companies or foreign enterprises (Papua New Guinea 1975b:section 7 [1]) inhibits localization of the economy and makes them--unfairly--responsible for the activities of others. As with other codes of conduct in other countries, the Papua New Guinea Leadership Code may come to provide guidance to the really wealthy and morally corrupt, who can afford the services of accountants and lawyers in circumventing the spirit or concealing the breaking of the law.

In a manual published for the guidance of leaders, the Ombudsman Commission has sought to deal with some of the difficulties mentioned. While personal gifts of more than K50 must be declared, no limit has been placed on "internal family gifts, traditional gifts and exchanges within tribal groups" (Papua New Guinea 1980b:33). But what are the limits of the "family"? Does the Ombudsman Commission regard it as including, for the present purpose, classificatory as well as biological kin? What of gifts worth more than K50 received in trade or ceremonial exchange systems with precolonial origins? And what of the prospects for long-term success when a character witness for a person charged with a variety of breaches of the Leadership Code was reported to have described him as an honest and fine man, "well known for his generosity out in the streets quite a free spender--a good example to everyone" (*Papua New Guinea Post-Courier* 7 September 1981:2)?

Political Culture in Papua New Guinea from the Late Colonial Period into the Early 1980s

A paper written, but not published, during the late 1960s provides a contemporary outline of the main features of "the . . . principal clusters of

popular indigenous orientations towards politics" in Papua New Guinea (Wolfers n.d.:1). Its findings serve as a useful baseline from which to assess changes in Papua New Guineans' political values, beliefs, and behavior from the late colonial period to the early years of independence.

The main focus of the paper was on Papua New Guineans' attitudes toward the only nationwide political organization in the country--the colonial administration--and the political communities with which they primarily identified themselves. The main finding of the paper was that, except for a few Papua New Guineans who seemed to have been absorbed into the political culture of the still-dominant colonial administration, the political values, beliefs, and behavior of Papua New Guineans could be classified into three main clusters. The clusters were: (1) a local-level political culture in which the focus of attention was essentially the same as in the precolonial political community; (2) an extended local culture in which ties and coalitions were developed beyond the precolonial political community to neighboring communities, speakers of a common dialect or language, trade or exchange partners, or residents of an administrative unit such as a subdistrict;⁸ and (3) an urban political culture in which an increasing number of Papua New Guineans from almost all parts of the country--but, for historical reasons, still relatively few highlanders--were developing links with one another and beginning to think actively about the nation.

People who shared the local or extended local orientations could be found in almost every part of the country. But, unlike some of the townsmen, they were seldom more than distantly aware of the fact or were indifferent to it. Like most townsmen, they were not organized to pursue what were often common interests.

For many of the Papua New Guineans whose main focus of attention was the precolonial political community, the colonial administration (*gav-man* in Pidgin, *gavamani* in Hiri Motu⁹) was often little more than an occasional source of interference in their lives--a body to be listened to and, at least outwardly, obeyed.

The political actors who were developing ties and building coalitions beyond their precolonial political communities included most members of the House of Assembly, members of local government council executives, and a variety of other people who were becoming prominent at sub-district or district levels. Their relationship with the administration was not that of legislator (cf. Meller 1967) so much as that of legate. The holders of elected office among their number tended to see themselves, and to be seen by their constituents, as having a duty to take requests for local improvements to the government, hearing what the government said, ex-

pressing their own concurrence or disagreement, and informing the electorate of what had transpired (Wolfers n.d.:9). Or, as a candidate for the Chuave Open electorate in the 1968 House of Assembly election explained the role:

The elected members are like as a donkey. Well, we all know about the donkeys. When one donkey gets a heavy loads on its' back. Then it can go and come as the way it is commanded. Now we know the elected members are just as a donkey. When they wanted to came in the House of Assembly. Then they carry all kinds of questions and problems in. Which they found from their own people. After showing these to the House of Assembly, they carry out the complete answers and Lawes out to their people [quoted in Wolfers 1968:8].

The elected representative's role as legate (or donkey) appeared to be so widely accepted during the late 1960s that it seemed that

the only pressure for him to do other than act as a link communicating instructions from, and requests to, the government comes from the few people who are aware of the formal potentialities of his role, his local European constituents and the few relatively well-educated indigenes employed on the local government station. . . . The mass of his constituents simply wait to hear what has happened [at meetings he attends], and to express their pleasure or dismay at decisions they do not feel competent to change [Wolfers n.d.: 13].

The political concerns of urban Papua New Guineans ranged from those of people whose main interest remained focused on the village to those of people who, while saying that they planned to return eventually to the village, were beginning to work out more or less permanent accommodations with the town. Among the latter, attitudes toward the town and the colonial administration still seemed "fluid," but common problems and frustrations were giving rise to an increasing sense of opposition--both to continued Australian rule and to its acceptance by most Papua New Guinean parliamentarians (Wolfers n.d.:15, 17-18).

Soon after the paper was written, the Australian government began to disengage from governing Papua New Guinea. A commitment to seemingly open-ended "preparation" was replaced by an urgent and-active policy of withdrawal.¹⁰ The change had a dramatic effect on Papua New

Guinean political attitudes. Politicians who had previously been--and, more importantly, felt--heavily dependent on administration guidance began to display an increasingly autonomous conservatism, critical of Australian policy. Townspeople who had felt frustrated at colonial rule received increasing official support. Politicians who had opposed rapid constitutional change in the name of national unity found themselves revealed, at least by implication, as spokesmen for regional--especially highlands--or foreign economic interests. Townspeople who had spoken, in the abstract, about national issues involved themselves increasingly in local issues in an effort to build bases of popular support.¹¹ The authority of the colonial administration began to come under increasing challenge from a variety of local groups (cf. Somare 1975:111-39).

Before and for some time after the accession of the National Coalition Government in 1972, political leaders often sought to distance themselves symbolically from the colonial administration by devising and then wearing a "national dress" where it had previously not been allowed; selling the chief minister's designated official residence; declining to ride in large official cars; and substantively, by appointing a number of bodies--including the Constitutional Planning Committee--to make policies independently of the Public Service. But it was not long before a new official residence was being built; a fleet of larger cars was purchased; and the government, advised by public servants, found itself in conflict with the Constitutional Planning Committee. By the early 1980s, the populist style of apparent personal self-denial which had been current during the late-colonial period had given way to the public display of success. The change was no less evident among members of provincial assemblies and their staffs than among national politicians and theirs. Ministers were still frequently critical in public of the Public Service. But, on many issues--including such widespread and potentially popular causes as increased compensation for land alienation--they were speaking for a wider-than-local good and accepting responsibility for government actions.

The increasing sense of autonomy felt by Papua New Guinean leaders was suggested by the way in which the government was changed in March 1981 (Wolfers 1981:274-77), by the frequency with which backbenchers criticized or moved against particular ministers or the government as a whole, and by the confidence with which members of provincial governments approached the national government. It was expressed in a particularly forceful and striking way in the response reported to have been made by the deputy prime minister, Iambakey Okuk, to allegations that he had signed a K20 million deal to purchase aircraft for Air Niugini without the required cabinet approval:

Forget the bloody procedures, I've got a good deal for PNG. The procedures are no good anyway. If things are good for the best interest of PNG, forget the procedures. But of course I will come back and ratify my actions. The deal was a good one. It took me about half a minute to sign the contract [*Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*, 1 October 1980:1].

Although few would match the deputy prime minister's ebullience, members of Papua New Guinea's national parliament no longer regard themselves as legates carrying messages between government and people. They and other practicing and aspiring politicians no longer see themselves as learning roles within a governmental framework but as exercising power with governmental instruments (Ghai 1972:405-6). They are testing conventions inherited from Australian precedents or recommended by the country's constitution makers and creating conventions of their own. Their frame of reference is increasingly the region or the nation, while candidates for and members of provincial assemblies sometimes display a stronger sense of provincial identity than was generally apparent during the early 1970s.

Working through parliament as an institution, members have repeatedly tried to secure their positions--by raising the age of candidacy from 21 to 25 (Papua New Guinea 1975a:section 103[1]), thereby disfranchising rivals who would otherwise have come of age between the 1972 and 1977 elections¹²; by requiring public servants who wish to regain their jobs after contesting an election to resign six months beforehand instead of three (*Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*, 4 September 1981:2); and, in a move described by the Permanent Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Laws and Acts as "against the intention and spirit" of the constitution, by raising the nomination fee from K100 to K1,000 (Papua New Guinea 1981:3). The Organic Law required to give effect to the sections of the constitution dealing with the "integrity of political parties" (Papua New Guinea 1975a:Sections 129-30) has not been presented to parliament; and even though all leaders' direct involvement with foreign-owned businesses is limited by the Leadership Code, most of the funds collected by the major political parties for the 1977 general elections came from just such businesses. A similar tendency to secure their own positions has been reported among aspirants for and holders of official positions in provincial governments.

Moreover, even as individual parliamentarians have been given the power to allocate substantial government funds to local projects and the

terms and conditions of their office have been improved, many people would be "surprised," so the prime minister, Sir Julius Chan, has said, if they

knew how much . . . time . . . I have to spend coping with requests for special favours of all kinds, financial and otherwise, from individual politicians. I will be even franker and say that if a Prime Minister is determined to stay in office he can do so quite easily if he is prepared to grant enough favors.

. . . I can't speak for my predecessor, Michael Somare, but I would be most surprised if he didn't face the same problems and I cannot see how any alternative head of Government could avoid them [Chan 1981:6].

The prime minister's sense that holders of high office have their own rightful prerogatives was suggested by some remarks he was reported to have made when justifying the purchase of a K5-million jet aircraft, mainly for ministerial use: "The aircraft was never meant for the old man in the village. It was meant for the people who are going to run this country--it was meant for the Government" (*Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*, 11 March 1981:2).

The extent to which the changes that have taken place should be regarded as endogenous or exogenous is a moot point. Is the change in leadership style an extension of the display frequently exhibited by "big men," or an imitation of a foreign model? Is the assertiveness of Papua New Guinean leaders a continuation into a new environment of the autonomy of the 'big man,' or a sign that they have not been fully socialized, into novel roles and, perhaps, are not confronted by effective countervailing forces? Do changing attitudes toward development priorities represent movement away from colonial or neocolonial values of the early 1970s, or do they indicate acceptance of a new neocolonialism? Despite the existence of the National Investment and Development Authority ('NIDA') and the Leadership Code, which some Papua New Guinean leaders regard as inhibitors of development, are foreign influences gaining the upper hand--not directly, through colonial rule, but indirectly, through acceptance by Papua New Guineans? Are some Papua New Guineans beginning to become what an influential leader once alleged that some people from other newly independent countries were--"black birds in white cages"?

Legitimizing Institutions

Many of the articles and books published about Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands during the colonial period, including some by the present author, describe aspects of the two countries' political systems as "alien," "arbitrary," "foreign," or "imposed." They often do so in ways which suggest that their institutions should or will be changed to accord with "Papua New Guinean ways" or to "*fitim* Solomon Islands" but without explaining how. The omission, however unhelpful, is not surprising for an area of which one of the most widely read, authoritative attempts to generalize about local organization states that

virtually the only constant is a negative one: the failure of Melanesian societies to develop complex, permanent forms of political organization that would weld together even those people who have a common language and culture [Chowning 1973:21-22].

Almost every aspect of precolonial politics and many aspects of local politics seem, at first sight, to be inconsistent with or actively hostile to the principles embodied in the nation-state. How, then, might the nation-state be reconciled with Melanesia?

In some respects, the two committees' respective commitments to devising institutions which accord with "Papua New Guinean ways" or "*fitim* Solomon Islands" should be regarded as expressions of nationalist and, in some cases, pan-Melanesian identity, but without the venality which Myrdal claimed to have found among exponents of "Asian values" (Myrdal 1968:98). To some extent, they were reactions to the ways in which foreigners had looked down on Melanesian society and preached the virtues off their own beliefs and systems of social organization during the colonial period (cf. the discussion of the "well-meaning souls who in cultural congresses point out . . . the specificity and wealth of Western values" [Fanon 1967:33]).

However, neither the Constitutional Planning Committee in Papua New Guinea nor the Special Committee on Provincial Government in Solomon Islands sought simply to reconcile the inherited nation-state with pre-colonial Melanesia. Members of both bodies recognized that most political communities in their two countries had undergone too many profound changes for the option to arise.

In some respects, the procedures followed by the two committees resembled practices which are often cited as being typically Melanesian: consulting and/or mobilizing public opinion through face-to-face contact

and trying to arrive at decisions by consensus. However, as with some of the committees' substantive attempts to reconcile the nation-state with Melanesia, the use of the first can also be explained by reference to colonial precedent,¹³ while application of the second sometimes had to be abandoned.

By the early 1980s, the recommendations of the two committees seem to have acquired considerable legitimacy in their respective countries, however much the behavior of national and provincial politicians in Papua New Guinea had begun to depart from the "founding fathers' " expectations. The final report of the Constitutional Planning Committee was being employed as an aid to constitutional interpretation in the courts (cf. Papua New Guinea 1975a:section 24). The report of the Special Committee on Provincial Government had been embodied, in modified form, in legislation (Solomon Islands 1980). But it was difficult to tell how much the seeming legitimacy of the Papua New Guinean political system owed to its embodiment of widely held Papua New Guinean values, and how much those values had been influenced by the system, and especially the processes by which those institutions had been designed (cf. Verba 1965:513, Barry 1970:48-52).

The reports prepared by the two committees suggest that their members believed that their commitment to devising institutions which accord with "Papua New Guinean ways" or "*fitim* Solomon Islands" would help to legitimate those institutions. But is it, therefore, unfair to ask whether the committees' work--particularly their consultation with and mobilization of public opinion--might not have helped to legitimate their conceptions of their members' own particular societies? The pervasiveness and influence of their ideas among citizens of their respective countries would seem to suggest that their work did so.

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NOTES

1. The term "Melanesian" is used loosely to distinguish what might otherwise be termed "indigenous"--whether Melanesian, Micronesian, or Polynesian--from what has been introduced in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands.

2. Detailed, though not complete, accounts of the background to and history of both committees are to be found in Wolfers 1977a for the Constitutional Planning Committee and in Wolfers, Conyers, Larmour, and Ghai forthcoming as well as Wolfers forthcoming for the Special Committee on Provincial Government.

3. The late Professor J. W. Davidson, who had previously been a constitutional adviser in Western Samoa, served as a permanent consultant to the Constitutional Planning Committee in Papua New Guinea until his death in April 1973.

4. The four meanings do not need to go together, though they are not inconsistent. The Australian constitution, for example, is the product of negotiation among representatives of the Australian states, though it is not legally autochthonous. The Western Samoan constitution--a "model" of autochthony (Roberts-Wray 1966:300)--contains elements which owe more to foreign precedents than to *fa'a Samoa* (the "Samoan way").

5. Narokobi (and His Critics and Supporters) 1980 contains a useful collection of newspaper articles and correspondence on the existence of a Papua New Guinea/Melanesian way. Olela n.d., Narokobi n.d.:24, and Narokobi 1981 contain additional relevant materials.

'Writer, barrister, law reformer, former judge, constitutional expert, visionary, family man and villager' (*Papua New Guinea Post Courier*, 29 May 1981:5), Bernard Narokobi was a permanent consultant to the Constitutional Planning Committee and has become a leading exponent of the Papua New Guinea/Melanesian way.

6. For a more detailed analysis of the discussion on chiefs, see Wolfers, Conyers, Larmour, and Ghai forthcoming:21-23.

7. For a more detailed discussion of the debate about the head of state and the functions of the governor-general, see Wolfers 1977b.

Rumors suggest that the General Constitutional Commission, which is due to issue its final report in early 1982, is likely to propose a president as head of state.

8. A number of election studies suggest that ties or coalitions of the kinds described have had a considerable influence on voting--see especially Watson 1965, Ogan 1965, and Wolfers 1968. They do not, unfortunately, show exactly how the ties or coalitions have been developed by the people concerned.

9. Both words are derived from "government" in English.

10. The origins, process, and immediate outcome of the change are analyzed in some detail in Wolfers 1971b.

11. The phenomenon described in the two preceding sentences is one of the reasons why "behavior" has been linked to "values and beliefs" throughout this paper. If values and beliefs were treated on their own, as the definition of "political culture" in Verba 1965:513 seems to allow (cf. Pye 1968:218), then those Papua New Guineans who spoke in favor of and believed in national unity--with the highlands as their point of reference--would appear to have been less parochial and more nationalistic than those who spoke of local government in East New Britain or land rights in the North Solomons with much wider issues and ambitions in mind (cf. Wolfers 1971b:142-45). But were they really so? And how ought one to classify a candidate who leaves the national capital to campaign on seemingly national issues before a bewildered or uninterested rural audience (cf. Kiki 1968:167-77)? Is he an unsuccessful mobilizing nationalist or a person with a parochial, if urban, frame of reference?

12. The Constitutional Planning Committee recommended that the minimum age for membership in the national parliament should be 23 (Papua New Guinea 1974a:Part 1, 6/20).

13. A similar set of alternatives also arises with respect to aspects of prime minister Michael Somare's political behavior: while he claims to have drawn on the Sana tradition from his own village when dealing with opponents (Somare 1975:110, 148), his spurning of approaches from opposition leaders to form a "grand coalition" before independence is consistent not only with a commitment to competitive politics but with the quite general political principle of sharing the fruits of office with the minimum winning coalition (Riker 1962).

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REVIEWS

Joan Abramson, ed. *Photographers of Old Hawaii*, 3rd ed. Honolulu: Island Heritage, 1981. Pp. 228, photographs, \$12.50.

Rick Golt, *Hawai'i Hawai'i*. Clemente Lagundiamao Jr., designer. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1981. Pp. 128, glossary, photographs, \$19.95.

A fascinating and dramatic contrast is presented by two recent Hawaiian publications, *Photographers of Old Hawaii* by Joan Abramson and *Hawai'i Hawai'i* by Rick Golt. The first is a historical documentation of Hawaii past, the latter a poetic photographic essay of Hawaii present. While both books were published in the same year as completely separate projects, they serve as companion volumes in the archives of photographic history of the Hawaiian Islands. Both books are exquisite and will serve as valuable resource material for historians, photographers, and artists in the years to come.

Abramson, a former *Time-Life* reporter, has done her homework well and provides fascinating glimpses into island history through her carefully selected photographs taken from the Bishop Museum and the Hawaii State Archives as well as private collections and other sources. Abramson covers the earliest history of photography from the time it first made its way to the Islands in 1845. Her illustrations of black and white photographs provide a window into Hawaii's past from 1850 to 1920 and are truly a representative sampling of photographic work in the Islands during the last half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. Abramson had a rich photographic legacy to choose from since the Hawaiian Islands had remained largely cloistered from the rest of the world throughout this time period, thereby preserving vast collections of photos intact; in fact, Abramson acknowledges the necessary limitations of choice from the vast heritage which has survived by mentally labeling this book "Volume I." However, the climate of the subtropics was not always favorable to the preservation of photographs, and temperature and humidity ruined many a fragile print.

Professional photographers are represented in the first half of the book because they were more numerous during the infancy of the craft due to the expense and rarity of photographic equipment; amateurs gradually began to appear as the art of photography matured, and they are repre-

sented in the later chapters. The early techniques of photography--ambrotypes, melainotypes, daguerreotypes, miniatures, leather, locket and ring pictures--are all here, and Abramson guides the reader on a sensitive journey into the past without becoming overtly sentimental. Photographic styles of the Victorian era are presented as they flourished; the cover photo of Miss Nellie Sisson Thrum at the shore of Hilo Bay around 1890 (again duplicated on pages 90-91), almost in the style of the French Impressionists in its charming romanticism, is more than balanced by the realistic photograph on the preceding page of the interior of a Hawaiian hut in the Puna district taken at about the same time by the same photographer, Charles Furneaux. Most of the illustrations are exceptionally clear for old photographs and well reproduced in a sepia-toned tint that contributes to the antique flavor of the book, while the fading and age spots of some of the prints actually enhance the overall effect. One flaw in this lovely publication is the omission of documentation for the actual dimensions of the photographs reproduced in the book. Inclusion of this information would be a positive aid to researchers and scholars in the field.

Early Hawaiian photographers included in the book are Hugo Stangewald, Joseph W. King, Henry L. Chase, Menzies Dickson, Andreas A. Montano, Joaquin A. Gonsalves, Charles Furneaux, Edward N. Hitchcock, Frank Davey, L. C. Child, Caroline H. Gurrey (the one female representative), Thomas A. Jaggar, On Char, Theodore Kelsey, Tai Sing Loo and Ray Jerome Baker.

Abramson's concise yet colorful histories of each of these seventeen photographers provide insights into the mores and customs and the flavor of the times in which they lived. We learn, for example, that a Portuguese photographer of the 1880s, Joaquin A. Gonsalves, while photographing King Kalakaua to his evident satisfaction was simultaneously an active member of the anti-monarchal political organization known as the Honolulu Rifles! We are also informed that J. W. King, who ran a highly reputable Photographic Gallery on King Street in downtown Honolulu in 1861, was run out of town on a charge of being a "common nuisance," of having issued "indecent and obscene pictures," of a "disgusting assortment" of certain female persons!, delineating the truth that while times may change, human nature remains the same.

The book is also distinguished by the peek into the past allowed the reader which contributes to a deeper and more penetrating insight into history coupled with a feeling of personal participation. We are able to experience the passing of the original Chinatown, for instance, through the remarkable series of news photos taken by Frank Davey in 1900 when

large areas of Honolulu were quarantined and systematically burned to the ground during a Bubonic Plague epidemic. Through these old photos, it is possible to view the Nuuanu Valley vista toward the Pali from downtown Honolulu as it appeared in 1853, to study the work clothes of Japanese field-worker women cutting seed cane in 1890, and to catch for an instant the emotional intensity of a Chinese funeral on a rainy day in 1915.

The most memorable and haunting aspect of this book, however, is the faces of many nationalities, characters, ages and stations long gone from times long past, faces which transcend time to reflect our own humanity.

* * * * *

In a personal photographic Odyssey through the Hawaiian Islands, Rick Golt has attempted to synthesize a harmony of contrasts through a unity of diversities in an effort to crystallize through selected images the essence of Hawaii through the medium of black and white photography, and he is largely successful. Golt has captured with his lens a timeless dimension of these tourist-trekking, over-exploited lands and has been able to slice through the multitudinous layerings of the many worlds and realities to reveal the underlying “magical quality” of Hawaii. The focus of this book is positive, a specific attempt to define and hold up for attention the spirit of these islands. It is a brilliant effort to spotlight the beautiful in the commonplace of island life and to identify the “tiny crystals of time” which reveal the inherent soul of Hawaii and its people.

Golt has collected a cross-section of Hawaiian scenes which are at once off the beaten path of the Polynesian metropolis and which yet portray contemporary life with the timelessness that is at the heart of Hawaii, ever flowing just below the surface of modern island life. Through the eye of his camera, Golt has recorded the grassroots with a strong and steady touch and has imbued the everyday with dignity and a sense of poetry.

In a beautifully expressed introduction, Golt defines his quest:

In Hawaii we share a spirit of acceptance and understanding nurtured by our many different worlds. These worlds exist simultaneously in time, in space; each is independent, yet intertwined with the others. We move from one to another in our daily lives, scarcely aware of the subtle yet remarkable change from world to world.

and his purpose:

Change moves swiftly through the world today, however, and its fingers touch even our islands. The harmony and balance we have known are not our permanently guaranteed rights. This underlying spirit of our many worlds is a delicate and fragile thing. . . . Now is the time to look around and see what a wonderful and beautiful world we share. . . . If we can simply appreciate that we do share something wonderful and good, we can preserve the spirit known to the world as Hawaii.

Hawai'i Hawai'i is truly a representative sampling, both profound and humorous. In a rich diversity of photographs, Golt focuses on Island faces in classic repose and unselfconscious activity: the Manapua Man, coin divers, and a little Waimanalo girl with burr-studded tresses solemnly sipping shave ice through a straw. His subjects range from the vast and awe-inspiring vistas of Haleakala and Mauna Kea to a pile of worn rubber Zoris beside a paint-peeled wooden door in Kaka'aka; from tumescent surf scenes to surrealistic lava flows; from a root-snarled country cemetery in North Kohala to a dream-like 'barber shop in Hanapepe, Kauai. It's all here: Ala Moana Park picnics, Kaneohe fruit stands (complete with prolific bunches of hanging bananas), and the legendary wind tunnel at the Pali lookout.

Hawai'i Hawai'i exudes a timelessness rare in a photographic essay. In some of the photographs (No. 10, The old church above Naopo'opo'o on the South Kona Coast of Hawai'i) the observer can almost experience the silence; in others, (No. 80, A rain-drenched tin-roofed banana shack in Laie) the scene appears exactly as it might have fifty years ago or more.

A vivid sense of contrast is demonstrated both in the photographs themselves and in the editing and choice of pictures. Clemente Lagundiamao, Jr., who designed the edition, is to be commended for his skill in capturing the spirit of the work and for the simplicity and elegance of his layout.

Golt and Lagundiamao make a fine professional team. Golt has the eye of a poet/artist as well as a journalist/photographer and imbues even familiar local landscapes with a heightened sense of reality combined with a dreamlike essence. His sense of timing combined with a talent for texture and composition focuses on images that are sharp, clear and very real. Lagundiamao's sensitivity for presentation contributes to this rare combination.

Two minor criticisms must be cited of this lovely work. The contrast in ink percentage in the title *Hawai'i Hawai'i* used on both the dust jacket and on the title page is obviously designed to underscore the theme of the simultaneously superimposed and overlapping worlds described in the book. This difference is not as dramatic as it should be, however, and appears to the eye of the viewer as faded print. Perhaps another color or a different percentage could have been used to delineate a more deliberate contrast. Entire pages of gray in varying shades are inserted throughout the text and do much to add a subtle thread of continuity and to justify the off-shade printing of the title, but the overall effect is perhaps a bit too subtle for the casual reader.

The photographs throughout are numbered *sans* captions, while the captions themselves are presented in a separate glossary at the end of the book. Although the photographic presentation without intrusion of the printed word is aesthetically pleasing, it is annoying to have to keep referring to the end of the volume in order to identify the locale or activity of the picture. Both points are minor, however, and might be considered stylistic options which do not detract unduly from the entire work.

Rick Golt, trained in literature and the classical arts, studied with Ansel Adams and Minor White. A resident of Hawai'i since 1967, his previous books include *Tropical Exotics*, *Hawaiian Reflections*, *Tropical Shrubs*, *Sculpture in the Sun* and *Eternal Saudi Arabia*. His photographs have appeared in many publications from local magazines to *Time-Life* book series.

Clemente Lagundiamao, Jr. is now associate professor and chairman of the design program with the University of Hawaii's art department.

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H. C. Brookfield, ed., *Population-Environment Relations in Tropical Islands: The Case of Eastern Fiji*. MAB Technical Notes 13. Paris: UNESCO, 1980. Pp. 233, appendices, no index. \$18.00.

This collection of ten papers is the most recent in a series of publications arising out of a UNESCO/UNFPA project which, between 1974 and 1976, involved some fifteen scientists in fieldwork throughout eastern Fiji. Details of publications and participants are given in two appendices. The stated aim of the collection is to provide an overview of the project team's approach and research results for the benefit of all students and

potential managers of man-environment relations, especially in developing countries, and including those engaged in the second stage of UNESCO's "Man and the Biosphere" project in the Caribbean.

The Fiji project team, in consultation with the Fiji government from 1973, concerned itself primarily with the policy-oriented question of how to use resources for the maximization of human welfare. Definition of the resource base, therefore, was an initial preoccupation for natural and social scientists. The latter's findings are reported in detail in earlier project publications. The natural scientists present two papers in the collection under review: one preliminary and inconclusive piece on land potential by Latham and Denis, and a wide-ranging survey of Pacific marine resources by Salvat. The natural resource base was found not to be in a state of static equilibrium. Two papers by McLean emphasize the "dynamic instability" of the islands' physical environment, which results from external shocks (such as hurricanes and long-term rises in sea level), and which makes it difficult to separate the human from the natural factors in the process of environmental change.

Change rather than stability was also found to characterize Fijian society, as Brookfield argues in the penultimate paper. Adoption of the dependency paradigm generated the expectation that the integration of tribal economies into world capitalism would produce disintegration at the local level. But Fiji had been chosen as the field of study because it was believed that the eastern islands had experienced a relatively light Western impact, and because, therefore, it would provide a useful baseline comparison for (Caribbean) societies which had experienced a more sustained and intensive contact. Specifically, with respect to rural economy, it was assumed that traditional redistributive mechanisms still operated to ensure economic homogeneity of the village. In fact, it turned out that the eastern islands had been "impacted" quite heavily--to the extent that rural inequality of income distribution was comparable to that in rural India (p. 186)--and that despite this, there was a surprising degree of local autonomy. (For a relevant case study see Knapman and Walter, "The Way of the Land and the Path of Money . . .," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Jan. 1980, pp. 201-22.) At the level of village economy, the latter found expression in the maintenance of substantial subsistence production for auto-consumption, a feature team members came to see as basic to a village development strategy aimed at risk-minimization and which provides a "tolerable 'prosperity'" (p. 192). (Brookfield insists this is not "primitive affluence.")

In the discovered resilience of precapitalist modes of production, Brookfield sees a possible deficiency of dependency theory rather than a

peculiarity of the Fijian situation. It is an observation familiar to followers of the arid scholastic debate over the concept of a colonial mode of production. (See Aidan Foster-Carter, "The Modes of Production Controversy," *New Left Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1978, pp. 47-77.) And like the protagonists in this debate, Brookfield, adapting arguments in Piaget's *Structuralism*, seeks a theoretical resolution. The goal is a theory of change, including rapid change triggered by crisis, which embraces conquest of one set of forces by another and recreation of opposition to invading forces in a new context. But in the end, though scientists need more than just an open mind and a notebook, there is no substitute for inductive study of the man-biosphere system in areas which may have in common only the fact that they are "underpopulated pieces of dependent periphery in the developing world" (p. 187): "It is experience together with comparison that teaches wisdom, not theory" (p. 221).

In this connection, the papers by Bedford, Bayliss-Smith, Hardaker, and Bedford and Brookfield present the fieldwork experience of the social scientists in the project team and are aimed directly at planners through their concern with the carrying capacity and development opportunities of island economies. Bedford examines the replacement of circular migration by a "massive exodus" from rural areas which outweighs all other demographic factors, and which generally reflects a fact central to the well-known Todaro model--that expected urban income greatly exceeds actual rural income. He suggests improved transport between rural and urban areas would increase the relative incidence of circular migration and thus reduce net permanent emigration. But in view of the latter's nature and causes, this could hardly be expected to alter migration flows substantially as Bedford recognizes. More fundamentally, the urban-rural income disparity and rural income inequality would have to be reduced.

The critical question, then, is what combinations of welfare and population levels island economies can sustain. Given technology, the population potentially supported by a fixed land area varies inversely with the desired welfare level, where welfare increases as income and leisure time increase. Bayliss-Smith explores the arithmetic of this relationship for different crops and interestingly charts the transition from subsistence to partial monetization on the island of Batiki. In pre-colonial times, an island population of 500 could be supported at an acceptable income level by about 17 hours work per productive person per week. But in the 1970s, only 125 persons could be supported for an input of 23 hours. Since the actual population was over 250 and 900 Batikians had already emigrated, carrying capacity clearly was inadequate. An enforced idleness

resulted from the land-extensive nature of coconut cash cropping, which was relatively unresponsive to increased labor inputs, and which suffered the effects of a declining world price. Increased carrying capacity would be possible under a root crop regime, provided the marketing and transport facilities were available.

Hardaker also examines an island economy's production potential but uses a linear programming model to do so. Proceeding on an inadequate data 'base and on the untested assumption that the model is a reasonably accurate simplification of the Taveuni Island economy, he shows that optimal resource allocation would generate a mean annual cash income per head of \$635 from sales of copra, taro and yaqona (the national stimulant). Employment of surplus land and labor would increase this figure, and such employment would be guaranteed if export demand for taro increased and/or if an assumed constraint on the area planted to yaqona were relaxed. The model of course generates new cash income figures if various constraints and prices are altered. "Little confidence can be attached to the exact magnitudes of variables" (p. 95), but Hardaker is reassured by the fact that "the general patterns of the results obtained conform well with a common sense interpretation of circumstances affecting the level and patterns of economic activity in the island.'" (p. 106). The common sense interpretation is that expanded export markets and increasing the cultivated area permit higher cash incomes per head and that the person/land ratio is so low as to dispel the Malthusian specter. One consequently doubts that linear programming is established as a cost-efficient planning technique.

No short review can do justice to the richness of data, ideas, and argument in this collection of papers. The very richness inevitably will be a source of frustration to planners inasmuch as the overriding message has to be that the real world is complex and poorly understood, but that nevertheless planners ought to include environmental management in development planning. Yet they are not left without guidance. True to its pragmatic orientation, the project team comes up with one firm policy recommendation--to encourage, in accordance with a proclaimed policy of national self-sufficiency, the substitution of food production for the domestic market in place of copra production for the export market. Such a policy, it is argued, would ensure a more intensive use of eastern island resources and a consequently higher, more stable rural income level (on 1975 prices for copra and root crops). Unfortunately, the implicit assumption is made that food is a homogeneous good, and that greater domestic production means reduced food imports and a foreign exchange saving which will compensate for the loss of copra export proceeds (eastern Fiji

accounting for about half of the Fiji total). Development planners in a country which may be subject to a foreign exchange constraint will not rest easy with this assumption; in fact, food import-substitution strategy is focused on rice and meat and dairy products, which constitute a high proportion of food imports, and it is not self-evident that taro is regarded as a substitute for these goods. There is also the possibility that in a hazardous natural environment it makes sense to import some food from a variety of overseas sources. Thus, while the team's rural development strategy deserves serious consideration and will draw much support because of its correct emphasis on agricultural development, there is an evident need to explore the island-regional-national economy connections more carefully. Perhaps research in the Caribbean will prove enlightening on this score.

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R. M. W. Dixon, *The Languages of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. Pp. xxii, 400, maps, glossary, references, index. Cloth \$69.50, Paper \$19.95.

This is one of a new series, Cambridge Language Surveys, which will provide general accounts of all the major language families of the world. While most volumes are to be organized on a purely genetic basis, some, like Comrie's recent treatment (1981) of the languages of the Soviet Union, will deal with a geographical area. In the case of Australia, grouping on a genetic basis happens to coincide with the geographical area.

While most Australianists have tended to agree that the languages of Australia are genetically related, Dixon rightly points out that this *conjecture* awaits adequate proof. The main contribution of this work, he suggests, is to furnish the beginnings of a proof that all of Australia's approximately 200 languages (with two or three exceptions) are genetically related.

Apart from the more specialized interests of Australianists and comparative linguists, the book is intended for a general audience. In fact, three kinds of reader are distinguished: the lay person, for whom very little knowledge of linguistic matters can be assumed; the general linguist with little or no acquaintanceship with Australian languages, and the spe-

cialist in Australian languages. In each case explicit directions are given on how the book may be best used. In this respect and many others, the work is a model of clarity, being both compellingly written and well indexed and cross-referenced. One can enter the book at almost any point.

The general reader will find the first five chapters the most accessible. They deal in turn with introductory matters such as the nature of Australian languages and the history of research on them. A subsequent chapter, "Tribe and Language" treats such matters as dialect vs. language, problems of labeling communities of speakers and patterns of social organization of such communities. There follows a brief account of speech and song styles found among Australian languages, including special styles used just for kin in an avoidance relationship with the speaker; Among the sociolinguistic aspects of Australian languages dealt with are the role of English-based pidgins and creoles; the emergence of bilingual education using English and the local Australian language, and, more generally, the role of language in binding together Aboriginal communities. A fifth chapter on vocabulary looks at the nature and structure of the lexicon.

From here on the book becomes increasingly technical with chapters on phonology, phonological change, the classification of Australian languages and word classes. There are separate treatments of nouns, pronouns and verbs and a brief but instructive coverage of syntax. Interspersed through much of this material are Dixon's attempts to go some way towards reconstructing proto-Australian.

While some readers might have liked to have seen a fuller treatment of such areas as sociolinguistics and semantics, it should be borne in mind that in many areas of Australian linguistics there is relatively little detailed information yet available. Indeed, Dixon regards his survey as premature, believing that a work of this kind might have waited another ten years or so when much more information on Australian languages had been published. Certainly the last decade has seen a relative flood of publications in the field of Australian linguistics, and we can confidently anticipate very much more being 'known in another ten years' time. However, *Languages of Australia* is a remarkable achievement, packing an enormous amount of authoritative information into a small space. It is likely to become a classic in its field.

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Edwin Doran, Jr., *Wangka: Austronesian Canoe Origins*. College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 1981. Pp. 112. \$15.00.

The Austronesian people--inhabitants of Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, Indonesia, and Madagascar connected by a single language phylum--lived by and from the sea and occupied a greater area of the world's surface than any other group. In their command of the oceans they developed three major types of vessels: the double canoe, the single outrigger, and the double outrigger. The authoritative authors, A. C. Haddon and James Hornell, have presented a theory that double outrigger canoes were the oldest type, and Hornell has also claimed that single outriggers were the precursors of double canoes. Professor Doran presents his evidence for disagreement in this fairly ingenious contribution to the understanding of Austronesian culture history as a whole. His progression of development is from the double canoe to the single outrigger and thence to the double outrigger. The progression is logical, but elements of the arguments from which he adduces it are perhaps less convincing. He writes:

I shall analyse canoe seaworthiness and conclude by examining the distributional evidence in greater detail than that of earlier studies. I hypothesize on the basis of all the facts that double canoes, then single outriggers as used in Polynesia are the oldest Austronesian boat types, followed by Micronesian and Melanesian single outriggers of different sail type, and most recently by Indonesian double-outrigger canoes. The center of complexity of Austronesian boat traits lies in the islands surrounding Sulawesi, and that is probably the center of innovation from which many traits spread outward. It will be noted, however, that the highest development of single-outrigger canoes was reached in Micronesia and that the place of origin of double outriggers was probably Vietnam.

Almost equally divided between text and illustration, Doran's short thesis seems to suffer from a paucity of information. Since the voyaging double canoe did not long survive the competition of the schooner and the marine engine, his argument has had to depend upon analyses of modern analogues. These are not necessarily as efficient as the vanished vessels. Yet he depends very lightly on historical sources which mostly tend to show the canoe much speedier than the schooner but much more difficult to build and with far less reliable fastenings. More reliance on histori-

cal sources would also supply cogent details here overlooked such as the flanging of planks to increase the efficiency of the joins.

His findings on relative seaworthiness provide strong support for the argument that Polynesian double canoes and single outriggers which are tacked head to wind are seaworthy and are the oldest types. This evidence also indicates that single outriggers and the rare double canoes of Micronesia and Melanesia which are “shunted” from tack to tack are even more seaworthy and are intermediate in age. Finally the analysis suggests that Indonesian double outrigger canoes which are tacked head to wind are the most seaworthy and youngest of Austronesian canoe types. But other evidence might well increase the seaworthiness rating of the double canoe.

Doran’s comparison of three hypothetical canoes using a common factor of load seems slanted in favor of the double outrigger to the detriment of the single outrigger and the double canoe. In reality I don’t think they can be compared, considering the different functions for which they were built. Neither of the single-hulled canoes could perform the function of the large double canoe which was brought up to a high pitch of efficiency. It bore the brunt of the long voyages which relocated populations. Perhaps more significantly it was a symbol of power as in the early part of this century. The Reverend Thomas West (*Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, London, 1865) reported the arrival, in Nuku’alofa of King Taufa’ahau with a fleet of fourteen large canoes, each one of which, he claimed, would carry between 100 and 150 persons. The measurements of one, which he gives, are very much in excess of Doran’s example, particularly in the relationship of beam to length. The King’s canoe was not the swiftest; the others indeed raced ahead of him to form up in a double line outside the port as a guard of honor through which he sailed.

These canoes were *kalias*, powerful vessels that carried not only large crews, but the rations which, in voyages of record, supported them for two or three weeks between Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji. West reported that they sailed within three points (33.75 degrees) of the (presumably apparent) wind. Besides the *kalias* the *tongiakis*, smaller and more difficult to handle in rough weather, were used as escort vessels, for example, to keep the fleet in touch with islands it did not propose to visit. West travelled in one from the island of Tungua to Lifuka, a distance of thirty-eight miles covered in three hours, a fairly good run when haste was not essential. At the same time hundreds of outriggers were used for fishing and individual travel. One type did not replace the other but supplemented it.

Doran’s basic assumption that innovations in rig or sail design spread outward by contact from a single point of invention ignores the possibility

that similar innovations can be introduced at more than one place. Heyerdahl, in his *American Indians in the Pacific*, presented an illustration of a canoe bailer from the American Northwest coast of the same basic design as bailers used by Polynesians. I have seen the same design in Scotland, but all that suggests is that there are only a few basic shapes for carrying out bailing functions. Resourceful people faced with a problem adopt the most practical solution at hand. In the Trobriands, about 1954, I travelled from Sinaketa on Kiriwina to Kaileuna in a canoe paddled by three men. The first course paralleled the Kiriwina coast. When the wind sprang up the paddlers went ashore, cut three large leaves from a young coconut, fixed them in the bow, and we made a good passage at four to five knots across the ten-mile strait.

That could have been a reversion to the discovery of sail. There are plenty of examples of reversion to earlier boat types. The reed canoes of Easter Island and the Chathams could be cited; they were forced on a seafaring people: by the absence of more appropriate materials. And the Maoris of New Zealand reverted to the single dugout (while developing its artistic decoration) “due probably to the abundance of large trees which provided hulls wide enough to diminish the risk of capsizing, and the outrigger was finally dispensed with as unnecessary.” (Sir Peter Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, Wellington, 1949, p. 202).

So the progression from good to better to best, while attractive, is not consistent; but my reluctance to accept Doran’s findings on seaworthiness probably has an emotional content. He writes:

It has been demonstrated above that the most seaworthy watercraft are the double outriggers of Indonesia; hence these are likely to be the youngest type. Single outriggers of Micronesia and Melanesia are intermediate in location, efficiency and age and the double canoes (and tacking single outriggers) of Polynesia, seaworthy as they undoubtedly are, are less so than craft to the west and therefore are presumed to be the oldest canoe types in the Pacific.

What analysis of this type fails to take into account is the relationship of the man to the vessel. Superbly housed, as Banks and others have described, the great canoes were regarded with veneration, given names, taken into the extended family. Their operation demanded the utmost attention to every detail, and the privilege of giving this duty was jealously guarded. In turn, the vessels developed the men. The combination of

Polynesian man and double-hulled canoe still established a record of daring achievement never approached elsewhere.

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Aslaug Falkenburg and Johannes Falkenburg. *The Affinal Relationship System of the Australian Aborigines in the Port Keats District*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1981. Pp. 224. \$23.00.

The "New Approach" in the title alludes to the fact that this book represents a considerable departure from Johannes Falkenburg's approach to some of the same material in an earlier monograph (Johannes Falkenburg, *Kin and Totem* [Oslo: Oslo Univ. Press, 1962]). Both books are based on fieldwork done in 1950 in the Port Keats district, about 150 miles south of Darwin. The earlier work provided what is still one of the most detailed published accounts of the structure and composition of totemic clans, and a somewhat briefer description of the "kinship systems" of the Maringar, Maridjabin-Marijadi, and Murinbata "tribes." The account of clans and "kinship" in that work is strongly influenced by the views of Radcliffe-Brown. "Horde" territories are described as integral and non-overlapping, each providing a homeland for a single patrilineal horde who traditionally led a fairly isolated life within its boundaries. The "kinship system" is described as an all-embracing set of genealogically-defined categories within which people are classified by "lines of descent" as determined by the number of types of kinsmen distinguished in the grand-parental generation. Among these genealogically-defined categories, certain of the "cross-cousin" ones are those in which ego finds his prescribed spouse.

From the authors' present perspective, it appears that:

A general reluctance not to be in harmony with Radcliffe-Brown's theories caused us [sic] to present a somewhat distorted picture of the kinship system and the local organization among the Aborigines at Port Keats. Thus, the borders between the horde territories were not so strictly closed as indicated in *Kin and Totem*. Furthermore, we did not mention the fact that before the foundation of the mission station, two or more hordes might occasionally live together for economic or ceremonial purposes, thus forming a larger social community (p. 68).

But since this work is primarily concerned with “kinship” and marriage rather than with local organization *per se*, the Radcliffe-Brownian (Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., *The Social Organization of the Australian Tribes*, *Oceania* Monographs No. 1, 1930-31 [reprinted from *Oceania* 1:34-63, 206-46, 322-41, 426-56] theses against which it develops the most sustained attack are as follows: 1) his claim that the criteria for the assignment of “kin” terms are primarily or exclusively genealogical, the categories being extended to include distant kinsmen by the principles of equivalence of same-sex siblings and of agnates in alternate generations; 2) his claim that marriage is “regulated” by rules specifying the particular genealogical relationships which must hold between a man and his legitimate spouse(s).

Against 1), the authors cite at least four kinds of evidence:

A. Although the Port Keats people know perfectly well which “kinship” term to apply to anyone in their social universe, their knowledge of actual genealogical links to most of those people is scanty or nil (p. 107).

B. Many pairs of Port Keats people who call each other “brother” or “sister” (including some pairs of full siblings) stand in different relationships to certain other people. This is subject to change within the course of an individual’s lifetime, depending mainly on who marries whom. For instance:

Originally, Nawurop from Idiji referred to Tjana and his brother Pwlangatji as *tamoin* [“mother’s father”]. But when Tjana married aljelk from Kultjil, to whom Nawurop is closely (if not genealogically) related and whom he calls *kal:e* [“mother”], Nawurop started to address Tjana as *il:e* (*kal:e*’s husband) [i.e., “father”]. In other words, Nawurop’s kinship relations with Tjana were from now on, determined by the fact that Tjana was the ‘husband of Nawurop’s *kal:e*, but Nawurop continued to refer to Pwlangatji as *tamoin* (p. 115).

One need only think about the possible effects of this reclassification upon Nawurop’s status as a linking relative (between, e.g., Tjana’s children and Nawurop’s) to appreciate the extent to which the actual usage of kin terms can deviate from the principles of (“classificatory”) genealogical “recognition” inherited from Morgan by Radcliffe-Brown.

C. The Murinbata kin categories do not link up to form “lines of descent”: some of ego’s *nat:an* (“brothers”), *munmak* (“sisters”), and *wakal* (“children”) are descended from his *kangul* (“father’s father”) and other people within the same categories are descended from his *kawu* (mother’s mother’s brother”) (cf. the “superclass” analysis of this and other Austra-

lian systems in H. Scheffler, *Australian Kin Classification* [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1978] which, although genealogically based, makes no use of the concept of “descent lines”). Furthermore, in cases of marriage to someone other than a prescribed spouse, a woman’s children are often assigned to kin classes in a way which does not reflect their “actual” patrilineal descent (148).

D. Within any given “terminological line” (i.e., Radcliffe-Brownian “descent line”), the division into alternate generation sets is not based on relative age, but rather on the nature of the marriage rules (pp. 156-63).

All of the above can also be taken as arguments against Radcliffe-Brownian thesis #2, since the latter presupposes genealogically specifiable “spouse” classes. Marriage between people who are known to be genealogically related is extremely rare among the Port Keats people (176 et passim). Rather than being an all-encompassing genealogical classification system by which a limited group of people are picked out as potential affines, the “kinship” system, Falkenburg and Falkenburg argue, is better understood as a system for the egocentric classification of everyone in the society (which of course includes all of ego’s known genealogical relations) according to their various statuses as potential affines. Thus, for example, *kal:e* “refers” not to “mother” as such, but to “sister of potential father-in-law” (p. 199), mother’s brother’s daughter being a “potential wife” category.

Falkenburg and Falkenburg’s argument on this point is far from convincing. Of the affinally-based definitions which they give for all Murinbata relationship terms (pp. 198-99), some, such as the one for *kal:e* above, are valid only where ego is male. This can be remedied only by regarding *kal:e*, for example as designating an entirely distinct set of relations when ego is female, whereas the unitary gloss “mother,” however “extended,” is indifferent to sex of ego.

A more fundamental problem with Falkenburg and Falkenburg’s argument here is that even as specified by their own account, thirty-eight of the forty Murinbata relationship classes are not purely “affinal” but also implicate “genealogical” features. The two that do not are *purima* “own or potential wife” and *pugali* “potential wife.” Given these two categories as links between ego and all the other classes, distinctions among the latter depend on relationships of “sisterhood,” “fatherhood,” etc., between those people and ego’s (potential) spouse (as in the *kal:e* example above).

Based on my own field results (A. Rumsey, “Kinship and context among the Ngarinyin,” *Oceania* 51:181-92. A. Rumsey, “Gun-Gunma . . .,” in J. Heath, et. al., eds. *The Languages of Kinship in Aboriginal Australia*, *Oceania Linguistic Monographs* No. 24, [Sydney: Oceania Pub-

lications, 1982]), I for one concur in Falkenburg and Falkenburg's claims that not all relationship classes are definable in purely genealogical terms, and that the highly negotiable factor of "marriageability" is sometimes more determining of "kin" classification than it is determined by it. But to claim instead that the system is a purely "affinal" one is to perpetuate a dichotomy which is useless for understanding Australian relationship systems, which interweave relations of "consanguinity" and "affinity" (and a good deal of what we would call "cosmology" as well) into a single, seamless, all-enveloping web.

Given these defects in it, it is unfortunate that Falkenburg and Falkenburg chose to present the "affinal relationship" argument as the central one in the book--the more so if this should allow the book's considerable strengths to go unnoticed. Whereas all too much of the published literature leaves one with the impression that Aborigines are perfectly programmed automata, dutifully marrying their cross-cousins, joking with their fathers' fathers, and avoiding their mothers-in-law, the present work abounds in examples of contextual variability such as the one quoted in B above. The book contains more thorough coverage of the actual use of kin terms than any other I can think of. It also presents one of the fullest and most satisfactory accounts to date of the forms which "marriage" takes in an Aboriginal community (pp. 61-105). These parts of the book alone are enough to establish it as a major contribution to Australian literature.

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Judith Farquhar and D. Carleton Gajdusek, eds., *Kuru: Early Letters and Field Notes from the Collection of D. Carleton Gajdusek*. New York: Raven Press, 1981. Pp. xxviii, 338, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index, appendices. \$40.00.

Kuru is an inevitably fatal degenerative nervous disease afflicting the people of a limited region of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Its spectacular clinical nature has assured considerable attention in the popular press since its "discovery" in the 1950s, with general interest in it revived recently when D. C. Gajdusek was awarded the 1976 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine. His work established a place for *kuru* in medical history as the "first chronic disease of man proved to be a slow virus infection" (p. xv) and set the stage for investigations of possible infectious etiologies for other central nervous system diseases. *Kuru* has also become

a standard and unparalleled “case study” in medical anthropology, illustrating the complex interaction of environmental, cultural, and (possibly) genetic factors in the etiology and epidemiology of a disease whose mysteries were solved only after two decades of intensive work involving researchers from many disciplines.

The literature on *kuru* is enormous; however, there is still an unfilled need for a book-length history and overview of the disease. In addition, the fascinating story of its investigation needs to be told. The book under review is not such a work but a compilation of extracts from Gajdusek’s field journals and selections from his correspondence during the first year of *kuru* research, from December 1956 to January 1958. Such a collection, in Gajdusek’s view (pp. xxi-xxii), “allows the reader to trace the diverse origins and meandering paths of ideas, recording something of the personality conflicts and compatibilities and the varied and divergent devotions that led to the discovery and first investigations of *kuru*.”

In addition to contributing to the history of medicine in this way, the records included are intended to “dispel any misconceptions about who did what--as well as answer many questions about how, when, and why the early field and laboratory work was undertaken” (p. xxii). Thus there is a self-serving aspect of publication of this material, but Gajdusek is also concerned to acknowledge the assistance he and Vincent Zigas, his earliest collaborator, received from others and “perhaps to repay some of those old debts by giving credit where credit is due” (p. xxvii). Nevertheless, the reader is likely to gain the impression that at least the early days of *kuru* research were a “one-man show” as Gajdusek shares with us detailed (almost daily) records of what he was doing in the field, sometimes in the face of intense opposition from Australian government officials and researchers (pp. 24-55). Complementing the sometimes dry correspondence are extracts from field journals kept by Gajdusek during his extensive patrolling in the Eastern Highlands as he tried to ascertain and document the geographical, cultural, and linguistic boundaries of the disease. Vivid and candid, these extracts convey a good sense of the “high adventure” that characterized this early period (p. xv) and give us valuable and intriguing tidbits of information on the peoples contacted, as do fifty-seven plates, most of which contain very useful visual information on the region and its diverse peoples in 1957.

Apart from these plates and the appendices (which include an important early report on sorcery among the South Fore, written by Charles Julius, government anthropologist at the time), almost all of the material in this book has been published before, albeit in somewhat obscure sources. Most of the correspondence was published in 1975 by the Nation-

al Institutes of Health, and the field journal extracts are from Gajdusek's 1957 *Kuru Epidemiological Patrols*, published in 1963 by the same agency. One must ask, then, what the value is of this particular compilation.

Those who are interested in the story of *kuru* research from a historical point of view will find the book a handy, reasonably compact, and handsomely produced overview, although limited to the first year. Anthropologists and other scholars who are more interested in the peoples of the region will find much of value in the observations scattered throughout the journal extracts, but these whet, rather than satisfy, one's appetite, and do not (nor are they intended to) present an integrated overall picture such as that contained in Shirley Lindenbaum's recent book, *Kuru Sorcery* (reviewed in this journal in 1981, Vol. 4, pp. 193-195). One important function of these tidbits, however, is in directing the reader to the vast resource represented by Gajdusek's field journals which these extracts typify.

Since 1957, Gajdusek has done extensive field research in many parts of the Pacific and has kept detailed journals. Beginning in 1959, these journals have been published by the National Institutes of Health, and most have been reprinted. At least nineteen journals cover field research in New Guinea, fourteen in various island groups of Melanesia, and seven in Micronesia. While the research itself has focused on medical problems, Gajdusek's curiosity and interests are boundless, and the journals (especially the earlier ones such as the one extracted in the volume under review) contain an absolute wealth of invaluable information on the many peoples he has visited, often in the early days of European contact in Papua New Guinea. These journals, candid and diary-like, make fascinating reading as the extracts published here will testify. More important, however, the journals constitute a resource which is, regrettably, almost never tapped or cited by scholars.

Anthropologists in particular often show little inclination to use "non-scholarly" sources for whatever information and insights they may contain. Both are plentiful in Gajdusek's field journals as is also true of the almost uncountable photographs and cinema records which he has produced (largely with the aid of E. Richard Sorenson) and meticulously documented over the years. Gajdusek has been more than generous in making all of this available to researchers, and if the present volume does no more than draw attention to the existence of these unparalleled resources, it will have been worth the effort.

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Bryan Farrell, *Hawaii, the Legend that Sells*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982. Pp. 420, notes, index, selected bibliography. \$20.00.

As the first comprehensive treatment of tourism development in Hawaii, *Hawaii, the Legend that Sells* is destined to become an important sourcebook. Farrell has done us all the very great service of producing a book accessible to a variety of tourism audiences--scholars, industry people, residents of Hawaii, and tourists.

In some ways it is surprising that such a book has not appeared before, given that tourism is Hawaii's biggest industry. In 1980, almost 4 million tourists came to Hawaii, and they spent \$3 billion. Yet Farrell's book was 10 years in the making, and comes at a time when Hawaii's big tourism boom has come to an end. Tourism grew 400% from 1968-1978, but by the end of the decade was sagging due to the cost of energy and the Mainland recession, which though slow to arrive in Hawaii, is being strongly felt now. This is the moment for serious reappraisal of tourism's relationship to Hawaii, and Farrell's book provides a solid basis for reflection.

Farrell presents us with a "holistic view" of tourism. Tourism, in its impact on the economy, the environment, the society, and the human beings of Hawaii is like a steel ring puzzle. One must look at each ring separately, and then examine its relatedness to the puzzle as a whole. Maui is used as a case study that illustrates the interrelationship of the rings, and is in fact an excellent choice because Farrell was able to follow its tourism development personally by visits to the island yearly from 1969 to 1981.

Chapter 1 is concerned with geography, ecology, and a brief history of land control and economic development. The focus is on the economy today, however. We learn that Hawaii's income is still very dependent on federal expenditures, which amounted to \$3.3 billion in 1980, exceeding state income from tourism. Agriculture has continued to lag behind, bringing in only \$1 billion in 1981. Farrell introduces a major theme of the book in this chapter: diversified agriculture is essential for Hawaii's future. Today Hawaii imports most of the food necessary to support the tourism industry and to feed its own population, whose tastes are those of Asia and the U.S. Mainland. This theme recurs in Chapter 7, where it is explored in impressive detail as it relates to tourism's own need to maintain a rural atmosphere.

In Chapter 2 we are given a history of the tourism boom and a description of the primary tourist areas in the islands, along with the reasons for people coming in such large numbers, and a portrayal of the sort of

people who come to Hawaii as tourists. We move to Maui in Chapter 3, where Farrell sketches an account of how Maui became a prime tourist destination, the development of tourism there, and the many problems Maui faces today because of rapid development: sewage system problems, affordable housing, adequate water supplies, rising crime, congested roads, and the high cost of energy. The case study of Maui embodied in Chapters 3 and 4, and always returned to in the remaining chapters, clearly demonstrates Farrell's thesis that balance should be an integral part of planning.

Chapters 5 and 6 deal with state and county roles in planning and regulating development in Hawaii. We discover that as things stand today, each county determines the form and outcome of tourism development within it. A good account is given of the views and influence of one of Hawaii's most charismatic leaders, former Mayor Elmer Cravalho of Maui, during his tenure overseeing tourism development on that island. Some insight into local politics comes out in these chapters, but by his own admission Farrell was unable to delve far into the Hawaiian bureaucracy and local politics. This is an unfortunate gap in the book, since a real understanding of what goes on in Hawaii cannot be had without it. A year or two of continuous residence in the islands while doing the research could have made an important difference in this regard.

Tourism's impacts on the physical landscape (Chapter 8) and the people of Hawaii (Chapters 9-11) follow. Farrell usefully traces the cycle of ecological impacts on land and shore in the construction and occupation of a resort, and then applies this basic cycle to Waikiki, the Ala Moana shopping center, and other specific sites. He argues that there are trade-offs in any development--in fact a theme of the book is that tourism has had both negative and positive impacts on Hawaii. The negative impacts on land and shore have been coral reef destruction, problems of beach access for local people, overstressing of energy and water resources, and destruction of local vegetation and soil. Characteristics of the people of Hawaii are discussed in Chapter 9. A brief history of Hawaii's settlement and brief descriptive accounts of the Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Filipinos, Caucasians, and Hawaiians today preface a consideration of social conflict in Hawaii. Little cultural understanding of these groups will be gained by reading Farrell's very general statements, which are focused more on these groups' perceptions of development impacts and their economic situation. An understanding of how tourism and development affect people requires a deeper cultural understanding of them. In fact, it is needed even to understand how they perceive what is happening to them.

Given Farrell's interest in human impacts, this chapter is very disappointing.

People are also the focus in Chapters 10 and 11, which deal with what happens when tourists and residents meet and direct human impacts from tourism. We learn that tourists have a very positive experience in Hawaii, but that few local people ever encounter tourists due to the way mass travel is packaged. Hawaiian residents have a generally negative view of tourists whether or not they work in the industry. Farrell argues that the greater the return from tourism, whether monetary or not, the more positive the receiver's response will be to it. He suggests that scale of development is also crucial--too many tourists in one place overwhelms it and leads to negative evaluations. He argues for education of tourists prior to their arrival through travel advertisements, books, newspaper and magazine articles, and public-affairs radio to increase their interest in and respect for the diversity of local cultures in Hawaii. Local alienation is well analyzed in this chapter. It is seen as proceeding from the islands' being small and distinct, thus visitors seem like intruders; from a special local cultural coherence, thus change is seen as a threat; from tourist leisure behavior, which contrasts with the local work ethic; from residents seeing themselves viewed as objects by outsiders; from the perception of tourists as wealthy; from fears that the local way of life is being destroyed by outside influences; and from the neo-colonial overtones embodied in the relationship of local people to Mainland *haoles* who control the major corporations.

Drawing on the Tourism Research Project currently underway in Hawaii., Farrell shows that tourism has had positive effects in the areas of culture and the arts, entertainment, social and cultural exchange, and outdoor recreational facilities. Its negative effects have included a dramatic increase in crime, vice, and morals issues; in human relations; in population and crowding, and in land and environment changes. Stress introduced by rapid development and dietary changes has negatively affected local health in such resort areas as Waikiki and Lahaina. Wages for tourism employees have been low, partly because many jobs are part-time. Meanwhile real estate values, taxes, and living costs have soared due to increased land valuation once development gets under way. As a result, low and moderate income families and young people have been priced out of the market. Strains on the quality of life, relocation of settlements due to development, battles local people have waged to prevent their eviction, rising crime, and the changing life style due to the wholesale importation of Mainland suburban shopping center style architecture, are explored in depth.

Farrell next discusses interest groups and the bureaucracy in relation to regulating tourism development. He argues that the current state of regulations in Hawaii creates a situation in which development is unnecessarily slowed down by red tape, driving prices up. Consolidation and streamlining of procedures is needed at all levels, and real substance must be put into regulations if they are to guarantee quality development. Makena, a Maui development horror story, is used to illustrate how a bad development plan went ahead, a product of bureaucratic entanglement.

The future of tourism in Hawaii is taken up in the final two chapters. Farrell argues that tourism is here to stay in Hawaii, despite the doom-sayers' predictions that energy costs and the destruction of the environment will price Hawaii out of the market. The fact is that Hawaii has the potential for increasing its market rather than shrinking it. For Hawaii, tourism can be the major indigenous source of income, given that agriculture is undependable. Tourism already employs one quarter of the state work force and has created a tax base sufficient to provide local people with good medical and educational facilities not possible otherwise. From a business point of view, tourism makes good use of available resources and contributes to a stable economy for investors. Farrell argues that public knowledge of tourism is needed in Hawaii, including education through research, public school programs, and "public enlightenment" in all forms. He believes that the future will bring better awareness and sensitivity on both sides of the tourist-resident equation and a greater concern for environment and resources, including design. But the future will also bring increased crowding and other pressures in Hawaii, growth of the industry on the neighbor islands, and soaring energy costs. For tourism to survive, industry leaders and planners will have to look beyond the standard resort format to design culture and creative tourist environments that correspond to changing lifestyles abroad. There is also the need to promote foreign markets, especially Europe, rather than continuing to rely on the U.S. Mainland.

Several themes recur throughout the book, clearly demonstrating Farrell's contention that tourism is a set of interlocking systems. These themes are: continuing agriculture is essential to a healthy tourist industry; a concept of balance should be an integral part of planning; the public, the government, and the tourism industry operators are together coequal components of the tourist industry; successful tourism can be expected in the future only if the public is deeply involved in every facet of planning and discussion; baseline research, continuous monitoring, and the setting of limits must be done now; and what has evolved as the Hawaii tourist industry is an expression of the interaction of an in-

troduced economic activity, limited resources, a unique environment, conflicting values, and numerous cultures. An understanding of all these themes would constitute for Farrell a prescription for a healthy tourism industry compatibly coexisting in a healthy Hawaii.

Farrell's book is written in a flowing style; statistics are there to ground the discussion, but they are worked into the text meaningfully and do not intrude in the form of page after page of charts. The book includes excellent notes to each chapter, a very useful index, and a superior selected bibliography (sources in the notes are often not included in the bibliography, so each serves separate functions). Farrell's own position supports tourism with reservations about aspects of its development. He succeeds in producing a balanced presentation of the steel ring puzzle which is tourism. A balanced presentation will not wholly satisfy everyone, but it will provide a comprehensive base for a new, more profound discussion of the issues.

Karen Ann Watson-Gegeo
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Norma Grieve and Patricia Grimshaw, eds. *Australian Women: Feminist Perspectives*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Australian Women: Feminist Perspectives has a unique place within women's studies in the Australian context; in scope, it is the most comprehensive volume published so far. Certainly, it is a very ambitious and commendable undertaking to present any collection of essays which range over so many diverse topics and disciplines. It is truly an "interdisciplinary" approach, with articles extending from a neuropsychological analysis of male and female brain structure to the role of widows in contemporary Australia. Primarily, the authors are derived from the social sciences--sociology, anthropology, history and psychology, with another group from education, theology, and literature.

The book is intended as a reader for tertiary level students in the field of Australian women's studies, and as such should prove by its scope and comprehensiveness to succeed as a sound introductory text. It is divided into three major conceptual areas: the origins of women's subordination (which addresses itself to the theological, biological, and psychological dimensions of women's oppression generally); forms and expressions of patriarchal power (which primarily analyze the role of Aboriginal women in

both traditional and colonial society as well as the roles of white women in both colonial and contemporary Australia) and, lastly, a weak section on the feminist analysis of subordination.

One of the difficulties posed by an edited volume like this is that while trying to break down the barriers of excessive specialization which render both the data and the argument comprehensible only to initiates in that discipline, it lacks the thematic unity of a book like *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonisation of Women in Australia* by Anne Summers. Therefore, it is often difficult in *Australian Women: Feminist Perspectives* to place with ease a particular article within the overall context. The two most successful articles, which to me overcome this unfortunate deficiency, are Ann Curthoy's "The Sexual Division of Labour under Capitalism" and Annette Hamilton's "A Complex Strategical Situation: Gender and Power in Aboriginal Australia."

Overall, the book really only does present "feminist perspectives" and it is singularly silent on the subject of feminism itself. It is a tame and safe volume, lacking the intensity and political commitment of earlier books like Summers'. But then, given its moderation and its subdued tone, it will admirably succeed as a general introductory text for both students and the general reader.

Kay Saunders
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Noeline V. Hall. *I Have Planted . . . : A Biography of Alfred Nesbit Brown*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: The Dunmore Press, 1981. Pp. 267, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index.

Much has been written lately about the negative and positive aspects of the work of missionaries. There appears to be general agreement that missionaries provided important ethnographic and linguistic information concerning the indigenous people among whom they had been sent to work. Missionaries, furthermore, saved many lives while acting as peacemakers among groups engaged in internecine conflicts. Their contribution to the preservation of native languages is undoubted, for one of their first self-set tasks was the translation of the Bible into the vernacular. On the other hand, missionaries have been accused of having been directly or indirectly involved in transforming indigenous cultures, making changes which many anthropologists, who tend to regard each culture and each society as a complete organic system, consider unfortunate. Nevertheless, one

could argue that while most indigenous people, like the Maori, valued their own culture, they were not reluctant to accept changes which they thought would improve their situation. The Maori, for instance, soon realized that availability of medical treatment, education for themselves and their children, better knowledge of agricultural methods and animal husbandry, and even cessation of intertribal hostilities could ensure them a better standard of living; they therefore began to listen to the message of the missionaries. They were, however, by no means passive "spectators" in the process of "christianization," often succeeding in manipulating the missionaries to achieve their own goals.

Against this background of critical reappraisal of missionary activities, it is particularly appropriate that Noeline Hall should have written a biography of Archdeacon Alfred Nesbit Brown. Brown, born in Colchester in 1803, joined the Church Missionary Society in 1827 and sailed with his bride to New Zealand in 1829. New Zealand at that time had not yet become a British colony but was administered by the governor of New South Wales. It was considered one of the most dangerous places in the Pacific, for a number of traders and seafarers had met with hostility, treachery, and murder at the hands of Maori warriors. Only after Samuel Marsden received a friendly welcome were the anxieties of would-be settlers allayed. Brown had been assigned by the C.M.S. to teach the children of other missionaries who had followed Marsden in the 1820s to Pahia in the Bay of Islands, the main center of missionary activities. However, the young clergyman's central concern was the conversion of the Maori. Until he was assigned to his own mission station, he served his apprenticeship under Henry and William Williams, who had gained the confidence of the local tribal chiefs. He accompanied them on some of their peace-making voyages, acquiring proficiency in the Maori language and gaining an insight into traditional tribal customs, which proved invaluable later in his career.

In 1834 Brown, in the company of William Williams, journeyed to the Waikato and Tauranga areas to select a suitable site for a mission station further south. They found just what they were looking for at Te Papa. Te Papa, now Tauranga, had been a fortified Maori *pa*, with an excellent crescent-shaped harbor, but it was unoccupied at the time of their visit. The former inhabitants had been surprised in a raid and the survivors had fled into the adjoining forests, leaving Te Papa deserted. However, over ten thousand Maori were believed to live in the vicinity and Brown undertook to take the gospel to the remotest Maori settlement in his district. At first he and his family lived in simple Maori-style rush huts. Later he built the fine stone house with four elegantly proportioned windows

flanked with dark brown venetian shutters, which still stands in a quiet suburban street in Tauranga. One of the most historic pieces of furniture at "The Elms," as the house is now called, is the oval mahogany table, which the Browns brought out with them from England. British officers who had been chosen to lead the attack on the Ngatiporou stronghold at Gate Pa on April 29, 1864, dined at that table on the eve of the battle. The following day all but Dr. Manley, the Army surgeon, were killed. Brown then had the sad task of burying his former guests.

During this battle, Brown must have had reason to be both encouraged and discouraged with regard to his missionary efforts. Brown could see some of the fruits of his missionary work among the Maori in their unusually generous treatment of the enemy, for the rules governing the fighting had been drawn up by a young mission student, Henare Taratoa, who was later killed in the battle for Te Ranga. The Ngatiporou warriors were credited with great chivalry and generosity to their enemies in this campaign. They tended the wounded British soldiers and assured others that if they fled "to the house of the priest," even though carrying arms, they would not be attacked. But while Brown endeavored to mediate between the British authorities and the Maori, assisting in the negotiations which led to peace, his missionary work received a severe setback as a consequence of this conflict. When the Maori once again dispersed, their desire to familiarize themselves with the gospel had considerably diminished; they no longer regarded missionaries as impartial mediators who had their interests at heart.

This was a bitter disappointment to Brown, who had traveled many miles on foot through rugged country and shown great courage and tenacity in his efforts to convert the Maori. During the 1840s and 50s he had high hopes of realizing his objectives. These he expressed in letters to his family and colleagues. He was a stubbornly single-minded man, determined to carry out his mission despite the obvious reluctance of the Maori to accept Christian teachings.

Noeline Hall's painstaking research clearly reveals the positive as well as the negative aspects of the process of "missionization." Having spent nearly fifty years with his flock, Brown knew their language well, and his biography provides us with invaluable insights into the steady deterioration of Maori-Pakeha relations. There can be no question that over time he began to feel greater sympathy for the Maori and intervened with the British, and later the New Zealand authorities, on their behalf. In times of peace the Archdeacon provided medical care and educational facilities for the Maori, settled local disputes, and prevented a number of raids.

On the negative side, however, one must admit that Brown, like the other missionaries, supported British colonial policies in New Zealand and was responsible for procuring the signatures of the leading chiefs in his district to the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. However, he lived to regret his contribution to the subjugation of the Maori, subsequently realizing that the settlers would wish to acquire more land than the Maori wanted to sell to the government, and that serious conflicts between the settlers, the government, and the Maori were likely to ensue. Indeed the missionaries, as Brown put it, were “placed in a delicate and difficult position”: the Maoris would ask their advice with regard to land sales making it difficult for the missionaries to fulfill their role as trusted friends of the Maori without offending the powers that be. Until he died he worked indefatigably to protect the Maori against exploitation by unscrupulous whites, mediating between his flock and the authorities. Nevertheless, he firmly believed that the only “real solution” to the problems of the Maori, “was a full commitment to God.”

Brown’s attitude towards Maori culture tended to be narrow and ethnocentric, for he failed to realize how deeply rooted their customs and behavior patterns were. Determined to eradicate “heathenish” practices, such as constant raiding, dancing, polygamy, and killing for revenge, he suffered many disappointments, particularly when he realized the superficial nature of some of the conversions he had effected.

His feelings about the teachings of the Wesleyan missionaries were unambiguous; he believed that their approach merely confused the Maori, emphasizing mysteries, visions, and dreams rather than “the plain heart-searching truths that meet us in every page of the word of God.” He also showed his hostility towards the activities of the Roman Catholic priests and catechists in his area, for the Maori in the Te Papa district displayed great interest in Catholic doctrines. Bishop Pompallier’s visit in 1840 resulted in a large number of putative conversions. But the Maori did not attempt to disguise their motives: they had heard that the Bishop would give blankets, as well as crucifixes, beads, and medals to all Catholic converts. The fact that the Catholic missionaries lived very simply on small sections of land which were granted but not sold to them by the Maori and took a tolerant view of long-established Maori customs such as wearing traditional flax skirts or dancing the *haka*, further contributed to their popularity.

As far as the question of land purchases was concerned, Brown ranged himself firmly on the side of the C.M.S., which limited to 2560 acres the amount of land that missionaries could purchase for their own use. Despite this, some of the missionaries, like Henry Williams, had bought addi-

tional land for their children. Brown, however, was quite adamant on the question of land claimants, showing an admirable integrity even where his friend Henry Williams was concerned; he himself purchased only about 1280 acres, for which he paid "at Sydney prices 73:10s."

I Have Planted . . . A Biography of Alfred Nesbit Brown is an invaluable contribution to nineteenth century New Zealand history. The author has made good use of her primary sources, providing many valuable insights into the relations between Brown and the other New Zealand missionaries and his changing attitudes towards the Maori. Despite the fact that after 1860 no continuous primary sources were available, Noeline Hall has been able to throw some light on Brown's role during the Maori wars and the post-war period. This is a scholarly, but eminently readable account of missionary activity in New Zealand, from its inception until 1884, when "the work of the C.M.S. had almost run its course in the missionary field." The positive as well as the negative aspects of Brown's efforts have been candidly assessed in terms of contemporary standards; his ascetic humorlessness and lack of tolerance, however, are balanced by the dedication he showed in his self-imposed task and his sympathy for the Maori's grievances in the later years of his stewardship. As the author herself puts it: "If judged by the standards and ideals of his own age, both spiritual and secular, Brown more than measures up to them, and by the end of his life has something to spare by our own standards."

Charlotte Carr-Gregg
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Bruce W. Hodgins, Don Wright, and W. H. Heick, eds. *Federalism in Canada and Australia: The Early Years*. Waterloo Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1979. Pp. xiv, 318. \$13.75.

There are many ways of knowing things, and the disputes of epistemologists ring to high heaven. To find comfort among so many contending camps is not easy. But ultimately, as we each carry our own world on our shoulders, so, too, our epistemologies and methodologies. Is this not written in Heidegger, Adler, Nietzsche and others? For this reviewer at least, there is nothing that matches history (*pace* Tolstoy) as a mode of coming close to the nature of social experience, and, of course, if

one can bring off a cross-cultural history, then so much richer the perspective.

This is precisely what the editor and contributors to this excellent collection of essays have achieved. In a cross-cultural history that looks to the dynamics of men, movements, change and the unpredictability of circumstance rather than sociologically irrelevant materialist theories to explain the interaction of politics and culture in two societies, they have thrown considerable light on the federal experience of Canada and Australia.

There are seventeen essays in this work; an introduction by the editor--Professor Hodgins--an epilogue, and in between, eight essays on Canada and seven on Australia. The title of the introduction ("The Plans of Mice and Men") and the title of the epilogue ("Canada and Australia: Continuing but Changing Federations") give the dominant themes, and the fifteen essays play out these themes with a cohesion unusual in symposia.

The editorial argument which sets the direction for the contributors is this: that the Founding Fathers of both Canada and Australia began with very different intentions in mind. The Canadians wanted to create not a federation, but a system in which the union would supervise the units, and protect the minorities. By contrast the Australian Founding Fathers wanted an arrangement which would give the greatest emphasis to states' rights. In neither case, however, did affairs take the course intended by the Founding Fathers. In each case, within a short period of time after union, a pattern emerged that reversed the founding intentions. By 1880 in Canada and 1914 in Australia, "the trend was significantly different." And today, "Canada is one of the most decentralized operative federations in the world, and Australia one of the more centralized ones."

How does it come about that the plans of mice and men turn about in such a way? Hodgins' answer is that "the reasons are complex and elusive, but primarily social and cultural." This is a sensible, if unexceptional answer. But if the answer begins with a generality, it does not end there. For both his introduction and the valuable contributions to the book give ample evidence how it came about that two nations, Canada and Australia, "'driven socially by comparable populist or democratic elements and without significantly amending their formal constitutions, . . . were switching sides within the federal spectrum."

Of Canada, I know too little to appraise Hodgins' argument. But what of Australia? Of the seven essays that treat of the Australian experience, two write on the genesis of the federal system, and the others deal with the centrifugal influences that brought the Commonwealth to mastery

and the states to their lowly condition. Much of the material is familiar. But to say this is to do little justice to the distinguished quality of the work. While the authors have trodden familiar paths, they have also re-examined many of the time-honored explanations with a refreshing iconoclasm. Indeed, there is little question that this group of essays have cleansed a great deal of deadwood from Australian federal history and in the process they have also beggared almost every kind of explanatory federal theory.

Norris, for example, in a notable essay on the factors that led to the Australian federation, lays to rest the ghost of the argument that military fear or siege neurosis had anything to do with persuading Australians to federate. If Norris is correct (and his evidence is very impressive), then he has destroyed with one stroke William Riker's binary theory of a military and expansionist drive to explain the beginnings of federation everywhere. Or again in the same vein of pinioning the fact-less tongues of polemicists, Eddy makes plain that the Australian states were not the creation of "Colonial Office clerks." He writes, "It has been fashionable to say that the Australian states had their origins in arbitrary lines drawn on the map by Colonial Office clerks, but this does scant justice to the very real dilemmas faced by nineteenth century administrators."

And so from Norris' and Eddy's introductory essays the following five chapters on Australia spell out in great detail how by the exercise of their powers alone, not by constitutional reform, the Commonwealth came to be master and the states supplicants. Thus, whether it is Wright's discussion on the use of the purse, or Tanner's chapter on the introduction of military conscription, or Eddy on the influence of imperial sentiment, or Norris on Labor's pressure on the constitution to yield up ameliorative industrial policies, it becomes very plain that, in the circumstances, the center of gravity had to move to those who held the purse strings, or to those who were constitutionally obligated to defend the country, or to those who had to decide what nature of people would be allowed to enter and inhabit the country. It wasn't necessarily so. There is--*pace* James Bryce--no social physics here. But this was the way that politicians and circumstances aided and abetted the gravitational pull in this instance.

It is a pity that the concluding chapter is not quite up to the very high standard of the previous chapters. They deserved a less hurried and more reflective conclusion. But so satisfying is everything that has gone before that it is a minor disappointment. In the main this work makes a notable contribution to the rewriting of the Australian federal experience. And if, as one may assume from Professor Hodgins' disciplined editorship that the Canadian material is of the same quality, then this work must become in-

dispensable to anyone who wants to see this incredibly chaotic world of Federalism as it is, rather than through the plastic models of positivist federal theory.

S. R. Davis
Monash University

Christine Holmes, ed. *Captain Cook's Final Voyage: The Journal of Midshipman George Gilbert*. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1982. 168 pp. \$20.00.

Captain James Cook's final (and fateful) venture of 1776-1780 has long been one of the best documented of all voyages of exploration and discovery, thanks to the publicizing efforts of the British government and scholars like Beaglehole, as well as the far-reaching importance of the expedition's accomplishments. Up to a dozen partial or complete accounts are extant in manuscript or published form.

Now comes yet another journal--only some of which was previously published by Beaglehole--from the pen of young George Gilbert, a midshipman on the *Resolution*. The journal is short, objective, quite straightforward, even unadorned. But it adds little to what is already known of the third voyage, corroborating the tedium of protracted anchorages, the rigors of routine duty, the attractive islanders and the natural beauty and bounty of the South Seas, the forbidding shoreline and unattractive natives of the Northwest Coast, the hardships and frustration of probing twice and vainly for a northwest passage, and the primitive conditions, indolence, and generous hospitality of Kamchatka's Russians.

At times Gilbert is disappointingly cursory, as at Nootka Sound and Macao. But he is not uncritical. In particular, he notes his aging commander's shortening temper, increasing fatigue, and uncustomary harshness, all of which proved his undoing at Kealakekua Bay. Cook's unnecessary cruelty was displayed on the Tongan and Society Islands, where he ordered ears cut off and houses burned down as punishment for persistent petty theft. Given such treatment, plus hostage-taking (in order to regain deserters), the depletion of food supply by purchase and requisition, debauchery, and the introduction of disease (venereal and tubercular), rats, grog, tobacco, and Christianity, it is a wonder that more Pacific islanders did not perish and more Euroamerican interlopers were not killed. Gilbert himself was relieved when the "long, tedious and disagreeable voyage" was over.

The journal has been ably introduced but exiguously annotated. The editor has dropped the 'd ending on past participles in favor of *ed* but, curiously, retained *tho'*, *tutching*, and *pervilent*. She has supplied helpful margin headings, but an index would have been more useful.

James R. Gibson
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R. L. Kirk, *Aboriginal Man Adapting: The Human Biology of Australian Aborigines*. (Research Memographs on Human Population Biology) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. \$57.00.

Aboriginal Man Adapting is an impressive and comprehensive survey and synthesis of the very diverse and often difficult-of-access literature dealing with the human biology and ecology of Australian Aborigines. In this respect Professor Kirk's book is a remarkable and particularly welcome achievement and could well serve as an excellent text for courses covering a broader environmental, anthropological, or human geographical approach to Australia. The book very lucidly treats oftentimes complex and disciplinary-specific topics, with current and well-informed discussion of varying perspectives and a judicious use of easy-to-follow maps, graphs and tables. The temporal perspective necessary for such an adaptive consideration of human biological history in Australia is, of course, encompassing. The author manages to render the past 100,000 years of environmental change in Australia, and consequent human adaptive implications, both interesting and informative to professional and layman alike.

Some of the more interesting and provocative issues addressed include the effect of human subsistence activity in altering the floral and faunal balance in Pleistocene Australia, the extent to which Aborigines became physically and genetically diversified across the continent, the consequences of culture contact and change on traditional adaptive strategies, traditional and contemporary health, diet and nutrition, alcohol metabolism, and the interface between biological and cultural adaptations. These often controversial subjects are treated in an objective and even-handed manner, with the discussion substantially promoting synthesis and an enlightened understanding of the issues. Material relating to recent research in the Arnhem Land region of the Northern Territory is particularly well represented and affords the reader a genuine and de-

tailed appreciation of the nature and circumstances of traditionally oriented communities living in this region.

There is an inevitable problem in so encompassing a review; certain areas must receive cursory and less knowledgeable treatment. Given that the principal focus of the book and the disciplinary orientation of the author is human biology, it is neither surprising nor particularly damning to note that those areas receiving relative, albeit for the most part benign, neglect are social and cultural context and psychological considerations relating to developmental comparisons, perceptual and cognitive processes and contemporary adaptation demands. The fact that social and cultural context not only mediate and reflect adaptive response but themselves constitute environmental adaptive pressures, is unfortunately not pursued.

Those areas where this too-brief coverage is particularly problematic include a three-page discussion of mental and cognitive abilities in the chapter dealing with growth and development, an equally brief discussion of Aboriginal mental health in the chapter dealing with changing patterns of health, the summary description and analysis of contemporary settlement life, and transition circumstances faced by traditionally oriented communities today. With respect to Aboriginal "mental and cognitive abilities," for example, there is a very inadequate discussion of measurement problems, to say nothing of equally problematic issues of sampling and administration. Since there may be questionable construct validity of such tests and the many problems of interpretation of such cross-cultural findings, it would have been better to have at least more fully discussed the complexity of these issues. It is noteworthy that the references cited to the relevant Australian literature are drawn with one exception from two edited volumes, and no reference is made to a very substantial, current and particularly relevant cross-cultural literature in this area. There now appear to exist many significant cross-cultural differences relating to cognitive processing and "style." The Australian research is particularly noteworthy in this respect; the specific role of cultural context and the ultimate meaning of these differences, however, is far from clear.

The brief summary of the mental health of Aboriginal communities, while qualified, leaves an impression of a very high incidence of psychiatric disorder, with insufficient discussion of causal context, within-culture perspective, and problems of cross-cultural diagnosis. Comments relating to the possible confusion between sorcery and schizophrenic symptoms underscore the inadequacy of general understanding in this area and perhaps the inapplicability of some western diagnostic models and assumptions. A more meaningful consideration of mental health would require some basic distinctions between individual adjustment

problems, conflicts and competence, and collective community competence and adjustment. These in turn would need to be considered in the context of traditional institutional breakdown, majority culture interventions and dependencies, and cumulative adaptation demands. The "learned helplessness" which results from chronic frustration, communication breakdown and intransigent other-culture assumptions and settings, for example, can be too readily diagnosed as individual and cultural disorder rather than on a situationally prescribed and institutionally mandated adaptive stance. The nature of health, human settlements and culture contact are so intertwined as to require a fuller treatment of the adaptation demands and dilemmas faced by traditionally oriented Aboriginals living in contemporary settlement and fringe circumstances. Considerable controversy surrounds issues of general and mental health in Aboriginal communities today; this is not made clear in the too brief coverage of these topics in the book, nor are the issues themselves addressed.

Other areas of omission which one could argue are of particular relevance to the stated scope and objectives, include the nature and role of traditional versus contemporary built environments in mediating environmental and cultural adaptation demands and the overriding importance of land rights and tenure for traditionally oriented Aboriginal communities. There is a growing and noteworthy literature addressing issues of housing, mining, road construction, land rights and general social and cultural environmental impact assessment which bears a necessary and important relationship to larger issues of human ecology and adaptive wisdom. It is, however, difficult to find too much fault with such a well written and documented synthesis of an already unmanageable and vast literature.

Joseph P. Reser
James Cook University

Hal B. Levine and Marlene Wolfzahn Levine, *Urbanization in Papua New Guinea, A Study of Ambivalent Townsmen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. Cloth \$24.50, Paper \$10.95.

Jean Rouch's fascinating film, *Jaguar*, concerns the adventures of three young Songhai men, who, at the request of Rouch, travel from their village in the hinterlands to Accra, the capital of Ghana. Although the three are total strangers to the urban scene, they quickly find jobs that suit them, and almost immediately, or so it seems from the film, are taken up and into the rhythm, style, and strategies of a distinctly urban milieu. The

film may be more Rouch's creation than documentary fact, but what is vividly expressed through the responses of the three men to their new situation, is that the city, although perplexing, is neither foreign, isolating, or hostile.

More than once, as I read *Urbanization in Papua New Guinea, A Study of Ambivalent Townsmen* (town dwellers?), by Hal B. Levine and Marlene Wolfzahn Levine, the memory of Rouch's camera shots crystallized differences between the West African urban experience and that of Papua New Guinea. As Levine and Levine note, such comparisons have roots in different colonial histories and pre-colonial political organizations. In visualizing Rouch's images, however, the major theme of the Levines' Papua New Guinea study became all the more dramatic. The contrast between Accra's marketplaces and, for example, the Koki Market in Port Moresby exemplifies the Levines' position that the colonial experience in Papua New Guinea prohibited the development of a distinct urban identity and ideology.

Few will come away from Levines' study (based on the authors' own field research in Port Moresby and Mount Hagen, and including research studies by others on urban Papua New Guinea) without recognizing the sharp split between a Western notion of urbanization and rural villagers' responses to town living. Examining the processes of social interaction that create the milieu in which urban dwellers find themselves, the authors "distinguish two sets" or levels of urban life in which, and through which, urban dwellers organize themselves. The two major chapters in the book, "Security: Primary Social Relationships in Towns," and "Formal Institutions in the Wider Urban Field," spell out the complexities inherent in these "two sets."

In the former, kinship ties and the Wantok system create primary links within urban situations. Such links, rooted in rural ties, have resulted in what the authors regard as the development of urban ethnicity. In this way, clan and village allegiances and connections provide an urban route through which rural villagers moving into towns find access to jobs and living quarters. The inefficacy of formal institutions, such as voluntary associations, and business and administrative networks, to grow strong enough to cross-cut these primary patterns of social interaction, directly contributes to the expansion and growing strength of rural identities. Thus, the authors conclude that while some departures from the colonial urban situation have occurred, in general, the promotion of an urban consciousness of class distinctions, occupational hierarchies, or the formation of a "national tradition," has not taken place.

The Levines' study provides an important synthesis of the problems inherent in contemporary Papua New Guinea urbanization. The issues raised in this study should become the springboard for continued urban research. Of high priority should be whether the strength of primary ties is totally the result of colonial isolation of Papua New Guineans from urban centers contributing to the subsequent lack of urban identity, or whether the urban situation presents yet one more example of the strength and resiliency of what it means to be a member of a particular local group.

Equally high on a list of priorities should be issues concerning the relationship between the national and provincial governments, as this is affecting the growth of towns that are much closer, geographically and socially, to rural contacts. The Levines' study concentrates almost exclusively on the effects of colonialism and its relation to urban lifestyles. With a policy of decentralization, however, and with both the national and provincial governments' involvement in development projects that affect both rural and urban areas, the organization and the ideology of urban life is becoming increasingly more complex.

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Mac Marshall, ed., *Siblingship in Oceania: Studies in the Meaning of Kin Relations*. Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania Monograph No. 8. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1981. Pp. 421, figures, tables, references, list of contributors. \$32.75.

Whatever one may think of the kinship theory set forth in this book, the volume contributors have made a concerted effort to focus ethnographic and analytical attention upon the special importance of sibling relationships in a variety of Pacific cultures.

Much of Chapter 1 is devoted to a discussion of the contrasts between the "extensionist" and the "cultural category" approaches to the study of kinship. The first of these assumes that human relationships are founded upon the universal recognition of biological affinities between parents and children. Anthropologists who subscribe to this approach find no difficulty in saying that kinship relationships and terminologies can be described and analyzed with reference to both genealogies and the linguistic labels used to classify persons variously identified as relatives or non-relatives. The cultural category approach presumes that people in different

cultures operate with categories of contextual meaning that may or may not parallel the conceptual categories commonly used by anthropologists. The two approaches, as many of the volume contributors inadvertently demonstrate, are in reality not dichotomous.

John Kirkpatrick's description of Marquesan siblingship (Chapter 2) and Julia Flecht's analysis of the cultural contexts of siblingship in Pukapuka (Chapter 3) together serve to illustrate how the cultural category approach may lead to the excessive use of local terms or, worse, the coining of such neologisms as, for example, "consociate," "cognized social order," "field of cognized action," or "biogenetic kin."

Judith Huntsman (Chapter 4) begins the analysis of Tokelauan sibling relationships with a brief discussion of kinship terms and usages. This is followed by descriptions of how siblingship is both portrayed in folktales and idealized in the public orations of village elders. She extends the analysis to data on proprietorship (siblings have interests in exactly the same realty) and, finally, discusses how the obligations of sibling reciprocity and altruism seem even to endure among Tokelauan migrants to New Zealand.

Richard Feinberg's essay on Anutan kinship (Chapter 5) shows how either genealogical or behavioral features may be used to qualify a person for kinship status. Such status, incidentally, is mandatory on Anuta Island since anyone outside the kinship system is either viewed with suspicion or treated as an outright enemy. It would seem, therefore, that anthropological kinship theorists from either persuasion could independently draw the same conclusions from Feinberg's presentation of the Anutan data. While this says something interesting about the principles of Anutan social organization, it also reflects favorably upon Feinberg's skills as an ethnographer.

Although Bernd Lambert confines his study of Gilbertese (Kiribati) sibling relationships to Butaritari and Makin Islands (Chapter 6) his generalizations apply equally well to other Gilbert Islands. The Gilbertese unambiguously define siblings in terms of precise genealogical relationships. Schneider's comments (pp. 399-400) about Lambert's list of kinship terms are immaterial. Gilbertese siblings share similar interests in parental estates (like the Tokelauans) and they often reside together on the same estate.

Mac Marshall (Chapter 7) and DeVerne Reed Smith (Chapter 8) discuss siblingship in Trukese and Palauan cultures, respectively. Both cultures are organized around matrilineal descent groups. Marshall points out how sibling-set marriages, together with both levirate and sororate types of secondary marriage, reduce the stress produced by the inherent

conflicts between matrilineal descent group membership and the maintenance of strong ties between husband and wife. Smith also concludes that cross-sibling sets help to stabilize social relationships between members of different matrilineal descent groups.

Many of the pedantic arguments about the significance of descent principles versus siblingship dissolve in the unique logic of the Kaulong of New Britain. As described by Jane Goodale in Chapter 9, the Kaulong have institutionalized widow strangulation to a point where reluctance to carry out the act by the woman's brothers is viewed as the failure to perform a social duty. Although the logic is both novel and complex, it is evident from the data that widow strangulation automatically confers parenthood status upon the surviving sibling. In this way the Kaulong child receives his or her social identity from a set of cross-siblings.

The sibling theme is muted in Robert Rubinstein's discussion of Malo culture (Chapter 10). The data show how the predominance of Malo men in all social and political relationships place both women and siblings backstage.

Although Robert McKinley (Chapter 11) has gone to great lengths to explore different theoretical problems, he does not bother to inform the reader about the location, size, or any other characteristics of the population from which the data were collected. It seems insufficient to simply refer to the study population as "Malay" when, in fact, the author has made an earnest effort both to link theoretical problems with ethnographic data and to test some of his hypotheses with quantitative data. Despite the omission of some customary ethnographic facts, it must be said that McKinley makes good use of case materials to define different kinds of sibling interaction.

While David Schneider himself may decline to be contextually defined as one of the principal architects of "the contextual approach," his concluding and critical comments deserve careful study. He perceives many shortcomings in the various chapters but attributes these to the broad scope of the holistic study of culture. He neglects to consider, as do most of the individual authors, that the contextual approach to siblingship must be linked to an explicit methodology if the results are to be viewed as either reliable or valid. Readers must, therefore, be content to share Schneider's feelings that one emerges from reading this volume aesthetically illuminated, enlightened, and informed (p. 395).

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Captain Henry Byam Martin, ed. Edward Dodd, *The Polynesian Journal of Henry Byam Martin*, Salem, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1981. Pp. 200, illustrations. \$16.95.

The competition for place in the Pacific led Great Britain and France in the 1830s and 1840s into excursions for dominance in New Zealand, the Marquesas, Tahiti and Hawaii. In rapid succession Great Britain annexed New Zealand in 1840, France established a protectorate over the Marquesas and Tahiti in 1842, and both contended over the status (independence or French protectorate) of the Leeward Islands of the Societies for the next few years. During the same period, the Hawaiian Kingdom was under cession to Great Britain for several months in 1843.

Sometimes the expansionist imperative was advanced by naval officers acting beyond the intentions of their governments. Such was the case in Hawaii when the British government reversed the actions of Lord George Paulet. Other naval officers interpreted their general instructions in accord with their government's objectives. So did Admiral Abel Du Petit-Thouars in the Marquesas and Tahiti. The French cabinet confirmed the protectorates. Moreover, the British government accepted the fact.

In Tahiti, however, Queen Pomare, many of the chiefs, and the mass of the people, resisted the new relationship. They were supported by Europeans and Americans in the islands, and by many of the commanders of British warships that stopped there during the period. By 1844 chiefs and warriors were established in camps in inaccessible valleys in the center of the island. Queen Pomare removed to the Leeward Islands and persisted in appealing to the British to help restore Tahitian sovereignty. In Pape'ete, Captain Armand-Joseph Bruat began the process of establishing the administrative organization of the new French dependency. He was also compelled to consider the continuing diplomatic and military problems of reluctant and resisting foreigners and indigenous peoples. French control was finally solidified by the end of 1846 when the French were led by a Tahitian to a path whereby they could penetrate the native defenses and force the surrender of the chiefs. By February of 1847 Pomare had returned to Tahiti and had accepted the protectorate.

Many scholarly studies have examined the period in terms of international rivalry in the Pacific and of European diplomacy. The internal history of French Polynesia has been discussed in detail in Colin Newbury's excellent work, *Tahiti Nui* (1980). For the scholar and student of these small Pacific principalities, a comprehensive study is still dependent upon these works.

Yet how impoverished Hawaiian and Pacific history would be without the private journals and artistic renditions of people who were there. The characterization of people, the observations of culture, the attitudes of the writer, the comments on European political policies, the details about Polynesian societies, all these rich fragments have increased our understanding.

The present publication by the Peabody Museum of Salem of the Polynesian excerpt of Captain Henry Byam Martin, R.N., accompanied by twenty-one color reproductions of his paintings and many black and white copies of his drawings and sketches, is of this genre. It is a beautifully designed and executed volume and a superb addition to a Hawaiian and Pacific library.

Martin, in command of HMS *Grampus*, was sent to Tahiti by way of Honolulu in the summer of 1846. At the Hawaiian Islands he met Sir George Seymour for further instructions. Two weeks later he left for Tahiti where he remained until the summer of 1847. Thus, he was in the islands during the crucial period of the end of the native war and the acceptance of the protectorate.

What role did Martin play? His instructions appear to have been to protect Great Britain's interests and those of her nationals, to be conciliatory to Governor Bruat and to convince the Tahitians that Great Britain would not support their cause against the French. Perhaps he was also instructed to persuade Pomare to accept the French protectorate. His position was important but not essential to a resolution of the current issues. Thus, while Martin was a participant he was also an observer and an emissary of peace and friendliness rather than an activist enforcing policy.

Could it be, then, that he was the perfect observer, the objective, unprejudiced narrator? Hardly! Captain Martin was an example of the man confident of his and his culture's preeminence. His opinion of indigenous peoples and their cultures was filtered through his assumption of the superiority of the British upper class. Polynesian clothes, food, behavior, dance, and customs he considered barbaric and gross. His portraiture of Hawaiian and Tahitian leaders was done as caricature to point out their savage or comic appearance. For the seeker of glowing positive descriptions of Polynesian societies Martin's journal is not the depository.

Yet paradoxically Martin achieved a certain objectivity just because of the narrowness of his vision. For if he was critical of indigenous peoples, he was also captious about the French, English and Americans who did not meet his standards of class and culture. He found missionaries, merchants and bureaucrats lacking in grace and integrity. Few were gentle people to him.

The reader, then, is able to absorb the text and search the illustrations for information to use as part of a broad examination of Hawaii and the Pacific. With this in mind the work has much to offer. The most important material can be found in the illustrations. Clothes, tattoos, houses, canoes, places, all add to the collection of ethnographic material identifying cultural change and continuity.

Second, as a contemporary recorder, Martin through his descriptions and his drawings delineated the moment and its events, the place, and its vitality. His report of his tours framed the specific places in that time. The Tahitians in canoes, the woman with "murder" tattooed across her face and the Tahitians puffing on their pipes, pictured a lively culture. His sketch of a woman dancing had her moving across the paper in vibrant action.

Third, the imperialist point of view of the author presaged the ultimate political disposition of Pacific groups. His view of the area was in terms of spheres of influence, dominance, and control by Britain, France or the United States. In casual comments he seemed to exemplify the attitude which would result in the policies which would eventually engulf the islands.

Finally, Martin's impressions and factual entries added one more source to the history of the time. From him we learn the name of the Tahitian who led the French against his people. His characterization of Pomare, however limited by his prejudices, was at least immediate and authentic.

Martin was no romantic, falling on the thorns of life and bleeding over the fate of a culture and its people. Rarely was he caught by the beauty of his surroundings, according to the journal entries. But look again at the village scenes where distance diluted personality. Then Martin was able to render great detail of place but to keep to impressions of people. Look particularly at the panoramic views of Pape'ete, Borabora and Mo'orea. There emerges from these scenes a sense of peace, haunting beauty, quiet charm and exotic beings. Perhaps Martin was, after all, the supreme romantic.

The present edition was made possible after a collection of over one hundred of Martin's paintings and drawings of Polynesia was found in a family home in England. His journal was located in the British Library. A selection of the art and the excerpt from the journal were put together effectively by Edward Dodd. Other than a couple of omissions, the notes are adequate and placed unobtrusively at the end of the work. Perhaps it would have been helpful if Martin's instructions had been included and

interesting if the collection of paintings and drawings had been described more fully in the introduction. But no matter. The work as is is a fine publication.

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W. H. Oliver and B. R. Williams, eds., *The Oxford History of New Zealand*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. Pp. 572, tables, maps, index. \$39.95.

Composite volumes on African or Asian history are also studies in self-awareness by professional historians formed in the new states. So it has been with much of New Zealand's historiography. Over eighty years ago William Pember Reeves, the country's first intellectual (he would have deplored the term) pioneered the effort of New Zealand writers and historians to overcome their British legacy and come to terms with their environment in his *Story of New Zealand*. The book had a lasting influence on the main themes of the colonization period and attitudes to Maoris (heroic adversaries) and left a tradition of Liberal "radicalism" as the mainspring of the social welfare practiced by a small democracy. The analysis in terms of settler advances and legislation for security served the country until the end of the 1920s, when it was eroded by the depression.

A second historiographical advance by professional historians in the late 1950s centered on two books by Keith Sinclair and W. H. Oliver which embodied general accounts of the country's settlement and growth from differing standpoints. Sinclair's *History of New Zealand* (1961) emphasized the influence of the local environment; Oliver's *Story of New Zealand* (1960) made more of the British cultural baggage imported with the settlers. It is curious that neither book, though widely read abroad, features in the bibliography of sources used in this volume by a generation of younger historians. For, with a few exceptions, the contributors to the *Oxford History* belong to a school of academic teachers and researchers formed in the 1950s, and they draw on a vastly improved accumulation of published and unpublished materials. They are aware that the prosperous years may be over in a society more open to protest in extra-parliamentary ways. Their mood is introspective and soberly cautious about judgments on the recent performance of the welfare state.

Their *History* will be judged abroad, however, for its exposition of the main lines of social, economic, and political change over the past 200

years and for its reinterpretation of previous work. For Americans and Pacific islanders the Kiwi viewpoint has a special interest. New Zealand was a group of Pacific islands settled by Europeans with results that have much in common with other Pacific communities down to about 1840. Thereafter, colonization and responsible government within a British imperial framework mark the country's extraordinary progress economically and politically as a dependency and an autonomous state. It did not go the way of Latin American states; nor did it become a republic or even join with other Australian colonies at the period of federation. It is uniquely parochial within the South Pacific.

The sixteen chapters of the book which must account for this successful democracy with its patchy race relations and very high standard of living are grouped in four major sections to cover the four chronological periods of the country's settlement and progress. Divisions between sections turn on the crisis periods of the 1840s and the two depressions of the 1890s and the 1930s, all of which heralded periods of conflict and political change. Within each section contributors have been disciplined to concentrate on political, economic, social or Maori history. There is a concluding chapter by the editor summarizing the contribution of the arts and literature to a sense of identity in contemporary New Zealand society.

The value of this structure is that we are given a fairly complete economic or political history as chapters are read in sequence. There is some overlap, but not enough to disturb a student of New Zealand's social history or race relations who can browse through three or four chapters without distraction by political historians or economists. It is difficult to justify the description of "social history" claimed for the book in the editor's introduction, however, because only three chapters are devoted to this theme. Two of these by Erik Olssen and Graeme Dunstall on the demographic and social changes from 1890 to the 1970s are solid expositions based on statistical materials, while the earlier chapter by Jeanine Graham on settler society is impressionistic and lacks an account of the origins of immigrants, their values, and their social mobility within the rapidly changing regional economies of the mid-nineteenth century. It is clear that New Zealand history still requires a thorough study of its earliest Australian, British and other elements, before natural increase and the locally born changed the pattern of population growth from the 1880s.

The conclusions reached by Olssen and Dunstall, however, stress the homogeneity of rural and urban communities by the end of the century, despite some radicalism in the depression years, curbed by state inter-

vention and the industrial legislation of the Liberals as well as the quiet revolution in expectations fostered by rising prices, refrigeration, guaranteed markets in Britain and adequate credit at home for communications and closer settlement by small farmers. They also stress that problems of reconstruction after the early 1890s were primarily ones of affluence in a society which was increasingly employed in the service sector and whose income derived from wages and salaries to a greater degree than income from farming and investment. Given this paradox from about 1900 that smaller numbers of richer farmers supported greater numbers of blue and white collar workers, both contributors have trouble applying "class" terminology to a society which refused to believe in conflict theory and which stressed consensus behavior in its higher income groups and left a good deal of personal initiative to its mobile work force to change occupations and adopt the lifestyles so carefully imported from Edwardian England. There were occasional challenges to this consensus from industrial workers and a general acceptance that the state had to save society from the worst effects of the 1930s. But New Zealand's version of the "New Deal" contained a far greater acceptance of state control than America's, and this approach to the problem of disadvantage and misfortune was not really questioned until minority counter-culture protesters made their challenge in the 1960s, when politicians' ability to deliver the security taken for granted from 1938 began to fail.

The reasons for this failure were primarily economic. Economic themes provide some of the best historical writing in the volume, and it is not too much to claim that a good deal of New Zealand history will be reinterpreted in the light of the contributions by W. J. Gardner who covers the "Colonial Economy" and Tom Brooking and G. R. Hawke who deal with two separate periods from the 1890s and the 1930s. Gardner's chapter makes clear why early hopes for revenue from Crown preemptive rights over Maori land foundered in financial debt and absentee speculation, leaving the North Island land market in confusion and conflict. Early development, such as it was, depended on South Island runholders and provincial governments with close control over indirect taxes. It is clear (as it was not in older histories) that colonial banking, joint stock ventures, and mortgage finance took root very quickly, providing the essential business infrastructure to the state borrowing of the Vogel period. Taken together with Brooking's analysis of the reasons for farming efficiency at the end of the century, the gradual shift to the tertiary sector and political control of the country's reserve bank in 1933, following devaluation, the economic history sections are required reading for students of other developing societies in Asia or Latin America.

Gary Hawke's contribution on the growth of the economy from 1938 tackles the different historical problem of explaining why the Labour policy of insulating the economy from the effects of cheap imports, while maximizing exports in conditions of full employment, faltered and failed under successive governments. The underlying growth trends were remarkable, while inflation was held down and international prices were favorable; and there was a surprising shift to new trading partners and expansion of manufactures for export by the end of the 1960s. It would seem, however, that the price of goods and services traded internally rose more than external trade; diversification created regional disparities and political problems, as labor drifted North; the system of licensing rather than imposing tariffs in the Australian style gave the governments of the day influence but not control over the economy. The argument is incomplete (Just why were internal costs so high relative to GNP?) and will be debated by other economic historians, particularly as there is no adequate study yet of the role of the budget in New Zealand's fiscal and trading history. But the broad trends of prosperity and borrowing, recession and retrenchment from 1870 till the oil crisis of the 1970s are clear enough and this is a major advance in New Zealand historiography.

So much so that the chapters on political history can be read as a commentary on the efforts of coteries of farmers, businessmen and labor leaders to preserve the benefits of dependency, while claiming autonomous controls over domestic policies and enlarging their power base by forming true political parties from the 1890s. A chapter by Raewyn Dalziel skillfully narrates the well-known establishment of responsible government stressing the politics of jobbery rather than the evolution of an unwritten constitution. Len Richardson deals with the Liberals drawing on more recent work on elections and makes clear why they refused to accept all the implications of Reeves' program and why Massy's Reform party kept ahead of Labour's rising vote for so long. Robert Chapman balances his account of Labour's triumph in 1935 with new material on the reorganization of the conservatives (National), as the country reached the limits of socialization in a mixed economy.

By the 1950s and 1960s there were signs that the political system was incapable of radical change as neither party swung the marginal seats very far, and New Zealanders were content to reap the benefits of wartime and post-war prices and expanded health and education services, while their trading economy became more uncertain, as Britain entered the EEC. Chapman faults Labour on electoral tactics. But there were wider issues and the "golden 1960s" marked a change in New Zealand's external position, just as its political system was tested by internal protest

movements and Labour was trounced. It is a major weakness in the whole of this volume that so little is written about the influence of foreign policy on domestic history, and the rather lame excuse offered in the introduction that the theme has been "thoroughly explored elsewhere" does not meet the requirement of a general history to cover all aspects of the country's development. Imperial relations, two world wars, participation in decolonization in Western Samoa and the international policies of a small power in the United Nations are as much a part of New Zealand's history as sheep farming and of critical importance to its society's self-awareness.

As one might expect, race relations are generously covered in five chapters which will be of special interest to students of the Pacific. Janet M. Davidson makes a thorough analysis of the archeological evidence for 900 years of Polynesian settlement, carefully stressing regional variations and avoiding any stereotype of a "generalised New Zealander." This emphasis on the variety of Maori regional communities and their response to external contact is continued by J. M. R. Owens in a chapter on European trade and settlement before 1840. Owens questions earlier conclusions about the incidence of depopulation and "anarchy" without entirely reconciling this revisionist viewpoint with his own descriptions of the effects of firearms and warfare. But the all-purpose "noble" Maori of Grey, Reeves, Best and others has clearly been banished along with his cannibalism which we are told "left a serious gap in diet" (p. 39). The period of land purchase and the wars is analyzed by Ann Parsonson and M. P. K. Sorrenson with some repetition, but from slightly differing standpoints and contains greater detail than many standard accounts of the ambiguities of the Treaty of Waitangi and settler infiltration and conquest.

"Neither peasants nor yet proletarians," the Maoris retreated in the last decades of the nineteenth century from other mainstreams of New Zealand development and remained a marginal rural community whose demographic revival and economic integration are thoughtfully described by Michael King. King's chapter explains why a general ethnic identity became more important than Maori tribal identity, and he touches on the economic variety in Maori subsistence and cash farming ventures which were improved by state aid and Maori leadership in the 1920s. There is important new material on the effects of wartime recruitment and Maori self-help in political organization just when rapid urbanization from the 1940s created new tensions between the races which have not yet been fully resolved.

Altogether, then, this *History*, which is handsomely produced in its *taniko* designed dust cover, meets the requirements for any general study

of a nation state in terms of its internal development. The latest research is incorporated; and the exposition of internal themes is clearly structured with excellent maps and tables where necessary. The notes are adequate as references, but there is needless repetition of bibliographical sources in the works listed by chapter. The absence of a chapter on New Zealand's place in the world must be a matter of regret and a serious weakness for the chapters on the economy. One misses, too, an account of the civil service, its origins and structure in a state which is so dependent on the administration of effective agricultural and welfare programs and which has produced an efficient foreign service. A future generation of New Zealand historians may take external affairs more seriously in their explanation for domestic success or failures, but their debt to this summation of historical writing to date will be in no way lessened.

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Thomas J. Osborne. *"Empire Can Wait": American Opposition to Hawaiian Annexation, 1893-1898*. Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1981. Pp. xv, 200, bibliography. \$18.00.

America's first great political debate in the acquisition of overseas territories "did not begin in 1898, as so many historians have assumed, but in 1893" in the wake of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy led by expatriate Americans. Such is the contention of the author in his examination of the political and journalistic literature on the issues. Osborne's study, the first which "concentrates on the resistance to the acquisition of Hawaii," focuses on the ideology of those individuals and organizations which felt that the annexation of Hawaii would be a serious departure from the vision of America as the "archetype of the virtuous republic" as originally contemplated by the Founding Fathers. Though there were more pragmatic motivations against Hawaiian annexation, the main concern of the anti-imperialists over the question was American expansion into areas considerably beyond its Pacific boundaries.

In his evaluative examination, Osborne makes several important challenges to long-standing notions on the annexation issue. First, the view that the contending forces in the annexation debate differed little, if at all, on the subject of commercial expansion and race. To the contrary, the author cites varied viewpoints. Some, it seems, viewed the native Hawaiian population as "ignorant and brutal" and thus opposed the absorption of

“this variegated agglomeration of the fag-ends of humanity” into the American Union. Contrarily, others viewed the Polynesian population as “a kind and gentle and humane people.” Hawaii’s Oriental communities were likewise viewed in contradictory terms, with some seeing them as a “leprous” people, and yet others viewing the Island Chinese as “enterprising.” Though it is difficult to determine whether concepts of race followed or predetermined the position on the annexation issue, it was clear that such views played an integral part in the overall debate. In commercial terms, West Coast sugar interests opposed annexation as a threat to their economic interests, while pro-annexationists argued that annexation would improve the American trade position in the Pacific.

Aside from these observations, Osborne comments on a fundamental legal issue generally passed over or discounted in previous commentaries. Though the American constitution gives the Congress the authority to acquire territories, the exact procedure for doing so has never been specified. Though negotiations for annexation between the United States and the Hawaiian government were conducted in the context of the treaty-making process, the anti-annexationists successfully obstructed a necessary two-thirds majority for ratification. Politically, the pro-annexationists resorted to joint resolution as a means of prevailing in the Congress. Jurists questioned the constitutionality of this procedure as an undermining of the Senate’s treaty ratification power. Such a procedure, moreover, did not include a plebiscite which some viewed as a derogation from the long-held American principle of “consent of the governed.” Joint resolution as a means of acquiring Hawaii without a specified intent to grant statehood was also seen as constitutionally defective and historically out of character.

Osborne’s most serious challenge is to Thomas A. Bailey’s contention that the breaking of the political deadlock over the annexation question in Congress came when the exigencies of the Spanish-American war became manifest and were subsequently argued in the press and on the floor of the Congress. These notions, asserts Osborne, have been “exaggerated.” Commercial concerns over the economic consequences of the American surplus in goods, the appeal of the potential Asian market, and an expanded American-Hawaiian trade relationship “were more decisive in bringing about the defeat of the anti-annexationists.” In support of such a contention, Osborne relies upon the correspondence of such influential Senators as Cushman K. Davis and Henry Cabot Lodge, two prominent figures in the congressional debate, as sources of authority.

Such acute and important observations aside, Osborne recapitulates in readable terms a litany of anti-imperialist concerns over Hawaii’s annexa-

tion as an "entering wedge" for the further acquisition of overseas territories. Indeed, only seven months after the passage of the joint resolution of annexation, the acquisition of Guam, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Wake Island was consummated under the Treaty of Paris. In his own well-chosen words, Osborne concludes that American diplomatic historians "have been examining only the dramatic and advanced stages of the crusade against empire, while largely ignoring the vast body of evidence connected with the formative stage of that crusade." The "Great Debate," as documented by Osborne, amplifies Hawaii's position and role in American diplomatic history and the historical and moral dilemmas contained therein.

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Kenneth L. Rehg with the assistance of Damian G. Sohl. *Ponapean Reference Grammar*. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1981. Pp. xv, 393, appendix, bibliography, index (Donald M. Topping, ed., PALI Language Texts. Micronesia: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii.) Paper \$16.00.

The book under review calls itself a "reference grammar"—it is one of a series of such grammars published (and, as far as I know, in preparation) by the Pacific and Asian Language Institute of the University of Hawaii. The initial questions to be raised, therefore, are: (1) what is a reference grammar (as opposed to, for instance, a scholarly grammar); and (2) for whose reference is it intended?

While the first of these questions is not addressed by the author, the second is answered explicitly in his Preface: "Although this work is intended primarily for native speakers of Ponapean who are bilingual in English, I hope it will also be useful to others whose interests have brought them to the study of this language" (page xiii). And more specifically: "... The introduction of bilingual education in Ponape and the emerging role of Ponapean as a medium of education necessitates a grammar such as this to serve as a springboard for the development of school grammars" (page xiv). These two statements raise two questions, one sociolinguistic and sociocultural, the other analytic linguistic.

The sociolinguistic question concerns the problems arising from a situation in which there is no native tradition of grammatical research, nor—to my knowledge—any significant presence of a native linguistic profes-

sion: how can language development (literacy development, educational and “cultural” use of the language, standardization) best be promoted under such circumstances? Without researching the present educational and cultural situation on Ponape, I can only raise the issue but not respond to it adequately, although I made some points relevant to the situation at the time of my field work on the island in 1947, in explaining a practical failure I experienced:

The gist of my Ponapean experience can be stated quite briefly: literacy is not the same as standard language.

In an essentially folk culture, where literacy was a realistic objective, I had wanted to introduce certain elements extending beyond it and into the initial phases of language standardization--which is an essentially urban phenomenon. (Garvin, “The Standard Language Problem . . .,” *Anthropological Linguistics*, 1:3, pp. 28-31.) [And I failed.]

The analytic linguistic question pertains to the adequacy of the grammar. Here again, there is a sociolinguistic aspect to it: how well will the grammar serve, for instance, the education of Ponapeans in their own language. Again, without researching the present situation, I can only raise, but not respond to, the issue. The core of the question is, needless to say, how well the statements contained in the reference grammar reflect the structure of the language represented. In regard to this, let me first recognize the author’s right to use his preferred frame of reference and principles of organization. This still leaves me with three bones to pick: I have reservations regarding the general design of the grammar, some factual details, and the choice of examples.

(1) The grammar lacks a uniform format--that is, the author does not seem to follow a consistent frame of reference. Thus, most of the phonology and morphology follows the American descriptivist tradition, as can be seen from the attempts to define the phoneme (pages 24-5) and morpheme (pages 67-8). On the other hand, the treatment of the syntax implies a reliance on transformational grammar and the theoretical thinking derived from it, although this is nowhere overtly acknowledged. It can, however, be inferred among other things from the frequent use of the notions of *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* (*passim*), or more specifically, of process notions such as *deletion* (pages 332-5). In all fairness, it should be noted that this perhaps reflects the state of the art more than any particular authorial inadequacy: many practical applications of linguistics of this kind are forced to follow a similar inconsistency of format, since different

schools of thought within theoretical and analytic linguistics have given different degrees of emphasis to different aspects of language.

(2) There are a number of empirical inadequacies in Rehg's treatment, of which I will give only a few illustrations.

(a) In the treatment of the phonology, nothing much is said about stress. The statement mentioning "stress, about which almost nothing is known" (page 304) must be considered a cop-out, since, even if one agreed with it, there is nothing to prevent the author from doing his own analysis.

(b) There is no separate morphophonemic (or morphonological) section in the book. This is, of course, one of those matters of organizing principle which I consider the author's privilege and hence not subject to criticism. This does not, however, excuse the insufficient attention given to morphophonemic questions (they are, after all, as important in Pona-pean as in other languages). The pertinence of these matters is acknowledged, but they are not given the detailed treatment they deserve. Thus, in the fairly adequate description of verbal suffixation, there is only superficial attention paid to "alterations in vowel length in the verb paradigm" (pages 253-4), as illustrated by the statement "This final vowel is sometimes long and sometimes short" (page 253).

(c) In the morphology, the establishment of word classes and subclasses seems to be based on rather poorly defined semantic criteria, as shown by the subcategorization of intransitive verbs, summarized as follows (page 201):

Intransitive Verb				
General Intransitive Verbs				
Activity				
Non-Activity				
Adjective				
Active	Resultative	Neutral		
<i>mwenge</i>	<i>lop les</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>kehlail</i>	
'to eat'	'to be cut'	'to split, to be split'	'to exist'	'to be strong'

(d) In the syntax, what seems to be a widely distributed but functionally fairly well definable single subordinative particle *en* is treated under several separate headings, implying that more than one form (or grammatical process) is involved (not to mention that, once again, the morphophonemics are not given adequate attention).

In the case of the role of this particle in subordinating other words to nouns, it is called a *construct suffix* (e.g., *misihn en deidei* "sewing ma-

chine"--lit., machine for sewing, page 192), while in the parallel case of subordinating other words to verbs, it is called a *conjunctive adverb* (e.g., *irail kolahn lait* "they went there in order to fish," page 341).

(3) The examples cited in the grammar look to me as though they were elicited on the basis of some checklist--they do not sound like the spontaneous material one hears in natural dialogue or tale-telling, as for instance *Pwutak silimen (me) reireio kohdo aio* "Those three boys who are tall came yesterday" (page 348). While unquestionably these examples are grammatically correct, they do not exactly illustrate the way Ponapeans use their language when they talk to each other.

In summary, it is clear that the book under review leaves much to be desired. It is equally clear that the author's task was a difficult one: it is not easy to produce a good reference grammar.

Paul L. Garvin
State University of New York

Solange Petit Skinner, *The Nauruans*. San Francisco: MacDuff Press, 1981. Pp. 292.

This is not a conventional anthropological monograph, although written by a trained anthropologist. Even the physical production of the book is unusual. It has been printed by a photocopy process which has unfortunately reproduced a number of errors, strikeovers, and handwritten corrections. The photographs are uncaptioned snapshots in which, oddly, no Nauruan appears, not even one of the "so bright and so witty" Nauruan children to whom the book is dedicated.

The author tells us that the book's purpose is "to give a description of this culture which was vanishing" though elsewhere we learn that the culture was still largely intact in 1975-76. As "salvage ethnography" the book is by no means complete: any consideration of land tenure is deliberately omitted, and kinship and social organization are largely neglected. An additional problem arises from collapsing past and present. The reader can easily become confused as to whether a particular practice could be seen in 1975 or whether the author was told about it by an informant; in which case the credibility of the informant should be established.

However, once these limitations are understood, the careful reader will find much interesting information. The key to the book's value is in the subtitle, "Fishing and Games in an Island of the Central Pacific." These chapters, which make up about 30 percent of the text, are well

done. The chapter on fishing is enhanced by an annex providing Nauruan, English, and Latin names of fish taken by the islanders and makes a useful addition to the literature on this subject.

An earlier chapter on "Patterns of Living" gives the reader a nice feel for Nauruan life, although the confusion of past and present is sometimes distracting. Here, as elsewhere, the author takes perhaps excessive pains to emphasize the merits of Nauruan culture. The chapter on Nauruan medicine suffers from the lack of any perspective from Western medical research. One would like to know, for example, whether the incidence of diabetes is connected with any post-contact dietary changes. However, the description of traditional "healers" and "magicians" will interest many readers. The book closes with a number of legends, printed in English and Nauruan on facing pages.

The Nauruans is clearly a labor of love and as such cannot be judged by the usual academic criteria. The author's high regard for the islanders warms even the cold heart of a book reviewer. Anyone interested in atoll life and maritime adaptation will want to examine the book, but it is not likely to find a place in many scholarly libraries.

Eugene Ogan
University of Minnesota

Brian Sutton-Smith. *A History of Children's Play: The New Zealand Playground, 1840-1950*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981. Pp. 331. \$21.00.

In the early 1800s the world was full of frontiers like New Zealand. These frontiers were the domain of adventurers and wealthy entrepreneurs seeking excitement and additional wealth. By the mid-1800s, New Zealand was recruiting British subjects to fill "planned settlements" in their "land of opportunity." Scores of families left the problems of nineteenth century England behind and sailed with their dreams to the "land of the long cloud." The envisioned affluence was an incubus to the gathering masses. Sutton-Smith's history of children's play begins in this 1840 frontier setting. Through the use of a "reminiscence sheet," Sutton-Smith and his assistants collected hundreds of reports both written and oral, visited schools, collected school jubilee celebration booklets, and amassed a creditable amount of resource material to document his history. The first-hand information reported through the use of reminiscence sheets gives the personal quality that is analogous to "oral histories."

A History of Children's Play is presented in three parts. The first section shuttles back and forth from narrative to reminiscence, weaving a tapestry of frontier cloth. The pioneer urchins formed a rather barbaric society that combined games from their mother country with those observed among the local Maori inhabitants. In many cases the children, left to their own means, engaged in a lot of fighting and other forms of mischief. By 1877 elementary school was compulsory and it was viewed mainly as a means of keeping children under control and in their place. The schoolyard and the playground, as sterile as they were, became the centers of children's play.

Part two, covering the years of 1890-1950, discusses the intrusion of organized play: the structuring of activities, the elaboration of playgrounds and the notion of recreation. During this time New Zealand moved from frontier poverty to a status of modest prosperity. Whether the changes in the economic, social, and political status were the causes of the change in play patterns is alluded to but not discussed at great length.

The third part of the book is in the form of an epilogue that muses over the three decades since 1950. The first two sections of the book were researched and compiled by Sutton-Smith in 1950 and this last addendum is just a speculative survey of play in New Zealand as observed by the author.

A History of Children's Play is scholarly yet entertaining. The book is well-organized and well-documented. This reviewer could only find three shortcomings in the book with the first alluded to by Sutton-Smith himself in his preface. There is a noted absence of information regarding the Maori children's play through the same period of history. If the book is truly a history of children's play in New Zealand, the importance of the Maori New Zealander's contribution should not be ignored. My other criticism is the confusing manner in which Sutton-Smith jumps back and forth from narration to "reminiscent reports" in the first part of the book. Thirdly, the book only considers play in the cities and does not concern itself with rural youth. As a history of play by Caucasian (essentially British) children in urban New Zealand during the years of 1840-1950, the book has found its mark, but there is a great deal more to be explored on the subject of play not only in New Zealand but in other Polynesian settings as well.

Ronald S. Jackson
Brigham Young University--
Hawaii Campus

Andrew C. Theophaneous, *Australian Democracy in Crisis: A New Theoretical Introduction to Australian Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. Cloth \$27.00. Paper \$16.95.

Though *Australian Democracy in Crisis* is not an easy book to categorize, it is specifically concerned with an analysis of those seemingly paradoxical and aberrant events and actions in Australian society and politics such as the dismissal of the Whitlam government in 1975. There have been a series of books specifically concerned with the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, and his unprecedented dismissal of a democratically elected government, namely G. Freudenberg's *A Certain Grandeur: Gough Whitlam in Politics*, D. Home's *The Death of the Lucky Country*, Paul Kelly's *The Unmaking of Gough* as well as those by the participants, Kerr's *Matters for Judgment* and Whitlam's *The Truth of the Matter*. All these authors are deeply and unequivocally polemical and concerned with the particular events which lead to the November 11 coup. In this regard, Theophaneous' approach differs substantially; for though one of his central preoccupations is to analyze this specific crisis in Australian democracy, his aim is far more ambitious--an explanation of the total crisis which contemporary Australia is experiencing.

He has been influenced notably by Jurgen Habermas' *Legitimation Crisis*, published in English in 1973. He also includes an extended summary of his other major influences--Rousseau's notions on democracy, Durkheim's views on anomie, and Marx's analysis of alienation. Since this is not intended as a textbook for undergraduates, it is not necessary to retain these eclectic appraisals. Rather, these theoretical aspects should have been more concise and integrated with his empirical data. Nowhere is there a clear examination of the central argument, for this is lost amidst a plethora of different theories and approaches and sections of the empirical data. For instance, the chapter on social identity, culture, and the family is not at all integrated with his primary focus upon economic and political crisis. Other areas like the crucial role of transitional capital in Australia need expansion and more emphasis.

Overall, however, *Australian Democracy in Crisis* is a worthwhile analysis, and its main problems stem from its ambitious scope and complexity. It is, moreover, challenging and controversial, particularly in its discussion of the 1975 coup. Undoubtedly, readers will be divided on the whole question of the propriety and constitutional basis of Whitlam's dismissal.

Kay Saunders
University of Queensland

Wayne S. Wooden, *What Price Paradise? Changing Social Patterns In Hawaii*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1981. Pp. x, 157, index, bibliography. \$18.00. Paperback \$8.75.

These high volcanic islands blessed with a favorable climate have attracted a multitude of outsiders to their shores. Those familiar with the history of these islands know that the early arrivals included explorers, whalers, traders, and missionaries armed with bibles whose motives, intentions, and impositions have had tremendous impact upon Hawaii during the past 200 years. In fact, the present histories of Hawaii reflect these outsiders' settlement, development, and shaping of the islands economically, politically, and socially.

Because of its attractiveness to outsiders, Hawai'i, has evolved into a unique multi-ethnic, multi-cultural island community in which no one ethnic group is in the majority. However, with a limited amount of land and a population which has increased by a continual influx of outsiders from both East and West, complex situations have developed in this island community which are analyzed in Wayne Wooden's *What Price Paradise?*

Wooden relates the story of Hawai'i through a sociological analysis that examines the structural, historical, interpersonal, and contemporary patterns emerging in Hawai'i today, focusing on third generation Japanese-Americans (Sansei). The author has selected a very real and complex issue, and with all the sensitivities and emotions that accompany it, he has attempted to unravel its complexity and provide insight into the development of what he refers to as "local" identity and culture. Certainly the issue is debatable, but it is also a matter of interpretation that Wooden is trying to be truthful about social patterns in Hawai'i.

Relying on firsthand accounts from college students who have taken his courses in "The Family" and "Social Change," Wooden is able to give the reader the personal feelings of the participants in the changing culture of Hawai'i. The excerpts selected for this manuscript clearly express the pains and concerns of growing up in contemporary Hawai'i. While these expressions are of those college students who have contributed to the study, one can only wonder how many other people in Hawai'i have similar feelings. If anything, the excerpts show that no one ethnic group is at a disadvantage. Growing up in Hawai'i brings joys and advantages for every ethnic group.

One apparent product of the complex social pattern that has evolved in Hawai'i is that there are conflicts between value systems. This is most evident when ethnic groups are trying to maintain traditional values,

while living in a society that is heavily influenced by American values and standards. Similar situations may exist outside of Hawai'i, but nowhere else does it affect as many different ethnic or cultural groups. In his five chapters, Wooden addresses this situation and presents historical information that shows the development of the complex social structure up to the 1980s, the emergence of "local" and its many applications in contemporary Hawai'i and closes with some possible choices in terms of Hawai'i's future.

Wooden's study is a contribution to those interested in the people of Hawai'i. More importantly, it is a contribution to Hawai'i's people. He has taken a complex issue and analyzed it into selected categories which helps the reader understand current social patterns and concerns in Hawai'i.

In a recent final examination for a "History of Hawai'i" course at the University of Hawai'i, Manoa Campus, one of the questions on the exam was to reply to "What is local?" Discussion following the exam revealed as many different answers as there were students. The same would hold true if five individuals from five different ethnic groups were asked to define "Who is local?" One can only imagine the answers given from five individuals from the same ethnic group. Wooden has looked at these different situations, and while there are no standard answers, his study defines varied situations best at the present time. The "Naalehu, Hawaii" chapter, particularly, is an outstanding account of change within a rural community. For those who were part of Na'alehu, or other similar rural and plantation communities of the 1950s, the progression and effect of social change upon that community is accurately expressed. It does bring back memories and feelings of both regret and "good days." The account fills in the gaps for those who have been absent during the past thirty years and were too young to fully understand the changes that were taking place.

One weakness in Wooden's study was his presentation of historical information regarding the Hawaiians. When discussing or comparing areas used by early Hawaiians, one should be more aware of traditional settlement patterns of the Hawaiians and the geographical features of the Islands. Discussion of the early Hawaiian social structure is done injustice with use of such descriptions as "upper-class elite" and "lower-class peasantry" when referring to the *ali'i* and *maka'āinana*. The misuse of the term *kama'āina* when referring to the Caucasian elite is but a reflection of other non-local writers who have written about Hawai'i. Also important is to ensure correct spelling of Hawaiian places and locations.

In summary, Wooden has conveyed some valid information regarding social patterns in Hawai'i. While a study of such complex issues cannot be conclusive, it is good enough to be included with other recent works that have looked at Hawai'i's people. These include *Kodomo no tame ni--For the Sake of the Children: The Japanese American Experience in Hawaii* (Dennis M. Ogawa) and, *People and Cultures of Hawaii: A Psychocultural Profile* (John F. McDermott, Jr., Wen-Shing Tseng, and Thomas W. Maretzki, Eds.). Wooden's study is worth adding to one's bookshelf.

Gordon Pi'ianai'a
The Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate

ANNOUNCEMENT

Students' Organizing Committee
XIth International Congress of the
International Union of Anthropological
and Ethnological Sciences
(Phase I)
Department of Anthropology
Cité Universitaire Laval
Sainte-Foy
Québec, Canada G1K 7P4

Object: Student Participation in the Congress

June 11th, 1982

1. *The Congress*

Phase One of the XIth Congress of the I.U.A.E.S. will be held at the Université Laval from August 14th to 17th, 1983. The theme of this first part of the Congress will be "The Implications of Anthropology: Ideology, Theory and Practice."

2. *The Students' Symposium*

The Students' Committee will organize a symposium entitled: "The Forming of Anthropologists: The Students' Perspectives." This should be an occasion for the students to collectively consider their contributions and hopes in relation to their anthropological formation. Students interested in participating are invited to send proposals for sub-themes. By way of examples, here are some possibilities: --Fieldwork and theoretical research--The teaching of anthropology in the "Third World"--Anthropology and non-academic life, etc.

3. *Procedures*

We have thought of three possibilities: the reading of papers, seminars and round tables.

4. *Participation*

Individual papers should be submitted to Prof. Bjorn Simonsen before December 31, 1982. Furthermore, we strongly encourage people interested in participating in seminars and round tables to contact the Committee without delay.

5. *Accommodation*

1. Participants will find rooms on the campus residences.
2. There is possibility of arranging lodging with the students of Université Laval.

Confident of strong and enthusiastic participation from their fellow students, the Students' Organizing Committee is looking forward to your suggestions and encouragements.

The Students' Organizing Committee

BOOKS RECEIVED AND BOOK NOTICES

- Henry Albinski, *The Australian-American Security Relationship in Regional and International Perspective*. New York, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982. Pp. 257, index. \$32.50.
- Michael Allen, ed., *Vanuatu: Politics, Economies and Ritual in Island Melanesia*. New York, New York: Academic Press, 1981. Pp. 425, illustration, index, maps. \$39.80.
- R. H. Allen and L. R. Webb, eds., *Industrial Economics: An Australian Study*. Winchester, Massachusetts: Allen and Unwin, Inc., 1982. Pp. 500. Paperback \$48.50.
- Peter Austin, *A Grammar of Diyan: South Australia*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981. Pp. 269. \$75.00.
- Richard A. Benton, *The Flight of the Amokura: Oceanic Languages and Formal Education in the Pacific*. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1981. Pp. 236, index. N.P.
- Merle Bignell, *A Place to Meet: A History of The Shire of Katannig Western Australia*. Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Australia Press. Pp. 350, illustrations, index. \$24.00.
- R. J. Blong, *The Time of Darkness: Local Legends and Volcanic Reality in Papua New Guinea*. Canberra, Australia: Australian National University Press, 1982. Pp. 257, illustrations, index, glossary, maps. \$29.95.
- LeRoy B. Bronemann, *Once Upon a Tide: Tales from a Foxhole in the South Pacific*. Ardmore, Pennsylvania: Dorrance and Company, 1982. Pp. 208. \$10.95.
- Kenneth Buckley and Kris Klugman, *The History of Buras Philip and Co. Ltd*. North Ryde: Angus and Robertson, 1982. \$17.95.
- J. M. R. Cameron, *Ambition's Fire: The Agricultural Colonization of Pre-Convict Western Australia*. Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australian Press, 1982. Pp. 238, index, maps. Paper \$27.00.
- Robert Cassidy, *Margaret Mead: A Voice for the Century*. New York, New York: Universe Books, Inc., 1982. Pp. 176, index. \$12.50.
- Stan B. Cohen, *East Wind Rain: A Pictorial History of the Pearl Harbor Attack*. 1981. Pp. 196, illustrations. Paperback \$9.95.
- John Connell, *Traditional Medicine in Bouganville*. Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury, 1980. Pp. 68. \$5.00 (NZ).
- James Cook et. al., *James Cook's Journal of HMS Resolution*. San Francisco, California: Genesis Publications, 1981. Pp. 900, illustrations. \$460.00.
- William L. Coop, *Pacific People Sing Out Strong*. New York, New York: Friendship Press, 1982. Paperback \$4.95.
- John P. Craven, *The Management of Pacific Marine Resources: Present Problems and Trends*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982. Pp. 96. \$12.00.
- Janet M. DeVries, *Learning The Pacific Way: A Guide for All Ages*. New York, New York: Friendship Press, 1982. Paperback \$3.95.
- E. F. Dickson, *Australian Stone Hatchets: A Study in Design and Dynamics*. New York, New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1982. \$34.00.
- Education in Asia and the Pacific, No. 18*. New York, New York: Unipub, 1981. Pp. 102. Paperback \$9.00.
- Environmental Education in Asia and the Pacific*. New York, New York: Unipub, 1981. Pp. 324. Paperback \$27.50.
- Far East and Australasia, 1981-82*. New

- York, New York: Unipub, 1981. Pp. 1, 365. \$120.00.
- Richard Feinberg, *Anuta: Social Structure of a Polynesian Island*. Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1981. Paperback only \$14.95.
- Fereidun Fesharati, et. al, *Critical Energy Issues in Asia and the Pacific: The Next Twenty Years*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982. Pp. 314, illustrations, index. \$23.00.
- Brian Fitzpatrick, *Australian People, 1788-1945*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982. Pp. 314, illustrations, index. \$27.50.
- Charles W. Forman, *Island Churches of the South Pacific: Evangelism in the Twentieth Century*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1982. Pp. 285, index. Paperback \$17.50.
- Russell Francis, *Teach to the Difference: Cross-Cultural Studies in Australian Education*. New York, New York: University of Queensland Press, 1982. \$27.95, Paperback \$15.95.
- Derek Freeman, *Some Reflections on the Nature of Iban Society*. Canberra, Australia: Australian National University Press, 1981. Pp. 69. \$43.00.
- Faith N. Fujimara, ed., *Groundwater in Hawaii: A Century of Progress*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of Hawaii, 1981. Pp. 270. \$20.00.
- Leon Glezer, *Tariff Politics: Australian Policy-Making, 1960-1980*. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1982. Pp. 360, illustration, index. \$35.00.
- D. R. Hainsworth, *The Sydney Traders: Simeon Lord and His Contemporaries*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981. Pp. 264, illustrations, index, maps. \$21.00.
- Harvesting Ocean Energy*. New York, New York: Unipub, 1981. Pp. 171. Paperback \$17.00.
- M. Heppell and J. J. Wigley, *Black Out in Alice: A History of the Establishment and Development of Town Camps in Alice Springs*. Canberra, Australia: Australian National University Press, 1981. Pp. 216. Paperback A\$13.95.
- Paul F. Hooper, ed., *Building a Pacific Community*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii, 1982. Pp. 176, bibliography. Paperback \$9.95.
- Errol Lea-Scarlett, *Roots and Branches: Ancestry for Australians*. Beaverton, Oregon: ISBS, Inc., 1979. Pp., 231, illustrations, index. Paperback \$4.95.
- Char Miller, *Fathers and Sons: The Bingham Family and the American Mission*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1982. Pp. 308, illustrations, index. \$22.50.
- Riall W. Nolan, *Mountaineering in Papua New Guinea*. New York, New York: Hippocrene Books, Inc., 1982. Pp. 128, illustrations. Paperback \$6.95.
- Ray Oldman and John Oldman, *George Temple-Pool: Architect of the Golden Years, 1885-1897*. Nedlands, Australia: University of Western Australia, 1981. Pp. 227, illustrations, index. \$39.95.
- Fr. Marcian Pellett, *Memories of Guam Scenes: During Wartime Internment in Japan*. Mangiloa, Guam: University of Guam, 1981. Pp. 20. N.P.
- Simon Petch, *The Art of Philip Larkin*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1981. Pp. 108. \$14.00.
- Paul C. Phillips, *Hawaii's Democrats: Chasing the American Dream*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1982. Pp. 222, illustrations. \$20.50, Paperback \$10.25.
- David Plowman, *Wage Indexation: A Study of Australian Wage Issues 1975-81*. Winchester, Massachusetts: Allen and Unwin, Inc., 1982. \$30.00.
- J. Douglas Porteous, *The Modernization of Easter Island*. Victoria, British Columbia: University of Victoria, 1981. Pp. xliii, 304, illustrations, maps. N.P.
- L. L. Robson, *The First A.I.F.: A Study of Its Restoration*. Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 1982. Pp. 227, illustrations, index. \$14.50.

- William L. Rodman and Dorothy Ayers Counts, *Middlemen and Brokers in Oceania*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1982. Pp. ix, 307. \$16.50.
- Lyndall Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*. Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1981. Pp. 315. A\$22.50.
- Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1981. Pp. 84. Paperback \$5.95.
- Zelia D. Sherwood, *Beginner's Hawaiian*. Honolulu: Topgallent, 1981. Pp. 152. Paperback \$6.95.
- Kurt Michael Shusterich, *Resource Management and the Oceans: Political Economy of Deep Seabed Mining*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982. Pp. 345. \$22.50.
- Robert Smith, *Hawaii's Best Hiking Trails*. ed. Thomas Winnett, Berkeley, California: Wilderness Press, 1982. Pp. 224, illustrations. Paperback \$8.95.
- Pamela Statham, ed., *The Tanner Letters*. Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 1981. Pp. 226, illustrations, maps. \$18.95.
- John Tulloch, *Australian Cinema: Industry, Narrative, and Meaning*. Winchester, Massachusetts: Allen and Unwin, Inc., 1982. Pp. 264. \$28.50, Paperback \$12.50.
- John Manning Ward, *James Macarthur: Colonial Conservative, 1798-1867*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1981. Pp. 345. \$52.00.
- Bruce W. Watson. *Red Navy at Sea: An Interpretive History of Soviet Naval Operations, 1956-1977*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982. Pp. 356. \$27.50.
- Maggies Weidenhofer, *Port Arthur: A Place of Misery*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 145, illustrations, index. N.P.
- Edward P. Woldres, et. al., *Decentralization: Options and Issues, A Manual for Policy-makers*. London: Commonwealth Secretariate. Pp. 180. \$6.00.
- Judith Wright, *The Cry for the Dead*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. Pp. 303, index, maps. \$32.50.
- Collin Yallop, *Linguistics: Australian Aboriginal Languages*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982. Pp. 184. \$25.00.
- Paul T. Yardley, *Millstones and Milestones: The Career of B. F. Dillingham*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1982. Pp. 330, illustrations, index. \$17.50.