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PACIFIC STUDIES

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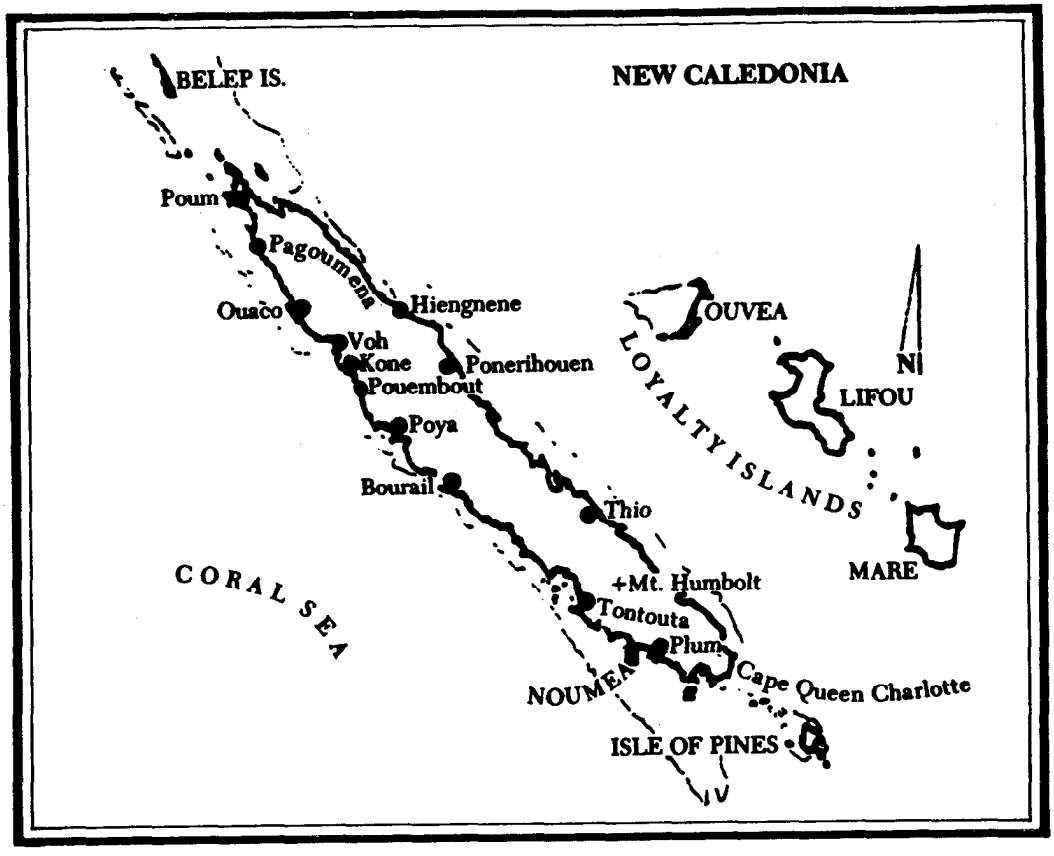
FORMAL CONFLICT: ON RECENT ELECTIONS IN NEW CALEDONIA

by Alan Clark

Introduction

This paper aims to provide detailed, predominantly quantitative information illustrative of the current condition of New Caledonia's political culture. Its core is a full examination of the most recent formal redefinition of Caledonian political society: the elections, held in July 1979, to the Territorial Assembly.



Parties and Groups in 1979

Eight parties contested the Territorial Elections of July 1979. (If still large, this figure represented a welcome reduction: the previous election in 1977 had produced no less than nineteen contending groups.) All unsympathetic to independence, five minor parties failed to attract 7.5 percent of the vote: under the recently introduced system of modified proportional representation, they did not gain a seat in the new Assembly. In terms of electoral survival, since July 1979 the greatly simplified Caledonian political scene has contained just three parties: FI, RPCR, and FNSC. Predictably, all three have proved to be more or less shifting, complex alliances.

FI (*Front Indépendantiste,* Independence Front) was the lopsided electoral union of the large *Union Calédonienne* (nine seats in September 1977) with four splinter parties: PALIKA, FULK, UPM, and a minority of PSC (five seats between them in September 1977).

From the early 1950s to the mid-1970s UC had received the support of the bulk of Melanesian voters for its essentially moderate defense of their interests. From 1975 it progressively experienced multiple internal pressures; breakaways occurred (European moderates left from one flank, young Melanesian independentists from the opposing flank); UC policy hardened, in support first of internal autonomy (the party's policy by September 1977) and eventually of outright independence (following the Ninth Congress, May-June 1978). It was still a relatively novel, radicalized UC which, in July 1979, went against its long-established cooperative-integrationist tradition to contest its first election on an independence ticket.

PALIKA (*Parti de libération kanak,* Kanak Liberation Party) was formed by the alliance in May 1976 of two of the earliest independentist groups, *les Foulards rouges* and *les groupes 1878.* Markedly less reticent than UC, at whose expense in part it developed in the later 1970s, PALIKA contained, among others, subgroups of young French-educated Melanesians in favor of armed struggle within a marxistic ideological context of revolutionary worker unity. Nevertheless, the assertive defense of specifically Kanak interests (comprehensive land claims, New Caledonian independence for the Melanesian people alone, and so forth) were common to PALIKA, FULK (*Front uni de libération kanak,* United Kanak Liberation Front--itself the result of a radicalizing split from UPM), UPM (*Union progressiste multiraciale,* Multiracial Progressive Union, whose origins go back to 1971), and PSC (*Parti socialiste calédonien,* Caledonian Socialist Party, a variegated remnant of its 1977 homograph, with sup-

porters ranging from former UC members lukewarm on independence to pro-PALIKA militants).

Independence was the decisive dividing line in the 1979 election. Facing FI across the divide were the two parties of the "national majority": RPCR (*Rassemblement pour la Calédonie duns la République,* Rally for New Caledonia in the [Fifth French] Republic) and FNSC (*Fédération pour une nouvelle société calédonienne,* Federation for a New [new?] Caledonian Society).

While they were mainly European-led and supported by both European and other non-Melanesian minorities, and while both parties were opposed to independence and in favor of continued integration with France, differences existed. In particular, it was simplistic to see in RPCR and FNSC mere Pacific reflections of the major metropolitan center-right parties, the Gaullist RPR of Jacques Chirac and the Giscardian UDF: each contained far too many of the other's natural allies--Gaullists in FNSC and vice versa--for the parallel to hold. To a certain extent, the parties' full titles offered as good an initial guide as any to their distinctive policy emphases, RPCR being the more nationalist-conservative, FNSC looking more to reformist social progress within a French context.

RPCR had undoubted conservative--FI opponents would say reactionary or colonialist--features. An important constituent party, EDS (*Entente démocratique et sociale,* Social and Democratic Union), represented the comfortable bourgeoisie of Nouméa. Jacques Lafleur and Roger Laroque are prominent RPCR members: the first is RPR national deputy for New Caledonia and a large-scale land owner, while the second has for many years been mayor of Nouméa and is a substantial importer. Yet, RPCR attracted Melanesian electoral support too; Melanesian members of the party include Dick Ukéïwé.

Newly formed by Lionel Cherrier, Giscardian senator for New Caledonia, from successive amalgams of centrist parties after March 1978, FNSC was promoted--by Dijoud, among others--in the hope of developing a reformist third party between RPCR and FI, a dynamic hinge-force liable to persuade the immobilist reluctance of (parts of) the first while slowing the rush to radical solutions prevalent in the second. The results of July 1979 appeared to give firm encouragement to such strategic hopes.

The Territorial Elections, 1 July 1979

The Campaign. In 1979 the registered electorate was made up of the following ethnic categories:

Melanesian (43.3% of 1980 total population): 42.9% of electorate
European (35.6% of 1980 total population): 40.2% of electorate
Other Minorities
(Réunionnais; Antillais;
Indonesians; Vietnamese;
Wallis Islanders;
Tahitians) (21% of 1980 total population): 16.9% of electorate

The slight underrepresentation of Melanesian and somewhat greater over-representation of Europeans are largely to be accounted for in terms of the two groups' birthrates: the expanding Melanesian population contains by far the greater proportion of electoral minors. The non-naturalized status of some Indonesians and Vietnamese explains the more marked underrepresentation of the remaining category. Sine all voters hold equal French citizenship, exact rates of electoral participation by ethnic category are not known, although they may be broadly deducible from voting returns in particular (say, heavily Polynesian- or Melanesian-populated) areas.

The campaign's immediate context was nothing if not turbulent. The high degree of institutional turmoil (the suspension, followed by the dissolution, of the 1977 Territorial Assembly) was both occasioned by and exacerbatory of the persistent economic crisis: in July the year's budget for the Territory had still to be established. New Caledonia's participation some three weeks earlier in elections for the European Assembly might have been a distracting factor.

Later in July President Giscard d'Estaing was to congratulate the new Territorial Assembly for the "calm and serenity" with which the election campaign had been conducted. Perhaps it could be said rather that two distinct, sometimes complementary campaigns were conducted--campaigns that were free of disruptive incident but vigorous, and of which the essential issues were at all times abundantly clear.

The first was the localized, largely rural campaign of grass-roots militancy--one based on personal contact and tribal hierarchy, custom-mediated. Drawing on both UC's unequaled experience in the field and the high commitment levels of PALIKA and FULK supporters, FI, represented throughout the Territory, was--to say the least--at no disadvantage on this level.

Centered in Nouméa the second campaign closely approximated the familiar Western model: intensive but mass-anonymous, and costly, since it was heavily dependent on the printed and electronic media. Nouméa enjoys a tradition--rare in the Pacific--of a lively and varied press. If,

editorially, the two daily newspapers were quite opposed to independence, opposition views were not excluded from their pages. The periodical and occasional press ensured expression of all principal currents of opinion, although here as in other aspects of this campaign the greater financial resources available to the "national majority" parties, and above all to RPCR, were evident. As in metropolitan France, Caledonian radio and television are under the monopolistic authority of the state, via the High Commissioner: a bias toward restrained, conservative or apolitical, superficial coverage of political affairs has often resulted. During the official election campaign FR3 (New Caledonia's television channel) broadcast for the first time a series of interviews with party leaders, including representatives of FI. Air time was allocated according to the parties' representativeness as determined at the 1977 elections.

Autonomy, integration, and development--all three were at stake in July 1979. First--and whatever the quarrels over its limitations--for the 1976 internal autonomy statute to function effectively, a stable majority within the Territorial Assembly was indispensable. Second, by universal consensus, these elections doubled as an informal referendum on independence: a majority for FI in the new assembly, all agreed, would set independence for New Caledonia in train. Third, future metropolitan policy with regard to the Territory was at stake, with the choice lying between self-chosen independence (to which Paris would democratically assent) and maintained ties with France within the context of Dijoud's ten-year reform and development plan accepted by the Assembly in February 1979. It was a case of break (from France) or make (an economically stable and socially equitable future) for New Caledonia.

The Results (Tables A and B). The decisive character of the election was clearly reflected in the turnout of voters. At 73.99 percent, turnout was almost 5.0 percent higher than the 69.06 percent recorded at the previous Territorial Elections in September 1977. No higher rate has been recorded since. Although below the territorial average the turnout in the heavily Melanesian Loyalty Islands electoral district (see Table B) was in fact historically high: in the second round of the Presidential Elections, on 10 May 1981, when offered a perceived similar choice between a national (Giscard d'Estaing) or an opposition FI-backed (Mitterrand) candidate, the turnout was 58.34 percent.

As Table A indicates, the primary aim of the elections was soundly realized. The "national majority" parties' twenty-two seats ensured a clear majority within the thirty-six-seat Territorial Assembly; the effective functioning of the institutions of internal autonomy appeared certain, providing that RPCR (fifteen seats) and FNSC (seven seats) cooperated. To

judge from the smooth fashion in which the two parties not only elected their representatives to all seven seats of the Government Council but also signed a government agreement covering the Assembly's five-year term of office, such cooperation was not at risk. Now organized more coherently in the formal unity of FI, the opposition held the same fifteen seats as its constituent parties had in the 1977 Assembly.

The results reaffirmed the relative dominance of RPCR, which gained 40.24 percent of all votes, including half (50.11 percent) the votes in the largely European South electoral district. Moreover, it managed 32.54 percent and 29.73 percent of votes on the Melanesian-populated East Coast and in the Loyalty Islands respectively. The election of its Loyalty Islands member, Dick Ukéïwé, to the office of vice-president of the Government Council was open to the charge of cosmetic tokenism, but it served to answer critics who saw in RPCR the right-wing defender of exclusively European vested interests.

On the level of party fortunes, July 1979 was remarkable above all for the substantial and unprecedented breakthrough achieved by the forces of the center: in the two electoral districts in which it presented lists FNSC attracted a quarter of the votes--or more than half FI's total territorial

TABLE A: Global Results

Territorial Elections, 1 July 1979

Registered voters	68,279
Votes cast	50,524
Turnout	73.99%
Valid votes	50,082

Parties	Votes	% of Valid Votes	Seats in New T.A.
RPCR	20,153	40.24%	15
FI	17,241	34.43%	14
FNSC	8,925	17.82%	7
FSC	1,345	2.68%	0
RPCM	1,020	2.04%	0
UWFC	560	1.12%	0
RDC	544	1.09%	0
UDFC	294	0.59%	0

vote. With seven seats giving it a significant position of leverage over RPCR in the Assembly, and with Jean-Pierre Aifa reelected (4 July 1979) as president of the Assembly, hopes for a dependable center party by which a future reformist dynamic might be mediated had been vindicated in generous measure.

Conversely, it was difficult to claim that the opposition parties' united front strategy had been an electoral success. With a larger electorate and turnout than in 1977, the opposition's share of the vote had dropped 3.09 percent (1977: 37.52 percent; 1979: 34.43 percent). In allocating fourteen seats to FI the new system of modified proportional representation had in fact been generous (38.89 percent of seats for only 34.43 percent of votes): thirteen seats (a 36.11-percent share of the Assembly) would have

TABLE B: Results by Electoral District

	ELECTORAL DISTRICTS			
	South (includes Nouméa)	**West Coast**	**East Coast**	**Loyalty Islands**
Registered voters	32,970	13,484	12,296	9,529
Votes cast	24,374	10,693	9,134	6,323
Turnout	73.93%	79.30%	74.28%	66.35%
Valid votes	24,114	10,609	9,055	6,304
Parties				
RPCR	12,084	3,248	2,947	1,874
FI	3,407	4,091	5,681	4,062
FNSC	6,393	2,532	–	–
FSC	986	359	–	–
RPCM	569	184	267	–
UWFC	464	96	–	–
RDC	211	99	160	74
UDFC	–	–	–	294

Seats

SOUTH: 17 seats: 10 RPCR; 5 FNSC; 2 FI.
WEST COAST: 7 seats: 3 FI; 2 RPCR; 2 FNSC.
EAST COAST: 7 seats: 5 FI; 2 RPCR.
LOYALTY ISLANDS: 5 seats: 4 FI; 1 RPCR.

been a more accurate allocation. In its strongholds the opposition's share of the vote was at best barely stable (62.74 percent on the East Coast--1 percent down on 1977) or in decline (64.43 percent in the Loyalty Islands against 68 percent for UC, PALIKA, FULK, and UPM combined in 1977). Less surprisingly, the price paid by FI for its radical unity was considerably higher in the predominantly non-Melanesian electorates: only 14.13 percent of the vote in the South where, in 1977, the nonunited opposition parties had polled 29.68 percent. On the West Coast the drop since 1977--to 38.56 percent--was in the order of 11 percent.

UC's double choice--the hardening of policy in 1978 from autonomism to a demand for full independence and the 1979 tactic of electoral union--was not vindicated by the poll. Considerable potential for tension existed both within UC (between its radical and more moderate factions) and in its relations with the minority member parties of an FI now virtually obliged to reformulate its strategy. The alternative to reformulation was unpalatable: to accept full formal representation in a Territorial Assembly whose solid national majority ensured that such representation would be tantamount to institutional impotence and the postponement of independence for at least another five years.

In the aftermath of July 1979, three possibilities for future FI strategy presented themselves. First, the internationalization of the Kanak case would be intensified, among the countries of the southwest Pacific region and with the UN Committee of twenty-four being a subsequent target. The example had been set during the earlier 1970s by the Vanua-aku Pati in the struggle for independence of Vanuatu, New Caledonia's closest neighbor. This extra-Caledonian promotion began, in fact, within days of the Territorial Elections, at the July 1979 meeting in Honiara of the anglophone South Pacific Forum. The second possibility was the intensification within New Caledonia of an institutional, grass-roots ethnopolitics: as Western democratic mechanisms were incapable of liberating the Kanak people, other channels must be explored. FI councillors boycotted the new Assembly's internal elections in the days following the Territorial Elections. On the part of a radical, multifaceted, electorally ineffective opposition, this withdrawal of democratic participation opened up the perspective of a third, disturbing possibility: the active adoption by one or more minority groups of nondemocratic militancy, including political terrorism. In this respect, much would depend on the durability of FI's unity.

Implications. The elections of July 1979 represented salutary clarification, then, of both territorial institutions and the principal political parties. But no less clearly they threw up a number of problems and para-

doxes, the implications of which reached unsparingly to the segmented heart of Caledonian political society. By 1981 it was still by no means clear that--on all sides--the necessary integrity and perspicacity, the political determination and material means, existed in proportions sufficiently generous to permit such difficulties to be overcome. The problems existed--still do exist--on the same three levels of significance as had characterized the 1979 elections: autonomy, integration, and development.

Perhaps unavoidably, the institutional stability established in July 1979 also accentuated the bipolarization of the Caledonian world--though it did not of course initiate it. Since that date it has appeared that much more simple to make reference--often abusive reference--to the majority versus the opposition, to the bush versus Nouméa, and to Melanesian versus European or non-Melanesian Caledonia. In such circumstances, the fact that the Territory's new legislature assumed as its major policy responsibility the social and economic promotion of the Melanesian people, and in particular the infinitely delicate issue of land reform, smacked at best of technocratic paternalism. Divide and rule? Perhaps, in the short term, as a stopgap measure. But divide and reform? Hardly.

Second in 1979 the electorate firmly declined the offer of independence (FI's 34.43 percent of the poll) and embraced instead one form or another of continued integration with France (65.57 percent--the combined votes of RPCR, FNSC, and the remaining anti-independence minority parties). The raw arithmetic is without doubt impressive: it certainly holds little future hope for FI. It fails, however, to conceal the equivocal dimension of an electoral majority far more determined to refuse a painful divorce from France than it was prepared to accept positively the terms of the renegotiated marriage-agreement with Paris laid down in the 1979 Dijoud Plan for long-term social and economic development. Dominated as it was by Lafleur's RPCR, the new Assembly's majority was more resolutely legitimist in sentiment than it had yet proved itself to be reformist by conviction. That RPCR should respond with unmitigated enthusiasm to Giscard d'Estaing's demand that Caledonian society implement the Dijoud Plan, integrate its Melanesian community, and so become in Giscard's terms "a land of fraternity, justice and progress" seemed on the face of it improbable.

Understandably, in view of the backlog there was to make up, the Dijoud Plan proposed a ten-year framework for the development of New Caledonia. It is therefore not possible to attempt a definitive assessment of the third developmental dimension opened up by the 1979 elections.

In the face of FI's skepticism and the conservative reluctance of the majority electorate, the success of development policies depended largely

on the efforts of reformist elements in both RPCR *and* FNSC and on the resolution and financial commitment of the metropolitan dynamic. The Metropole's role is, unavoidably, as delicate as it is paradoxical: France asserts at once New Caledonia's right to internal autonomy while insisting on reforms which impinge on the interests of members of the Territory's political majority, on whom in turn the implementation of those reforms depends.

This is not to say that such a role is ineffective: substantial economic normalization was achieved during the eighteen months to the end of 1980. Ore exports (1980: 2.01M tonnes) and nickel metal production levels (1980: 48,000 t.) both improved. The long haul of economic diversification was begun: restructuring of local commerce and small-scale industry, agricultural development, expansion and modernization of tourist facilities. Health cover expansion figured prominently in social policy improvements. In 1980 some 10,000 hectares were involved in land reform transfers, either reverting to Melanesian reserve land or being offered for modem agricultural exploitation. Legislation passed in December 1980 should maintain this rate--five times that of 1977--of land reform in the future.

MATERIALS OF M. VASILYEV'S EXPEDITION: A VALUABLE SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF CULTURAL CHANGE AND INTER-CULTURAL CONTACTS IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

by D. D. Tumarkin

In July 1819 an expedition led by Lieutenant-Commander M. N. Vasilyev left Kronshtadt for a round-the-world voyage. The sloop *Otkrytie* was under the command of Vasilyev himself, while the sloop *Blagonamerennyi* was under Lieutenant-Commander G. S. Shishmarev. The mission of the expedition was to search out a seaway from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean to the north of either the American continent or Eurasia. The mission, unrealizable at the time, was not carried out. But Vasilyev's expedition made its contribution to the solution of this problem. Having twice penetrated into the Arctic Ocean, it described a considerable stretch of the Arctic coast of America, studied the navigational conditions in those latitudes, and gathered information on the local population. When exploring the Bering Sea, the expedition discovered Nunivak Island, mapped certain other islands or ascertained their locations, and gave much attention to ethnographic observations.

While in the Pacific, both ships also visited Port Jackson (Sydney), California, Kamchatka, and the principal settlements of Russian America. In April 1820 Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers discovered a group of coral islands which they described briefly and named the Blagonamerennyi Islands.[1] In March-April and in December 1821 the ships of the expedition called at the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands.[2]

When the *Otkrytie* and the *Blagonamerennyi* returned to Kronshtadt (August 1822), reports appeared in Russian newspapers and journals praising both the scientific results of the expedition and the seacraft and courage of its participants. V. I. Khvostov celebrated this voyage in a poem. However, no report on Vasilyev's expedition was published, and for a long time it was supposed that a detailed description did not exist.

Actually, when Vasilyev returned to Russia, he was not granted a long leave for writing a work on his expedition, but was appointed to a command position in Kronshtadt. One of the documents kept in the Central State Archives of the USSR Navy in Leningrad (TSGAVMF) reads that "Vasilyev pleaded lack of time for describing this memorable voyage."[3] Then A. P. Lazarev (brother of the famous seafarer, explorer of Antarcti-

ca) who took part in the voyage with the rank of lieutenant aboard the sloop *Blagonamerennyi,* undertook that work.

In 1830, Lazarev completed the description of the expedition and submitted his composition to his superiors. But the Scientific Committee of the Naval Headquarters refused to approve the manuscript, obviously still hoping that such a description would be prepared by the head of the expedition, in accordance with tradition. Consequently, Lazarev's account lay useless for fourteen years, after which the author retrieved it.[4]

Almost simultaneously with Lazarev's manuscript, K. K. Gillesem, the former warrant officer who had served on the *Blagonamerennyi* (lieutenant since 1820) submitted his travel notes about the same expedition to the Scientific Committee of the Naval Headquarters. The committee did' not choose to approve that manuscript either, and in 1831 it was returned to the author.[5] It was only in 1849, two years after Vasilyev died, that a condensed version of Gillesem's notes appeared in one of the journals published in St. Petersburg.[6]

In 1852, the periodical published by the Naval Ministry carried an article titled "Information on the Chukchis" by G. S. Shishmarev,[7] the commanding officer of the *Blagonamerennyi.* The materials which he had collected in 1821 during the explorations in the Bering Sea were published posthumously (Shishmarev died in 1835 with the rank of Rear Admiral). The Editor's Preface stated that the materials "were borrowed by us from G. Shishmarev's notes."[8]

After World War II a new stage in seeking out and publishing the materials of Vasilyev's expedition began. In 1948 Lazarev's manuscript was found in the Smolensk regional archives, and in 1950 it was published as a separate book.[9] Unlike Gillesem, who only described part of the journey in the journal publication, Lazarev, drawing upon his own diary, made a systematic description of the expedition from the outset to the return to Kronshtadt. His "Notes" contain a wealth of interesting geographical and navigational information; they describe the localities visited and encounters with their inhabitants. Unfortunately, there were relatively few ethnographic observations (with the exception of a fairly detailed description of the culture and mores of the reindeer-breeding Chukchis).

A series of archive materials dealing with the preparation for the voyage and partly supplementing Lazarev's "Notes" were published in the same book as appendices. But even after that publication, the TSGAVMF stocks still contained quite a few documents of Vasilyev's expedition, as yet unknown to researchers, including ones of considerable interest to historians and ethnologists.[10]

First of all, it appeared that Vasilyev put in a lot of preparatory work planning, it seems, to write an account of the expedition. This work is reflected in his voluminous hand-written notes contained in several large-format notebooks. To all appearance, the notes were made hot on the trail of events, figuratively speaking, either during the voyage or shortly afterwards. The notes deal with the course of the expedition and include sketchy descriptions of a number of localities visited, including Kamchatka, California, and the Aleutian Islands, as well as scraps of information on the question that most interested him (e.g., whaling in the Pacific). One of the more detailed sections in his "Notes" is entitled "The Sandwich Islands."[11] Both in the abundance of ethnographic details and especially in the level of generalization, this section surpasses the corresponding sections in Gillesem's and Lazarev's publications.

In order to collect materials on the nature, population, and history of the Hawaiian Islands, Vasilyev compiled a questionnaire and instructed Lieutenant R. P. Boyle, one of the officers aboard the sloop *Otkrytie*, to fill it in. Boyle interviewed Hawaiian chiefs and other islanders and talked with foreign settlers through an interpreter (Englishman George Beckley who, by his own account, was the harbor-master of Honolulu). He not only replied to all questions put to him but also drew up a memorandum on the range of problems.[12] The materials gathered by Boyle were used by Vasilyev in writing the section of his notes having to do with the Hawaiian Islands. However, a comparison of these manuscripts shows that the head of the expedition was also in possession of other data obtained in the course of his own conversations and direct observations.

Intent on studying more profoundly various facets of the life of Hawaiians, Vasilyev instructed the officers of his sloop to compile a Russian-Hawaiian dictionary. This manuscript, also kept in TSGAVMF, contains a translation of about 800 words and word combinations and gives some information on the phonetics of the local language and its specifics on separate islands of the archipelago.[13] In the same archive stock the present author came upon two letters by the American missionary Hiram Bingham, addressed to Vasilyev, and dated April 15 and December 30, 1821.[14]

However, the history of unearthing the materials of Vasilyev's round-the-world voyage did not end there. In 1968 the journal published by the USSR Geographical Society reported that the travel diary of another member of the expedition, warrant officer N. D. Shishmarev of the sloop *Blagonamerennyi* (the nephew of the commanding officer of the sloop), had been found.[15] V. V. Kuznetsova, who discovered the diary, called the reader's attention to this manuscript with a view to studying the movements of Vasilyev's expedition in the northern latitudes.[16] However,

Shishmarev's diary is no less interesting to specialists in the history and ethnography of the Hawaiian Islands.

An examination of the diary shows it to be a copyist text prepared for publication. An annotation on the first page indicates that the manuscript "was delivered to the editorial board and addressed to S. V. Maximov."[17] S. V. Maximov (1831-1901) is a well-known Russian ethnographer and publicist who, beginning in the mid-1850s, in the span of several decades, actively contributed articles to *Morskoisbornik*, a journal published by the Ministry of the Navy, and to some other periodicals. This warrants the conclusion that N. D. Shishmarev's diary was offered for publication already after the author's death in 1843. Reading the manuscript, one comes across abridgements and other editorial corrections, made in pencil. But this diary, unfortunately, was never published either.

Shishmarev made entries in his "journal" day after day, setting forth the more important events during the expedition from his assignment to serve aboard the sloop in May 1819 to the return to Kronshtadt. A young seaman who set out for a long voyage for the first time, he thoroughly and at the same time very vividly described whatever he saw. In a number of instances, his diary substantially supplements the works by other members of the expedition.

Materials of this voyage have also been discovered in the Manuscript Department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad (ORGPB). For example, kept there are parts of two copies of Lazarev's composition mentioned earlier, enabling one to follow the author's work on the text. One manuscript is a fragment of the copyist text of his travel diary (July-November 1820); the other is part of an intermediate version of his "Notes" (October 1820-May 1822) with numerous corrections.[18] A comparison shows that some details concerning seafaring did not find their way into the final version; although few generalizations and separate factual details were added, the text was also subjected to considerable editing. Also found was *Slovar s rossiiskogo yazyka na sandvicheskiy* (A Russian-Sandwich Dictionary)[19] compiled by Lazarev, containing over 700 words and word combinations and supplementing in part a similar dictionary compiled by the officers of the sloop *Otkrytie.*

To this day, the work of searching out the writings by Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers cannot be considered accomplished. The manuscripts by Gillesem and G. S. Shishmarev have not been found. Some other participants in the expedition may also have kept diaries. One should also consider the fact that E. M. Korneyev, a talented artist who, by his own account, made about 300 drawings[20] in the course of the expedition, was aboard the *Blagonamerennyi.* As is evident from Shishmarev's diary, the

artist executed several water-colors during the stay in the Hawaiian Islands.[21] On returning to Russia he intended to publish an art album with prints depicting the round-the-world voyage. However, the Naval Minister prevented this publication on the plea that the prints should be published together with the description of the expedition by Vasilyev.[22] When in 1930, Lazarev submitted his "Notes" to the Scientific Committee of the Naval Headquarters, 171 drawings by Korneyev were appended to them.[23] The further fate of this collection, which is of great cognitive and artistic value, remains unknown. But the search for the materials of Vasilyev's expedition is going on and new finds can be made.

Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers visited the Hawaiian Islands twice in 1821, a crucial period in the history of the archipelago. Kamehameha I, the founder of a united Hawaiian state, died in May 1819. During his reign, individual distinctive features of local culture continued to develop, the unification of the archipelago took place, and the transition from chiefdom to kingdom occurred; however, acquaintance with Western civilization not only afforded the islanders technical innovations but also inflicted upon them grave social adversities. Under the leadership of Kamehameha, the Hawaiian people successfully resisted the onslaught of foreigners *(haole).* However, even then there appeared the first signs portending the outcome of that unequal struggle.[24] After the death of the "Napoleon of the Pacific," the disintegration of Hawaiian culture and the subjugation of the islanders by foreigners who imposed their own culture rapidly continued.

In November 1819 Liholiho (Kamehameha II) who inherited the name and power, but not the talents of his father, proclaimed the old Hawaiian religion overthrown.[25] The first American missionaries arrived in the islands in April 1820. And it was then that the archipelago began to be converted into the main base for U.S. whalers in the Pacific. The missionaries and the whalers played a decisive role in the process of Americanizing the archipelago in the span of several decades that followed. But in the first years after the death of Kamehameha, when these *haole* groups were just starting their activities in the Hawaiian islands, "the sandalwood rush," a large-scale export of sandalwood from the islands, exerted a particularly profound impact upon all facets of life of the indigenous population.

The diaries and travel notes by participants in Vasilyev's expedition vividly and comprehensively convey the atmosphere then prevalent in the Hawaiian Islands, and herein lies the chief merit of their works for historians and ethnologists. But these sources also contain much interesting information on the distinctive culture of the Hawaiians and shifts in its dif-

ferent components that took place under the influence of the islanders' contacts with carriers of Western civilization.

The material culture and economic pursuits of the indigenous population are described by Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers in a detailed way. In this respect, their diaries and notes surpass perhaps the works of Yu. F. Lisyansky and other Russian navigators who visited the archipelago in the early 19th century.[26] Thus, the participants in the expedition report interesting information on crop farming, one of the principal sectors of the Hawaiian economy. They tell about the traditional crops, emphasizing the techniques of cultivating taro and describe other food resources of the archipelago (domestic animals, fish, edible algae, etc.).[27] Like Lisyansky, Shishmarev predicts a big future for sugar cane.[28] Reporting on the local cooking methods, Russian seamen also give a detailed description of the design of the local earth oven *(umi)* and the process of making the intoxicating ritual beverage kava *(awa).*[29]

"The Sandwich islanders," stressed Shishmarev, "have a great ability and a good taste for handicrafts."[30] Members of the expedition describe the Hawaiian methods of making mats, boats, weapons, fishing tackle, kitchenware, and other household utensils and implements.[31] Almost all the voyagers who wrote about the Hawaiians noted the high artistic merits of tapa *(kapa)* and described the methods of its manufacture.[32] Significantly, Vasilyev and Boyle tried on every occasion to ascertain the material from which any particular object was made and tried to discover its local name.

Vasilyev, Shishmarev, and Gillesem left detailed descriptions of the traditional Hawaiian dwelling consisting of several structures for ritual considerations. According to their observations, the houses of the chiefs *(alii)* and the king himself differed from the dwellings of the commoners *(makaainana)* mainly in that they were larger and had foundations of coral slabs and an interior decor and appointments.[33] However, Shishmarev reports, some chiefs, imitating the *haole* who had made their homes in such "huts," began to make "partitions separating the bedroom from the reception room, and they have beds, but no one ever saw them lie on them."[34] In March 1821 only Kaahumanu, the favorite wife of Kamehameha I, the co-ruler *(kuhina nui)* of Liholiho, resided in a two-story wooden house built for her by an American trader; in late 1821 a similar house was built for Liholiho.[35]

All members of the expedition who wrote about the Hawaiians called attention to their clothes, hairstyle, and decorations. These observations have to do with the traditional everyday dress (women's skirts *pau,* men's loin-cloth *malo,* and the cape *kihei* made from tapa), as well as the cere-

monial attire of chiefs--the cloaks and the helmets made from red, yellow, and black bird feathers.[36] According to information gained by Vasilyev and Shishmarev, the making of those precious cloaks and helmets had virtually ceased; in place of them the king and other high chiefs, when meeting with *haole,* wore European clothes, and on particularly grand occasions (e.g., visits to foreign warships) they donned gold-embroidered full-dress "general's" and "admiral's" coats which the enterprising American traders provided them with at high prices.[37] The less renowned chiefs and *makaainana* usually wore the traditional clothes to which they added, on occasion, elements of European dress.[38] However, for Liholiho and other high chiefs, European dress still remained something alien and upon returning home after meetings with foreigners they gladly changed into the light traditional clothing.[39]

Much the same can be said about the European dishes served at the official receptions. Vasilyev says that the king and other rulers "would arrive for dinner without ceremony, they were fond of our shchi [cabbage soup] and also liked pastries."[40] However, Gillesem and Shishmarev add that having tasted the outlandish delicacies the guests would end up eating their favorite taro "which they brought along" and that Liholiho "could not even sit on a chair and never used a spoon, a knife and a fork."[41]

On the whole, the participants in the expedition correctly grasped the nature of the social system of the Hawaiians in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and reported that there existed an early class-divided society in the islands with two principal social categories (the *alii* and *makaainana*) and an hierarchy of the chiefs themselves.[42] Vasilyev's and Boyle's manuscripts provide fairly detailed descriptions' of the land relations that existed at the time and the multistage system of dependence, from the *makaainana* to the paramount chiefs, stemming therefrom. More specifically, and of considerable interest, are data presented by Boyle on the custom-regulated duties for the benefit of the *alii,* both in kind and labor, which the *makaainana* bore before the advent of the foreigners. Also, sundry "royal impositions" were reported which grew in numbers and diversified in step with the growing barter trade with the *haole.*[43] When compared with other sources, these materials make it possible to more profoundly understand the social organization of the Hawaiians shortly before the discovery of the archipelago by Captain Cook and its evolution in the initial period of contact with foreigners.

Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers could not collect any detailed information on the old Hawaiian religion, although their diaries and travel notes contain references to different taboos *(kapu)* and statues of gods.[44]

However, Boyle had the good luck to record a piece of interesting information about religious rites and ceremonies staged during the fertility festival *makahiki;* unlike Lisyansky, who left a detailed description of this festival, he succeeded in identifying its main social function: it was during *makahiki* that duties and levies were collected for the supreme chief, who in peacetime was believed to be an incarnation of the god Lono.[45]

Boyle's information on the Hawaiians' matrimonial customs and his detailed description of a set of rites attending the burial of a chief merit the attention of specialists. Boyle notes that these rites were observed, in the main, in 1821 too; only human sacrifices were no longer made.[46]

The writings by participants in Vasilyev's expedition contain data regarding the circumstances under which the old religion had been overthrown and how the uprising of its devotees under the leadership of Kekuaokalani, a nephew of Kamehameha I, the custodian of a sacred statue of the god of war, had been quelled. In Lazarev's words, this zealot of the ancestral faith "was supported, besides the priests, by a majority of the people."[47] But, on the other hand, the Russian navigators stress, the sacrilegious king was aided by foreigners and his army was well-armed, whereas the rebels had almost no firearms.[48]

Lazarev and Shishmarev held that, as a result of the abolition of the taboo system, the demolition of sanctuaries *(heiau)* and the burning down of the statues that had stood there, the Hawaiians "were left totally without any religion."[49] But, as reported by the British missionaries D. Tyerman and G. Bennet, who visited the archipelago in 1822, the old beliefs were far from being eradicated.[50] "Even among those who outwardly conformed to the new order were many who secretly clung to their gods," wrote R. S. Kuykendall, summing up numerous eyewitness accounts. "The old gods of Hawaii had their devotees for a long time after 1819. . . . Many an idol secretly preserved was secretly worshipped."[51]

Certain materials of Vasilyev's expedition testify that Lazarev and Shishmarev's conclusion was a hasty one. As is evident from these materials, even Liholiho and his immediate entourage, who played the leading role in the official overthrow of "idolatry," were still largely under the sway of the old beliefs (possibly subconsciously). Besides the above indicated burial rites, this is attested to by a deep-rooted fear of pernicious magic. According to Hawaiian beliefs, a person could be doomed to death by sorcery if only his adversary could obtain his sputum or saliva. Therefore, Liholiho and other chiefs were at all times attended by trusted servants with small and thoroughly closed boxes "for nose-blowing and spitting."[52]

G. Vancouver and A. Chamisso discovered in the Hawaiian Islands the beginnings of theatrical performances. "These solemn games by Owagians [Hawaiians--D.T.]," wrote Chamisso, who visited the archipelago in 1816-1817 on the Russian round-the-world voyage under O. Kotzebue, "call to mind the choruses of the Greeks and their tragedies in times before the dialogue was introduced into them."[53] Vasilyev and Shishmarev gave a detailed description of these syncretic performances, during which the chorus either related a legend or recalled a real-life event while the other participants depicted the story through dance *(hula).* During the first stay of the expedition in Honolulu, such "games" were staged daily at sunup and sunset in front of the royal "palace" or, sometimes, in the fortress. Up to 150 women and 30 men from "noble families" took part in them. Unlike Vancouver and Chamisso, the Russian navigators mention the leader of the chorus, i.e., a soloist.[54]

An interesting observation by Shishmarev was that such performances retained, in a measure, their ritual character after the official overthrow of the old religion. He reports that upon completing their "games" the dancers would throw' the wreaths with which they adorned themselves, and the pieces of tapa which covered their nakedness, inside a small enclosure where there stood "two small poles."[55] Could it be that the "poles" symbolized the banned statues of gods? "We were told," writes Vasilyev, "that through their songs and dances they asked the supreme being to give them abundance in everything, preserve their ruler and deliver them from all woes and evils."[56]

Despite the natural beauties of the environs of Honolulu and the entire southern part of Oahu having, in Gillesem's words, "the best climate of earth,"[57] the colorful "games" by chiefs, official visits and receptions, and merry-meetings, given by American shipmasters and traders in honor of the Russian seamen--nothing shut off from the participants in Vasilyev's expedition the grim realities of the day-to-day life of the Hawaiians upon which the "sandalwood rush"[58] laid a deep and sinister imprint.

Much is written in the diaries and travel notes by participants in the voyage about the exportation of the Hawaiian sandalwood *(iliahi),* virtually monopolized by Americans, about the organization of this trade, and its linkage with the Pacific fur trade. They report the prices at which the "Bostonians" bought the *iliahi* in the Hawaiian Islands and sold it in Canton. However, as Russian seamen emphasized, this price differential did not permit a correct assessment of the profits gained by American firms, for the "Bostonians" in settling with the Hawaiian nobility for sandalwood did not use money as a means of exchange, but various wares on which they set exhorbitant prices.[59]

In order to induce the king and the high chiefs, whom Liholiho permitted to engage in sandalwood trade, to sell this fragrant wood in a big way, the Americans did their best to bring more and more "novelties" to the islands capable of staggering the imagination of the Hawaiian *alii*--"prestigious" attire, fabrics, and decorations, all sorts of haberdashery, followed by chinaware, cutglass, Chinese silks, prefabricated houses, etc. Rum and other strong beverages were also an important import item.[60]

The Hawaiian nobility were dazzled by the opening opportunity for enrichment which, according to traditional beliefs, was evidently equated with the association with the supernatural power *(mana)* wielded by the foreigners.[61] Traders skillfully kindled this passion for acquisition and unobtrusively channeled it in a desired direction. They impressed it upon the Hawaiian *alii* that they should follow the example of "white gentlemen" in everything and palmed off their wares upon them. Vasilyev stressed that the chiefs "in justice have no need" for that merchandise.[62]

An especially lucrative business was the sale to the king and high chiefs of old sea vessels, for each of which the enterprising Americans received a large lot of the precious *iliahi.* Whereas Kamehameha I had usually been overparticular in inspecting a vessel he was offered to buy, checking its sea-going qualities, Liholiho and his entourage were mainly interested in the interior decor of the cabins and in the freshness of deck paintwork. Having satisfied themselves that this was so, American firms began to buy up old vessels scheduled to be scrapped, hastily repaired them so they could endure another long voyage, and, having painted deck superstructures in bright colors and bedecked the cabins with carpets, sent them with a cargo for sale to the Hawaiian Islands. The vessels would usually soon become unfit for use.[63]

As shown earlier, Liholiho and high chiefs adopted, though in a purely superficial way, individual elements of Western culture. But the easy enrichment in the years of the large-scale exportation of sandalwood, attended by the appearance of large stocks of alcoholic beverages, contributed to the moral degradation and degeneration of the ruling upper crust. Lazarev reports that, while the common people were enduring great privation laboring to fell and store up sandalwood, the chiefs

> did nothing at all; but sometimes, bored by idleness they engaged in games which consisted in rolling stones; they played dice and guessed what stone was hidden beneath a pillow. Europeans brought into use playing cards among the chiefs at which they, men and women alike, play among themselves incessantly. . . . Besides playing cards incessantly, not a single Sandwich Islander,

> given a chance to procure rum, will never let it slip, in order to get drunk. The king himself having this strong beverage in abundance and incessantly buying grape wines, as we were told, is no exception in this regard and often gets dead drunk after dinner.[64]

In the writings by participants in Vasilyev's expedition, one comes across brief sketches of the characters of Liholiho and some high chiefs (Kaahumanu, Kalanimoku, Kuakini, Poki, Kaumualii).[65] These *alii* differed one from another in intellectual capacities, and in the breadth of their outlook and temperament. But, as is clear from the diaries and travel notes by Russian seamen, the members of the ruling elite had something in common: by adopting, even if outwardly, the way of life of the foreigners and falling, in a way, victim to Western civilization, they increasingly shut themselves off from the *makaainana.* Their national consciousness became more and more blunted, they gradually lost respect for the indigenous culture, and their desire for preservation of the independence of the archipelago diminished. "The luxury with which the Americans allure them," wrote Vasilyev, "has blinded them and stifled their natural good disposition, the abilities of the mind and has been leading them, it seems, to pernicious consequences [for] the entire people. They see this but do not know how to deliver themselves from this yoke."[66]

Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers report an incipient decline of the armed forces formed by Kamehameha for the defense of the archipelago against foreigners. Thus, the fortress in Honolulu built in the closing years of the life of the "Napoleon of the Pacific," in 1821, "although it had many guns had no one to serve them."[67] In reality it was only used for "solemn games" staged in the courtyard of the fortress.[68] Liholiho himself told Russian seamen that his army and fleet could not hold out against foreigners and were only fit for service against local "rebels."[69]

As noted by the American James Jarves, who settled in the Hawaiian Islands in the 1830s, the wealth gained by the chiefs at the time of the sandalwood trade was "either wasted in riot and debauchery or destroyed by neglect."[70] Moreover, the Hawaiian *alii* were for many years caught in a debt trap set by American buyers of sandalwood.[71] The common islanders had to "foot the bill" for everything.

Russian seamen wrote with indignation that the Hawaiian rulers sent thousands of *makaainana* into the mountains to fell and store up sandalwood and by this onerous obligation "exterminate the people,"[72] as Vasilyev put it. The fact is that *iliahi* grew high in the mountains, where the climate is much colder than in the coastal lowlands, and the islanders in their light clothes suffered there from cold, succumbed to disease, and

all too often perished. And "the hard work of carrying sandalwood on their shoulders reduced them to exhaustion."[73]

This matter had another sinister aspect. As stressed by Boyle, because the people were required to store up *iliahi,* "the fields often remain unattended and uncultivated for a long time."[74] As if amplifying and substantiating this observation, Vasilyev recalls that in April 1821 the king brought to Honolulu from Maui Island about five thousand islanders "for felling and pulling down from the mountains the sandalwood unmindful as to how they should maintain themselves."[75] And Lazarev reports that when the ships of the expedition again came to Honolulu eight months later "a multitude of people" were sent for felling and storing up sandalwood and "the fields about the harbour became deserted. . . ."[76]

The systematic divorce of many thousand Hawaiians from their customary pursuits--crop farming and fishing--significantly cut the food resources of the islands. Meanwhile, the king and the chiefs not only continued, but also increased, the sales of provisions for foreign vessels, which they exacted from the *makaainana,* as demand for provisions steadily increased in step with the conversion of the Hawaiian Islands into the main base of American whalers in the Pacific. Therefore, the food situation of the *makaainana* became fairly serious. Boyle wrote that the common islanders "can obtain subsistence only with great difficulty."[77]

"The people, i.e. the lowest class," stressed Vasilyev, "lives in abject poverty, is constantly at work, and has nothing."[78] The dire plight of the ordinary Hawaiians fostered the development of prostitution in the islands. A host of women immediately reached the foreign ships that called at Honolulu, swimming or in boats.[79] Even little girls had to prostitute themselves. Here is a typical entry in Shishmarev's diary: "The father of two daughters, aged ten or eleven, offers them for a trifle."[80] Lazarev notes in this connection that foreigners "instead of evading this shameful trade encourage it."[81]

The development of prostitution was a factor in the spread of venereal diseases among the Hawaiians, brought to the islands by Cook's sailors. Vasilyev reports that without traditional mores, syphilis "has spread here with all its ferocity quickly almost all through the people."[82]

Russian seamen could not fail to notice the progressing depopulation of the archipelago. The ruthless exploitation of the common islanders by the king and the chiefs, especially in connection with the "sandalwood rush," the dangerous development of alcoholism, the high incidence of syphilis, deadly epidemics brought on by foreign seamen--such were, in the opinion of the head of the expedition, the principal causes of the rapid decline of the Hawaiians.[83]

The recruitment of young Hawaiians to serve on foreign ships also, in a measure, furthered depopulation. They quickly became excellent sailors and worked for board and clothes without getting, as a rule, any cash payment.[84] Downtrodden and oppressed in the islands, some *makaainana* did not want to return to the native places and voluntarily became sea wanderers,[85] living a life full of privations and dangers. However, there are data that "Bostonians" were at times not averse to selling recruited or kidnapped Hawaiians into slavery on the northwest coast of America in exchange for sea otter pelts, or to simply leaving them there if they no longer needed them. "Some of the Americans, we were told, were so inhuman," wrote Vasilyev, "that they sold for their benefit these kind Sandwich Islanders to Koloshs [Tlingits--D.T.] who bought them for offering."[86] The same had been earlier reported by F. I. Shemelin, a participant in the first Russian round-the-world expedition.[87]

In the diaries and travel notes by Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers, one quite often comes across the names of American shipmasters and traders whose acquaintance Russian seamen made in Honolulu (Thomas and John Meek, John Ebbets, William Davis, John C. Jones, Thomas Brown, and others) and gains certain data on the household aspect of the life of "Bostonians" in the islands. Thus, Vasilyev and Shishmarev write that "the shipmasters and their agents, upon arriving in Wagu [Oahu--D.T.], live, for the most part, on shore, build for themselves huts similar to those of the indigenous inhabitants," only, usually, separating in them "the bedroom from the work room," and make windows with rolling shutters.[88] Shishmarev relates that Americans residing in the Hawaiian Islands for long marry native women and have children by them. He reports interesting details concerning such families.[89] The appearance in Honolulu of the first permanent retail shop, whose owner carried on a particularly brisk trade in rum, did not escape Vasilyev's notice.[90]

Along with "Bostonians" engaged in the sandalwood business, Russian seamen met in Honolulu with captains of American whaleboats. Among them was Joseph Allen from Nantucket, the captain of the *Maro,* who was the first to discover large schools of sperm whales to the east of Japan. He told Lazarev in detail about the organization by Americans of whaling in the Pacific.[91]

Vasilyev and his officers censured "Bostonians" for thrusting on the Hawaiian nobility lots of merchandise which the *alii* did not need at all and thereby promoting the intensified exploitation of common islanders. He also noted that those shipmasters and traders deliberately accustomed the king and the chiefs to hard drinking.[92] It was with obvious disapproval that participants in the expedition related how the Americans

tried "to prevent, with all their might, the Sandwich Islanders from learning to steer ships and learn navigation" and thwarted attempts by Liholiho to set up independent trade with Kamchatka.[93] But the main barrage of their criticism is directed against the white counselors of the king and high chiefs, among whom were sailors who deserted trade vessels, runaway convicts, and adventurers of every description, who not only did not keep the Hawaiian nobility from rash actions, but corrupted and deceived them, working in cahoots with the buyers of sandalwood.

"Among the woes inflicted by Europeans upon the good Sandwich islanders," wrote Vasilyev, "the main evil is that most worthless people, escaped convicts from Botany Bay, sailors of depraved behaviour who either fell behind their ships or were banished by their skippers have settled in their midst." Vasilyev added that he saw "those scoundrels" amid chiefs, the king, and their wives, "as the people closest to them."[94] "In the eyes of the king they appear to be fairly devoted," wrote Shishmarev in his diary about those advisers and "friends" of Liholiho, "but given a chance they are always ready to deceive him."[95]

Frenchman Jean Rives and Spaniard Francisco de Paula Marin exerted a particularly pernicious influence upon the young king. Noting the successful experiments staged by Marin for cultivating European food crops in the Hawaiian Islands (which brought him a handsome profit), Vasilyev and Shishmarev at the same time spoke about this foreign settler with extreme disapproval. Thus, Vasilyev writes that the Spaniard gives his numerous daughters, by native wives, "to skippers as concubines, leads a stingy life, is anxious for gain in the extreme . . . and in all his actions shows himself to be a person of low qualities."[96]

As for Rives, that ex-sailor posed as a doctor although he was totally ignorant in matters of medicine. Skillfully playing upon Liholiho's weaknesses, he managed to install himself as his interpreter and secretary and, in the name of the king, made various deals with American merchants, receiving substantial "considerations" from them. More particularly, Vasilyev learned, it was precisely this "quack" who was guilty of the fact that the "Bostonians" contrived to softsell to the king the old brig *Thaddeus.* That vessel was so badly damaged "in the submerged section at the keel having run aground in the Columbia" that it was hazardous even to make short voyages on it.[97] Gillesem recalls:

> The post of the Minister of Finance was held by Spaniard Marini and Frenchman Rives who hoodwinked the king, as best they could. They found this to be fairly easy because there was

> no one to take things into account, and no thought was given to expenditures and incomes. Marini engaged in the sale of sandalwood and salt and gave the king what he saw fit. He shared his gains with merchants so they would not expose his tricks. Rives was the state treasurer, so to speak. Cheating together with Marini, he showed less income than the actual figures.

Gillesem added that the islanders hated Rives and "on several occasions, during our stay on the island, they burnt down his hut thereby expressing their anger at him."[98]

Among foreigners who had either settled in Honolulu or visited it on business, there were sharp rivalries and frequent quarrels and squabbles. Describing them, Vasilyev noted that "one slanders another in order to win confidence."[99] However, almost all those foreigners--from "respectable" skippers and traders to the lowest tramps and drunkards-actually acted in a united front against yet another group of *haole*--the American missionaries. "They found it profitable to themselves," explained Gillesem, "to have the residents of these islands continue living in ignorance, for fear that the teachings of missionaries will rectify the morality of this people, especially women, leading a rather depraved life, and that then it would be impossible for them to indulge their passions: voluptuousness and lust for enrichment by fraud."[100] In reply to the question why "some Europeans, that is Marin, Beckley, and others, and American merchants, did not like the missionaries," Vasilyev emphasized. that those foreigners regarded the Yankee clergymen as their dangerous opponents: "They do not like the life of an honest man in general, the more so since the missionaries want to wrest their victims from them."[101]

The participants in the expedition discovered that missionaries lived in an all but complete isolation. "All adults, and especially nobles," recalls Gillesem, "shunned the missionaries and not only did not want to adopt the Christian faith but would not even listen to admonitions."[102] Hiram Bingham, the actual head of the mission, complained in a letter to Vasilyev about the extremely trying conditions under which it had to work and stressed that "still vices prevail in this polluted land to a great extent, and we find much ignorance, prejudice, & superstition . . . both in natives and foreigners."[103]

Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers relate that at first the missionaries tried to preach Christianity in their native tongue, using three Hawaiian youths trained in the United States at missionary schools as interpreters. This proselyting was totally ineffective. Simultaneously, the members of

the mission began teaching English to scores of Hawaiians (adults and children) with the aid of the same interpreters, using the Bible and the Catechesis as teaching aids. "Even the king himself began going to the school to take instruction in the English language," writes Lazarev, "but since he was bored with this soon enough he sent two persons instead of himself who also followed his example and stopped attending school a few days later."[104] In December 1821 the school was attended by only fifteen persons, mostly "children of both sexes begotten by Sandwich Islands women consorting with Europeans,"[105] and it had to be closed soon afterwards.[106]

Having pondered over the causes of their failures, the missionaries decided to tackle the matter from a different angle: to master the Hawaiian language, evolve a script for the islanders, translate religious books into the local language, and teach the "pagans" to read them. In December 1821 the Russian seamen watched the first steps being made in that direction. Vasilyev and Lazarev reported that Bingham and other members of the mission studied the Hawaiian language thoroughly, quickly developed an alphabet for it, and began preparing a primer for publication.[107] "Bingham also asked our painter," wrote Lazarev, "to prepare for him introductory pictures for children, which Karneyev [Korneyev--D.T.] excellently executed upon being granted permission from the head of the expedition."[108] Possibly, these pictures were used in the first missionary publications in the Hawaiian language.

Lazarev wrote a laudatory account about Bingham, calling attention to his restraint, gentleness and meekness.[109] But in 1824-1825, after the death of Liholiho, when Kaahumanu and other high chiefs decided for political considerations to enter into an alliance with the American missionaries and impose upon the Hawaiian people a new taboo system, this time Puritan bans, Bingham showed his true face. When O. E. Kotzebue again visited the Hawaiian Islands in September 1825, he found that the Calvinist clergyman, who had "bewitched" Kaahumanu, had become the de facto ruler of the archipelago.[110]

This forum does not allow for a total survey of the materials of Vasilyev's round-the-world expedition concerned with the study of the Hawaiian Islands. But what has been said, the author feels, testifies that the writings by its participants add up to a valuable source for the study of the cultural change and intercultural contacts in this Polynesian archipelago. It would be expedient to discuss the question of publishing these materials (possibly both in Russian and English) so as to make them available to a broader circle of researchers and to the general reader.

REFERENCES

1. That was, apparently, Nukufetau Atoll discovered, as established later, by the British captain A. De Peyster in 1819.

2. Both ships first approached the western coast of the Island of Hawaii where the king's residence had been located in former times. But on learning that it had just been transferred to Honolulu (on the southern coast of Oahu Island) the expedition went there. During both visits the Russian ships lay at anchor in Honolulu harbor, much favored by seamen.

3. TSGAVMF, Stock 205, Inventory I, Item 644, f.5.

4. TSGAVMF, Stock 162, Inventory I, Item 44, f.29-49.

5. TSGAVMF, Stock 162, Inventory I, Item 44, f.9-28; Stock 205, Inventory I, Item 258, f.1-17.

6. K. Gillsen. Puteshestviye na shlyupe *Blagonamerennyi* dlya issledovaniya beregov Azii i Afriki za Beringovym Prolivom s 1819 po 1822 god. [The Voyage Aboard the Sloop *Blagonamerennyi* for the Exploring the Coasts of Asia and America Beyond the Bering Strait from 1819 to 1822.]--*Otechestvennyie Zapiski*, 1849, nos 10-12. (The part concerning the Hawaiian Islands--No. 12, pp. 215-225.) In the case having to do with the examination of this manuscript in the Scientific Committee of the Naval Headquarters the detailed table of contents of its first part is wholly retained. (TSGAVMF, Stock 162, Inventory I, Item 44, f.32.) On examining this document one sees in the journal publication the omission of certain chapters and parts of chapters which were all intact in the manuscript. Archive documents and publications give different spellings of the officer's name--Gillesem, Gillsen, and Gellesem. Cited below as Gillesem.

7. G. Shishmarev. Svedeniya o Chukchakh (Information on the Chickchis)--*Zapiski Gidrograficheskogo departamenta*, part X, St. Petersburg, 1852, pp. 178-200.

8. Ibid., p. 179.

9. A. P. Lazarev. *Zapiski o plavanii shlyupa* Blagonamerennogo *v Beringov proliv i vokrug sveta dlya otkrytii v 1819, 1820, 1821 i 1822 godakh.* Pod redaktsyei, so vstupitelnoi statei i kommentariyami A. I. Soloviova [Notes on the Voyage of the Sloop Blagonamerennyi into the Bering Strait and Round the World for Discoveries in 1819, 1820, 1821 and 1822. Ed. by A. I. Solovyov, with an introductory article and comments by him]. Moscow: Geographgiz, 1950. The text is published with insignificant abridgements specified by the editor. Cited below as Lazarev.

10. D. D. Tumarkin. Novyie arkhivnyie materialy o gavaitsakh [New Archive Data on the Hawaiians].-- *Sovietskaya Etnografiya*, 1960, No. 2, pp. 158-160.

11. TSGAVMF, Stock 213, Inventory I, Item 104, f.16-70. Cited below as Vasilyev.

12. TSGAVMF, Stock 213, Inventory I, Item 113, f.1-16. Cited below as Boyle. In the archive inventory this manuscript is ranked with compositions of "unidentified authors." By analyzing the content of the memorandum and comparing it with other materials I succeeded in establishing its authorship.

13. TSGAVMF, Stock 213, Inventory I, Item 44, f.1-17.

14. TSGAVMF, Stock 213, Inventory I, Item 116, f.2-6.

15. *Zhurnal 1819, 1820, 1821 i 1822 godov na shlyupe* Blagonamerennom [The Journal for 1819, 1820, 1821 and 1822 aboard the sloop *Blagonamerennyi*].--TSGAVMF, Stock 203, Inventory I, Item 73r., f.1-264. Cited below as Shishmarev.

16. V. V. Kuznetsova. Novyie dokumenty o russkoi ekspeditsii k Severnomu polyusu [New Documents on a Russian Expedition to the North Pole].--*Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva,* 1968, No. 3, pp. 237-245.

17. Author unable to be contacted for missing footnote.

18. ORGPB, Stock XVII. 106.11, f.213-257; I. T. Pomyalovsky's Collection, No. 72, f.1-140.

19. ORGPB, Stock XVII. 106.11, f.16-34.

20. N. N. Goncharova. Khudozhnik krugosvetnoi ekspeditsii 1819-1822 gg. E. Korneyev [The Artist of the Round-the-World Expedition in 1819-1822 E. Korneyev].-- *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva,* 1973, No. I, p. 70.

21. Shishmarev, f.117r.-118.

22. N. N. Goncharova. Ibid., p. 71.

23. TSGAVMF, Stock 162, Inventory I, Item 44, f.32.

24. See: R. S. Kuykendall. *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854. Foundation and Transformation.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938, Ch. 2-3; D. D. Tumarkin. *Vtorzheniye kolonizatorov v "Krai vechnoi vesny"* [The Invasion of Colonizers in the "Land of Eternal Spring"]. Moscow: Nauka, 1964, Ch. 2-5; D. D. Tumarkin. A Russian View of Hawaii in 1804.-- *Pacific Studies,* Vol. II, No. 2, Spring 1979, pp. 117-119, 122-131.

25. On the prerequisites and causes of this "cultural revolution" see for example: R. S. Kuykendall. *Op. cit.,* pp. 65-70; D. D. Tumarkin. *Gavaiskiy narod i amerikanskiye kolonizatory, 1820-1865.* [The Hawaiian People and American Colonizers]. Moscow: Nauka, 1971, pp. 83-87; M. Sahlins. *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities. Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1981, pp. 33-66. Sahlins' book appends a long list of literature on the problem.

26. D. D. Tnmarkin. *A Russian View . . .* , pp. 114-117.

27. Vasilyev, f.28-30, 32, 50; Boyle, f.13r.; Shishmarev, f.120-121r.

28. Shishmarev, f.121r.

29. Vasilyev, f.28r.-29, 32; Shishmarev, f.119r.-120; Lazarev, p. 268; Gillesem, p. 219.

30. Shishmarev, f.121r.

31. Vasilyev, f.31r.; Boyle, f.13, 15; Shishmarev, f.106, 120r., 188.

32. Vasilyev, f.30r.-31; Boyle, f.14; Shishmarev f.121r.-122. Gillesem, p. 222.

33. Vasilyev, f.23-24; Shishmarev, f.111, 118r.-119; Gillesem, p. 218.

34. Shishmarev, f. 119

35. Gillesem, pp. 218, 221; Shishmarev, f.119r.

36. See, for instance: Vasilyev, f.31-32r.; Boyle, f.7r.-8, 13r.-14; Shishmarev, f. 108r., 117-118.

37. Vasilyev, f.35r.; Shishmarev, f.108, 111r., 112r., 193-194; Lazarev, p. 256, 259-260; Gillesem, pp. 222-224.

38. Vasilyev, f.33; Shishmarev, f.108r., 112r.; Lazarev, p. 256; Gillesem, p. 224.

39. Vasilyev, f.33r.; Gillesem, p. 222.

40. Vasilyev, f.54.

41. Gillesem, pp. 222-223; Shishmarev, f.120r.

42. Vasilyev, f.34r.-35; Boyle, f.2r.-3r., 9; Shishmarev, f.114r.; Gillesem, p. 221.

43. Boyle, f.2r.-3; Vasilyev, f.35-36; Shishmarev, f.116; Gillesem, p. 223; Lazarev, p. 337.

44. Boyle, f.4-4r., 9; Shishmarev, f.116, 120; Lazarev, p. 272.

45. Boyle, f.9-9r.; D. D. Tumarkin. *A Russian View . . .* , pp. 120-121.

46. Boyle, f.8-9, 12r. See also: Vasilyev, f.32r.-33.

47. Lazarev, p. 272.

48. Vasilyev, f.49r., 60; Boyle, f.5r.; Lazarev, pp. 272-273. According to Vasilyev and Boyle, Liholiho gained the decisive preponderance after the shipmaster of the American vessel *Arab* sold 800 rifles to the king at the crucial moment.

49. Lazarev, p. 273; Shishmarev, f.115r.

50. D. Tyerman and G. Bennet. *Journal of Voyages and Travels.* Vol. 1. London: Westley and Davis, 1831, pp. 370-372, 382, 485-486.

51. R. S. Kuykendall. *Op. cit.,* p. 69.

52. Vasilyev, f.41r.; Shishmarev, f.111; Lazarev, p. 256.

53. A. Chamisso. Nablyudeniya estestvoispytatelya ekspeditsii [Observations by the Expedition's Naturalist]. In the book: O. E. Kotzebue. *Puteshestviye v Yuzhnyi okean i v Beringov proliv v 1815-18 godakh* [A Voyage to the Southern Ocean and to the Bering Straits . . . in 1815-18]. Vol. 3, St. Petersburg, 1823, pp. 311-312.

54. Vasilyev, f.54-55r.; Shishmarev, f.109r.-110. See also Lazarev, p. 270; Gillesem, p. 224.

55. Shishmarev, f.110.

56. Vasilyev, f.55r.

57. Gillesem, p. 225.

58. On the causes of the "sandalwood rush" see: H. M. Bradley. *The American Frontier in Hawaii. The Pioneers, 1789-1843.* Berkeley: Stanford University Press, 1942, pp. 60-61; D. D. Tumarkin. *Gavaiskiy narod . . .* , pp. 32-34.

59. Vasilyev, f.21r.-22r., 24r.-25, 36, 67; Boyle, f.3r.-4; Shishmarev, f.121; Lazarev, p. 258; Gillesem, p. 223.

60. Vasilyev, f.22r., 36, 69r.; Shishmarev, f.119r.; Lazarev, p. 337; Gillesem, p. 223. See also: F. W. Beechey. *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Strait . . . in the Years 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828,* Vol. II. London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1831, p. 417; H. W. Bradley. *Op. cit.,* pp. 61-62, 69-70. Vasilyev (f.133r.) notes that Liholiho distributed part of the clothes and fabrics purchased from foreigners among chiefs of the lower rank close to his person.

61. M. Sahlins. *Op. cit.,* p. 31.

62. Vasilyev, f.23.

63. Vasilyev, f.48r.-49r.; Boyle, f.4, 6r.; Shishmarev, f.111r., 192r.-194; Lazarev, pp. 258-259; Gillesem, p. 221. See also: D. Tyerman and G. Bennet. *Op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 463-464; R. S. Kuykendall. *Op. cit.,* p. 91.

64. Lazarev, p. 270.

65. Boyle, f.4, 5, 10r.; Shishmarev, f.106r., 114, 116, 120r.; Lazarev, pp. 253-254, 270; Gillesem, pp. 220-223.

66. Vasilyev, f.46r.

67. Lazarev, p. 275. See also: F. W. Beechey. *Op. cit.,* Vol. 2, p. 131.

68. Vasilyev, f.42r.-43; Shishmarev, f.110.

69. Vasilyev, f.43; Lazarev, p. 275.

70. Cited from: H. W. Bradley. *Op. cit.,* p. 70. See also: S. M. Kamakau. *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii.* Honolulu: Kamehameha School Press, 1961, pp. 251-255.

71. *Ka Moolelo Hawaii. Histoire hawaiienne redigée par des élevès de la grande école (de Lahainaluna), mise en ordre par un de professeurs.* Paris: Clave, 1861, pp. 193-199; D. D. Tumarkin. *Gavaiskiy narod* . . . , pp. 38-44.

72. Vasilyev, f.23.

73. Vasilyev, f.21r.; Gillesem, p. 224. See also: D. Tyerman and G. Bennet. *Op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 415; W. Ellis. *Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii or Owhyhee.* London: Fisher and Jackson, 1828, pp. 402-403; G. Simpson. *Narrative of a Journey Round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842,* Vol. II. London: H. Colburn, 1847, p. 13.

74. Boyle, f.3.

75. Vasilyev, f.23.

76. Lazarev, p. 337. "The sandalwood rush" began to decline already in 1823. But the large-scale storing up of *iliahi,* which became increasingly burdensome in step with the extermination of sandalwood groves, continued until the onset of the 1840s--mainly in order to repay the "debt" the Hawaiian chiefs owed to American traders. By then virtually no sandalwood suitable for export remained in the islands.

77. Boyle, f.3r. See also D. D. Tumarkin. *Gavaiskiy narod* . . . , pp. 38-43.

78. Vasilyev, f.23.

79. Shishmarev, f.109; Gillesem, pp. 220-221. See also: D. D. Tumarkin. *A Russian View* . . . , pp. 128-129.

80. Shishmarev, f.106r.

81. Lazarev, p. 271.

82. Vasilyev, f.18r.

83. Vasilyev, f.18-23

84. Vasilyev, f.25; Shishmarev, f.120r.-121.

85. H. T. Cheever. *The Island World of the Pacific.* N.Y.: Harpers & Brothers, 1855, p. 396; S. M. Kamakau. *Op. cit.,* p. 404.

86. Vasilyev, f.27.

87. D. D. Tumarkin. *A Russian View . . . ,* p. 130.

88. Vasilyev, f.23r.; Shishmarev, f.119, 189. It was only for John C. Jones, who was appointed US consular agent in the Hawaiian Islands, that a wooden house was being built in late 1821 (Shishmarev, f.119r.). Lazarev reports that Jones "remained totally idle because the king did not know the meaning of the word 'consul,' and only traded in company with Brown" (Lazarev, p. 337).

89. Shishmarev, f.116r.-117, 119.

90. Vasilyev, f.24r.-25.

91. Lazarev, p. 254, 264-266. In those years Japanese ports were banned to foreign vessels due to the policy of isolation pursued by the Tokugawa dynasty. Therefore, the whalers operating in close proximity to the coasts of Japan chose the Hawaiian Islands to be their main base. See: C. S. Stewart. *A Visit to the South Seas in the U.S. Ship Vincennes, during the Years 1829 and 1830.* London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1933, pp. 366-367.

92. Vasilyev, f.22r.-23; Lazarev, p. 253.

93. Vasilyev, f.45, 65-66; Shishmarev, f.188r.

94. Vasilyev, f.19. Botany Bay, on the eastern coast of Australia (in the environs of what is now Sydney) was the site of a penal colony set up by the British government in the late 18th century.

95. Shishmarev, f.115-115r. See also: Boyle, f.4r.-5; Lazarev, p. 263.

96. Vasilyev, f.43r.-44. See also: Shishmarev, f.115-115r., 122r.

97. Vasilyev, f.44r.

98. Gillesem, p. 224. See also: Shishmarev, f.119.

99. Vasilyev, f.46r. See also: Shishmarev, f.15.

100. Gillesem, p. 220.

101. Vasilyev, f.61.

102. Gillesem, p. 220.

103. Bingham to Vasilyev, April 15, 1821--TSGAVMF, Stock 213, Inventory I, Item 116, f.4-4r.

104. Lazarev, p. 262. See also: Shishmarev, f.190.

105. Lazarev, pp. 262-263. See also: Vasilyev, f.60r.-61r.; Shishmarev, f.190.

106. H. W. Bradley. *Op. cit.,* pp. 131-132.

107. Vasilyev, f.63; Lazarev, p. 263.

108. Lazarev, p. 263. In January 1822 printer E. Loomis, a member of the mission, put out a small pamphlet which was to serve as an ABC book (H. W. Bradley. *Op. cit.,* pp. 134-135).

109. Lazarev, p. 263.

110. O. Kotzebne. *A New Voyage Round the World,* Vol. 2. London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830, pp. 256-257.

INDIAN INDENTURE HISTORIOGRAPHY: A NOTE ON PROBLEMS, SOURCES AND METHODS[1]

by Brij V. Lal

Scattered throughout the remains of the British and to a lesser extent the French empires in Africa, Southeast Asia, the West Indies and the Pacific, are today found long-settled people of Indian origin. Most of them are descendants of Indian indentured laborers who were exported continually from India beginning in 1834 to meet the shortage of labor on European plantations caused by the abolition of slavery. Altogether, some one million Indians were thus transplanted.[2] The laborers left India under an apparently voluntarily accepted contract which stipulated, among other things, the condition of employment, remuneration for labor, and an optional free return passage to India at the end of ten years "industrial residence" in the colonies. They had departed, moreover, under the firm belief that they would return soon, after they had acquired the fortune they were told awaited them in the colonies. Many did return; but for the majority, the intended sojourn was, in the course of time, transformed into permanent displacement. The life and struggle of these laborers in the colonies has bequeathed a legacy whose full implications have yet to be grasped.

The story of indentured emigration--"those floating caravans of barbarian tourists,"[3] as someone remarked uncharitably--is no longer treated as a stepchild of either British colonial or modem Indian historiography. In recent years, a number of historical monographs have appeared on Indian indenture experience in several countries which, taken together with the works of anthropologists, have made the study of overseas Indians an autonomous and rewarding field of scholarly enquiry.[4] These individual studies have on several occasions been supplemented admirably by general comparative surveys.[5]

Many themes have been emphasized in the literature, and a range of ideological and moral postures adopted. This is not surprising given that indenture, as a system of coercive labor, was a complex social and moral phenomenon, riddled with contradictions. Yet, certain distinct lines of interpretation of Indian indenture experience can already be discerned. First, there have been those who have argued that indenture was, simply, slavery--the only difference between the two being that while one

was a permanent institution, the other (indenture) was a passing, temporary evil, though this transience by itself was of little significance. This line of argument has a long history, going back to the very beginnings of indentured emigration. Since the 1970s, however, it has flourished with renewed vigor,[6] partly, one suspects, because of the opening up of the great debate in the 1960s on the nature of the experience of slavery in the United States. Others have taken quite the contrary view and have argued that whatever the disadvantages--and they concede there were some--the benefits of migration invariably outweighed the costs. The indentured laborers, and certainly their descendants, were exposed to unsurpassed opportunities, besides being permanently released from irksome and oppressive customs of Indian society.[7] And finally there have been those scholars who have combined objective scholarship with deep sympathy and have suggested that the welcome escape from the constantly haunting specter of famine, or drought, or feudal oppression, was also accompanied by many lasting negative effects. In the process of migration, the emigrants lost the sense of belonging and attachment, without in their own lifetimes finding acceptance and recognition in their new adopted home.[8]

Much of the writing and debate on the nature of Indian indenture experience, it should be noted, has been done at a very general level. This, perhaps, is not surprising in view of the relative infancy of overseas Indian studies as a distinct and coherent field of scholarly endeavor; most of the serious writings on overseas Indians appeared in print only in the early sixties. Another trend evident in the literature is the preponderant emphasis on the experience of the indentured laborers in the colonies, an understandable bias which has unfortunately often resulted in marginal attention being given to the other half of the process: the origins, background, and motivation of the indentured laborers in India and the dynamics of the process of migration itself. And finally there has been the tendency towards almost exclusive reliance on conventional archival sources: government correspondence, private papers, published reports, Royal Commission enquiries, newspaper accounts, and so on. In this respect, overseas Indian historiography is unexceptional from any other. Undoubtedly impressionistic sources have yielded valuable results in the past, and may even do so in the future as new material is unearthed; but, perhaps, we may have now reached the point of diminishing return.

Given the nature and level of the debate in the literature, it is necessary now to extend and deepen the scope of the “macro” studies referred to above. This would involve, among other things, exploring new themes and areas with the aid, where possible, of new sources. In the process, there will be a need to shift from the general to the more specific prob-

lems, forsaking the traditional "top-down" for what may be called the "bottom-up" approach. New sources will have to be exploited which might provide the researcher with deeper insights into the perspectives of the indentured laborers themselves. In short, and without sounding extravagant, it may be necessary, given the existence of widely divergent interpretations of Indian indenture experience, to look afresh at the most fundamental of all historical questions: what actually happened, in contrast to what is usually accepted or assumed to have happened.

To answer this question, as well as to break out of "the hard capsule of a literary monopoly on the study of the past,"[9] historians (like social scientists) have turned to two "relatively" new techniques of scholarly enquiry: oral traditions and quantification. The overseas Indianist, too, will have to follow suit to enlarge the scope of his work; and, indeed, some have already done so. In Fiji, Ahmed Ah, the University of the South Pacific historian, interviewed in the 1970s some still-surviving Indian indentured laborers to record their own perspectives on their experiences in the plantations.[10] The indentured laborers, obviously, were very old and in indifferent health, yet they had keen memories of their ordeals under indenture. There was anger in their voices as they related their stories, and bitterness that their sacrifices had not been fully appreciated. But on balance their recollections portray a complex and varied picture of their time on the plantations. It was a harsh and dehumanizing world, they tell us, but it was significantly limited to five years or slightly more if they had their indentures extended for breaches of labor regulations; there were harsh overseers, and worse still, collaborating *sirdars* who were rewarded on the basis of the amount of work they were able to coerce out of the less fortunate laborers, but others on smaller plantations were caring and sympathetic; there was the relentless, debilitating pace of work, but a condition of total institutional isolation did not exist as the indentured and the free frequently exchanged goods and gossip.

These and other insights one gets from the oral evidence help to correct some of the simple explanations which have been offered as to the nature of indenture experience. At the same time, the interviews have the ability to communicate, through words and images, a feeling of what it meant to live and work on the plantations in a way that other sources cannot. Oral evidence "supplies a voice to the normally voiceless in history," P. M. Mercer has written, enabling historians to "transcend European ethnocentrism, not only for the direct historical and indirect sociopsychological evidence supplied but also for the understanding created or deepened, in the process, of the society under study."[11] Oral evidence clearly has its uses, but there are some acute problems also, quite apart

from the obvious one, in the case of indenture historiography, of its evanescence; today, only a handful of those who served indenture are still alive. One important problem in the context of Ahmed Ali's work referred to above, for example, is that much of the evidence comes from indentured laborers who came to Fiji after the turn of the century; those who came before 1900 have long since died. By then, because of improving economic conditions in Fiji, pressure from enlightened officials, and a gradual rise in the moral consciousness of mankind, many improvements had taken place in the working and living conditions on the plantations and in the so-called "coolie" lines. There is thus the potential danger of extrapolating from limited data conclusions about the nature of the "total" experience under indenture. One way to obviate the problems of the range, quality, and representativeness of oral evidence may be for indenture historians to turn more towards oral traditions, folksongs, legends, and anecdotes than has thus far been the case. These are generally more representative of the human condition they portray, not least because they have to be remembered and transmitted from one generation to the next, thus keeping oral traditions closely in tune with the changing feelings of the people.[12] Indeed, it is somewhat surprising that so little attention has been paid to this rich source of information.[13]

Quantification offers another alternative to go beyond the traditional reliance on literary sources in trying to analyze and understand, perhaps more fully, the experiences of the unlettered masses who could not record their impressions and perspectives in memoirs, diaries, and letters. Glimpses of the vicissitudes of their lives are to be found, instead, in "serial" sources such as census reports, statistics on rainfall, crop production, prices and wages, vital statistics, and so on. A careful and comprehensive analysis of these, the quantifiers argue, will provide the researcher with an accurate picture of the subaltern strata of society.[14] This argument elicited a violent response from the conventional historians, and the controversy over the use of quantification has continued more or less unabated. Carl Bridenbaugh warned his colleagues in the early sixties: "The finest historians will not be those who succumb to the dehumanizing methods of the social sciences, whatever their uses and values, which I hasten to acknowledge. Nor will the historian worship at the shrine of that Bitch-goddess, QUANTIFICATION."[15] Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., dismissed quantification as being incapable of solving the profound problems of history because "almost all important questions are important precisely because they are not susceptible to quantitative answers."[16] The attack has recently been renewed by Lawrence Stone, who has remarked upon "the decaying corpse of analytical, structural, quantitative history."[17] The

advocates of quantification have been no less strident in defense of their position. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, the distinguished French historian, for example, stated confidently in 1968 that by the 1980s, "the historian will be a programmer or he will be nothing."[18] And in 1972 he wrote that "Present-day historiography, with its preference for the quantifiable, the statistical and the structural, has been obliged to suppress in order to survive. In the last decades it has virtually condemned to death the narrative history of events and individual biography."[19]

Emotions aside, the main criticism of quantification rests on the nature and reliability of the sources which are subjected to rigorous mathematical manipulation to construct sophisticated models, the tendency towards articulating explicit hypotheses and making systematic comparisons across time and place, the probable bias in favor of tangible, quantifiable factors, and the failure to reach out to the eager but generally innumerate audience at large. The quantitative historians justify their methodology and concepts by invoking the name of "scientific history." The differences between the two perspectives and approaches are real, and are bound to continue arousing strong feeling among historians. But, perhaps, the differences have been exaggerated, and the situation exacerbated by polemics. Quantification, for all its undoubted merits, can answer only certain types of questions, in the same way that traditional methods of historical research have their own limitations. Thus, making unqualified assertions about the nature of the experience of slavery or indenture, which is essentially a moral question, on the basis of purely statistical sources"[20] is as dangerous and ahistorical as making generalizations about historical processes on the basis of exclusive reliance on oral evidence. It is not really a question of either-or as much as it is of degree. This may appear to be stating the obvious, yet it is a point that seems to be lost in the current debate, despite casual disclaimers to the contrary. Quantitative and conventional approaches do not necessarily need to compete with, but rather complement each other in sharpening the focus of analysis and interpretation, To illustrate this--and to turn to the subject of this note--I want to discuss my own excursion into quantification with respect to a neglected aspect of overseas Indian history. I will describe the nature and content of one document--which other historians had either ignored or were ignorant of--and the method that I have used to analyze it. It is necessary, however, to put this exercise in a broader context to understand the necessity for computation.

The question that I investigated was the origin and background of Fiji's North Indian indentured migrants as a case study of Indian indentured migration to various parts of the world.[21] A systematic exam-

ination of this question is important because it fills a serious gap in the existing literature and also helps correct some false perceptions of the background of the migrants.

At the same time, a knowledge of the background of the indentured migrants should be of considerable interest to those interested in the social and cultural evolution and transformation of overseas Indian societies. And yet, despite the relevance and importance of the subject, the researcher is immediately confronted with the problem of sources. With few exceptions, unpublished archival documents are of little assistance since they frequently deal with matters of high policy, and with abuses of and irregularities in the system that were brought to the notice of officials. However important the indenture system was to the colonies that depended for their survival on Indian labor, it was a relatively minor concern to the government of India in the nineteenth century. This is amply illustrated by the fact that both internal and external migrations came under the jurisdiction of a number of government departments. The picture prior to 1870 is unclear, though papers relating to emigration are found in the proceedings of Home Public and Home Legislative Departments. After 1870, emigration matters were dealt with by various departments as follows: Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce (1871-1879); Home, Revenue, and Agriculture (1879-1881); Revenue and Agriculture (1881-1905); and Commerce and Industry (1905-1920). Aside from the unpublished archival documents in the National Archives of India, some specially commissioned reports provide a very useful background to the problem and should serve as a starting point for any prospective student.[22]

One of these which throws valuable light on the subject and one that has been used widely by several scholars, is the Protector of Emigrants' *Annual Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta* [Madras] to British and foreign colonies (hereafter *PR*). It adequately illuminates the legal and administrative apparatus of the indenture system in India, as well as regional, district, class, and sex composition of the emigrating population. Using the *PR* to obtain insight into the origin and background of the indentured emigrants has several advantages, not the least of which is that it provides the researcher with a synoptic picture of emigration to all the colonies. However, there are some serious problems also. Although the *PRs* are available in several places, a full set of them at any one place is difficult to come by; hence, they can at best provide only snapshot pictures of a very complex process. But there is yet a more serious difficulty: because of demands for economy and the interest of the administration, some crucial information is presented in a processed, summarized form.

This is particularly the case with the data on the social and caste origins of the emigrants. Six categories are used in the *PRs:* Brahmans and high castes, agriculturalists, artisans, low castes, Musalmans, and Christians. The researcher knows nothing about which castes or groups were included in the various categories or about the basis of categorization which, as those familiar with the literature know, constitutes a major controversy in Indian social anthropology.[23] However, this data, such as it is, is not *always* available in the *PRs,* especially after the turn of the century. The 1914 *PRs,* for example, forced by a government directive towards economy in reporting, makes no reference to the social composition of the emigrating population. Furthermore, data on female migrants is presented in a confusing way, while nothing at all is said about family migration. Yet, these are questions of utmost significance in any systematic analysis of the origins and background of the indentured emigrants. Hence the *PRs* can, indeed should, be used only for general illustrative comparative purposes.

One document that contains the most comprehensive and accurate data on the demographic and regional profile of the indentured emigrants, and that seems to have been the source of the statistics presented in the *PRs,* is the *Emigration Pass.* As can be seen, it contains detailed information on the emigrants and their unindentured children and infants who embarked for Fiji from Calcutta: their depot number, name, caste, father's name, age, district of origin and registration, the name of his/her town and village and of next-of-kin, marital status, and records of any bodily marks for personal identification. It also gives the name of the ship on which the emigrant traveled to Fiji (or to other colonies) and his ship number, besides the certification of the Surgeon Superintendent, the Depot Surgeon, the Protector of Emigrants, and the Colonial Emigration Agent at Calcutta that the intending emigrant was physically and mentally fit for labor and that he/she was emigrating voluntarily.

The passes were filled out in Calcutta (or other ports of embarkation) on the basis of the Protector's or his deputy's interview with the emigrant. They were then sent in the custody of the Surgeon Superintendent of the immigrant vessel to the colonies. On arrival, the passes were handed over to the local authorities at the depot of disembarkation, who were required once again to examine the emigrants. Relevant information about the emigrants was entered into the *General Register of Immigrants* and the *Plantation Registers*[24] to keep a record of the progress and location of the migrants in the colony.

The passes were numbered sequentially as they arrived in the eighty-seven immigrant ships. For each ship, however, they were arranged al-

COLONIAL EMIGRATION FORM No. 44.

MAN'S EMIGRATION PASS.

HEALTH CLASS.

Depôt No. 133.
For Ship S.S. "SANGOLA" PROCEEDING TO FIJI.
No. 97

Fiji Government Emigration Agency.
21, Garden Reach,

Calcutta, the ______ 190

Particulars of Registration, — Place	Faizabad
Date	13. 1. 08
No. in Register	132
Name	[illegible]
Father's Name	[illegible]
Age	26
Caste	Kori
Name of Next-of-kin	[illegible] Brother
If married, name of Wife	—
District	Bahraich
Thana	[illegible]
Village or Town & Mahalla	[illegible]
Bodily Marks	[illegible]
Occupation in India	[illegible]
Height	5 Feet 5½ Inches.

CERTIFIED that we have examined and passed the above-named Man as fit to emigrate; that he is free from all bodily and mental disease; and that he has been vaccinated since engaging to emigrate.

DATED
The 190 .

M.D., F.R.C.P.,
LIEUT-COLONEL, I.M.S.
Depôt Surgeon.

Surgeon Superintendent.

CERTIFIED that the Man above described has appeared before me and has been engaged by me on behalf of the Government of FIJI as willing to proceed to that country to work for hire; and that I have explained to him all matters concerning his engagement and duties. This has also been done at the time of registration by the Registering Officer appointed by the Indian Government.

DATED
The 25 / 1. 1908.

Offg. Government Emigration Agent for Fiji.

PERMITTED to proceed as in a fit state of health to undertake the voyage to FIJI.

DATED
The FEB 18 190 .

Protector of Emigrants.

J. N. Banerjee & Son, Printers, Calcutta.—2,000.10-1906.

DEPT. CUST. PROGRAMMER DATE

	1 2 3 4 5	6 7 8 9 10	11 12	13 14	15 16 17	18	19 20 21	22 23 24	25	26	27	28 29 30 31 32	33 34
1	3 6 4 4 0		0 8	1 0	1 6 9	1	1 9	2 4	2	0	0		
2	3 6 4 4 1		0 8	1 3	2 4 8	1	2 0	4	2	0	0		
3	3 6 4 4 2	1 5 2 1	0 8	1 3	2 3 6	1	2 9	1 4	2	2	1	1 5 2 2	1
4	3 6 4 4 3		0 8	1 9	2 4 8	1	2 0	1 9	2	0	0		
5	3 6 4 4 4		0 8	1 3	2 3 6	1	2 2	8	2	0	0		
6	3 6 4 4 5		0 8	1 0	9	1	2 1	2 6	2	0	0		
7	3 6 4 4 6		0 8	1 9	1 7 5	1	2 5	8 5	2	0	0		
8	3 6 4 4 7		0 8	1 3	1 5 7	1	2 4	1 3	2	0	0		
9	3 6 4 4 8		0 8	5 7	2 5 1	1	2 4	2 1	2	0	0		
10	3 6 4 4 9		0 8	1 3	7 1	1	1 7	1 3	2	0	0		
11	3 6 4 5 0		0 8	5	7 4	1	1 9	5	2	0	0		
12	3 6 4 5 1		0 8	1 9	1 0 2	1	2 4	8	2	0	0		
13	3 6 4 5 2		0 8	1 3	7 4	1	1 7	5	2	0	0		
14	3 6 4 5 3		0 8	1 3	2 4 8	1	1 9	1 4	2	0	0		
15	3 6 4 5 4		0 8	1 4	1 6 9	1	2 0	1 4	2	0	0		
16	3 6 4 5 5		0 8	1 3	1 6 9	1	2 6	9	2	0	0		
17	3 6 4 5 6		0 8	2 8	2 5 1	1	2 2	7	2	0	0		
18	3 6 4 5 7		0 8	1	1 3 0	1	2 1	2 0	2	0	0		
19	3 6 4 5 8		0 8	1 3	7 4	1	2 1	5	2	0	0		
20	3 6 4 5 9		0 8	1 0	2 4 8	1	3 0	1 0	2	0	0		
21	3 6 4 6 0	6 2 7	0 8	1 8	2 4 8	1	2 5	1 0	2	2	1	6 2 8	1
22	3 6 4 6 1		0 8	5 3	1 7 3	1	2 5	3 5	2	0	0		
23	3 6 4 6 2		0 8	1 3	1 7 5	1	2 5	8	2	0	0		
24	3 6 4 6 3		0 8	1 0	1 6 9	1	2 2	5	2	0	0		
25	3 6 4 6 4		0 8	1 4	1 6 9	1	2 1	9	2	0	0		

CODE SHEET

Columns:

1- 5	Serial number (3 6 4 5 5)
6-10	Depot number (left out)
11-12	Year (1908)
13-14	District of registration (13 = Fyzabad)
15-17	Caste (169 = Kori)
18	Sex (1 = male)
19-21	Age (26 yrs)
22-24	District of origin (9 = Bahraich)
25	Occupation (2 = Agriculturalist)
26	Marital status (0 = not known)
27	If accompanied (0 = no)

phabetically by sex and age: the passes of adult males appeared first, followed by those of adult females, boys, girls, male infants, and female infants. Passes of the emigrants who died on the voyage appeared unnumbered at the end. Similarly, the passes of those coming on their own by paying their fares were listed separately.

In Fiji, the emigration passes were initially in the custody of the Department of Labor which had overall responsibility for the welfare of the emigrants. Subsequently, with the abolition of the indenture system, they were deposited with the National Archives, where a full set of 60,965 of the original passes, collected and bound in some 240 large folios, are still available. Along with some other institutions, the National Library of Australia has a complete copy of the passes on microfilm, and these were used for my research.

To investigate the demographic character of the North Indian indentured migrants leaving from Calcutta, each of their 45,439 passes were examined and coded. All important data, including the year of migration, depot number, caste, sex, age, marital status, districts of origin and registration, and occupation were put onto the computer codesheet. The inclusion of the depot number is important since it was the identity number given to each emigrant in the depot at the port of embarkation.

From then on, the emigrant appeared in the books as a number, as a statistic, or simply as a unit of labor. It was an important symbolic transformation in the identities of the emigrants. But the depot number had more practical uses to them, such as in giving out rations, medical treatment, and so on. However, its most important relevance for us lies in the fact that it enables the researcher to find out if a particular emigrant was accompanied by anyone. Thus, if Emigrant X was accompanied by his brother Emigrant Y, with depot number Z1, it would be stated in the "Name of Next of Kin" column of X's pass: Emigrant Y, brother, depot number Z1. Similar data would be found on Y's pass. Or if Emigrant H was the husband of Emigrant W, it would be stated in the "If married, to whom" column of H's pass: Husband of Emigrant W, depot number Z2. Children accompanying their parents would be identified with reference to the depot numbers of either of their parents, though in the case of infants it would usually be mothers. Depot numbers, thus, help in the identification of the structure and pattern of family (group) migration. In cases where men and women migrated alone, without any accompanying relatives, the marital status column was usually left blank, while in the next-of-kin column, the name of a blood or fictive kin in the village of origin would be noted, usually for purposes of checking in case of suspicion or doubt about an emigrant's motive in wanting to migrate.

Coding such variables as sex, marital status, and even occupation, was a relatively uncomplicated procedure. It was more complicated, however, in the case of variables such as caste/tribal group of the emigrants, and their district of origin, given the very large number of units involved.

A quick perusal of the emigration passes showed that the officials did not use generalized (and vague) categories of caste hierarchy as they had done in the *PRs,* but instead had used specific names of the various castes in the migrating population. Similarly, all the districts of origin were listed, regardless of their overall significance. It soon became evident that the best way to proceed with respect to these variables would be to ascertain their name and total distribution in the United Provinces (from where the majority of the emigrants originated) and to code them accordingly.

In the case of caste, the best source of information was scholar-official William Crooke's four volumes, *Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh,* published in 1897. This work contains the most detailed and reliable data on the origin of various castes, their peculiar customs and traditions, patterns of behavior, sources of livelihood, and regional location. It is perhaps worth noting that almost ninety years since Crooke wrote, no work of comparable ethnographic value on UP castes has appeared. The names of all castes and tribes listed in the four volumes were coded. Others which appeared in the emigration passes were added and coded sequentially. To obtain the names of districts, the census reports were used. These, too, were prepared alphabetically and coded sequentially.

The skeptical reader is bound to ask: how reliable is the data on caste? Was there not deliberate falsification, as oral evidence is alleged to suggest, on the part of the higher castes which were not favorably received in the colonies on account of their assumed inadequate training in agricultural work, but who nevertheless wanted to migrate? There is nothing in the records to sustain such skepticism. There are no clues in the emigration passes themselves--such as changes in caste names or comments by officials--which might suggest any deliberate falsification. The suggestion that high castes forged social data about themselves is interesting, for if it were true it would mean that more higher castes migrated than is usually believed to be the case. In point of fact, however, the higher castes, including Brahmans, had little reason to falsify information about themselves since in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the majority of them, like the menial, lower castes, derived their livelihood from cultivation.[25] One reliable indicator of manual labor that the registration officials looked for was thorns on the palms, and in this respect the higher castes were unexceptionable. As for the middling and lower castes, there

is no apparent reason to believe that they would have deliberately falsified their caste identity. From such an act they had nothing to lose or gain, at least during the early phases of migration. But even if, for the sake of argument, there were some inaccuracies, the basic picture that emerges from an analysis of the passes remains unchanged, given the scale of data used.

The above issue of skepticism opens up broader questions. Why, for example, were the officials so keen to keep such detailed and accurate data, and what purpose, if any, did the records serve? The surprise and even disbelief that some people in Fiji express when confronted with the knowledge of the existence of such data about the emigrants is understandable, but the officials had their own reasons. It has to be remembered that even the lowliest indentured laborer was a citizen of India and was, theoretically, migrating voluntarily under *contract* to another part of the British Empire. It was, therefore, necessary both for India and the colonies to keep an accurate record of the identity of the individuals and their movement in the colony. Furthermore, it should be remembered that despite the vague hopes on the part of the Government of India for a permanent settlement of Indians overseas, the indentured laborers left their homes with the desire of eventually returning after they had acquired sufficient wealth. It was thus necessary for the government to ensure that the emigrants keep in touch with their kinsmen back home through letters, and other communications. To facilitate this process, accurate data about the emigrants and their addresses in the village was necessary. It was necessary, as well, to enable those who could to transmit whatever sum they managed to save back to India. It can thus be seen that the maintenance of accurate records was a necessary condition of the whole process of indentured emigration.

Convinced that the emigration pass contained accurate data, I began the task of coding and transcription. From the outset I felt the need to process each of the passes of the Calcutta embarked emigrants, encouraged in my efforts by the inconclusive results of sampling that other scholars had done.[26] My purpose, unlike that of others who had worked on the records of overseas Indians, was to illuminate detailed aspects of the background of the indentured emigrants, and to identify every minute shift in trends, which had been of secondary importance to other researchers. To do this effectively required the examination of all the passes. It was, it must be admitted, an extremely tedious process, but the data that the analysis has yielded has not only opened up new areas for dis-

cussion but has also given me a solid base to pursue further research into the evolution of Fiji Indian society.

All the data was transcribed from the microfilms onto the computer codesheets, which were then transferred onto the magnetic tape by the Data Processing Unit of the Australian National University. It was then checked, edited, and processed using the *Statistical Package for Social Sciences.* The *SPSS,* as those familiar with computing social science data would know, is an integrated and comprehensive series of computer programs which enables the researcher to analyze any type of social science data simply and easily. For those interested in advanced analysis, there are provisions for multiple regression, factor analysis, Gutman Scaling, and so on. My interest, however, was restricted to basic descriptive statistics, frequency distribution, and cross-tabulations. The *Package* adequately catered for the range of data at hand and obviated, for the most part, the need to write a separate program. The problem of excessive mathematization which puts so many quantitative studies beyond the reach of many historians was thus avoided, as was also the much criticized process of model-building.

The data from the analysis of the emigration passes gives us a very detailed picture of the structure and dynamics of the process of indentured emigration from North India, a picture which, in fact, goes against many assumptions and assertions that have been made about the emigrants. This is not the place to present the results of the investigation. However, to give an indication, it is possible now to settle the question of exactly how many emigrants left Calcutta for Fiji, with precise breakdown for each year of migration. The analysis also tells us exactly how many and what castes were present in the emigrating population, the districts from which they came and where they were registered, the total number of males and females, the nature and extent of family migration, and the age distribution in the indentured population. This composite picture can be supplemented with more detailed two or three-way tables for any particular variable. Thus, for example, using any caste as the constant, we can easily show the exact number of males and females who migrated, together with their districts of origin in a certain year. Using a cross-tabulation of district of origin by district of registration by sex, for example, it can be seen how many numbers of the two sexes were recruited outside their homes, thus giving us a clear indication of the extent of mobility in rural India. In short, almost any combination of analysis is possible.

The availability of such detailed statistics, with enormous possibilities for further data analysis and manipulation, is interesting. We know now, for example, that of the 45,439 Calcutta embarked emigrants, 23,748 or

52.3 percent were of higher and middling castes, a figure that effectively demolishes the myth about the emigrants' invariably low social origins.[27] We know, too, that there were 13,696 females and 31,458 males in the emigrating population; a year by year analysis shows that the government stipulation that there be forty females to one hundred males was always adhered to, despite assertions to the contrary.[28] Cross-tabulation of district of origin by district of registration shows that despite popular belief about Hindu aversion to migration,[29] there was considerable spatial mobility in rural Indian society; in Basti and Gonda, two of the most important districts of migration, 59.4 percent and 69.4 percent of the recruits were registered after they had already left their homes. And finally, the analysis also reveals that from the 1880s on, the eastern districts of the United Provinces became the most important suppliers of indentured labor.

It should be clear from the above discussion that quantification has helped us to answer the "what" and "how" structural questions, and illuminated patterns of change over time; but it has left unanswered the crucial "why" (causal) questions so central to any historical analysis. To answer these, the researcher will have to leave his printouts to delve into what in common parlance is known as the "primary" sources. The task of explaining is not easy; indeed, it is frequently frustrating to move between the world of precise numbers and the world of elusive, impressionistic records. It is often a quantitative historian's nightmare to "find" explanations for trends which appear crystal-clear in the printouts, but go unremarked in the primary sources. In most cases, though, a careful collation of data from various sources--*District Gazetteers, Settlement Reports, Census Reports*--can provide a coherent and convincing explanation of the trends, such as why eastern UP and not western UP became the focus of recruitment, or why there was such a large, floating, uprooted mass of people in rural UP society from which many of the emigrants came. But there can be the odd situation, such as the migration of females. We know precisely the number of women who migrated and know, furthermore, that 63.9 percent of them went on their own, without an accompanying relative. This is surprising in view of the widespread belief about the spatial immobility and inherent conservatism of Indian women. There is no explanation of the reason for female migration in the literature, except for the assertion that most of the women were desperate, indigent destitutes of "loose" character, or widows.[30] This, needless to say, was unsatisfying. Hence, I turned to folksongs which provided a deeper and more sympathetic insight into the conditions which forced the women to leave their homes in search of livelihood elsewhere.[31] Ill-treatment of young brides, domestic disputes, simple drudgery, and frustration, loneliness and isola-

tion caused by the husband's prolonged absence in search of jobs elsewhere, poignantly raised in numerous songs, appear to have been among the factors which encouraged women to migrate.

Without much difficulty, this use of computers and folksongs forced upon me the conclusion that quantitative and humanist history are not necessarily incompatible, as the debate mentioned above would seem to suggest, but can instead be fruitfully complementary. "History has always had many mansions,"[32] Lawrence Stone has written. To survive and prosper in an age of growing emphasis on interdisciplinary studies throughout the world, it will need cooperation between the card-carrying, machine-minded quantitative historian and his humanist colleague adept at analyzing exotic, complicated oral traditions or deciphering barely legible longhand in ancient archives.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This paper briefly describes some problems of sources and methods which I encountered in my research on the origins of the Fiji Indians. The reader wanting to know more about the results of the research is referred to my unpublished dissertation: "Leaves of the Banyan Tree: Origins and Background of Fiji's North Indian Indentured Migrants, 1879-1916," 2 Vols., Australian National University, 1980.

2. Excluded from consideration in this paper are Indian emigrants to the Southeast Asian countries, where there was continual, circular migration between India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, and Burma.

3. Quoted in I. M. Cumpston, *Indians Overseas in British Territories, 1834-1854* (London, 1953), p. 174.

4. For Fiji: K. L. Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants. A history to the end of indenture in 1920* (Melbourne, 1962); Ahmed Ali, *Plantation to Politics. Studies on Fiji Indians* (Suva, 1980); Guyana: Dwarka Nath, *A History of Indians in British Guiana* (London, 1950); Trinidad: Judith Weller, *The East Indian Indenture in Trinidad* (Rio Piedras, 1968); John La Guerre (ed.), *Calcutta to Caroni. The East Indians of Trinidad* (Port of Spain, 1974); K. O. Laurence, *Immigration into the West Indies in the Nineteenth Century* (Kingston, 1971); idem, "East Indian Indenture in Trinidad," *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol. 17, no. 1 (March, 1971), pp. 34-47; Mauritius: K. Hazareesingh, *A History of Indians in Mauritius*, 2nd ed. (London, 1975); South Africa: Hilda Kuper, *Indian People in Natal* (Cape Town, 1960); Maureen Tayal, "Indian Indentured Labour in Natal, 1890-1911," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XIV, no. 4 (1977), pp. 519-47. For a more detailed list, see S. Shigematsu, "Overseas Indians--Bibliography of Books and Articles, 1873-1971," *Asian Studies*, Vol. XXI, no. 4 (1975), pp. 25-49.

5. For general surveys, see C. Kondapi, *Indians Overseas, 1838-1949* (New Delhi, 1951); Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery. The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830-1920* (London, 1974), and Anirudh Gupta (ed.), *Indians Abroad: Asia and Africa* (New Delhi, 1976).

6. The best exposition of this thesis is found in Hugh Tinker's *A New System of Slavery*. See also Usha Mahajani, "Slavery, Indian Labour and British Colonialism: A Review Article," *Pacific Affairs,* Vol. L, no. 2 (Summer, 1977), pp. 263-71.

7. See Cumpston, *Indians Overseas* and her "A Survey of Indian Emigration to British Tropical Colonies to 1910," *Population Studies,* Vol. X, part II (1956-57), pp. 158-65.

8. See Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants.* This school of thought is supported in most anthropological studies. For an introduction to this literature, see Chandra Jayawardena, "Migration and Social Change: A Survey of Indian Communities Overseas," *Geographical Review,* Vol. LVIII (1968), pp. 426-49.

9. Edmund D. Bunksé, "Commoner Attitudes Towards Landscape and Nature," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* Vol. 68 (1978), p. 558.

10. Ahmed Ali (ed.), *Girmit: Indenture Experience in Fiji* (Suva, 1979).

11. P. M. Mercer, "Oral Tradition in the Pacific: Problems of Interpretation," *Journal of Pacific History,* Vol. XIV, no. 3 (1979), p. 153. This article is an excellent introduction to the debates and controversies in the use of oral literature. See also J. Vansina, "Oral tradition and its methodology," in J. Ki-Zerbo (ed.), *General History of Africa 1: Methodology and African Prehistory* (London, 1981), pp. 142-65.

12. For more detailed discussion, see Bunksé, "Commoner Attitudes Towards Landscape and Nature," Indra Deva, "Oral Tradition and the Study of Peasant Society," *Diogenes,* no. 85 (1974), pp. 112-27, and Ved Prakash Vatuk, *Thieves in My House: Four Studies in Indian Folklore of Protest and Change* (Varanasi, 1969).

13. Others who have shown the usefulness of oral tradition as a source of valuable data in the context of indenture historiography, include Ved Prakash Vatuk, "Protest Songs of East Indians in British Guiana," *Journal of American Folklore,* Vol. LXXVII (1964), pp. 220-35; J. S. Kanwal, *A Hundred Years of Hindi in Fiji* (Suva, 1980), and my own article, "Approaches to the Study of Indian Indentured Emigration with Special Reference to Fiji," *Journal of Pacific History,* Vol. XV, part 1 (Jan. 1980), pp. 52-70, especially pp. 66 ff.

14. For further discussion, see Bernard S. Cohn, "Notes for a Discussion on the Uses and Abuses of Quantification in the Study of Modern Indian History," *Bulletin of Quantitative and Computer Methods in South Asian History,* no. 1 (June 1973), pp. 3-7.

15. Carl Bridenbaugh, "The Great Mutation," *American Historical Review,* Vol. LXVIII (Jan. 1963), p. 326.

16. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Humanist Looks at Empirical Social Research," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. XXVI (Dec. 1961), p. 770.

17. Lawrence Stone, "The Renewal of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," *Past and Present,* no. 85 (Nov. 1979), p. 23.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.* For other, less strident advocacy of quantification, see Robert William Fogel, "The Limits of Quantitative Methods in History," *American Historical Review,* Vol. LXXX, no. 2 (1975), pp. 329-50; Allan G. Bogue, "Numerical and Formal Analysis in United States

History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* Vol. XII, no. 1 (Summer, 1981), pp. 137-75; David Herlihy, "Numerical and Formal Analysis in European History," *ibid.,* pp. 115-35; Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, *Historians' Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research* (New York, 1974), especially the Introductory chapter, and David S. Landes and Charles Tilly (eds.), *History as Social Science* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971).

20. A well-known quantitative work which has been subjected to such criticism is Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman's *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston, 1974), 2 Vols. Criticism of this work has generated its own historiography.

21. The Fiji case is typical of Indian indentured emigration, especially to the West Indies. For a reiteration of this view see Raymond T. Smith, "Some Social Characteristics of Indian Immigrants to British Guiana," *Population Studies,* Vol. XIII, no. 1 (1956), pp. 34-39, Tinker, *A New System of Slavery,* and Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants.*

22. For the pre-1870 period, the most comprehensive and accurate account is provided by J. Geoghegan, *Coolie Emigration from India* (Calcutta, 1874). Its value is enhanced by the fact that documentary evidence for that period has either been "weeded out" or difficult of access. For the period after 1870, the following are useful: C. L. Tupper's *A Note on Colonial Emigration During the Year 1878-79* (Simla, 1879); *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates* (Cmd. 5192/94, 1910), generally known as Sanderson Committee Report, named after the Chairman; James McNeill and Chiman Lal's *Report to the Government of India on the Conditions of Indian Immigrants in Four British Colonies and Surinam* (Cmd. 7744/5, 1914); and W. D. Comin's detailed reports on Indian immigration into certain selected West Indian Colonies, published in the 1890s. These reports are available in several places.

23. See, for example, Lucy Carroll, "Sanskritization, 'Westernization' and 'Social Mobility': A Reappraisal of the Relevance of Anthropological Concepts to the Social Historian of Modem India," in *Journal of Anthropological Research,* Vol. XXXIII, no. 4 (1977), pp. 355-71, and M. N. Srinivas, *Caste in India and Other Essays* (Berkeley, 1962).

24. These documents contain a mine of information waiting to be exploited by a student interested in the social and regional history of indenture.

25. For more discussion see Lal, "Leaves of the Banyan Tree," p. 218 ff.

26. See, for example, Smith, "Some Social Characteristics of Indian Immigrants to British Guiana," and Chandra Jayawardena, "Social Contours of an Indian Labour Force During the Indenture Period in Fiji," in Vijay Mishra (ed.), *Rama's Banishment: A Centenary Tribute to the Fiji Indians, 1879-1979.* (Auckland, 1979), pp. 40-65.

27. See Lal, "Leaves of the Banyan Tree," p. 204, and K. L. Gillion, *The Fiji Indians: Challenge to European Dominance, 1920-1946* (Canberra, 1977), p. 7.

28. See, for example, Jayawardena, "Social Contours of an Indian Labour Force," p. 46.

29. See William Crooke, *The North-Western Provinces of India: Their History, Ethnology and Administration* (London, 1897), p. 326; *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* Vol. 1 (1907), p. 467; *Census of India,* Vol. X (1911), p. 49.

30. For further discussion see Lal, "Leaves of the Banyan Tree," Chapter 7.

31. Two useful collections of folksongs and their analysis which bear on the question include Krishnadev Upadbyay, *Bhojpuri Ke Lok Geet* (Bhojpuri Folksongs) (Varanasi, n.d.), and Sankar Sen Gupta (ed.), *Women in Indian Folklore* (Calcutta, 1969).

32. Stone, "Revival of the Narrative," p. 4.

EDITOR'S FORUM

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS OF FIELD ETHICS IN OCEANIA[1]

by Mervyn McLean

My concern in this paper is to take up a challenge recently posed by John Blacking (1980) in a policy statement made in support of his candidature as President of the Society for Ethnomusicology: "How far can the Society promote the interests and satisfy the needs of Third World countries in a way that is compatible both with the scientific aims of ethnomusicology and with ethical principles?"

As a case study, let me begin with a brief report on a prolonged controversy about the role and responsibilities of the anthropologist which took place in the pages of *Man in New Guinea* (later *Research in Melanesia*), *Oceania, Current Anthropology,* and other journals from the year 1970 to date.

The controversy began in a small way with a seemingly ordinary suggestion from a social anthropologist that academics who undertake fieldwork in Papua New Guinea might discharge some of their responsibilities to the Territory by depositing copies of slides or photographs portraying village life with the local university library (Anon. 1970:2-3). There followed a suggestion (White 1970) that as a further gesture anthropologists should perhaps be compelled to take an indigenous trainee assistant into the field. And, by degrees, a full-scale debate emerged on the merits and demerits of indigenization of research. One outcome of this debate was the revelation that there is plainly a good deal of dissatisfaction with anthropologists in Papua New Guinea even though, by and large, anthropologists are well liked by the people among whom they work and have excellent relationships with them. A much-voiced claim is that people who are used as informants give time and labor and suffer nuisance in hosting a research worker but get nothing in return, though anthropologists make careers and reputations and get rich as a result. It is frequently claimed that inaccurate or misleading ethnographic reports have been published by anthropologists. And indigenous students complain that if foreign researchers are allowed in, they themselves will have nothing left to research (Talyaga 1974:17). It is useless to argue that the anthropologist does benefit the community, though perhaps in indirect ways; that an-

thropologists are not really rich but only seem to be; that the academic observer is merely interpreting facts in unaccustomed ways; that persons who give social scientists a bad name are often not really anthropologists; or even that Papua New Guinea students' concepts of knowledge as a finite and scarce resource result from a Melanesian cultural belief that if "ritual" knowledge is put to a secular "use" which outsiders do not comprehend, it is regarded as "stolen" (Young 1975:55-56). All or most of these arguments may be true, but the criticisms must, nevertheless, be taken seriously because they are of real concern to the peoples themselves and pose a real problem for future research.

The problem is exacerbated by the very real difficulties faced by anthropologists in explaining in lay terms what it is they are trying to do. As Hau'ofa (1975:284) points out, "We often end up saying we are there to learn their customs and write books about them," which is an oversimplification. And when the people themselves read the books their expectations are not realized, and they see themselves as distorted or misrepresented. From this it is a small step to the belief that "outsiders are excluded in principle from knowing the truth about a society," and "that foreign anthropologists can only write 'half-truths' " (Morauta 1979:564). Solutions offered by anthropologists have included calls for more adequate returns to the host country, more effective ways of communicating results to nonacademic audiences, and more emphasis on collaborative research. Meanwhile, as more and more Pacific countries become independent, events have overtaken the homilies and it has now become less a matter of anthropologists offering these things than of the host countries claiming them as a right. Fiji, the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, and most recently, the Cook Islands all now have a system of research permits for visiting researchers and insist that certain conditions be met before a permit will be issued. A commonly applied principle is that the research to be undertaken must be of local value.

What kind of research?

The kinds of ethnomusicological research that would be acceptable to Pacific Island administrations can be gauged by examining research and research activities currently being carried out by Pacific islanders themselves. Elsewhere (McLean 1980:47) I have pointed out that these are strikingly similar to those which have already taken place in postcolonial Africa. From a report by Nketia (1975) it seems that indigenous based and indigenous controlled research on African music departs in some cases very markedly from the disinterested pursuit of knowledge for its own

sake which is the preferred hallmark of most Western research. Rather, the emphasis tends to be on applied research, giving preference to "immediate, Africa-centered problems" and the gathering of information that will be of use to educators, creative artists seeking new forms of expression, and politicians eager to encourage a "national" identity to replace older divisive tribal loyalties. Developments supportive of such emphases include country-wide song and dance festivals, the use of mass communications for wider dissemination of former "tribal" musics, and national theater and creative arts movements which draw upon traditional resources as a starting point.

Oceanic parallels can readily be found. A large South Pacific Festival of the Arts involving twenty or more Pacific nations is now staged every four years; national dance theaters have been established in the Cook Islands, Fiji, and Papua New Guinea; the latter country also has a Creative Arts Center modeled on one in Nigeria; and a recent trend has been the establishment of cultural centers for the study of oral tradition in such places as Honiara, Solomon Islands, and Vila, Vanuatu, which dedicate themselves to collecting oral materials and disseminating them by means of local radio stations. Indigenous research is not as firmly established as in Africa, and there are not as many institutions which support it. Nevertheless, such work as has been carried out tends also to follow the precedents of Africa. Recorded materials are used directly in local activities (e.g., in museums and schools); documentation is of "culturally meaningful events as a whole [with] musical components not necessarily documented in full detail"; and the music to be recorded is selected primarily in terms of "relevance to ethnic/cultural/national identity" (Smith 1977).

Are such concerns compatible with scientific aims? I think that they are if the ethnomusicologist's brief is broadly interpreted. In a review of indigenous anthropological research in Papua New Guinea, Morauta (1979:565) draws attention to the high proportion of indigenous writing which falls into the category of "rescue ethnography." "There are," she says, "numbers of articles which aim simply to record traditional legends, songs and customs before they are lost." It is worth emphasizing that this used to be a concern of ethnomusicologists also before the somewhat unkindly dubbed "white knight" approach became unfashionable from the late 1960s onward. I believe it may be time for a return to some such approach, not as an object of the discipline--for it was never that--but as a necessary *quid pro quo* and means of identifying more closely with the clearly expressed needs and concerns of the people among whom we choose to work. In some parts of the world "rescue ethnography" may not

be a pressing need. But there can be no question that in Oceania, at least, salvage research is a matter of urgency. The case for field research in Oceania has been argued fully elsewhere (McLean 1979), and I will not reiterate it here. In the current context, however, I do wish to emphasize that in my belief there is a major deficiency in ethnomusicological research programs--world-wide--which could well justify accusations of "irrelevance" and which must be remedied if ethnomusicologists are fully to discharge their responsibilities to host communities. I have asserted (McLean 1979: 104) that "anyone who is entering a field area whose music has never been fully studied before has a responsibility to record *all* data about music-making even if it is not strictly germane to his or her own immediate goals." This demands what I have called "base research," rather than currently popular "problem-oriented' approaches which aim to meet academic criteria of problem solving at a theoretical level, or to test the efficacy of particular theoretical "models." This is not to say that the data gathered ought not to be so used, or that problem-oriented research should be abandoned. It *does* mean, however, that data-gathering ought to go beyond immediate, narrowly academic or scholarly needs and it would obviously be an advantage also if there were a shift in opinion within the discipline in favor of straight music ethnography as a legitimate if sometimes unexciting research objective. And in practical terms, I suggest that governments are likely to see such studies as relevant to local needs and will be correspondingly more likely to grant permits to allow the research. Notice that I am not advocating an abandonment of "pure" research in favor of "applied" research in order to accommodate these needs. I am suggesting rather a dual approach which will serve *both* sets of objectives using the same body of data as a starting point. This is something that ethnomusicologists have often, in any case, been doing informally out of a simple sense of obligation to the host cultures, as in New Zealand where the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music has been assisting the active conservation of indigenous Maori music since the inception of the Archive in 1970. One of the Archive's activities is a free dubbing service, running currently at sixty requests a year, for Maori individuals and groups who wish to learn songs. In New Zealand, the sheer bulk of materials now available far exceeds that required for purely ethnomusicological purposes, but the Archive continues actively to acquire materials simply out of regard for conservation. In the Pacific at large, local archives attached to museums or culture centers could provide similar services in their own areas, while at the same time acting as a safe repository for field materials contributed by visiting and local researchers.

Who should do the research?

Calls for greater local involvement in anthropological research in Oceania have tended to fall into three categories. The first is a call for more locals to be trained as fully professional anthropologists (Hau'ofa 1975:288). The second is a recommendation for greater commitment to collaborative research in which people will be treated more as equal partners than as passive suppliers of information (Frazer 1975:48). The third is a rejection even of collaborative research for fear of academic exploitation (Morauta 1979:564), and a demand for nothing less than the complete indigenization of research on the insiders' own terms. Such views arise from obviously deeply held convictions that outside research is, by its nature, always exploitative, that outside research *never* has relevance to local needs, and that insiders are uniquely placed to discern the truth about a society.

Is there anything to be said for this view? How influential is it? And need ethnomusicologists come to terms with it?

In her article on "Indigenous Anthropology in Papua New Guinea," Morauta (1979:564) accepts the view that "the extreme form of the insider doctrine . . . is particularly likely to emerge in situations of social conflict," and thinks it likely that it will become less important as Papua New Guinea becomes accustomed to independence. If this is correct, it will doubtless become true also of other Pacific nations. On the other hand, whereas Pacific islanders may in the long run be perfectly happy to leave anthropology to professionals, the same may not apply to ethnomusicology. Even in our own society there is a distressing tendency to think that while the acquisition of, say, linguistic information is a professional activity, the recording of oral tradition, including music, can be undertaken by anyone and the more technical study aspects left till later. Moreover, the very relevance of ethnomusicology to island concerns could well cause it to be regarded as a field of endeavor that islanders themselves are competent to research fully without outside help. Our remedy to combat this misconception is more effective publicity about the objectives of our research, and resistance to any claim that "applied" ethnomusicology should be the *sole* end-product of collecting and study activity.

> What then of the idea that only a person who has been born and brought up in a society is competent to write about its culture? Hau'ofa (1975:288) makes the apparently commonsense observation that local anthropologists should be in an excellent

> position for conducting continuous re search and keeping in touch with local happenings . . . should have a thorough knowledge and a deep appreciation of the nuances of their own languages . . . and should have the intuitive knowledge and a built-in "feel" for the subtleties of their cultures and their human relationships.

Although writing in support of Hau'ofa's plea for more local anthropologists, Crocombe (1975:66-67) points out, on the other hand, that the sole criticisms of indigenous researchers tend to be meted out by their own compatriots: predictions that the doyen of expatriate anthropologists, Margaret Mead, would be "either mobbed, killed, humiliated or thrown in the sea" if she ever dared to return to Samoa so far failed to materialize that when she did return she was extended "the largest welcome that almost *any* foreign visitor has ever been given." Moreover, leading Samoans who had strong negative feelings about her completely reversed them on getting to know her as a person (*ibid.*:69).

The contradictions can easily be explained. Insiders, in fact, have no special advantages as observers. As Gjessing (1968:400) has explained: "Tradition is, in its very essence, unconscious. Tradition molds us, but we are always inside the mold and cannot look at it from the outside."

But a similar set of restraints applies to the outsider, whose view is likewise tempered by his conditioning and so cannot be objective either. The doctrine of the "insider" is false, then, but so is that of the privileged outside observer. As John Blacking (1977) has said:

> Neither an insider nor an outsider is especially privileged to understand a culture. All ethnography, like all history, incorporates the prejudices of the ethnographer . . . and it is acknowledged that even in the most objective measurements the observer becomes a factor in the situation.

What then is the solution for ethnomusicology? Before I offer my answer, let me make two further observations: The first is a comment by Ralph Beal (1968:408) who while believing "that man . . . is a creature of his culture and its value system and hence science is never wholly objective," indicates that it is better to struggle with an imperfect objectivity than to surrender the fight.

The second is a quotation from a thoughtful editorial in *Man in New Guinea,* written in 1971 in response to criticisms of anthropologists and

seeking to explain why anthropologists were getting what appeared to be an unjustifiably bad reputation in newly independent nations (Anon. 1971:4). The writer says:

> It seems very important at this stage, when the climate of indigenous opinion . . . though obviously ambivalent, does not yet appear in general to be unfavourable, that research workers should not sell themselves, their colleagues or their projects short. They must simply be prepared to explain patiently and in detail what the objectives and the implications of their research are.

In short, part of our "ethical" responsibility--and nonetheless so for being commonly overlooked--is to our own discipline, our own colleagues, and our own traditions of scholarship. We may assist "applied" research, and I believe, indeed, we have an obligation to do so, but if we want "pure" research to be undertaken as well, we must maintain the right to do it ourselves and we must convince our indigenous colleagues that it is worth their while allowing us to do so. We may assist the training of indigenous workers, and again this is something I actively support, but not with any implication, tacit or otherwise, that insiders ought one day to replace outsiders, or that current Third World needs are a sufficient end for ethnomusicology. By now, then, my answer to the "insider/outsider" question ought to be obvious.

To sum up, we owe responsibility on the one hand to scholarship and on the other to the indigenous people amongst whom we choose to work.

Our concerns and theirs towards music as a cultural product overlap but do not coincide.

As neither insider nor outsider can be fully objective, all that would be achieved if research were to be made exclusively indigenous would be to exchange one set of constraints on objectivity with another. Equally, however, it can be argued that insider and outsider views are by their nature complementary and that *both* must therefore be taken into account.

We arrive, then, at similar solutions to those already worked out by anthropologists.

For ethnomusicology, no less than for the other social sciences, the problem can best be resolved first by an increased commitment to collaborative research between insider and outsider, and second by a greater willingness on our part to pursue indigenous goals jointly with our own.

NOTE

1. The paper was read at the Twenty-fifth Silver Jubilee meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology held at Indiana University, April 1980.

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BOOK REVIEW FORUM

H. E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864.* Stanford: Stanford University Press; Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, The University of the South Pacific; Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 1981. Pp. xxiii, 246, 49 black and white illustrations, 12 maps, index, 9 tables. $38.95

To call someone a slaver is a powerful accusation, drawing up images of bestial brutality, coffin cargos, and rapacious Europeans exploiting technologically simple populations for the growth of home industry or-agriculture. Slavery does seem to be as old as recorded history, and were it not for the institution, most of the world's great monuments to human ingenuity would not have been built; the Golden Age of Greece might not have eventuated, and European colonialism not secured its headstart for two centuries of domination.

Harry Maude, doyen of Pacific historians, does not tell of a grand slavery enterprise, but of a small nation succumbing to temptation. His study of the Peruvian labor trade shows us how an otherwise humanistic government in Peru could permit itself to be duped and entrapped in a situation which it did not make, but did nothing to prevent.

Hidden behind the tale, though, is a chapter in colonialism only now beginning to be finely drawn by the modern historian: what capitalism did to secure the labor it required to continue the expansion of the late nineteenth century, to produce the worlds (first, second, third and fourth) we now know.

Through the work of Guttman and other American historians we know that slavery, the purchase and transport of human beings as chattels, did not cease entirely because of humanitarian pressure, but because it became too expensive. As slavery from Africa faded out, indenture became the slave system transformed. And it was cheaper.

Indenture worked by the drawing up of a contract, in the body of which specified duties for specified compensation (in wages or kind) were apparently agreed upon by the hiring agent and the laborer. Typically, indenture was handled by middlemen, who sought out the prospective laborers. Such contracts usually involved a set period of labor, transport to and from the laborer's place of residence, provision of food and clothing,

and sometimes a small wage. These contracts were then sold to individuals and companies requiring the labor.

In principle, it seemed a straightforward business arrangement. In practice, of course, these contracts often were composed in such a fashion that their implications were unclear to the (often illiterate) laborer. Cash wage was kept so low that there was little chance of a laborer buying his (or her) own contract, and work conditions were only vaguely specified.

It would have been difficult to have differentiated an auction of labor contracts (indenture) from an auction of laborers (slavery); the one difference was that while slavery was for the life of the commodity-laborer, indenture had a specified duration. The effect of this was that the holder of the contract got the labor without having to become responsible over the long term for the laborer.

While Peru will always carry the shame of its short-lived trade, many other countries have prospered through indenture, including the United States, Britain (in its colonies, such as Fiji), and Australia. Both Britain and Australia, along with Peru, had their indenture slavery using South Pacific labor in the nineteenth century.

There is no need to recapitulate the details of the Peruvian episode, as Maude can tell the interested reader that story in fine prose. I would like to consider what has been left out. To say that there are omissions is not to denigrate Maude, for he writes with the British historian's fine eye for detail and integrity for documentation. What he does not do, and this is typical of the tradition, is to do more than to interpret the basic facts. Being atheoretical in orientation, the British historian conventionally does not provide context. We know a great deal about the few months of the trade itself, which began in October 1862 and terminated, as far as Island raids were concerned, within six months.

Context can tell us why the actors in the drama we read might have performed as they did. Why, for example, did Peru not continue to use the more plentiful supply of Chinese "coolies"? Documents I have researched from the period in Peru show that even while Peruvian and other vessels headed for Polynesia, the much larger China clippers still moved to and from Cathay, bringing 600 to 700 laborers on a voyage. This trade was slowed down only slightly by British protests about Peruvian operations in their colony.

Why, to take another example, did France so strenuously oppose the trade? France has a long tradition of *Liberté, Égalité,* and *Fraternité.* But there was an additional reason why France, through its chargé d'affaires, de Lesseps, should wish to embarrass the Peruvian government in

1862-1863. At that time, the French were seeking to impose their self-styled Emperor Maximilian on the throne of republican Mexico and the Peruvians, along with other American republics, sided with their neighbor to the north.

Perhaps, however, my quibbles about the larger context, including the colonial one, seem unfair to the work Maude has produced for us. What he has provided, that the theoretical historians sometimes do not, are all the details about the incidents. From Maude's *Slavers,* future generations will be able to reinterpret, for the groundwork has been laid, and expertly, too.

In addition to thorough research, extending over many years, there is a detailed index, a scholarly bibliography of fifteen archives and eighty-five sources, with maps showing ship's routes, and twenty-seven pages of careful footnotes. All of this material has been digested for us into nine central tables, placed in an Appendix. Maude's work, in short, is the definitive study of this particular episode, even if it does not tell us much about why such a series of events might have taken place at that time.

There is some strong language from Maude and it is directed mainly against the Peruvians who did allow it to take place. Lima was not some barbarian capital, but the (former) jewel of the Spanish empire, rich in artwork and history. High culture flourished and Limeños (the people of Lima) maintained close and appreciative contacts with European events and trends. Their main newspaper, *El Comercio,* carried features on philosophy, as well as the news of the day. The paper itself was cautious when the trade began and became, within Peruvian society, one of the strongest opponents of the Polynesian importations.

Maude calls part of the trade's effect genocidal and the word was not lightly chosen. It is true that genocide, when we think of massacres of Jews, Armenians, and others in this century, is a deliberate campaign to eradicate a particular racial group. In that sense, the Peruvians were not genocidal in intention though ethnocide was one of its justifications. Part of the argument for the trade was to bring the fruits of European civilization, including Christianity, to Polynesia, to the detriment of the Islanders' own beliefs. Genocide, however, was the effect or near-effect of the trade and for that reason the use of this powerful word is justified.

Peruvian reaction to Maude's study will no doubt be varied: few of its citizens today would be aware that it took place. Even the term "Canaca," being the Hawaiian *kanaka* for human being, now exists in modem Peruvian only in association with brothels. "To Canaca *(canaquear)"* means to frequent Chinese brothels or to behave in a similar dissolute manner.

Just as Australians are generally ignorant of their Queensland trade, involving Melanesians in the sugar fields of the far north, so many Peruvians today will be surprised to hear of the limits of their ancestors' actions to promulgate agriculture and other industries.

The book will be of particular interest not only to Pacific specialists but to the general reader as well. It is vintage Maude, with that fine prose style that not only informs, but is a pleasure to read. It is a fine product from a quiet Canberra garden.

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This book is Professor Maude's "intermittent labor of love" researched amidst a busy life first as a British administrator and subsequently as a scholar of Pacific history at the Australian National University. Like everything else Maude has written, this work, too, bears all the hallmarks of his scholarship which is characterized by meticulous research and elegant, evocative prose. Professor Maude clearly has a romantic fascination with the South Seas, born no doubt out of his long and deep association with it. This book as a result is replete with words and phrases that conjure in the mind the image of tranquility, peace, and abandon in which the island people lived before the intrusion of the Europeans. Indeed, Maude sees the general reader viewing his account "as the story of the most dramatic region-wide conflict between human greed and bewildered innocence ever to occur in the romantic setting of the South Seas" (p. viii).

This romantic, as opposed to "analytical," vision informs and indeed pervades the whole book which deals with the seven month period between September 1862 and April 1863 when hundreds of Polynesians were taken away by Peruvian recruiters for employment in Peru. All facets of this episode are described and documented. We are told of the numbers of people who were recruited, the islands from which they came, the mortality rate among the laborers, their repatriation, the brutalizing ordeal of shipment, and so on. The discussion of the dynamics of recruitment and shipment of the Polynesian laborers forms the core of the story. One wishes the author had told us more about the social and economic realities of the world from which the islanders had been recruited and the realities of the new environment into which they were introduced. We

would then have had a more composite and full picture of the episode. As it stands, the reader is left with a romanticized picture of the Polynesian world, an impressionistic, and at times derogatory picture of Peruvian society.

Professor Maude's moral outrage at the activities of the rapacious Peruvian recruiters is apparent, as it is also in the title of the book. To him, the elaborate process of labor recruitment, "the inspection of ships' papers and recruits' contracts was a farce," (p. 123). Nine-tenths of the Polynesian laborers "had been tricked or forced into leaving their islands and had little or no knowledge of the purport of the document, written in Spanish and occasionally also in English, which they had been told to put a mark on long after they came on board" (p. 124). In short, Polynesian labor recruitment was slave trade.

The contemporary officials and observers, Maude tells us, were all agreed that the labor traffic indeed resembled slavery; and he is content to go by their opinion. It may be worth noting that the Melanesian labor migration was also viewed in this light by many contemporary observers, especially self-interested missionaries, until critical investigations of scholars such as Peter Corris and Deryck Scarr showed it to be a more complex and two-sided affair. Indian indentured migration has also been viewed as slavery by many people, though detailed investigation of aspects of it have raised serious questions about the validity of the description. Slavery is a problematic concept as the intense debate about it in the United States clearly shows; and the use of the term can just as easily confuse and obscure as it can illuminate. But perhaps the Polynesian episode was unique, something which does not emerge clearly from the narrative, but may have emerged in a more comparative perspective.

A chronological, island-by-island account of recruitment adds color and variety to the book, and it is bound to increase its appeal in those islands from where the laborers were taken. However, such treatment unfortunately detracts from the emergence of a more complete picture of the process of recruitment and shipping of the laborers, besides being repetitive at times. It also leads to the banishment of important statistical information, central to the purpose of the book, to the end, something which at least one numerate reader found disappointing.

Professor Maude's study of a little-known episode in Polynesian history will be welcomed by scholars of Pacific history and especially by *aficionados* of Polynesian studies. A general student of Pacific history, however, would probably have been satisfied with a less detailed treat-

ment in the form of a long chapter included in the author's masterly collection of essays, *Of Islands and Men.*

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Slavers in Paradise is clearly a pioneering work. Its greatest importance, obviously, is for Polynesian history. But it also has value for the student of Peruvian social history, bringing out some relatively unknown factual aspects of the contract labor arrangements under which Asian workers were brought to Peru to replace the emancipated Black slaves in the mid-nineteenth century.

The importation of Chinese "coolies" under Peruvian contract labor law has been studied by scholars, but the record of the short-lived arrangement for importing workers from Polynesia for the sugar plantations and for guano mining has been little studied because of the difficulty of finding the documentation; it is a sorry record, indeed, as the author shows. Fortunately, as he brings out in chapter 18, Peruvian humanitarians, prodded especially by the French chargé d'affaires, Edmond de Lesseps, brought a quick end to the traffic, once the abuses became known, though not before thousands of Polynesians had lost their lives because of inhumane treatment and disease. The small population of Polynesia had been reduced to a catastrophic degree, particularly in Easter Island.

The United States, engaged in the Civil War, paid little attention to the abuses in the trade reported from Peru. Hawaiian officials were largely ineffective. Britain, which had important interests in Polynesia, procrastinated, not deciding until the traffic was virtually over, whether or not the islanders were entitled to British protection. Chile, although later claiming the Easter Islands, had no officials there. For this reason some of the worst abuses occurred there. The author appropriately lauds the French representatives and the French government for their active protestations which helped secure the abolition of the traffic. Edmond de Lesseps receives special praise.

Some Peruvian aspects of the study may be open to criticism, even though the author's appropriate emphasis is upon Polynesia. The opening chapter, "The Peruvian Background," for example, will raise questions by Peruvian historians. They may rightly ask why so little attention is given in this chapter to the almost overwhelming domestic and international

problems, social, economic, and political, faced by Peru at this time. They will doubtless resent the derogatory reference to the population of Peru (p. 1) as consisting of "disparate ethnic groups between which there is little in common other than a disinclination to engage in manual labour if it could be avoided." They might also have wished to see more credit given to Peruvian liberals for their abolition of Black slavery and for their struggles against Chinese contract labor, before it was reallowed in 1861.

A reviewer should not quibble over words, but in the interest of accuracy it may be appropriate to raise a question about the use of the terms *slavers* and *slave trade* in the title of the book. No one questions the right of an author to use these terms in their broad popular sense on occasion. But their use in this sense in a careful and precise historical study such as this one seems to mar rather than add to its effectiveness for the historian. The historical institution of slavery had been abolished in Peru and the slaves had left the plantations and guano islands. While some of the aspects of the recruitment and transportation of the Polynesians may have been as bad or worse than the worst of the African slave shipments, it was a different kind of social and economic abuse.

Although the author does not seem to have used computerized statistical techniques, he rates high in terms of quantification. Meager and scattered figures have been gathered from the documents and carefully collated to give a reliable idea of the number of recruits involved, the number of ships employed, the numbers landed and refused landing, and the numbers repatriated. The greatest gap in statistical information seems to be in respect to the workers who stayed on in Peru. Data here is largely lacking. But the author's ingenious calculation of the number of workers from Easter Island is worthy of special mention. Lacking any official records from Easter Island itself, he identified shipments from there by carefully calculating the sailing times of the various vessels arriving in Callao, thus deducing the origin of the shipments.

The author identified 32-33 vessels engaged in the trade, of which 27 were Peruvian, 4 Chilean, 1 Spanish, and (possibly) 1 Tasmanian. The total number of laborers recruited is calculated as 3,634, including 1,407 from Easter Island, 1,915 from other Polynesian islands and 312 from Micronesia.

The saddest aspect of the Polynesian labor recruitment is the record of repatriation, inspired though it was by the humane efforts of French and British officials and by missionaries. "Of the total of 3125 brought to Peru," writes Professor Maude (p. 164), "1216 or 39 percent, were thus retained or put on board four repatriation vessels, but only 157 or 5 percent, landed once again on a Polynesian island alive." The author uses the

term “genocide” to describe this wholesale loss of life. Sensitive Peruvians may resent the implied comparison with the Nazi holocaust, since their objective was not to wipe out a race but to provide workers. Yet the term certainly imparts a vivid sense of the tragedy in Polynesia.

The impact of the incipient Christian missionary efforts in the islands, both Catholic and Protestant, might have received more careful evaluation. While disease of the coconut palm, the islanders’ major food source, was a prime factor in favoring the recruitment, missionaries, somewhat naively, sometimes collaborated with the labor recruiters under the mistaken idea that they were helping to ward off starvation (pp. 76-77, 174-175). However, the London Missionary Society and other missionary groups helped to arouse the public opinion in Peru that brought an end to the traffic. Missionaries also helped to calm the fears and resentment of the islanders, and to reconcile them to the tragedy they had suffered.

While this is a book that may well invite controversy, it is a notable contribution, not only to Polynesian history, but also to the more complex field of comparative history.

Harold E. Davis
The American University

Response: H. E. Maude

I am relieved at the temperate tenor of these critiques, and I find myself in agreement with many of the points made, though to have provided all the information apparently considered desirable would have necessitated the production of a book which few could have afforded to buy.

All contributors comment on my use of the term slavery. I wish that I could have found a less emotive and opprobrious word that expressed the real, as against the theoretical, position of the recruits; for though Davis implies, if I understand him rightly, that because slavery had been abolished in Peru the treatment of the Polynesians did not constitute slavery, but “a different kind of social and economic abuse,” this is not the view I have taken.

Slavery is abolished in the United States, and yet as recently as 1947 the Supreme Court held a person to be enslaved, using a definition of de facto slavery which would be as applicable to the Polynesian recruits as the one I have given on p. xx, and cases of slavery are reported as existing

in countries where it has been legally abolished for decades. In fact, I used the term advisedly and not in a broad popular sense; but perhaps it would have been less invidious to have adopted McCall's more precise term: indenture slavery.

It is true, as Brij Lal points out, that many contemporary observers considered the Polynesian labor trade to be a disguised slave trade, but I should have been loathe to have based my judgment on their view alone, for missionaries in particular were apt to call all forms of the indentured labor trade slavery. Some fifty years ago I was a labor recruiting officer myself on ships working the Gilbert and Tuvalu Groups, and since then I have read most of the documentation on the seven other major labor trades in Oceania--to New South Wales, Queensland, New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoa, Tahiti, and Hawaii--as well as on a number of minor recruiting ventures to such places as Nauru and Ocean Island, Makatea, Fanning Island, and Guatemala; but in general character, none of them were slave trades, and it was to accentuate my view that the Peruvian traffic was unique that I chose an unequivocal title for the book.

Davis reproves me for giving too little attention to Peru's contemporary problems and to the work of Peruvian liberals. In extenuation I can but plead that the book was written for, and at the request of, a Polynesian readership and much of interest to Peruvian scholars had perforce to be omitted unless it bore directly on my main theme: the fate of the Polynesians in Peru. Credit was given, for instance, to the help afforded by the newspaper *El Comercio* and employers such as Cipriano Elguera and John Montero; but there were no doubt others, and it is to be hoped that someone may be stimulated by such omissions to write an account of the labor trade as seen from the receiving end. I suspect, however, that what constituted a major tempest in Oceania caused only a ripple on the shores of Peru.

For my disparaging remark on ethnic attitudes towards manual labor I must do penance; it was not well-phrased and should in any case have referred specifically to plantation labor. On the other hand, Davis has misread me in concluding that the coconut palm disease affected atolls other than Tongareva; and as regards missionary activity, I think that apart from the efforts of the Catholic Bishop in Tahiti to alert Catholics on the mainland, these were of little avail. The Protestant missions, having no contacts in Peru, concentrated on inducing the British Government to do something, but without success, while endeavoring at the same time to mitigate the traumatic effects of the trade on those left on the islands.

Brij Lal is right; I have been engaged in a love affair with the South Sea islands all my life and view the atoll world in particular in somewhat

roseate hues. I was actually engaged in producing the "long chapter" he speaks of when the sheer drama of the episode coming to light for the first time captured my imagination, and I felt compelled to tell it in full as it happened. History, to me at least, must be literature if it is to hold the interest of the reader, while transcending other literary forms by its scrupulous fidelity to fact.

I am sorry if I have evinced moral outrage, as Lal considers, for this is generally an impermissible indulgence in writing about people of another age and cultural background. One may report indignation felt by others at the time, for this is often an important fact, but it is hazardous for us to pronounce judgment when past community ethical standards are hard to ascertain and may well vary within the group; and it would be anachronistic to judge those who lived in the past by our standards today.

Other points raised by Lal are dealt with later but it should perhaps be emphasized here that the chronological island-by-island accounts in Part One, admittedly in places confusing and repetitive, are what the islanders themselves wanted and invariably turn to first. Their justification lies in the fact that they have been translated into Tokelau, Tongan, Niuean, French (for Tahiti), and I believe Kiribatese, Tuvaluan and Cook Islands Maori, with at best a summary of what happened before and after the events at a particular island group.

I am flattered by McCall's description of me as a typical historian of the British school, though I fear that a renegade anthropologist with an interest in cultural dynamics would be rejected by that august fraternity. Nor should I care to consort with historians who, we are told, ignore context.

Surely questions of context are the very essence of any diachronic study and they were my main interest and concern when writing on the Peruvian trade. It is for others to judge whether I have succeeded or failed, but the two examples of omission adduced by McCall do not prove his contention since the first was in fact dealt with, including the special licenses which permitted the continuance of the coolie trade at a reduced level. As it was peripheral to my main theme, however, I referred those who required more information to the detailed account in Watt Stewart's *Chinese Bondage in Peru*.

The second example, after investigation, I dismissed as a hypothesis without documentary support which in any case had no effect on de Lesseps, whose motivations are clear from his official and private correspondence. I suggest that a conclusive objection is the fact that when Peru sought France's support early in 1864 over Spain's seizure of the Chincha Islands the Polynesian labor trade was found to be the only issue of any

importance between the two countries, and on this being settled by a reimbursement and indemnity their relations immediately became cordial, and remained so. Yet France's participation in the Mexican adventure continued until 1867.

Apart from this minor variance I am in agreement with all McCall's comments, including his inference that I am a narrative rather than a theoretical historian. I should be churlish, furthermore, if I did not acknowledge here the assistance obtained in completing the study from his own pioneering work on the Easter Island trade and his researches in Peru, which I was able to pursue in more detail "from a quiet Canberra garden," as he happily phrases it, where I was not burdened with a teaching load.

Some passages in the critiques call not so much for comment here as for further research on subjects connected with, but ancillary to, the theme of the book. I have already expressed the hope that to amplify, and correct any imbalance in, the account given in part 2, a South American specialist might care to research the trade from the Peruvian perspective, after examining documentation which I was unable to obtain such as the minutes of the Executive Council, the Naval correspondence, hacienda records, and the books of the commercial firms engaged in recruiting operations.

Such a survey could include the information asked for by Lal on the Peruvian social and economic environment into which the recruits were precipitated, but his analogous survey of the situation in Polynesia would require a detailed enquiry into the early political, economic, and social development of Polynesia from the beginnings of European contact to the middle of the nineteenth century. There are studies on particular aspects, notably J. M. Davidson's 1942 doctoral thesis, and on particular areas, such as Colin Newbury's recent book *Tahiti Nui,* but much information has come to hand of recent years and what is now wanted is a synoptic survey of the whole Polynesian region; it would, I believe, establish that trading and missionary inter-island communications had integrated Polynesia as never before.

In reply to a query by Lal I have affirmed that the Polynesian trade was unique in bearing the general character of a slave trade, but there is now sufficient material available to enable a comparative study to be made of the Pacific labor trades as a significant element in the overall picture of culture contact in Oceania. It should elicit some surprising data on such matters as the number of recruits involved: the locale and methods of recruitment; the nature and efficiency of government controls; the location and nature of employment; the legal and actual status of the

laborers; conditions of employment; repatriation arrangements and their efficacy; mortality statistics and causes; and the effect of the trade on the island societies.

Another study of, I submit, even greater importance to our understanding of island, and especially atoll, societies concerns their reaction to disaster conditions, for it became clear when writing the chapter on "Crisis in the Atolls" that the many specialized works on disasters in other regions were mainly concerned with modern, urbanized communities. Practically no work has been done on the effects of, and response to, calamities in Oceania and yet, with its unique multiplicity of small and culturally variant societies known to have been subject to natural disasters, the region is ideally suited to research on this theme. We do not really know, for example, the precise mechanisms by which the island communities coped with disaster conditions and whether, as I strongly suspect, the more rigorous conditions of atoll life enabled the inhabitants to adapt to catastrophe with greater success than those on the volcanic islands.

That two out of the three topics suggested in the commentaries or this reply represent comparative studies of regional or subregional scope is not surprising for, as Kerry Howe has indicated in *Pacific Studies* for Fall 1979, the great number of detailed papers on particular themes now published makes the synoptic approach a feasible and profitable one.

Nevertheless, a perusal of the book will show that there are still many topics of mainly local importance concerning that of which we know next to nothing and which might well interest someone seeking a subject for research: for example, an investigation into the land tenure system on Tongareva as affected by the labor trades; the history of the pearlshell industry in the Tuamotus during the early nineteenth century; the significance of the oral traditions relating to the cannon preserved at ʻUiha in Tonga; and the recovery and reproduction of the missing diary of the Jennings settlement on Olosenga from 1856 to 1866, last seen during 1919 in the possession of a Miss Nellie Skeen of Nukuʻalofa.

A final point which has been raised by readers, though not by the commentators, is whether the sudden depopulation and associated cultural shock experienced by the eight island communities who lost more than half their population bear out the views advanced by Alan Moorehead in *The Fatal Impact*. Moorehead's thesis, however, was based on an examination of induced change on a single Pacific island, and it would seem that, with the exception of Easter Island, the marked demographic resurgence and community regeneration following the Peruvian raids suggest on the contrary the remarkable resilience of island, and in particular atoll, communities.

REVIEWS

Henry S. Albinski, *The Australian-American Security Relationship: A Regional and International Perspective.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982. Pp. 257, index. $32.50

A reviewer always approaches Albinski's contributions to United States-Australian relations with a deep sense of peace. One knows in advance that his work will be balanced, lucid, and monumentally researched. It will also typically be characterized by a breadth of understanding and sympathy displayed to date by scarcely any other worker in this particular vineyard. When it comes to explaining Canberra, Wellington, and Washington to one another, Albinski is virtually the only game in town.

All these qualities are evident in *The Australian-American Security Relationship.* It has, in addition, the peculiarly gratifying merit of adding an unexpected and highly interesting dimension to a story all too familiar in most of its aspects. The ANZUS Treaty has already been worked over in all its implications probably more assiduously and less profitably than any other international contract. Albinski's specific achievement is to have examined the security relationship in a truly global context, from the South Pacific to South Africa. He has produced what undoubtedly should be the definitive text on the subject, at least until his next book comes out.

A major criticism of the present work is that it seems indeed to have been conceived all too literally as a textbook. It reads at times like a transcript of lectures, which is the least inspiring form of presentation imaginable. "We open our study," Albinski informs us on the first page. "Our interest," we are reminded on p. 86, "lies primarily in assessing" a particular aspect. And on p. 106 we "conclude this chapter with a consideration." More seriously, Albinski seems to have gone to all lengths to avoid introducing any material or reflections that might be remotely controversial, or that might even suggest that any controversy actually exists. This might not be a bad idea when writing -about foreign countries which one hopes to revisit, but it positively distorts reality when controversy is a basic element in the issues under discussion. Relations between Canberra and Wellington are, for instance, conditioned fundamentally by the fact that Prime Ministers J. Malcolm Fraser and Robert Muldoon are personally antagonistic on almost every significant issue. It is also highly revela-

tory that Australian-United States military cooperation after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan took the form of Canberra's refusing to perform services which Washington desired, and insisting instead on Washington's accepting less hazardous services which it did not particularly want. Nor can any consideration of intra-ASEAN military cooperation be complete without some allusion to Thai distrust of Malaysian views on Moslem insurgency and Malaysian conviction of Thai ineptitude in dealing with Communist insurgency. And it certainly needs to be indicated that the whole nature of the ANZUS relationship could be altered radically by the fact that the Australian Labor Party, which is very likely to be in office after the next federal election, contains powerful factions which are anti-American, anti-Israel, and anti-uranium; and the New Zealand Labor Party, which is just as likely to be in office after the next election in that country, is committed to a downgrading of the military relevance of ANZUS.

Two possibly less important matters of fact also deserve mention. Albinski asserts that Australia and New Zealand "cooperate closely in arranging their respective programs" of aid to the South Pacific. But the Chairman of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defense testified last year that Canberra and Wellington regrettably do not in fact coordinate their aid programs to the region. What has been happening is that Australia has had perforce to assume a greater proportion of the aid burden as New Zealand's economic situation continues to deteriorate, so that Polynesian microstates like Tonga and Samoa, which would naturally have looked to Wellington for assistance, are becoming increasingly reliant upon Canberra. And South African Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha's concept of the *Konstellasie van State* might initially have hoped "to draw the RSA, the independent 'homeland' states and surrounding nations into a more structured economic relationship (p. 163)." But it was then found necessary to devise a separate confederal system to incorporate the Homelands, as the black National States refused to recognize them as being genuine sovereignties in their own right. "Surrounded" is incidentally a more appropriate term than "surrounding" to convey the situation of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland vis-à-vis the Republic.

On the purely technical side, it is unfortunate that Albinski's breathtakingly comprehensive documentation has not been organized into a bibliography. Students of the topic are going to have to use this book for the forseeable future, and a bibliography would have made the indispensable that much more accessible.

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Michael Allen, Ed. *Vanuatu: Politics, Economics and Ritual in Island Melanesia.* (Studies in Anthropology). Sydney: Academic Press, 1981. Pp. xviii, 425, maps, figures, tables, references, areal bibliography, index. Hardback $39.50.

Scholars of both Melanesian and Polynesian Studies have long been intrigued by the apparent social and cultural diversity of the islands of Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides) for several reasons. First, the patterning of this diversity has suggested not only problems for functional analyses, but also problems of complex historical processes at work that might be illuminated through the analytic lenses of various diffusionist and evolutionary models. Second, the structure of this variation has significantly. complicated those key sociocultural patterns that have been believed to characterize Melanesia as a distinctive cultural region. Third, particular features of the ethnographic complexity of this archipelago have led some scholars to speculate on its possible position as a "border region" that may shed light on the significance of often facile, global contrasts between the putatively "classic" patterns of Melanesia and Polynesia.

The societies and cultures of Vanuatu differ in matrilineal and patrilineal modes of descent and in the ways in which descent, kinship, and political-ritual organization are interrelated. The patterns of male-female relationships and the cultural ideology and social implementation of political-ritual power and authority are interwoven with these differences. Various kinds of secret associations are represented among the islands, but not all societies possess these institutional forms. Most societies have developed some form of political-ritual hierarchy based on ranked grades that unite men of different kin groups through tusked pig sacrifice, acquisition of insignia and titles of status, masks, dances, taboos, and various other ritual privileges, but the sociopolitical functions of these hierarchies vary among these societies.

These and other facets of sociocultural variation in Vanuatu have attracted focal attention in the early ethnographic surveys of Codrington, Humphreys, Rivers, and Speiser; the rich, but often ignored field studies of Deacon and Layard; and the long-term research endeavors of Guiart. Beyond the extensive work of Guiart, however, research interest in the area almost vanished until a revival in the late 1950s led by scholars from the University of Sydney. Allen's brief introduction situates the contributions to this new collection in their historical context, and a fine areal bibliography is provided. The fourteen original essays in the volume repre-

sent some of the best analyses of this recent renaissance, with new data and problems and often a sense of the continuing vitality of earlier interests.

Allen's first essay and Blackwood's contribution are the most explicitly comparative undertakings of the volume. Linking his sense of problem critically to the earlier concerns of Deacon, Layard, and Rivers, Allen explores the functional interdependence of modes of descent, local organization, secret societies, ranked grades, and political structure in north Vanuatu. He sees this form of comparative analysis, however, to be a prerequisite to understanding "the developmental processes that underlie cultural diversity, especially . . . in . . . political relations" (p. 10). In this regard, he proposes and defends a general hypothesis. On the one hand, in social systems characterized by patrilineal descent, patri-virilocal residence, discrete male cults, and flexible group membership, politically significant groups are generally aligned with kinship, affinity, and locality through extensions of the lineage principle. Politics becomes only partially detached from these foundations in elaborations of age grades and the status of the big-man in ceremonial exchange. On the other hand, matriliny is less flexible in political group formation due to inherent limitations based on natural features of female reproduction that are stressed in matrilineal reckoning. Avunculo-virilocal residence sunders the bond between kinship, locality, and political leadership, and different political institutions that are not bound to the constraints of kinship, notably the voluntary secret societies and public graded societies of north Vanuatu, are formed. This provocative essay has the most developed theoretical implications of perhaps all the contributions to this volume.

In a related, but contrasting comparative study of north Vanuatu, Blackwood explores variants of the graded society in east and west Aoba, the Small Islands, and southwest Malekula in relation to differences in social structure, political organization, and modes of exchange. He argues that the incorporation of balanced or generalized exchange in rank-taking ceremonies varies with respect to the dominant patterns of social structure, especially as descent criteria are exploited in the formation of local groups. Through the rank-taking idiom of exchange, which both defines and transcends descent-phrased local group formation, aspirants to political leadership use the graded society in competition for influence and power.

Most essays deal with problems of tradition and social change in political structure and tactics in relation to graded societies. In his essay on west Aoba, Allen suggests that orthodox, conservative images of the legiti-

macy of political ascendency and control in graded societies and other contexts have perhaps always been invaded by minor cultural innovations, rule-breaking inversions, and more revolutionary claims to new orthodoxies vis-à-vis tradition in Melanesia. In west Aoba, new religious, political, and economic institutions now provide tactical means of recasting traditional images of political legitimacy in new structural forms that remain linked to grade-taking ceremonies. Funabiki examines the elaborate symbolic significance and conservative, ritualized production of tusked pigs as sacrificial animals in the graded societies of south Malekula. In a fine study of north Ambrym, Patterson shows how imported rank-taking ceremonies and traditional rites of kinship have become intertwined and mutually reinforcing, and that legitimate ascendency to high rank and political influence and control involves both ritual forms. In a fascinating analysis of the sociology of knowledge and political power on Malo, Rubinstein argues that knowledge and power are complexly interrelated, and that the scope, focus, and force of social knowledge are altered when an important person persuades others of the objective legitimacy and efficacy of his personal knowledge and experience. He demonstrates how the internal political power and knowledge once associated with the top ranks of the traditional graded society have been gradually replaced as the loci of authority by the church hierarchy and affected by other external political and economic forces. In a splendid essay on southeast Ambrym, Tonkinson explores the changing configurations of tradition or *kastom* (and its linkage with sorcery) and Christianity in patterns of political control. He elegantly analyzes the decline and partial reemergence of tradition with respect to the early opposition between church and sorcery and the recent detachment of sorcery from the prerogatives of traditional leaders.

Further aspects of tradition and change are examined in Philibert's study of Efate and Facey's essay on Nguna. In the context of a useful overview of the colonial history of Vanuatu, Philibert demonstrates how the village of Erator on Efate has adapted to myriad facets of modernity in a manner that has permitted both a sense of traditional identity, autonomy, and relationship to land and a decision-making strategy that has successfully exploited a particular political situation for economic benefit. Facey's analysis of Nguna explores change in a traditional political system based on hereditary titles and many features of the so-called big-man complex, combining matrilineal and patrilineal characteristics. In a context of dispersed matriclans, residential units organized around an agnatic core, and an absence of secret societies and open graded societies, tradi-

tional chiefs wielded influence through trade, exchange, feasts, political mediation, ritual relationships to a "sacred man," and so on. Modern, Christian chiefs now inherit titles, lands, and other prerogatives of office patrilineally, have few political-ritual sanctions, and share power with agents of church and state institutions.

Two contributions are concerned with the political, economic, and ritual significance of male-female relations. In a study of south Pentecost, Jolly examines tradition and change in the sexual division of labor; male-female access to the resources and tools of production; male-female differences in control, consumption, distribution, and exchange of products of labor; and ideological representations of these contrasts in myth and ritual. In the colonial era, traditional male economic dominance has been elaborated in several nontraditional ways. In her insightful analysis of east Aoba, Rodman demonstrates how exchanges in pigs (male wealth) and mats (female valuables) between men and women are integrated through the slaughter of pigs by unmarried females in grade-taking ceremonies. This essay is an important contribution to the complementarity of male and female participation in systems of exchange, and provokes comparison with the related studies of Feil, Strathern, and especially Weiner.

The last three, quite diverse essays focus on Tanna. In a subtle analysis, Lindstrom explores the various cultural frames of Tannese speech contexts, forms, and taboos (in ordinary time and social activity) in contrast to the use of *kava* (in *kava* time and other contexts), and transformations of this contrast, in various definitions of status and contexts of dispute, exchange, and mediation. In another study of the sociology of knowledge and political leadership that invites some comparison with Rubinstein's essay, Bastin examines parallels, complementary aspects, and oppositions in the roles of traditional ritual knowledge and modem church, education, and business forms of knowledge in the acquisition and maintenance of political influence and power. Both traditional and modem kinds of knowledge are associated with particular lineages, are interwoven with considerations of kinship and marriage, and are linked to recognized claims of hereditary leadership in political process. Finally, in a fine reanalysis of the John Frum cargo movement, enhanced by new data, Brunton explores the Tannese experience of Europeans and Christianity in relation to patterns of social organization, exchange, and marriage. He suggests that the John Frum cult constituted an elaborate attempt by pagans to reverse a progressive social "disintegration" caused by Christian converts who refused to adhere to traditional forms of marriage exchange. By pagan supernatural means cast in Christian idioms, the movement suc-

ceeded in reviving essential social and political relations between pagans and Christians that had been sundered in the missionary zeal to create an autonomous community of believers.

In summary, although there are many implicit and explicit comparative threads woven through sets of these essays, the volume is not coherently thematic beyond its regional focus. This areal emphasis alone will make this ethnographically rich and varied volume particularly valuable to scholars of Melanesia, for it represents a unique survey of recent research on Vanuatu. The complex relationship of tradition, social change, and modernity, however, is recognized to some extent in all of the varied contributions. In this regard, the exemplary ethnographic analyses of Allen, Brunton, Patterson, Rodman, Rubinstein, and Tonkinson are perhaps the best in delineating a coherent problem and in constructing a logical argument. Yet, only Allen's remarkable comparative essay really develops a theory of social change in the spirit of the early endeavors of Deacon, Layard, and Rivers. Despite the many comparative implications in these explorations of tradition and change in modes of descent, local organization, secret societies, grade-taking ceremonies, knowledge and speech, economic organization, marriage and exchange, male-female relations, and political structure and process, there is little explicit comparison. Indeed, Allen's masterful prolegomenon sets the stage for a task yet to be accomplished. Only through detailed and problem-oriented comparative analysis will the societies and cultures of Vanuatu emerge to inform the contours of the Melanesian cultural region of which they are so significantly a part.

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Richard A. Benton, *The Flight of the Amokura: Oceanic Languages and Formal Education in the South Pacific.* Educational Research Series No. 63. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1981. Pp. xiv, 246.

The Flight of the Amokura is a discussion of the role of Oceanic languages in the educational systems of South Pacific island groups (the area covered by the book corresponds roughly to the region of the South Pacific Commission with the addition of New Zealand and Hawaii). The discussion has two aims: a survey of the question of language choice in the classroom; and an analysis of the bilingual education programs that have

been implemented in certain countries of the South Pacific, and of the appropriateness of such programs to other areas of the region. These two objectives will be reviewed separately.

The survey is covered by parts two to four of the volume (pp. 7-141). Arranged by country and territory, it consists of a historical overview and a discussion of the present situation, of the current policies adopted by the education authorities of each government, and of the community's attitudes toward these. New Zealand is by far the most thoroughly reviewed area (pp. 7-83), an imbalance that reflects both the author's own experience (as head of the Maori Research Unit at the New Zealand Council for Educational Research) and the fact that "it is in New Zealand that the debate over the educational status and value of the indigenous language has been the most adequately documented, and has perhaps the longest continuous history" (p. xi).

Benton's coverage of the New Zealand situation is admirably clear and comprehensive. Focused primarily on the status of Maori, it brings together discussions of language attitudes, of the history of language policy-making in relation to both education and other concerns, and of the political implications of the different approaches to the problem. The New Zealand situation is complex: Maori is in the process of succumbing to a long history of competitive pressure from English in all areas of life but ceremonial activities (see Benton 1980 for an interesting microlinguistic analysis of language loss in a Maori community). This has had the effect of polarizing attitudes towards the language. For most Maoris, the language has become a symbol of resistance against sociopolitical oppression by the *pākehā* majority, while among the latter, imminent language death is often quoted as a pretext for greater racial and cultural integration. As is to be expected, the responses to the recent promotion of bilingual education are varied.

The most striking feature of the survey of the rest of the Pacific is a general dearth of solid data, a fact that can hardly be blamed on Benton. Indeed, very little information is available on the educational policies of most countries and territories of the region, whether it is concerned with language questions or other matters (with notable exceptions such as American Samoa--see Baldauf 1982, for instance); even less is known about language attitudes and the community's wishes and concerns regarding what goes on in the classroom. On the effect of Papua New Guinea's intricate multilingual situation on the educational system, Benton only provides four pages (pp. 137-41); the discussion of the role of Tongan in Tongan schools takes little more than a page (pp. 96-97). The conclusion is clear: on most islands of the area, the question of language in

the classroom is typically swept under the carpet. The fact that Benton is unable to illuminate the reader on educational policies any more than he does is due to the fact that these, in most areas, do not exist beyond the trends established decades ago by church or colonial views of what and how children should learn.

The second aim of the volume concerns bilingual education. Richard Benton has been actively involved in the establishment of bilingual education programs in New Zealand, inspired by similar developments in the United States and the British Isles. In Part Five of *The Flight of the Amokura* (pp. 142-201), he reviews in detail the results of the Bilingual Education Conference sponsored by the South Pacific Commission in 1974, which marked the beginning of widespread awareness of bilingual education principles in the South Pacific. This review is followed by a discussion of the implications of bilingual education philosophies for the different types of educational policies and linguistic situations in the Pacific.

It would be difficult to attack Benton's view that bilingual education has a great deal to offer, for example, to the Maori situation in New Zealand, in which the encroachment of the intrusive metropolitan language is so strong that the entire community is bilingual, diglossic, or losing its own indigenous language. Caution should be exerted, however, in assuming that what works in one country will fare just as well in another. On the one hand, the relationship of English to Samoan in American Samoa, and that of English to Tongan in Tonga, for instance, are of a very different nature. In the former, diglossic bilingualism is prevalent, at least among the younger generations (see Fishman 1967 for a discussion of the interaction of bilingualism and diglossia). In Tonga, on the other hand, we have a diglossic situation without bilingualism (except perhaps in Nuku'alofa, the capital), in the sense that English there is used for highly restricted and specific purposes (notes on the blackboard in school, interaction with tourists, etc.), and is not a communicative register available to the majority. Does the success of bilingual education in American Samoa allow us to predict similar results if implemented in Tonga?

It is my understanding that one of the implicit aims of bilingual education philosophy is to provide a model that allows for the manipulation of language attitudes towards a leveling of the status of the different languages involved in a diglossic situation. This assumes, however, that the different languages are all present as register options within the community (not necessarily for the same individuals), just as English and Samoan. are in American Samoa. This is not the case in the Tongan situation, where English is just not a daily reality for the children and their parents,

and the implementation of bilingual programs can be expected to present a whole array of problems unknown to the Samoan policymakers.

Furthermore, it may appear surprising that in many areas of the Pacific, any idea tending in the direction of a greater role of the indigenous languages in formal education encounters, at best, intense suspicion. On Wallis and Futuna, for instance, where a survey was recently conducted by the present reviewer on attitudes toward language use in the classroom, both parents and teachers were found to be strongly opposed to any change in the status quo: Uvean and Futunan, the two local Polynesian languages, are seen as the languages of the home, while French is viewed as the only language that should be involved in the educational system.

These attitudes undoubtedly reflect a long history of conditioning into thinking of vernacular languages as inferior registers. However, they seem to point to a wider pattern of attitudes toward education in Pacific countries. Formal education, introduced with Christianity in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in most areas of the region, never lost, in most islanders' minds, its intrinsic association with things foreign. This is pointed out by Duranti and Ochs (in press) with respect to literacy instruction, which is very closely associated, both historically (Parsonson 1967) and synchronically, with formal education. In this context the question of the role of Oceanic languages in formal education becomes a particularly thorny issue that involves not only policymaking and the development of new curricula, but questions of deeply ingrained attitudes in the community.

Renton is to be commended for having provided a useful tool of reference for educators, administrators, and researchers. The questions he raises are provoking even if the discussion lacks breadth. The book will undoubtedly become a landmark in the literature on the subject. The bibliography in the appendix (pp. 219-32) is in itself a valuable survey of the research to date.

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R. J. Blong, *The Time of Darkness: Local Legends and Volcanic Reality in Papua New Guinea.* Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982. Pp. xi, 257, figures, tables, glossary, references, indexes, appendices, $A23.95.

Using methods of oral transmission alone, Pacific peoples have produced and preserved rich bodies of literature of several genres including legends, those stories regarded by their tellers and hearers as rooted in actual historical events. Across Papua New Guinea one finds a number of roughly similar legends about a "time of darkness" when, purportedly, the daytime sky grew dark and ashes or other strange material rained on the land. In that highly volcanic part of the southwestern Pacific it is surely plausible that such stories refer, in some fashion, to the aftermath of real eruptions. Establishing definite links between particular legends and dateable eruptions could be of great significance to anthropologists and others who attempt cultural reconstructions in a region where historical and other observational records are few and only recently initiated. In some areas events such as the introduction of sweet potatoes are associated with the legendary "time of darkness" and many other clues to past customs and circumstances fill the stories, lacking only a clear temporal context.

In *The Time of Darkness,* R. J. Blong attacks the problem of linking "local legends and volcanic reality" from the standpoint of a geomorphologist. His inquiry began in the Mount Hagen region of the Western Highlands, where layers of tephra (volcanic ash) coexist with a local Melpa legend, the details of which suggested to Blong the possible utility of such sources in learning about eruptions that were not witnessed or recorded by European observers. A decade later, the scope and potential significance of his project have expanded considerably. He believes that he has

now succeeded in identifying and dating the eruption that deposited a tephra that covers much of Papua New Guinea and that also served as the impetus for most of the "time of darkness" legends occurring there. The development of his thesis involves complex and highly varied source materials and analytic techniques, required by the several distinct lines of investigation he has pursued. In general the argument seems persuasive, but close reading discloses methods and interpretations that surely will stimulate debate. It is to Blong's credit that the organization of the discussion makes it easy to follow and evaluate.

Long-term archaeological excavations at the Kuk prehistoric site near Mount Hagen have now revealed a number of tephra layers deposited over the past 30,000 years. The youngest of these, radiocarbon-dated at c. 240 BP, Blong names the Tibito Tephra (hereafter TT). In chapter 2 he describes some of the problems involved in discriminating clearly among tephras, which are subject to disturbance, and outlines the physical characteristics by which TT might be distinguished from others in field surveys. Chapter 3 concerns the geographical distribution of TT which, according to analysis of samples collected from a number of locations, is found over an area of more than 84,000 km^2 in Papua New Guinea, suggesting an eruptive source of staggering magnitude. The discussion of analytic techniques is punctuated with cautionary notes and qualifications, and geomorphologist readers might take issue with Blong's interpretations in this phase of the study.

In chapter 4 he reviews the geomorphological evidence that leads to his elimination of the possibility that TT was deposited by any mainland Papua New Guinea volcanoes. By process of elimination only the western arc of the Bismarck Sea is left as a source and various candidates there are also rejected (although not all have been studied thoroughly by vulcanologists). Finally, Blong arrives at Long Island (Arop Island) as "the only likely source" (p. 46). Chapter 5 surveys radiocarbon dating and geochemical evidence supporting this conclusion, and chapter 6 compares the distribution and volume of TT with those associated with other major eruptions worldwide, leading to a judgment that "the eruption of Tibito Tephra ranks among the great eruptions of the last few centuries" (p. 68), with a scale and magnitude quite capable of inspiring legends even hundreds of kilometers away.

In chapters 7-10 Blong turns to the analysis of "time of darkness" legends, addressing several main questions: How many of these widespread stories refer to ash falls (vs. solar eclipses, hailstorms, etc.)? Can they be considered versions of the same story, i.e., rooted in the same eruption, and was it the one that produced TT? If so, what can we learn about that

event from the physical characteristics and effects reported in the legends? Blong tries to answer these questions by examining a collection of stories and other information gleaned from published works and, mainly, responses to a detailed questionnaire he sent to anthropologists and others with access to oral traditions. His survey was not exhaustive and the resulting coverage is very uneven in both regional and cultural terms, although many different parts of the country are represented in his final sample of fifty-six "accounts" (not all of which are legends) which he judges to be "almost certainly related to tephra fall" (p. 85).

Assuming in each instance that the legends derive from the most recent tephra fall in the region, and identifying TT as the youngest tephra in most of the areas involved, Blong confidently concludes that "the link between the time of darkness legends and the fall of Tibito Tephra [is] firmly established" (p. 95). He then proceeds with a superficial content analysis of the accounts, only a few of which are included in the book for others' inspection (but all of which have been published previously, if somewhat obscurely, in *Oral History,* 1979, 7(10):1-135). The unevenness of information available in these sources is evident as he tries, usually unsuccessfully, to generalize about the duration of the darkness, particle size of the material that fell, and other physical characteristics, and the same is true with regard to legendary effects of the fall on gardens, houses, livestock, and people (chapters 9 and 10). Repeatedly he is forced to work with varying numbers of accounts for each variable and faced with interpretive difficulties in dealing with many different original source languages, the translations of which are not necessarily consistent across cases.

In chapter 11 Blong discusses these and other problems, including inconsistencies among different accounts from the same location, and variation in the stories due to differential embellishment, stylization, and selectivity in emphasis. Finally, he is forced to conclude that "few meaningful spatial patterns emerge and few accounts can be grouped as similar . . . when all or even most analyzed variables are considered together" (p. 134). However, so far as some variables are concerned when considered alone, enough similarity exists to regard most of the highlands legends, at least, as stemming from the fall of TT. Proceeding from this premise he turns to accounts recorded by European observers of comparable eruptions elsewhere in the world to determine whether their descriptions resemble those in the legends.

Using both scientific and popular literature, Blong again is plagued with uneven information. With respect to both the physical characteristics (chapter 12) and the effects of tephra falls (chapter 13), the Eu-

ropeans' accounts appear to show as much inconsistency and variation as do the legends, although comparisons are neither quantified nor systematically summarized, but merely illustrated with examples. The inadequacies of the records left by literate observers reportedly preclude "a more detailed examination of the veracity of the various legendary accounts" (p. 175).

At this point Blong's painstaking and multifaceted labors might be viewed as coming to grief in much the same ways as have numerous attempts by anthropologists and folklorists to ascertain the degree of correspondence between the world as described in oral literature and the world as actually experienced by its authors. Even when independent and reliable evidence has been available for comparison, the results have been decidedly mixed. With regard to the historical accuracy of legends, probably most such analysts would agree that one should not expect much. This is partly due to factors recognized by Blong, such as the inevitable loss (and addition) of informational details through generations of oral transmission, and partly because of distortion that arises through stylization and deliberate manipulation of "the facts" for ideological and other purposes. Indeed, in the view of many specialists, legends must be understood as having quite other purposes than the storage and transmission of "historical facts."

Apparently unaware of or unconcerned with such considerations, Blong takes a surprising next step. After acknowledging the limitations of his sample legends and noting similar problems with Europeans' reports, he concludes that since "the time of darkness story" (note the singular) is "in most respects as accurate an account as are European accounts of tephra falls," we should accept it as "an accurate historical report" (p. 176). Apparently his earlier warning that the European accounts "should not be accepted uncritically as accurately recording the physical characteristics of a tephra fall" (p. 173) does not pose a contradiction, or at least a questionable use of reference points, for Blong.

Confident that he "has demonstrated not only the essential veracity of the time of darkness legends [note the plural; such alternation is common toward the end of the book] but also that most of the legends refer to the same tephra fall, namely that stemming from the cataclysmic eruption of Long Island" (p. 177), it remains only to date the event. Again, however, the legends are problematic (chapter 14). Genealogical studies of Enga people of the Western Highlands yield estimates for the time period referred to in their legends as ranging from 1803-1899, but this timing of the Long Island eruption seems precluded by European mariners' descriptions of the island during that period. The latters' reports (apparently con-

sidered accurate) suggest instead a major eruption during the eighteenth century or prior to 1680. Legends and genealogies on Long Island itself indicate a time span from 1630-1680, but Blong admits that "most" estimates point to a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century eruption. Geomorphological evidence from the volcano, unfortunately, allows "no firm conclusion" (p. 189).

Conceding that the failure of convergence of all the lines of evidence leaves it a matter of "personal preference" as to how to weight them, his choice is to accept the historical accounts regarding Long Island and the radiocarbon dates from material in or surrounding tephra beds at Kuk and on Long Island, and conclude that the eruption occurred "almost certainly in the mid-seventeenth century (say 1630-1670)" (p. 193). Regarding the legends as "essentially accurate historical accounts of an actual event" (p. 195) which he has now located and dated, Blong draws general implications in chapter 15. Wondering what other events have been dismissed too readily as merely legendary, he offers the present study as an example of how much we can learn by treating such sources with the respect they deserve.

It is difficult to share Blong's confidence that he has in fact demonstrated the veracity of the legends or, indeed, many of his other conclusions. We surely learn here how much we do not know, geomorphologically, about Papua New Guinea, and we realize the difficulties encountered in the analysis of legends--difficulties that would likely remain even with larger, more representative samples subjected to systematic analysis. For anthropologists, the study could be seen as reinforcing the view that legends are not, and are not intended to be, "accurate historical records." Blong's efforts can be used profitably as a pilot study, conducted ingeniously around a potentially fruitful hypothesis, but methodological weaknesses and debatable leaps of interpretation and inference somewhat dim the light reportedly shed on "the time of darkness."

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Charles W. Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1982. Pp. xii, 285. Map, bibliography. $17.50

The fullest body of writing on the history of the Pacific Islands deals with the expansion and impact of Christianity. Academic writers, mostly

associated with the Australian National University, have been scarcely less assiduous in contributing to it than were the missionary chroniclers, from whom they draw much of the material for their monographs. Such a sustained literary efflorescence is easily explained. The missionaries were more literate, and had readier access to printing presses and to an audience, than any other group of settlers in the Pacific. They thus constituted conspicuous targets for, and were munificent providers of data to, later researchers. Besides, given the extent to which religion, both traditional and introduced, has pervaded the islanders' lives, the development of Christianity has attracted writers not only on account of its inherent interest but also because it relates intimately to most other facets of Pacific history. From the Tahiti of the Pomares to the Vanuatu of Walter Lini, politics and economics cannot be properly understood apart from religion.

The increasing number of specialized, detailed, and localized studies of religion and its ramifications has, however, highlighted the need for works of another kind, namely, for surveys and syntheses, which facilitate the making of comparisons and generalizations (without which our understanding of human affairs is immeasurably impoverished). Nineteen eighty-two was, therefore, an *annus mirabilis* for Pacific studies, for it saw a successful meeting of that need with the publication of both John Garrett's *To Live Among the Stars* (an account of missionary activity from 1568 to the end of the nineteenth century) and of its fortuitous complement, the book under review. *The Island Churches of the South Pacific* deals with the transition from mission to church that has characterized the present century, paralleling the process of decolonization.

Charles Forman is Professor of Missions and Fellow of Calhoun College at Yale University Divinity School. Pan-Pacific and pan-denominational in its scope, his book is to be valued for the quality and amount of the data it contains and admired for the way in which he has assimilated and organized this mass of material. It is also to be respected for the comparative approach which is maintained throughout, and which inhibits any tendency to too-easy generalization about places or denominations. The first quarter of the book is taken up with a series of narratives covering mission-church developments in the Pacific, island group by island group, from 1906 to 1942. Forman then shifts to a discussion of themes, again drawing on material from all over the Pacific. The first set of thematic chapters focuses on the religious life of the island peoples: "The Village Church," "The Indigenous View of Christianity," "Christian Ethics in a South Seas Setting." Such matters have commonly been touched

on incidentally and anecdotally by historians. Forman, in contrast, treats them deliberately and comprehensively.

Turning from the people and their practices, he then offers four chapters on the (more familiar?) matter of change within the institutional structures of Pacific Christianity. Here the shift from *palagi*-controlled missions to independent churches is introduced with an account of events in Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji, where the transition was first achieved. The theme is continued with a discussion of the impact of the Second World War and of "adjustment movements," and is completed by an account of the indigenization occurring within each denomination established in the Pacific. The two concluding chapters have much to say about the churches' involvement in education and in nation-building.

Copiously informed, exhaustively documented and up-to-date, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific* is both an outstanding contribution to historical scholarship and a valuable aid to the understanding of current events. Its discussion of religious affairs illuminates the social and political context within which they occur.

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Janet Kear and A. J. Berger, *The Hawaiian Goose: An Experiment in Conservation*. Vermillion, South Dakota: Buteo Books, 1980. Pp. 154, illustrations, figures, maps, appendices, index. $30.00.

The geese were confused, buffeted, and thrown wildly off course by the storm that confronted them. After struggling for hours, they finally gave in. Determined only to fly, they moved swiftly with the wind, too exhausted to maintain the heading that would take them south to their wintering grounds. Instead they were carried southwest. When the storm abated, they found themselves alone above a vast, throbbing ocean.

Geese are strong fliers and can rest at sea. When they renewed their migration south, they flew automatically and eventually sighted land. It was not continental hills they found, but an archipelago of islands that Polynesians would one day, far in the future, call Hawaii.

The Hawaiian Goose describes the birds that evolved from that troubled flock of Canada Geese and places them in the unique geological and biological setting that is Hawaii. The book is far more than a treatise on geese, however. It is an account of man's interactions with an island eco-

system, and how human activities have severely stressed a natural environment. It is also a detailed look at the intensive efforts required to rescue an endangered species.

The book begins with a brief account of the origins of the Hawaiian Islands, and how they were populated by the progenitors of today's endemic birds. The discussion unfortunately neglects continental drift, thus excluding at least 50,000,000 years of Hawaiian geological history represented by the submerged Emperor Seamounts, the oldest of which arose 70,000,000 years ago, presumably over the hot spot now occupied by Mauna Loa and Kilauea. This means that much of Hawaii's biota could have an origin more ancient than the islands upon which it currently resides.

The *nene,* as the Hawaiians called the Hawaiian Goose, was commonly kept in Hawaiian villages, although several were given to Captain Cook when he landed at Kealakekua Bay. Noisy in captivity, they apparently functioned as watchdogs in addition to their use as food and a source of feathers for *kahili.*

When the *nene* was first described by European biologists, it was found to be very different from typical geese. By remaining in Hawaii, that errant flock had to adapt themselves to an entirely new set of environmental conditions. They were no longer aquatic, but upland grazers that foraged over the dry grasslands and shrublands that grew upon Hawaii's lava slopes. Thus, their legs were longer and more powerful than those of other geese, and the webbing between the toes was highly reduced. No longer migratory, they showed a 16 percent reduction in the wing bones and muscles. More subtle changes also took place: they lost much of their fear of terrestrial predators and much of their resistance to avian disease, living as they did in an environment originally devoid of these stresses. When the islands were discovered by man, many of these adaptations began to work against the *nene.*

The number of *nene* in the islands when Captain Cook arrived is estimated to have been about 25,000, restricted primarily to the upper slopes of Hawaii and, perhaps, Maui. It is clear from recent paleontological work, however, that these geese, and a number of additional flightless species that survived well into Polynesian times, originally ranged throughout the main islands, and that their distributions and populations were severely restricted by early Hawaiians (Olson and James 1982, Prodromus of the fossil avifauna of the Hawaiian Islands. *Smithsonian Contributions to Zoology* 365:1-59). Hunting, the alteration of the original landscape by early Hawaiian agriculture, and the stress of such introduced

predators as pigs and rats proved fatal to the flightless geese and severely restricted the *nene.* The stresses that began with Polynesian man increased greatly with the arrival of Europeans. Kear and Berger describe the rapid decline in *nene* numbers as they competed for food with cattle, goats, and sheep, and were subjected to predation by cats, dogs, mongoose, and man, and other losses due to introduced avian diseases. By 1949 only thirty wild geese remained. Fortunately thirteen additional *nene* were held in captivity, eleven under the care of Mr. Herbert Shipman in Hilo.

Well over half the book deals with the efforts in Hawaii and England to save Hawaii's largest surviving native bird from extinction. It is a fascinating story. Serious attempts to help the species were initiated in 1949 when a small, captive flock was established in new facilities at Pohakuloa, Hawaii, with Mr. Shipman's birds. A "pair" of *nene* was sent to Peter Scott at his Wildfowl Trust in Slimbridge, England, the following year. Unfortunately both birds laid eggs, so a gander was quickly sent to form a ménage à trois which proved highly successful.

The two propagation programs, under Ah Fat Lee at Pohakuloa (who is given scant credit in the book) and Sir Peter Scott at Slimbridge, were ultimately successful in breeding *nene,* although many obstacles (inbreeding, diet, disease) had to be overcome. But captive breeding is not in itself the salvation of a species; it must be reintroduced into its former wild haunts. Captively-reared *nene* from Pohakuloa were first released in 1960. By 1978, 1,761 *nene,* including birds flown to Hawaii from England, had been released in Haleakala National Park, Maui, and in Hawaii Volcanoes National Park and specially created *nene* reserves elsewhere on the Big Island. Birds again bred in the wild on both islands.

The Hawaiian Goose concludes by asking some valid questions. What role does captive propagation play in protecting endangered species? Has the *nene* program, involving so many agencies (Hawaii Division of Fish and Game, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S. National Park Service, the Wildfowl Trust, and others) and people, been successful? Although the book lucidly demonstrates that captive propagation has a valuable role to play in aiding threatened species, especially when a last ditch effort is required, it is unable to answer the second question. Ultimate success is only achieved when wild populations can sustain themselves. When the book was written, no one knew how well the released birds were doing; Kear and Berger asked for field studies. Recent research suggests that wild *nene* are not maintaining themselves, and that, in addition to ongoing captive breeding, they will require increased management efforts in their wild haunts if they are to survive.

The book thus ends before the outcome of its subject could be known. Even so, I recommend it to anyone interested in the conservation of endangered species, especially those on islands.

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Glenn Petersen, *One Man Cannot Rule a Thousand: Fission in a Ponapean Chiefdom*. Studies in Pacific Anthropology. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982. Pp. 154, figures, maps, glossaries.

This book appears in the University of Michigan Press' series in Pacific Anthropology, edited by Vern Carroll. We are fortunate to have this series and this book. It is a clear and lively account of political fission on Ponape and adds considerably to our understanding of the dynamics of Ponapean politics. It also presents important material bearing on the question of how indigenous political structures respond to colonial pressures.

In 1979 Upper Awak, a petty chiefdom or section within the paramount chiefdom of Uh, gave birth to a new, competing section. This was not an easy birth; it both arose from and exacerbated characteristic Ponapean social tensions. Petersen was there to witness these events and was uniquely situated to understand them. He had already spent a year on Ponape researching Awak politics and ethnohistory, he had mastered the rather complex literature on Ponapean politics, and, perhaps most importantly, he was a close friend of the chief of Awak. These factors allowed him to understand better than most what was happening as a number of his friend's people, alienated and disaffected, proclaimed themselves a separate chiefdom.

Petersen views the section or minor chiefdom as the principal unit of Ponapean politics and the secondary unit (after household/farmstead) of social organization, and his description of these events certainly bears him out. The minor chiefdoms have managed to retain their vigor and importance despite quite revolutionary changes imposed on Ponape by the various imperial powers which have ruled there. No longer playing a role in the distribution of land, chiefs now rely solely on their control of honorific titles to bind their followers to them. Since titles are greatly desired, a chief can use his control over them to generate and maintain a high level

of activity within his section--especially production of foodstuffs for feasts. Yet there are limitations on his ability to use titles to ensure political loyalty.

Chiefs tend to confer titles on important members of powerful kin groups in order to insure the support of those groups. However, as the population of a section grows, tensions begin to emerge. There simply are not enough important titles to go around--thus "one man cannot rule a thousand." Furthermore, there is competition between and within matrilineages over important titles, up to and including that of chief. Eventually, as happened in Upper Awak in 1979, a discontented, "title-hungry" group will break off and proclaim itself a new section.

Among the strengths of Petersen's account of these events is the very clear way in which he consistently links its details to a larger understanding of the way politics work on Ponape. In order to do this he must reduce the great complexity of the observed materials to their underlying order and then relate that order to the dynamics characteristic of the larger system. This is not an easy task, as anyone who has worked with cases can testify, and he accomplishes it in a graceful and convincing manner. Yet it is also here that I think the major defect of the book can be found--the lack of explicit attention to social theory.

Following the splitting off of the new section, the chiefdom of Upper Awak went through a major reorganization and experienced an upsurge of activity. Petersen is quite clear that one of the results of the fission was the strengthening of the parent section. This is an outcome whose broad outlines were made familiar in the work of Max Gluckman. Now, if this were all that Gluckman had to say about such processes, the fact that Petersen omits any reference to him could be applauded as a decision not to include the kind of ritualistic bow to an ancestor figure which too often litters ethnographies. But this is not the case, for Gluckman also pointed out how processes of conflict can validate and strengthen political institutions in general. Attention to his work might have led Petersen to investigate whether or not the survival of the institution of chief in Ponape was a result of just the kind of conflict he so ably reports. Attention to the work of other theorists of political anthropology, for example M. J. Swartz on political process, F. G. Bailey on power, or Maurice Bloch on political oratory, could also have served both to further the analysis and better relate the book to the concerns of the discipline as a whole. This is not to say, by any means, that the book is bereft of theoretical interests or suffers from any shortage of ideas. And, as the example from Gluckman shows, it is quite easy to see the theoretical relevance of much of what

Petersen describes. But it is fair to say that a more explicit attention to theory could have strengthened the analysis.

At several points the main theoretical thrust of the book seems to be near the surface but never quite breaks through. It appears to be related to the controversy between Harris and others about the correct way to conceptualize the relations between the means of production on the one hand, and political organization on the other. A strict cultural materialist interpretation would lead one to predict that following the abolition of the tie between chiefdom and land ownership the institution of chiefdom should have withered away. Yet as Petersen remarks, in several places it has flourished and shows no sign of decreasing in importance. Because this point is developed without any explicit discussion of the theoretical literature, this part of Petersen's contribution may have less impact on the development of anthropological ideas than it deserves.

Despite this flaw the book stands on its merits as a well realized description of Ponapean political processes and will well repay reading by political anthropologists and Pacific specialists.

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J. Douglas Porteous, *The Modernization of Easter' Island.* Western Geographical Series Volume 19. Victoria, B.C.: Department of Geography, University of Victoria, 1981. Pp. xli, 304, 29 color plates, 50 half-tone plates, 36 figures, 24 tables.

This volume deals with Easter Island since the middle of the nineteenth century in terms of its geopolitical history, the activities of foreign intruders with diverse intentions, recently imposed deliberate modernization policies, and the effect of air transport and tourism. The color plates and many of the half-tones aid the reader unfamiliar with the distinctive appearance of this isolated land mass and the economic activities practiced there. Some of the half-tones are misleading in that they depict artifacts known only from a highly specialized collection not reflecting the typical art produced by the islanders. The figures in the form of maps and graphs add much to the text, as do the tables. The distorted perspective displayed in one of the sketches (Fig. 3.9) made by Routledge in 1914-15, not 1916, is misleading.

The approach is that of a geographer with a strong historical bent. Porteous eschews an anthropological perspective involving prehistory,

ethnography, linguistics, and human biology, but cites many of the basic sources in his introductory section. After summarizing the activities of the first missionaries, the ruthless mid-nineteenth century commercial exploiters, and the attitudes of European powers toward the island, the author concentrates on what happened in more recent times. The alteration of the environment is also covered.

Exploited by French, British, and Tahitian entrepreneurs, the island remained unclaimed by any nation until Chile, flushed with victory in the War of the Pacific, took formal possession in 1888. Lying more than 2,000 miles to the west of South America, Easter Island became *La Isla de Pascua,* the only island in Polynesia under Latin American sovereignty. Still the bulk of the land remained the private property of one John Brander, a Scot who was "not disposed to sell." Attempts at colonization by Chileans failed by 1892, and soon thereafter the island was leased to Williamson, Balfour and Company, a British enterprise which used it as a sheep ranch until the lease was revoked in 1953 and Chilean naval authorities took over. There was a brief period of civilian administration in the 1960s, but the island reverted to military control in 1973.

Porteous introduces the term "company state" to characterize control in Third World countries by foreign enterprises rather than by colonial governments. The concept is quite applicable to Easter Island during most of the century of intensive contact with the outside world. Control was in the hands of aliens, not even of Chilean nationality, and the indigenous people were under the dictatorship of a purely profit-oriented enterprise until the shift to naval control in 1953. With this shift, the situation was not really changed because the emphasis was still on the production of wool for export and the needs of the islanders were ignored. Local unrest finally precipitated a revolution of sorts and ushered in a brief period with some local control from 1964 to 1973. The coup on the continent terminated democratic government after September 11, 1973.

An airstrip was constructed and by 1967 weekly air service from Santiago was instituted. Previously the island depended on an annual supply ship from Valparaiso. Coincident with the airstrip came a contingent of U.S. Air Force personnel, ostensibly for the purpose of tracking satellites. The steady influx of tourists from all over the world combined with resident North American military people exposed the islanders to life styles quite different from earlier contacts. Furthermore, profound changes began to appear in the form of improved housing, a public water supply, electric lights, small stores, bars, and expanding hotel facilities.

Tourism is now the dominant activity. Intensified by the introduction of air service, the main attraction has always been the fact that the island

serves as an open air archaeological museum. The author discusses the impact of tourism on the population, occupational choices, and indigenous social structures. He observes such byproducts of modernization as the unaesthetic placement of fuel tanks and the vandalizing of archaeological sites and sandy beaches. Protest and discontent are evident not only among the native islanders but among the "continentals" as well, often for different reasons based on their respective world views.

Porteous is pessimistic concerning the effects of the steadily increasing emphasis of tourism on the populace, the ecology, and the archaeological sites. Better control of tourist activities is needed in order to protect the very core of what attracts visitors in the first place.

I find that the author has provided scholars and the public with important insights into what has happened to the people, the environment, and the economy on one of the most isolated islands in the world. In reviewing the work and in considering it in retrospect I sometimes find it difficult to disassociate his written words from my own observations gleaned from fourteen visits to the island between 1955 and 1978 as a member of Heyerdahl's Norwegian Archaeological Expedition and as lecturer and guide for Lindblad Travel and Norwegian America Line.

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