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THE MELANESIAN LABOR RESERVE: Some Reflections on Pacific Labor Markets in the Nineteenth Century

by Colin Newbury

Recruitment of labor in the Pacific was one of the earliest methods of ending the isolation of island societies. The hunt for whales, seals, sandalwood, *bêche-de-mer,* coconut oil, pearl shell and pearls, and, indeed, the hiring of labor itself resulted in casual employment on ships or at shore stations.[1] Missionary settlements and brokerages were staging posts in the economic exchanges which linked local production with the Pacific borderlands. Prospection for staples at established posts continued throughout the nineteenth century and longer in the more remote areas of Melanesia. But with the spread of cash economies, casual beach markets gave way to commercial agriculture and mining; the decline in whaling in the southwest and northern Pacific coincided with the establishment of plantations; the primitive division of labor at shore stations expanded into a more complex and stratified system of processing, bulking, and shipping. Everywhere, too, the consequence of land alienation and political partition changed the scale of demand for labor and the elementary rules which governed casual recruitment and employment.

[1]Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South-West Pacific 1830-1865* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967); R. Gerard Ward, "The Pacific Bêche-de-mer Trade with Special Reference to Fiji," in R. Gerard Ward, ed., *Man in the Pacific Islands: Essays on Geographical Change in the Pacific Islands* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp, 91-123; and H. E. Maude, *Of Islands and Men: Studies in Pacific History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 233-83. A version of this paper was presented to Section 28 of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science conference in Auckland in 1979. I am grateful for comments by a number of colleagues and offer this revision in return.

Concern about the labor trade in the aftermath of the campaign against the Atlantic slave trade left a bulky documentation on recruitment by missionary pressure groups and colonial and imperial governments. One consequence of this collection of official records is that recruitment has been treated more as an aspect of settler politics than as the procurement of a scarce resource in commercial production. Another is the emphasis on the regulatory or legal contribution by officials, at the expense of an economic history of the staple markets, in terms of supply and demand, working costs or returns on investment. At a certain level, "kidnapping" is the entrepreneurship of the pirate, resorted to when supply was weak and competition strong. The entry of missionaries or imperial agents into this market undoubtedly influenced the condition of the labor trade in British dependencies.[2] But Britons were not the only recruiters at work, and it may be doubted whether this unilateral approach through the imperial records takes sufficient account of international variables influencing the labor market.

The two recent advances in Pacific history have modified the record. The work of Deryck Scarr, Peter Corris, and others emphasizes the active participation of Melanesian and Micronesian societies in early labor migration.[3] There is less on kidnapping and more on collaboration by indigenous middlemen, less on legislation which was difficult to enforce, and more on the preconditions of mobility--scarce resources, changes in agriculture technology, local warfare and the impact of missionaries, recruiters, and naval patrols. Secondly, quite a different emphasis is given to the history of socio-economic change in Melanesia in the works of Stewart Firth, K. L. Gillion, and Pierre Gascher who stress the role of the

[2]O. W. Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade in the South West Pacific* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1964); and "The Labour Trade" in Ward, *Man in the Pacific Islands*, pp. 124-43; W. P. Morrell, *Britain in the Pacific Islands* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960, chap. 7).

[3]Peter Corris, *Passage, Port and Plantation* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973); A. A. Graves, "Pacific Island Labour in the Queensland Sugar Industry, 1863-1900," Ph.D. thesis (University of Oxford, 1979); "The Origins and Development of Pacific Islands Labour Migration to Queensland, 1862-1906," Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, Postgraduate Seminar, "Labour Migration within the Empire-Commonwealth from 1780," held in 1977 (I am indebted to the author for permission to cite from this research; Deryck Scarr, "Recruits and Recruiters, a Portrait of the Labour Trade," in J. W. Davidson and Deryck Scarr, eds., *Pacific Islands Portraits* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1970); and the introduction to W. E. Giles, *A Cruise in a Queensland Labour Vessel to the South Seas* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1968).

colonial state as recruiter and developer through land alienation, taxation, and subsidies to private employers.[4]

Much of the argument, however, is still about motivation and control, Melanesian mobility and Melanesian mobilization. Such discussions have their counterparts in contemporary labor market theory for undeveloped areas--particularly in studies of rural-urban migration.[5] It would be anachronistic for historians to extrapolate unreservedly from recent investigations of contemporary migrant origins and employment patterns. But the models for arranging and interpreting data on migrations need to be kept in mind. They serve as a warning against the excessive simplicity of behaviorist and functionalist explanations of causation in the dynamic process of labor market growth over a century or more of economic and political change.[6] And they should remind us that reference to individual or group motivation in seeking work entails a consideration of the system of production in which labor is employed.

For labor recruitment and mobility is only one aspect of production. In the history of Pacific labor markets, there is a very big gap in our information about the employers of labor, the scale of their enterprise and the market conditions in which they operated. Consequently, in this paper the focus is on regional interdependence, where early labor supplies were essential to prospection and investment and the failure of the region to meet demand from its own demographic resources at price levels

[4]Stewart G. Firth, "German Recruitment and Employment of Labourers in the Western Pacific Before the First World War," Ph.D. thesis (University of Oxford, 1973); and his "The Transformation of the Labour Trade in German New Guinea, 1899-1914," *Journal of Pacific History*, 11 (1976), 51-65; "The New Guinea Company, 1885-1899: A Case of Unprofitable Imperialism," *Historical Studies*, 15 (1972), 361-77; "Governors Versus Settlers. The Dispute Over Chinese Labour in German Samoa," *The New Zealand Journal of History* (October, 1977), pp. 155-79; Pierre Casher, "Regards sur l'administration colonial en Nouvelle-Calédonie de 1874 à 1894," Ph.D. thesis (University of Paris, 1969). The colonial factor can also be overstated, as a "superordinate variable;" see Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, "Socioeconomic Change in Oceania," *Oceania*, 48 (1977), 102-99. For a more balanced viewpoint relevant to Fiji's early labor market, see K. L. Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants, A History to the End of Indenture in 1920* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[5]Kay Saunders, "Troublesome Servants: The Strategies of Resistance Employed by Melanesian Indentured Labourers on Plantations in Colonial Queensland," *Journal of Pacific History*, 14 (1979), 169. R. G. Ward, "Internal Migration and Urbanisation in Papua New Guinea," in M. Ward, ed., *Population Growth and Socio-Economic Change* (Canberra: New Guinea Research Bulletin No. 42, 1971), pp. 81-107; Richard Curtin, "The Patterns of Labour Migration in Papua New Guinea with Particular Reference to the Sepik Area," (personal communication). Karl Wohlmuth, ed., *Employment Creation in Developing Societies: The Situation of Labor in Dependent Economies* (New York: Praeger, 1973).

[6]For a useful summary, see G. K. Garbertt and B. Kapferer, "Theoretical Orientations in the Study of Labor Migration," *New Atlantis*, 2 (1970), 179-97.

which employers were willing or able to sustain. The "labor trade," then, was not simply an aspect of other commercial exchanges, but fundamental to the mobilization of resources within island-based economies with foreign capital and management. The dynamic changes in this trade reflected both external demand for staples and competition from a very different mode of production, in the case of commercial agriculture, through the expansion of peasant small-holdings and their refusal to alienate land.

If this line of analysis, in terms of regional market competition for the labor time of societies engaged in primitive accumulation and, more intermittently, in capitalist accumulation, is allowed, then it is useful to borrow another term from labor market theory, as applied in southern Africa, namely the designation of Melanesia and Micronesia as a labor "reserve." Queensland, Fiji, New Caledonia and even Samoa and Hawai'i recruited from this source area; and if the labor traffic to Peru in the early 1860s had continued to draw on Polynesia, there would be a case for extending the term to include other central and eastern groups. But, by and large, central and eastern Polynesia did not provide a regular market for emigrant labor until this century and in very different categories of employment. The reasons for this distinction are beyond the scope of this paper, though one may suggest, in passing, that earlier experience of market exchanges and earlier occupation by aliens who depended on local supplies of produce in Hawai'i, New Zealand, Tahiti or Samoa provided returns on peasants' labor time from the 1830s which discouraged sale of labor. Possibly the example of the Tolai of New Britain which looks unique in the context of late nineteenth-century New Guinea is an index of the difference between the economic history of western and central groups in terms of the way in which local peasant producers met local market demand. Such entrepreneurs are far from unique in early nineteenth-century Polynesia.

The regional approach to a central theme--production and labor--has, moreover, the advantage of reducing some of the fragmentation of Pacific history along metropolitan lines. The administration of Pacific markets was, in any case, a gradual and spasmodic process from the 1840s until the end-game of international partition. The theme of labor utilization, therefore, predates much of the formal imperial phase, just as it continues within and between Pacific island economies in the late twentieth century. The theme also reminds us that the development of the Pacific borderlands created poles of trade cutting across formal metropolitan controls. Even more than the history of Pacific staples (which is largely unwritten) Pacific labor history has a unity which the wide-ranging operations of recruiters and the elaborate regulations and international agree-

ments of human conservationists sought to comprehend. In the exploitation of the Pacific basin's resources, man was also an endangered species.

Because the organization of labor supplies was regional and indiscriminate, the catastrophic effects, rather than the integrative effects, were foremost in contemporary literature. Some societies were not given very much time to adjust their systems of agricultural production to new demands in conditions of demographic decline or political instability. Nor did they enjoy a very wide choice in the kind of production that was marketable, or the employment available, for the accumulation of a little stock necessary (to borrow from Adam Smith) for the division of labor. Indeed, labor was not divided very much within the ranks of Melanesian or Polynesian producers, in terms of economic specialization in the nineteenth century; and it might be argued that such a division ran along ethnic lines between indigenes and settlers in the small stratified communities that grew up around the Pacific ports. The kinds of stock available through the missions, traders, indigenous middlemen and returning wage laborers, moreover, were spread very thin; and although some artifacts such as steel axes and adzes undoubtedly released labor for other tasks and may have increased indigenous production, much of the articles of trade consisted of meretricious consumer goods, arms, and spirits.

Low levels of production, small internal markets, little vertical mobility into the ranks of entrepreneurs and principals were general features of the markets from which labor was drawn. Islanders did not always make a clear distinction between accumulation by sale of surplus or sale of labor. At various times and places they were willing to work on vessels, to collect and process produce, or to earn cash in public works. It was not unknown for them to organize more direct methods of accumulation by seizing ships and plundering stores. At other times, they refused to be recruited and yielded only to coercion, when the sale of crops or the sale of labor was not worth their while, Just as European exploitation of staples went through a prospection phase, so the main feature of early labor markets was prospection by the laborers and the absence of rigid specialization between peasant producers and workers for wages.

From the viewpoint of the planter or the administrator, this was not good enough. For, it is clear from the history of labor in the tropics that there are modes of production in which a casual labor force will not meet the operational requirements of regular inputs in a planned sequence--most typically in plantations and mines--without raising costs beyond a return on investment. Failing a ready labor supply, the accumulation of capital in the Pacific was accompanied by some extraordinary transfers from within the reserve and from Asia.

First, it is necessary to keep in mind a notion of scale for an overview of the period from the 1840s down to the First World War, when the structure of Pacific colonial economies was established. The overall pattern of migratory labor in our imperfect sources suggests two distinct configurations.

In one of these, the islands of Melanesia and Micronesia emerge as the major Pacific source area, 1840-1915, with a total recruitment of at least 280,000 laborers under various forms of indenture with a minor amount of casual labor.[7] Queensland imported 62,475 laborers (1863-1900); Fiji some 20,000 Pacific islanders (1864-1911); Samoa, 5,746 (1885-1913); Hawai'i, 2,400 (1877-1887); New Caledonia in excess of 2,000 from Melanesia (1863-1885) and small numbers down to 1917; French Polynesia, at least 1,700 (1850-1885). Nauru under German rule imported some two thousand Micronesians and Peru imported perhaps an equal number of Polynesians and some Melanesians (1862-1863). There were other minor migrations to Guatemala and Mexico from Micronesia in the 1890s.

The above totals and estimates account for perhaps half of the islanders indentured in the Western Pacific (excluding unknown numbers recruited by vessels from an earlier period). The other half of the estimate was mobilized almost entirely from within German New Guinea which mustered some 100,000 laborers (1884-1915), compared with about 80,000 contract and casual workers in British New Guinea Papua (1890-1914). Small forces of two to three thousand Hawaiians and about two thousand New Hebrides workers were employed as plantation labor within their own islands. But Polynesians were not, in general, available on long indentures; nor were Fijians or New Caledonian Melanesians.

[7]For aggregates from different island groups, see Charles A. Price and Elizabeth Baker, "Origins of Pacific Island Labourers in Queensland, 1863-1904, A Research Note," *Journal of Pacific History*, 11 (1976), 106-21; Corris, p. 1; Firth, p. 56; J. A. Bennett, "Immigration, Blackbirding, Labour Recruiting: The Hawaiian Experience 1877-1887," *Journal of Pacific History*, 11 (1976), 3-25; various totals are given for Pacific islanders in Fiji, see Parnaby, p. 185, note 26. I have made this estimate from Central Archives of Fiji and Western High Pacific Commission sources: Fiji Labour Department, Plantation Register, Polynesia 1875-1916, 6 vols. (microfilm Rhodes House Library, Oxford); General Register of Immigrants, Polynesia 1870-1911. The latter source is incomplete, but the registration numbers of indentured laborers are continued in vol. 8 through the 1890s until 1911. See, too, *Fiji, Journals of the Legislative Council.* Council Papers, Annual Reports on Polynesian Immigrants, 1880-1914; Firth, pp. 156-57; Gascher, p. 19; and "Les problemes de main d'oeuvre en Nouvelle-Calédonie 1855-1900;" *Cahiers d'histoire du Pacifique*, 1 (1974), 6-27; Archives Nationales Section Outre-mer (ANSOM), Oceanic, carton 35; see also Bryan H. Farrell, "The Alien and the Land of Oceania," in Ward, *Bêche-de-mer Trade*, p. 42 (this figure for New Caledonia would seem to be an error for J. C. Byrne's other exploits in the labor trade): Morrell, p. 172; Pamaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade*, pp. 12-13.

The second major configuration comprises Asians and other immigrants, more notable the 99,343 Chinese and Japanese recruited for Hawai‘i (1852-1900); some 60,500 Indians recruited for Fiji (1879-1916); 22,000 Indo-Chinese, Japanese and Javanese for New Caledonia (1892-1915). There were smaller numbers contracted or migrating freely to Samoa, New Guinea, and French Polynesia (1860-1915) amounting to some 5,000 Chinese and a few hundred Javanese. In all, about 186,000 Asian laborers supplemented or replaced workers from the Pacific islands, 1850-1917.[8] After the First World War, the indenture system continued within Melanesia, but Asian indentures decreased and disappeared for that area, while continuing as limited settler migration within Polynesia.

Restricting the analysis to pre-1914, there would seem to be three distinct periods in the growth of Pacific labor markets.

Prospection and External Demand.

The first markets grew out of early trading networks and were marked by irregularity of supply as traders depleted hogs, holothurians, sandalwood and seasonal surpluses of crops. This kind of prospection reached its peak in the operations of Pacific whaling fleets in mid-century, at a period of high labor costs experienced in various parts of the Pacific settlements during the Californian and Victorian gold rushes.[9] At the same time, the effects of the dislocation of subsistence production and the release of some labor by new techniques and steel tools were felt in the northern New Hebrides and southern Solomons from the 1840s.[10] The first labor vessel recruiting for Australia extended the practice of hiring gangs for the sandalwood trade to hiring labor for Queensland in 1847. By the early 1860s, therefore, a new network of labor brokers was well established and had begun to form its own cadre of suppliers who serviced the market, more

[8]Katherine Coman, *The History of Contract Labour in the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1903); UN Department of Commerce and Labor. Third Report on Hawaii, No. 66, Washington, 1906; Ching-chao Wu, “Chinese Emigration in the Pacific Area,” M.A. Thesis (University of Chicago, 1926); Bernard Brou, “Les Javanais de Nouvelle-Calédonie,” *Cahiers d’histoire du Pacifique*, 7 (1977), 19-47; Gillion, Appendix G.

[9]Sylvester K. Stevens, *American Expansion in Hawaii, 1842-1898* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Archives Publishing Co., 1951). Donald D. Johnson, “The United States in the Pacific. Private Interests and Public Policies,” MA thesis (University of Hawaii, 1941), p. 241; Theodore Morgan, *Hawaii, A Century of Economic Change 1778-1876* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948) p. 157.

[10]Shineberg, p. 162.

particularly in the Solomons. The piratical operations of recruiters for Peru in the early 1860s represented more extreme techniques to overcome resistance to demand in Polynesia and were yet another example of the ways in which plantation development and guano mining in the borderlands sought out labor by following the commercial networks already established with the islands.[11] But missionary and early colonial administrations in Polynesia were barriers to this kind of recruitment. The Melanesian reserve enjoyed no such protection. Indeed, the catalytic action of the missionaries, local warfare, depletion of resources, and frequent ecological disasters such as cyclones and drought may have hastened systematic recruitment.[12] Rival networks and the mutual exploitation of Melanesians and Europeans in a market where there were conventions but no legal redress soon earned recruiting its evil reputation.

At the same period, French occupation of New Caledonia and plantation experiments in Fiji in the 1860s impinged on the reserve and gave a stimulus to intraregional trade through administration expenditure on supplies and speculation in land.[13] The transition from external to internal demand can be measured inadequately in the earliest trade records of New Caledonia and Fiji. The change is also summed up in the career of a recruiter such as Andrew Henry who settled in New Caledonia in 1865 and contracted with the administration to supply New Hebridean labor in return for a sandalwood concession and a plantation of 400 hectares at Oubatche, or in the careers of the more numerous European prospectors who moved out of labor trading into mining in New Caledonia and onto the land of Fiji.[14]

On the whole, there was little parallel mobilization of labor in Polynesia before the 1860s, when Chinese were imported into Tahiti, though Hawaiians worked as contract labor, following the stimulus of land and labor taxes levied in the 1840s and the beginnings of the so-called land reform which did much to confuse commoners' tenure and release estates

[11]Stewart Watt, *Chinese Bondage in Peru: A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1951); W. M. Mathew, "The Imperialism of Free Trade: Peru 1820-70," *Economic History Review,* 21 (1968); Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade,* p. 13.

[12]Graves; Patrick O'Reilly, "Essai de chronologie des Nouvelles-Hébrides," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes,* 12 (1956), 5-61.

[13]Georgette Cordier-Rossiaud, *Relations Economiques entre Sydney et la Nouvelle-Calédonie 1844-1860* (Paris: Société des Océanistes, 1957), pp. 61-82.

[14]Patrick O'Reilly, *Hébridais: Répertoire bio-bibliographique des Nouvelles-Hébrides* (Paris: Société des Océanistes, 1957), pp. 98-99; Bronwen Douglas, "The Export Trade in Tropical Products in New Caledonia 1841-1872," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes,* 27 (1971), 168.

for sale.[15] Compared with these developments, the introduction of French convict labor into New Caledonia was an eccentric and belated example of penal reform on the fringes of a reserve exploited from Queensland and Fiji, though it did have the result, when added to free settlement, of increasing demand for labor from within the reserve.[16]

Staples and the Labor Crisis.

In a study of the sandalwood market, Dorothy Shineberg has concluded that the terms of trade shifted against Melanesians through the arms traffic, dependence on employers and the increasing intervention of European governments.[17] It is possible to isolate these factors as part of an explanation for the deterioration of conditions in the reserve, after the mid-century; but other changes seem more fundamental to labor supply. For example, in the 1850s, there were two important technological innovations which had a bearing on investment in tropical staples. Firstly, industrial chemists in France and Germany discovered how to manufacture a more homogeneous and cheaper vegetable oil by extraction from palm kernels and copra as a substitute for palm oil and coconut oil.[18] Secondly, in 1851, advances in clarifying and granulating sugar permitted greater yields in the ratio of sugar to molasses and opened the way for considerable economies of scale on large plantations by the use of animal,

[15]Morgan, pp. 10-11, 134-37.

[16]J. B. Alberti, *Etude sur la colonisation à la Nouvelle-Calédonie* (Paris: Société d'édition géographique, maritimes et coloniales, 1909); Roselene Dousset, "L'implantation coloniale en Nouvelle-Calédonie de la prise de possession à la grande insurrection, 1853-1878," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer,* 56 (1969), 305-11.

[17]Shineberg, p. 216.

[18]P. Baud, *L'industrie chimique en France* (Paris: Masson, 1932), p. 160; the earliest shipments of copra from India and the Pacific would appear to have been sold at Marseille from 1861; and in 1863, a cargo of 14,000 kilos arrived at Rotterdam, Marseille Chamber of Commerce archives, *Série* OK "Commerce avec les colonies françaises" 5 1857-1883; and "Les Nouvelles Hébrides au point de vue commerciale, Etude," ms. n.d. [1878] encl. in Riboul to Grandval, 22 September 1879; and for the views of the Noumea Chamber of Commerce on island produce, *Série* OK "Possessions transatlantiques et du Pacificque;" German interest in copra and kernels is summarized in Ernst Hieke, *Zur Geschichte des deutschen Handels mit Ostafrika. Das Hamburgische Handelhaus Wm. O'Swald & Co.* (Hamburg: H. Christian, 1939); see, too, Charlotte Leubuscher, *The Processing of Colonial Raw Materials. A Study in Location* (London: Colonial Office, 1951), pp. 24-55.

water, and steam power.[19] The brief cotton boom of the 1860s also gave point to land alienation and the plantation mode of production which had influenced thinking about development in the Pacific from quite early in the century.[20]

The implications of these technological changes and the plantation model were felt first in the market for oil-bearing products suitable for bulk purchase and transportation and in the expansion of sugar cane planting. Brokers and shipping companies in Hamburg, Marseille and Liverpool, moreover, were encouraged to invest in the kernel and copra trade during the period of high prices for oil following the Crimean War. Sugar also enjoyed a high price for the refined variety in the expensive Australian market of the 1850s; and in the 1860s, raw sugar temporarily stayed its long price decline at about £25 per ton.

In the Pacific, German and French houses made the transition to copra collecting fairly quickly. From their base in Valparaiso, J. C. Godeffroy & Sohn had prospected in Samoa and Fiji from 1857 and used their mercantile resources to capitalize coconut oil and cotton production and coconut plantations in Samoa from 1867. The following year, their agent Theodore Weber paid higher prices for cutting and drying than for oil processing at all the company's agencies. The first recruitment of labor for the company's Samoa plantations was made in the Gilbert Islands and the Cook group, 1864-1867; and this production was supplemented by the older technique of prospection through trading stations which were pushed into Micronesia and multiplied in the central eastern Pacific, where copra exports begin to appear in trade returns in the early 1870s.[21] The planter's staple was also the native smallholder's cash crop; and this dual production system began to make inroads into the main labor reserve in the 1870s when maize, cotton, and coffee were followed by copra cutting on Ambrim, Omba, and Efate. From a different commercial base, the copra trade encouraged Eduard Hernsheim to follow the Godeffroys into the Bismark Archipelago, and Palau group, the Marshalls, and the Gilberts from 1874. The Gilberts and Carolines, in turn, became a minor

[19] *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 2 April 1857; and the chapter by J. M. Dixon in *South Pacific Enterprise. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company Limited* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1956), pp. 119-45.

[20] R. Gerard War, "Land Use and Land Alienation in Fiji to 1885," *Journal of Pacific History*, 4 (1969), 3-25; Deryck Scarr, "Creditors and the House of Hennings: An Elegy from the Social and Economic History of Fiji," *Journal of Pacific History*, 7 (1972), 104-23; J. C. Potts, "The Sugar Industry in Fiji, Its Beginnings and Developments," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Fiji Society*, 7 (1958-59), 104-30.

[21] Firth, Thesis, chap. 1; *Messager de Tahiti*, Pape'ete, 19 September 1873.

labor reserve for Godeffroy's Samoa plantations.[22] Following the recapitalization of the firm in 1876, the Deutshe Hendels--und Platagen--Gesellschaft looked mainly to a plantation economy in Samoa and Melanesia for its prosperity and to the German government for subsidies and political support. Subsidies were refused in 1880, but the plan for a trading colony in New Guinea was actively promoted by the firm's banker; and Bismarck was guided towards approval of Germany's first venture into Pacific annexation.

Thus, in the two decades of the 1860s and 1870s, the scale of investment in Pacific staples and the territorial organization of production made significant inroads into the older trading networks based on barter and the spasmodic employment of labor. The political importance of this change coupled with British concern over the labor trade to Queensland was felt first in Fiji where the unstable government of Cakobau and the settlers of Viti Levu struggled with a load of debt and the problems of rapid development which led to the cession of 1874. One of the first tasks of Gordon's administration was to pay for the return of some 3,000 Pacific islands' laborers from 1875 and assist planters to import more.[23]

The commodity boom and labor crisis were more general than the examples of Samoa and Fiji suggest. In Hawai'i they stemmed from the collapse of whaling which extended to shipbuilding, livestock production, and the viability of the Hawaiian government.[24] Inflation and the risks of trade during the Civil War disrupted the territory's exchange system; and as public and private indebtedness mounted, land became the ultimate collateral and speculative hedge against returns from new sources of income when a promising market opened with the growth of San Francisco and the completion of the transcontinental railway in 1869. The same factors that drew the trade of French Polynesia away from Valparaiso to California rescued the economy of Hawai'i. After a brief cotton boom and some experiments with coffee in the late 1860s, merchants and planters fixed on sugar cane as a likely staple. Because of the primacy of merchants who supplied capital and marketed raw sugar to refineries on the mainland, the Hawaiian industry was concentrated locally in plantation management and in the search for supplies of labor.

By contrast in Fiji, the major problem after cession was to attract any kind of capital to rescue traders, planters and government from the

[22]Firth, "Transformation of the Labor Trade," p. 157.
[23]Pamaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade,* p. 181.
[24]Morgan, chap. 9.

network of debt owed to the Godeffroys or the house of Rabone, Feez, & Company in Sydney.[25] Sugar production showed no sign of supremacy before about 1879. Although there was a potential market in Australia and New Zealand, none of the small planters could finance mills of sufficient capacity to apply the most recent advances in production technology. Gordon, Thurston, and their successors, therefore, while laying the foundations of a paternalistic Fijian policy, were obliged to make considerable concessions to investors in the form of secure land titles and a labor supply. Taxation in kind, moreover, was not enough for fiscal purposes as a supplement to duties on imports. Fiscality and self-sufficiency demanded development and a major staple. Accordingly, land confiscation was reduced to manageable proportions by allowing about half of the settlers' claims to some 854,000 acres;[27] and the planters' preference for island labor from the Melanesian reserve was respected but supplemented by Gordon's preference for supplies of Indians on five year indentures with a government subsidy to meet one third of the cost. Special inducements in the shape of low-priced estates were offered to Stanlake, Lee, & Company and to the Colonial Sugar Refinery (CSR) to begin planting and milling. Even so, CSR hesitated before accepting the risks of production on the Rewa and at Bau in 1879 and 1880 when Fiji seemed useful as a means of building up stocks of raw sugar for refineries operating under Australian tariff protection.[28] With Indian and Pacific labor and the organization of central milling, the company was large enough to survive the depression in sugar prices in the 1890s and construct a monopoly of fifteen mills by 1900.

The development of a Pacific sugar staple moved along different lines of production in Fiji, Hawai'i, and Queensland. Fiji's sugar exports rose to 46.4 thousand tons in 1903 and doubled again by 1914.[29] By then, too, Indian immigrants had some 6,767 acres under cane. Hawai'i had over ninety plantations producing just over half a million tons by 1912, controlled in groups by fewer and fewer merchant factors. The mainstay of the plantation labor force in the 1870s had been Hawaiians. But by the early

[25]Scarr, "Creditors and the House of Hennings," pp. 104-23.

[26]*Fiji Planting and Commercial Directory*, 1879. *A Handbook of Fiji*, 1879.

[27]J. D. Legge, *Britain in Fiji, 1858-1880* (London: Macmillan, 1958), pp. 170, 193-94.

[28]Michael Moynagh, "Brown or White? A History of the Fiji Sugar Industry 1873-1973," Ph.D. dissertation (Australian National University, 1978), chapt. 1, p. 14. I am indebted to Dr. Moynagh for the chance to read an early draft of this work.

[29]Potts, Appendix 1.

1880s, about half of the 10,000 plantation workers were Chinese, plus a thousand or so Pacific islanders, while Hawaiians moved into semiskilled and skilled occupations along with immigrant *haoles*.[30] When Chinese immigration was opposed and replaced by new waves of Japanese, Koreans, Portuguese, and Filipinos, very few Hawaiians still worked as field hands or mill laborers. In Queensland, sugar-cane planting expanded most rapidly between 1880-1884, from 20,000 to 57,000 acres, and exports rose to 30,000 tons by 1885.[31] Pacific islands' labor was not regarded as a permanent solution to labor shortages, and in any case was not confined to employment in the sugar industry. Projects for Indian immigration foundered on objections from the government of British India and the politics of antipathy towards Asian settlement. As central milling expanded with government assistance in the 1890s and plantations gave place to small holdings, the need for islanders in the industry decreased.

It should be remembered, however, that changes in Queensland's methods of production took time; and for the early 1880s the Melanesian reserve was under pressure from all three sugar producing areas in the Pacific. The fact, too, that island labor was of minor significance in Queensland's interest in New Guinea and that the Griffith government returned 600 laborers there in 1884 did nothing to lessen Queensland recruiters' operations in the New Hebrides or the Solomons.[32] Anglo-German partition, 1884-1887, while safeguarding German labor supplies for Samoa, reduced the area open to British or French employers. In the privacy of a letter to Gladstone, Gordon deplored the possibility of Queensland politicians administering New Guinea as a source of supply;[33] but Gordon's own administration had to issue more licenses to Fiji recruiters who were stepping up their operations within the reserve up till 1885, according to the colony's plantations and immigration records.[34]

It is not surprising, therefore, that the final feature of this second period of labor market expansion is the cost inflation of recruitment and the differential wage scales offered under conditions of indenture. The topic

[30]US Department of Commerce and Labor, Third Report on Hawaii, No. 66, Washington, 1906, tables for fifty-six sugar plantations, 1904, p. 424ff.

[31]Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade,* pp. 106-7.

[32]Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade,* p. 115.

[33]Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade,* p. 117, n. 59.

[34]Fiji Labour Department. General Register of Immigrants, Polynesia, 1870-1911; Fiji. *Journals of the Legislative Council* (annual reports on Polynesian immigration, esp. for 1880-84). No count has been made for these years, but a check of the islands of origin suggests a shift in immigration from the New Hebrides to the Solomons by 1884, a proportion maintained down to 1891 (Council Paper No. 21 for 1892).

is relatively unexplored and requires more work from regional business records than has been attempted so far. But, for a start, the usual bald statement that wages in Queensland were £6 a year, compared with £3 in Fiji, needs qualification.[35] The tendency in Queensland was for Pacific islanders' labor costs to rise with renewed indentures and periods of shortage. Experienced laborers could command as much as £15 a year in the late 1880s; and between 1863 and 1889, there was a six-fold increase in the amount of passage money. From the Fiji plantation records, it is also clear that passage money increased from £3 per head in 1877 to £4 by 1884. By 1888 some planters were paying £7 and £8 a head for New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders and £6 for return passages. Wages for island labor in Fiji rose from £3 for first indentures for males in the 1870s to £7 in 1885 and £9 in 1889. Part of the reason for the success of Indian immigration lay in the increasing supply price of Pacific labor. Recruitment from this source collapsed from 1886.

Similarly, French recruitment from the New Hebrides for New Caledonia rose in price from 250 to 300 francs per head in 1873 to 600 for adult males by 1884. By 1882 after experimenting with the importation of Melanesians, the Hawaiian Planters Labor and Supply Company found that the cost per head for New Hebrides recruits at $48.80 was more than double the cost of sources of imported European labor or Japanese settlers who paid part of their fare.

The preliminary conclusion on the economics of recruitment during the period of peak demand following plantation development seems inescapable: there was a rapid increase in costs and considerable difference in the unit price of imported labor from the 1870s until the onset of depression in 1885. What this meant in terms of working costs for planters, it would be unwise to guess without specific data on copra and sugar production. But it is also evident there were considerable pressures to diversify supply throughout the Melanesian reserve and beyond, as employers and some colonial governments sought to reduce the effects of a high supply price and weakening sugar and copra prices in the mid-1880s. It may

[35]Pamaby, "The Labour Trade," p. 136; Graves; Gascher; information on costs can be gleaned from the Fijian General Register of Immigrants which lists scales. By 1887, passage money for Melanesians from the New Hebrides and Solomons had risen to £15 a head and the cost of repatriation was £5 to £7 a head. See *Journals of the Legislative Council*, 1887, Council Paper no. 36; by 1891 at the onset of the depression, wages for Melanesians on plantations ranged from £3 for new recruits to as high as £12 for experienced workers. For costs in Hawai'i, see Bennett. Wages for Indian task workers were probably lower than the "standard" levels cited: See Gillion, p. 110 and note.

well be, too, that increasing experience among returned laborers encouraged some market preference in recruitment and that there were shifts in the brokers' choice of supply within the reserve from the higher priced New Hebrides to the Solomons and Micronesia. This is suggested by the change in the incidence of recruitment for Queensland in the revised statistics provided by Price and Baker.[36] After the peak year of recruitment in 1885 when annual indentures numbered 5,273, the New Hebrides supplied a large but decreasing percentage of the colony's island labor, while the south Solomons increased their share of annual totals. The central and north Solomons fell within the German sphere of operations from 1888. The Loyalty Islands ceased to supply Queensland altogether from 1873 as production of cash crops and sale of labor to New Caledonia provided better returns. Moreover, after the New Caledonia revolt of 1878 (occasioned in part by forced labor) and the beginnings of mining development, pressure on New Hebrides supplies from the French increased. A preliminary survey of the origins of Fiji's Melanesian labor also suggests there was a shift away from the north and central New Hebrides in the late 1870s to New Britain, New Ireland, Buka, and Bougainville.[37] After 1886 when Pacific islanders declined rapidly as a percentage of Fiji's indentured labor, there was a further shift in origins to Malaita and back to the New Hebrides. But by then, like Hawai‘i and New Caledonia, Fiji had adopted an Asian solution to the labor problems of the crisis period of the late 1870s.

Colonial Labor Systems

The labor crisis of the 1860s and 1870s was followed by increasing regulation of the labor market by colonial states. In many ways, this intervention was to remain the principal feature of labor mobility until shortly before decolonization in recent decades and it is still a feature of the economies of New Caledonia and French Polynesia. Such intervention, too, has an older history in the Masters and Servants legislation of other British colonies which found its way into the ordinances of British Pacific territories, while the desire to reform abuses in the labor trade which led to the creation of a Western Pacific High Commission in 1875 posed the question of regulation and control of islands of the reserve settled by British subjects. The legalities and operational difficulties of such expansive protection have been analyzed from the British viewpoint. But reform of

[36]Price and Baker, table 1.

[37]General Register of Immigrants, Polynesia 1870-1911.

the labor market in the Pacific, like control of the arms and spirits traffic closely associated with recruitment, required a measure of international agreement. If the British contribution to this movement through government agencies in Queensland or Fiji is to be fully evaluated, then parallel systems of labor mobilization have to be considered as well, in the case of French and German administrations.

A more fundamental reason than the international repercussions of philanthropy is that the partition of the Pacific entailed the partition of labor supplies. This much became clear to the French administration in New Caledonia which anticipated eventual British control over Fiji as early as 1871 and foresaw a stricter regulation of recruitment in the New Hebrides and in the labor trade between Micronesia and Tahiti.[38] The Fiji cession of 1874 and the evidence of abuses under the French flag (often by recruiters who were not French) provoked two reactions in Noumea. One was to give serious consideration to the annexation of the New Hebrides in 1875 when the Minister of Marine supported the New Caledonian case for protecting a source which supplied over five thousand laborers to plantations, mines, and public works between 1874 and 1882.[39] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in broad agreement but envisaged a protectorate formula to cover recruiting without offending Britain and the Australian colonies.[40]A change of ministry postponed any action; and in the late 1870s, there were wider questions involving German manoeuvres in Samoa and Tonga and French consolidation of territory in the eastern Pacific which prevented the French government from sponsoring the mining and commercial investment planned from Noumea. At most, it was able to secure an exchange of notes in 1878 leaving the New Hebrides formally independent.[41]

The second response of the Noumea administration to increased competition for labor was to tighten up regulations on recruitment and

[38]ANSOM, Océanie carton 42/16, Admiral Hamelin, report 14 November 1871, encl. in Minister of Marine to Director of Colonies, note n.d. [1871]; Océanie carton 35/3, Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry of Marine, 26 October 1875; Courrier du Havre, 13 February 1873 (French kidnapping cases); Ministry of Marine to Rear-Admiral Lapelin, 26 February 1873.

[39]Gascher, p. 15.

[40]Archives des Affaires Etrangères (AAE), Océanie, Nouvelles-Hébrides, 1875-1883, IV Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry of Marine, 14 March 1876; Ministry of Marine to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 27 August 1875; Du Petit-Thouars to Jauréguiberry, 22 April 1879; Morrell, p. 190.

[41]Morrell, p. 199 and note.

employment in 1871 and 1874.[42] Provision was made for government agents on recruiting vessels, three-year indentures, standardized wages (12 francs per month) and subsidies for repatriation, A similar system was organized for French Polynesia under local ordinances, and both territories arranged contracts with the Bordeaux firm of J. H. Tandonnet and other suppliers such as the ubiquitous Higginson.[43] With Indian sources closed and with settlers unwilling to allow Chinese immigration, French pressure on the reserve increased in the late 1870s and early 1880s as more land concessions were made to mining companies during the investment boom, 1881-1885.[44]

Before the world price of nickel collapsed and Canadian competition ended New Caledonia's brief supremacy in 1888, the local demand for convict and Melanesian labor was aggravated by a temporary suspension of recruitment by the Ministry of Marine, 1882-83, following a report by the administrator on recruitment.[45] But at the end of the following year, Higginson's land purchases through his Compagnie Calédonienne des Nouvelles Hébrides gave the colony a greater stake in the group; and when a merger of his Société Le Nickel with a Glasgow copper mining company encouraged prospecting and recruiting, the suspension was lifted. There were further suspensions after revelation of abuses, 1885-89, but New Hebrides labor continued to enter the colony and there were still close to two thousand workers from the group registered in the 1891 census.[46] In 1893, new regulations were drawn up for both Melanesian and Asian immigration. Planters had already brought in some 542 Indians from French territories, 1866-1875; and Higginson employed 165 Chinese as mining labor in 1884. From 1890, New Caledonian employers turned to Javanese and Indo-Chinese sources, though these were only marginally

[42] *Arrêté,* 2 March 1871 (New Hebrides recruiting); *Arrêté,* 26 March 1874; Maurice Masson, *La question des Nouvelles Hébrides* (Paris: University of Paris, 1960), p. 55; Gascher, p. 16; Charles Lemire, *La colonisation française in Nouvelle-Calédonie et dépendences* (Paris: Challamel aîné, 1877), p. 253.

[43] ANSOM Océanie carton 45/3 (for copies of contracts); *Messager de Tahiti,* 10 May 1883.

[44] Dousset, pp. 308-9; Augustin Bernard, *L'archipel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.* (Paris: n.p., 1894), pp. 382-84; Laberti, pp. 220-35.

[45] Bernard, p. 384; D. H. Browne in *The Mining Magazine,* April 1911, pp. 303-4; AAE Océanie, Nouvelle-Calédonie IV, Courbet to Ministry of Marine, 17 February 1882, encl. in Ministry of Marine to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 8 June 1882; Gascher, p. 19.

[46] *Journal Officiel de la Nouvelle-Caledonie,* Noumea, 9 April 1892.

cheaper, and debates on the utility of local Melanesian labor continued over the next two decades.[47]

This French consolidation of labor regulations in 1893 left its mark on the neighboring reserve. The Anglo-French Convention of 1887 neutralized the New Hebrides as a source of diplomatic conflict but left the commercial warfare between the Compagnie Calédonienne and the Australian New Hebrides Company to continue unabated.[48] When the depression of the 1890s aggravated disputes over land titles, boundaries, and local labor supplies, British planters were at a considerable disadvantage under the licensing and inspection system required by the "Polynesian" labor acts of 1872 and 1875 administered from Fiji. French planters and the Compagnie Calédonienne were free to trade arms and spirits and were relatively unsupervised as they ranged throughout the New Hebrides and the Solomons in search of labor for settlement schemes.[49] When produce prices recovered in 1897, the expanding entrepôt trade through Noumea gave French settlers a preponderance which Bums, Philip, & Co. failed to counter in the face of Australian tariffs and British labor regulations. By the date of the Convention of 1906, two different labor systems were at odds in discussions between British and French delegates, and the French system prevailed. So much so, that by 1908 even the High Commissioner at Suva was opposed to a strict interpretation of labor regulations by the British resident commissioner in the New Hebrides for fear of "destroying the labour supply in these islands."[50] But he would not allow recruitment from the Gilberts or British Solomons, although this source was still open to German Samoa after 1893, on the strength of an understanding between the German government and the Foreign 0ffice.[51] The main result was a decline in the total numbers of annual indentures among British and French planters from 2,856 in 1908 to about 1,600 by 1914 and an increase in the lists of

[47]Brou, p. 39. The debates can be followed in *Nouvelle-Calédonie. Conseil général: procès-verbaux*, especially for November 1898, pp. 166-62; November 1904, pp. 310-11; 1906, p. 759; November 1911, pp. 219-29.

[48]For the Australian viewpoint, see Roger C. Thompson, "Australian Imperialism and the New Hebrides, 1862-1922," Ph.D. dissertation (Australian National University, 1971), especially Part 2.

[49]Foreign Office Confidential Print, 5561, *New Hebrides*, 1887, Wyley to Fairfax, 17 August 1887; FOCP, 6311, Part 21, Thurston to FO, 5 November 1892.

[50]Colonial Office Confidential Print, Australia, 199, Im Thurn to CO, 24 October 1908.

[51]FOCP, 6386, CO to FO, 27 March 1893; FOCP, 6442, Thurston to FO, 5 September 1893.

"abuses" reported to the Joint Court.[52] British recruits worked for shorter indentures than French plantation labor, and there is a high proportion of native-grown copra in British exports from the New Hebrides for the pre-war period. But labor inspection was perfunctory all round; and in 1912, a report on labor conditions on the estates of the Pacific Isles Investment Company Syndicate, acquired complete with workers from two French planters, revealed practices closer to slavery than the letter of Convention regulations.[53] A revision of the protocols in 1914 enforced a better inspection system; and a steep rise in the supply price of labor to £12 and £15 a year--well beyond wages in the Solomons or Fiji--made planters more conscientious in their treatment of workers. In 1920, the first shipload of 140 Vietnamese provided another source of relief for the plantation mode of production.

Thus, the New Hebrides passed through the stages of labor reserve to an internalized recruitment and plantation system which had to compete with labor time devoted to native-grown copra and was divided between French and British official intervention. It is probable the deportation of New Hebrides labor from Queensland also influenced the market between 1904 and 1907, though no study has been made to determine how many of these experienced workers turned to copra production on their own account or became short-term recruits for the planters. What is certain is that by the late 1880s, a large proportion of the male population of the group had "served a term somewhere" and exercised a choice in disposal of labor time between Queensland, Fiji, local plantations, and native gardens and groves.[54] By 1914, two of these options had closed. Like the Solomons, where external recruiting ceased in 1912 after the development of Lever's plantations, New Hebrides labor came under an internally-supervised system of controls with penal sanctions and declined to enter the labor market--especially the French section of that market.

By contrast, the importation of Melanesian labor to Fiji declined rapidly after 1885, during the depression, and then more slowly in the face of Indian immigration. The conditions of this alternative supply and the exclusion of Fijians from long indentures also include an element of govern-

[52]COCP, Australia, 201, table D, pp. 70-71; and Table G "Native Indentured Labour." There was still a large recruitment from outside the New Hebrides--some 1,600 annually, 1908-10; and there still were New Hebrides workers returning from Queensland--between thirty and fifty annually, ending with two in 1910.

[53]COCP, Australia, 211, Mahaffy to High Commissioner, 26 February 1913 and enclosures.

[54]FOCP, 5561, Pelley to Fairfax, 1 August 1887.

ment subsidy in repatriation costs, as there was in Tahiti and New Caledonia at the same period. But as the profitability of sugar was threatened by a price fall, 1883-1887, the burden of costs was transferred to the immigrants in the task work system protected by Acting-Governor Thurston's labor ordinance of 1886.[55] By the early 1890s, the condition of Indian labor in Fiji had become so bad that serious attention was given to subsidizing settlement schemes; and between 1897 and 1914, the government financed eighteen Indian settlements to provide smallholdings for two thousand peasant workers in the vicinity of plantations.[56]

For German possessions, the option of externally recruited labor was not so easily available as for British, French, or Hawaiian planters and miners. Private investment by the New Guinea Company and state underwriting of development in Samoa and New Guinea depended largely on labor mobilization within German-controlled areas of Melanesia and Micronesia.[57] High mortality rates and strict supervision by Dutch and British authorities in Java and the Straits Settlements ended small convoys of Asians from these sources in 1900. As plantation investment concentrated on the Bismarck Archipelago, officials stepped up the pace of internal recruitment into one of the more closely administered systems of indentured and forced labor in the Pacific. Mortality rates for New Guinea's 100,000 laborers during the period of German rule, estimated at 250 per thousand, were among the highest in the Pacific and compare unfavorably with other tropical areas of migrant labor.[58] The incidence was particularly severe for some source areas in New Britain, New Ireland and Manus. And although a small casual labor market was allowed to develop, the hard-pressed administration which took over the bankrupt New Guinea Company kept the supply price low by fixing a standard wage, by using some forced labor from 1903, and by applying a labor incentive tax from 1907 as well as using penal sanctions. This policy rapidly built up the agricultural and general labor force expropriated by Australia, along with German settlers' capital stock, as an instrument of further plantation and mineral production under regulations which were a refinement of German regulations and preserved their essential features.

Germany's colonial intervention in the Melanesian market, therefore, might be said to have foreshortened the longer period of development

[55]Gillion, pp. 83-84.

[56]Moynagh, chap. 3; Gillion, pp. 136-39.

[57]Firth, dissertation; US Consular Report. Labor in America, Asia, Africa, Australasia and Polynesia. Washington, 1885, for Consul T. Canisius, Apia, 16 May 1888, on the condition of the eight or nine hundred Pacific islanders on German plantations.

[58]Firth, "Transformation of the Labour Trade," p. 53 (and personal communication).

through trade networks, investment in staples, and competitive and regulated recruitment typical of other areas in the reserve. Alone among German plantation enterprises, the DHPG followed the practice of supplementing from Asian sources after 1900; and it has been shown how this policy was resisted in Samoa where the importation of 3,800 Chinese between 1903 and 1913 resulted in a conflict of interests between the company, smaller planters, and the administration.[59] In New Guinea, the administration supported the cheaper option of recruiting Melanesians at a distance from plantations (an option which was curtailed in adjacent British and French groups); and officials also supported the employment of islanders from the Carolines and Marshall groups for Nauru and Angaur where Chinese workers proved particularly contentious and could appeal for protection to provincial officials in China. Such external patronage was effective for Indians in Fiji from about 1917 and later still for Javanese and Vietnamese in New Caledonia.[60] Diplomacy also won concessions for Japanese and Chinese in Hawai‘i under American labor laws after 1898. The Asians' gain was the Pacific islanders' loss unless they were the object of special tutelage within the administrative structure of a colony, as in Fiji, or had learned to accumulate a surplus from cash crops, as they had in much of Polynesia and to a lesser extent in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides.

Conclusion

By its very nature, the history of migrant labor is multi-faceted and imbedded in the economies of source areas and areas of employment. The topic is, after all, only one aspect of the region's economic history in the preimperial and imperial phase; and as so much of the subject remains to be worked over, the contribution of labor cannot be assessed conclusively without reference to the topics of land, capital, business organization, or technology.

There are, however, three themes suggested by the foregoing which the development of wage labor from within the Melanesian reserve illustrates. The recent tendency to describe Melanesian labor markets in terms of voluntarism and the initiative of local brokers who carved out a business for themselves by supplying labor for Queensland requires modification in terms of the options open to Melanesians at various periods of staple production in the western Pacific. The reserve itself was much

[59]Firth, "Governors Versus Settlers," pp. 155-79.
[60]Brou, pp. 41-42.

wider than any single source area such as Malaita and includes several production centers and at least four administrative colonial systems. Recruitment through those systems calls for a theory of constraint on the choice of options open to laborers, as well as a theory of "voluntary" mobility and rewards. If the old reformist view that all labor traffic was a version of kidnapping is rejected, so must the latter-day view that labor is contracted independently of the economic system of production and control in which payment in money and kind is an alternative to primitive accumulation by other means, such as sale of crops. Conventional labor market analysis does not include the notion of temporary acceptance of conditions for the sale of labor, in the hope of investing monetary rewards or goods in other forms of production and exchange; nor does it include the notion of intervention by a colonial state to narrow the laborer's choice of employment. Both colonial regulations and the entrepreneurial factor are part of the history of production in the Pacific, to control as well as reform.

Early labor history in the region, therefore, is not concerned with contemporary problems of under-employment, or even the "cliometrics" of imperfect statistical records. It has its origins in very different stages of economic growth, when the techniques of accumulation were exploratory, and when there were quite different assumptions about wages and the division of labor in settler societies faced with seemingly bountiful opportunities in the tropics which were frustrated by distance, imperfect knowledge of local resources, and the value systems of potential sources of labor. It was a world closer to the labor crisis in the imperial tropics at the end of the slave trade, on the far side of the depressions of the 1890s and the 1930s, than to the sources of merchant and state investment and the market technology available in recent decades. If any models were available, they were the West Indies or the Dutch East Indies. These analogies, rather than imperial doctrines of development, encouraged minor traders and even missionaries to invest in plantations. For most of the nineteenth century, such parallels were misleading because island populations did not become plantation workers in eastern Polynesia; and they had to be systematically mobilized in Melanesia by professional recruiters and with the assistance of colonial states.

If this notion of constraint is kept in mind, then a second major theme arising from the history of early Pacific labor markets is the linkage between Pacific businessmen and imperial partition in the Pacific. Such a connection is sometimes assumed rather than demonstrated; or it is rejected out of hand as a materialistic motivation in a story of imperial reform of abuses or "international rivalry." It is true, business did not

always move in harmony with government house--though the argument was often about means, rather than ends. But businessmen--merchants, traders, partnerships, mining companies, bankers--had their own pressure groups and clientage systems which reached back into metropolitan government circles for capital and political support. At the level of Pacific markets in the islands, the historian is faced not with a harmony of official and commercial interests within "national" groups, but rather "communal networks" (the New Caledonian *circuits de solidarité*), including both islanders and aliens, linked by commercial debt, religious allegiance, and later by hierarchical status as functionaries within an "administration" of elders, chiefs, and imported officials. Such networks could cut across "national" origins where traders or planters had a common cause to plead. How else can one explain British settlers' willingness to support French annexation of the New Hebrides in 1876, and again in 1913, or to change their nationality when linkages with Australia were weak and those with Noumea were strong;[61] or the close cooperation between German planters, linked with Sydney merchants, and Australian military administrators in New Guinea; or the unwillingness of French merchants in eastern Polynesia to see French metropolitan tariffs damage their commercial connections with Sydney, Auckland, and San Francisco in the 1890s? The networks of patriotic expansionists and business communities married into island societies were not always concentric, though they sometimes tended to become so, as in precession Fiji or preannexation Tahiti and Hawai'i. Where early labor regulations were concerned, British planters on the edge of the Melanesian reserve had more to lose from strict observance of the "Polynesian" labor acts than their French counterparts, and neither group had anything to gain from the campaigns waged by influential missionary networks whose lines of communication could also muster support in colonial capitals and in London. The interests vested in Pacific labor markets were not necessarily imperial interests, unless, as in the case of German New Guinea and New Caledonia or in Gordon's Fiji, official patronage also favored the means of production developed and owned by settlers.

If these paradoxes are kept in mind, imperial partition can be considered, not as a necessary consequence of development by particular pressure groups, but as an incidental means of regulating the disorderly process of investment, land confiscation, and labor recruitment through the clientage networks already established in the islands. The roots of parti-

[61]COCP, Australia, 211, 1913; Julian Thomas, *Cannibals and Convicts* (London: Cassell & Co., 1886), p. 182; Tompson, p. 510.

tion lie in the development process itself, and much of this was experimental in the early nineteenth century and the object of quite different evaluations in the case of New Zealand, Hawai‘i, or New Caledonia and Fiji before the remaining markets for produce and labor were occupied at the end of the century. If this is allowed, then imperial occupation also followed the division of labor which was part of development, as beach markets threw up their specialist clientele in commerce, evangelism, and agriculture and mining. When labor, too, became a source of rivalry following changes in Pacific staple production and the labor crisis of the 1870s, recruitment and settler schemes were contrived to meet demand, though it was no longer certain that the plantation model of production was the most suitable in conditions where islanders could be encouraged to turn their labor time to cash crops.

This latter point leads to a third theme, namely, the growth of alternatives to migratory wage labor. If it is agreed, from the foregoing, that the notion of a “market” (in the sense of a regular bargain between buyer and seller) is somewhat notional in the case of labor drafted onto plantations, then the history of cashcropping has to be considered as well. One approach might be to consider the purchase of labor time as a constantly evolving transaction before colonial regulation constrained choices by taxes, penal sanctions, and all the adjuncts of a coercive labor system; another might be to look at the history of copra, pearl shell, and other staples for evidence of credit advances and group indebtedness to merchant houses; a third is to look at the history of cooperatives in the Pacific. Until this is done, it would be unwise to accept the usual migratory models employing push-pull factors, or behaviorist maximization of choice ventures, to “explain” migration of laborers: firstly, because they lack this history of constraints explicit in much of the labor trade; and secondly they omit any reference to the role of producers in produce marketing systems which provided alternative avenues for accumulation, but which were also developed within the nexus of commercial and imperial networks and controls.

Pacific labor markets, then, were not simply functions of the interactions of aliens and islanders in what is often termed “culture contact.” That contact was not, in any case, between whole cultures but between representatives within the exchange networks of patrons and clients (including missionaries who transacted new codes of behavior and value systems) at fixed points in expanding markets. In the course of time, a remarkable number of islanders (including converts to new religions) worked abroad. Regarded as an addition to subsistence agriculture, it is clear that labor was not at first mobilized by a lot of kidnappers in the

roadstead; nor was it simply attracted a century later by the bright lights around the ports. Rather, the productive resources of the islands had gradually been tapped and drawn into a world economy through increased demand for vegetable oils and other produce and minerals, partly through peasant production, but also through the application of plantation and industrial methods within island economies. The plantation model--the factory in the field--was a pervasive one as a way of maximizing profits promised by changes in European consumption and food processing in the nineteenth century. In organization, moreover, it has much in common with open-cast mining which made similar calls on regular supplies of labor in New Caledonia, New Guinea and the phosphate islands. Such modes of production had a lasting influence on the conditions of labor recruitment and other services in colonial economies. Yet these characteristic developmental institutions have little written about their functional records, their success or failure, compared, say, with cooperatives which are not characteristic of the nineteenth century or the late phenomenon of wage labor in urban centers in which Pacific islanders have been more recently caught up and spend their working lives.

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MELANESIAN WOMEN IN QUEENSLAND 1863-1907: Some Methodological Problems Involving the Relationship between Racism and Sexism*

by Kay Saunders

This paper will analyze the sexual division of labor on Queensland sugar plantations within the context of emerging planter-capitalist relations in a colonial society. It will focus upon the motives which induced owners after 1863 to introduce laborers from the precapitalist societies of the westem Pacific into Queensland. The crucial factor of their preference for young single male rather than female servants will be explored. The demographic characteristics of the Pacific island women who engaged for a term of servitude will be discussed, as well as the ramifications of the traditional Melanesian sexual division of labor upon their colonial experience. The type of work performed and, in particular, the changes that accrued from the 1884 legislation which decreed that all first contract islanders had to perform routine tropical agricultural labor will be examined. It will be argued that the necessity of securing an increasing labor force for the sugar plantations during an unprecedented expansionist and speculative phase in Queensland's economy took precedence over the usual patriarchal ideology which confined females of all ethnic origins in the role of the domestic and/or sexual servicing sphere. Clearly, the position of the Pacific island women who were introduced as indentured servants for a three-year term of bondage differed markedly from that of the conquered, colonized, indigenous women who were forced into domestic service, prostitution, and concubinage. Lastly, patterns of sexuality, marriage, reproduction, and the impact of Christian morality and religion will be explored within the context of the diverse pressures which were exerted to maintain or to modify traditional patterns in the alien culture.

Queensland parliamentarians and rural capitalists from the inception of the labor trade in 1863 strongly adhered to the principle of recruiting,

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as far as possible, young single males. As the Attorney-General assured the Governor in April 1869, "our policy should be so defined as to make their [Melanesian] immigration a temporary aid to us and not to encourage its permanent settlement in the country."[1] Women, who would produce children, could constitute a threat to their plans, for they might form an unwanted, permanent, and unassimilable segment in the community. Certainly, Queensland masters were conscious of the limitations of slavery in the southern states of America and, like planters in other areas of the British Empire, they desired a highly mobile, unencumbered and expendable labor force. Indentured service of young unattached males, whether they were Indian, Chinese, or other Asian coolies or Melanesians, possessed these criteria; for masters envisaged the individuals within the system being exploited as a temporary and expendable commodity while the institution of indenture itself remained as a permanent feature. Upon these rationales, non-European women were discouraged from entering the colony as indentured servants. Recruiting agents were made aware that they should not attempt to persuade females to enlist but, at the time, always to ensure that those women who did "sign-on" were married to their male companions. For colonial masters shrewdly realized that they could not hope to maintain a regular supply of male recruits if they offended the Melanesians' customs.

Charles Price and Elizabeth Baker have calculated that some 62,475 Pacific islanders entered Queensland from 1863 to 1904.[2] They note that the colonial records contain notable discrepancies and inconsistencies. These statistics designate recruits on the basis of "island of origin" and not gender, so that the number of women were determined, rather unsatisfactorily, on the basis of the ten-yearly censuses, an exiguous source.

TABLE 1.
Sexual Distribution of Melanesian in Queensland 1871-1901

Year	No. of Males	No. of Females	% Female
1871	2,255	81	3.5
1881	5,975	373	6.2
1891	8,602	826	9.6
1901	8,656	672	7.7

[1]Attorney-General to Governor, 13 April 1869. Qeensland State Archives (hereinafter cited as QSA). GOV/Al.

[2]Charles Price and Elizabeth Baker, "Oigins of Pacific Island Labourers in Queensland 1863-1904: A Research Note," *Journal of Pacific History*, 11 (1976), 106.

On these figures, if women constituted an average of 6.5 percent of the total Melanesian population in Queensland, this paper is therefore concerned with just over 4,000 females. It should be stressed that this figure represents a statistical probability based upon known data and should therefore only be used as a guide. Attempts to enhance these rather dull demographic characteristics by endeavoring to determine their island of origin is once again beset by almost insurmountable difficulties. The resolution was to apply this statistical average to the data on "island of origin." This crude mechanism seemed the only means by which some knowledge could be obtained on the culture of the female recruits. The areas of Melanesia from which individuals were either coerced into or voluntarily engaged for colonial servitude presented a rather neat, albeit unrefined, anthropological dichotomy between the basically patrilineal communities of the eastern Solomon Islands and southern New Hebrides and the matrilineal societies of the northern New Hebrides and Banks Islands. Employing the figures calculated by Price and Baker, it is estimated that 37 percent recruits emanated from the matrilineal societies whilst the remaining 63 percent came from the patrilineal groups.

In a patrilineal system, descent (the organizing principle in these nonliterate, classless societies) is traced from a common ancestor through the male line and in a matrilineal system through the female line. It should never be imagined that the latter system implies that women thereby maintain power, for males are dominant in all aspects of life in both systems. Slight modifications in the pattern of male hegemony are the most that can be detected in the Banks Islands or northern New Hebridean islands such as Espiritu Santo, Aoba, and Pentecost. As E. A. Corlette maintained, these communities allowed females a modicum of choice in marriage partners and were not so obsessed with female and, for that matter, male chastity. Homosexuality was common in both sexes though the strict rules of exogamy which applied to heterosexual union were here rigorously enjoined. Abortion was more widely resorted to, and accepted.[3] Yet as R. H. Codrington stated in his classic and perceptive study on Melanesian society published in 1891, in the matrilineal Banks Islands the rules of kin avoidance and reserve are very strict in the categories of brothers and sisters, mothers and sons, men and their wife's mother. He continues that: "There is certainly nothing more characteristic of Melanesian life than

[3]E. A. Corlette, "Notes on the Natives of the New Hebrides," *Oceania*, 5 (1934-35), 474-86; G. Sebbelov, "The Social Position of Men and Women among the Natives of East Malukula," *American Anthropologist*, 11 (1913); W. H. R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, vol. 1 (Oosterhout, Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1968).

the presence of societies which celebrate mysteries strictly concealed from the uninitiated and from all females."[4] Subsequent research in the 1930s by Deacon, Humphreys, and Hogbin and by Allen, Lane, Keesing, and Cranstone more recently confirmed and elaborated upon these arguments. Certain broad principles can be detected which were subsequently to affect vitally both male and female Melanesians in Queensland.

In all western Pacific island societies, economic, political, military, and religious power and autonomy resides totally in the male segment, Strict sexual segregation in all areas of life is rigorously maintained. The common ideological premise upon which male hegemony is preserved maintains that females represent dangerous vessels of contamination and pollution which must be guarded against by resort to complex magical and ritual ceremonies. The argument is self-fulfilling, for women are prevented from gaining access into the crucial areas of religion and ritual because their gender precludes initiation which is, in turn, to teach men how to nullify female evil and profanity.

In all patrilineal areas of Melanesia, sexual segregation was extremely crucial. Women who would leave their own patrilineal clan on marriage to reside among their hubands' kin were necessarily isolated in a hostile and unfamiliar community whilst men remained within the security of their own kin groups. If adultery occurred with a married woman, both she and her lover could expect to be either severely maimed or killed for this gross infringement and violation of the husband's and his cognates' property rights. If the lover's patriclan sought to retaliate, warfare could and often did ensue. Recruiting vessels from Queensland might offer such a couple an escape from certain retribution. Bishop J. R. Selwyn in an article in *The Guardian* of 4 May 1892 argued that this was quite a common phenomenon, whilst the British Deputy Resident in the New Hebrides agreed.[5] The people of a village on Walla Island fired on the crew of the recruiting vessel *Boro Belle* in August 1889 to avenge the enlistment of an eloping married woman which had occurred several months previously on the *Meg Merrilies*.[6] Three Aoban women, Tamwah, Arroohono, and Wyule, enlisted on the *Helena* on 20 April 1895 supposedly as married

[4]R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians. Studies in the Anthropology and Folk Lore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), p. 69; refer also to M. R. Allen, *Male Cults and Secret Initiations in Melanesia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967).

[5]British Deputy Resident in the New Hebrides. Report of 1902. Public Records Office, London. CO 880/11.

[6]Captain H. C. Kane to Rear Admiral Fairfax, 15 August 1889. QSA Colonial Secretary's Correspondence in letter 3977 of 1889.

women which Queensland law demanded. The next day the tribesmen fired on the vessel, a sign that these women were, in fact, eloping. The Queensland officer in charge of the Pacific Island Labour Branch, John Brenan, rather contemptuously and inaccurately asserted: "The Aoba people are full of tricks and dangerous to deal with, their women are nearly, if not all, prostitutes, and with or without the chief's consent are probably brought when they do come to Queensland for the purposes of prostitution alone."[7] In 1895, Lieutenant Gordon Bremer of the British Navy investigated the case of Pinaa who had run off to Queensland with Roferi who masqueraded as her husband.[8] Occasionally, a very dissatisfied secondary wife would enlist for colonial servitude to escape her unrelenting drudgery and the intolerable humiliations of her status. Sepan-Millig from Ambrym, one of the many spouses of a chief, after quarreling with the other wives, absconded to Bundaberg in 1880. Her case was brought to the attention of the British Secretary of State for the Colonies who reminded Queensland's Governor Kennedy:

> It appears to be very desirable that ship masters and government agents, before receiving a native woman on board, should ascertain as fully as may be practicable, not only whether she is a willing passenger, but also whether she is attempting to escape from the authority of a father, husband or other person having, according to native usage, control over her.[9]

Certainly, the assertion that many of the women coming to Queensland were either girls eloping with lovers of their own choice or were already married women with lovers cannot be statistically verified, for the data is far too scanty. Yet, much of the information concerning the enlistment of females revolved around this question. It is likely that most of the Melanesian women who came to Queensland were in these categories, for the strict chaperonage, avoidance rules and the control exercised by men over women would suggest that men would not voluntarily allow women to leave, thereby losing women's reproductive and labor capacities.

Until 1884, those women who were brought to Queensland were predominantly employed as domestic servants and childrens' nannies. Like the men, they would be required to work for their master for a legally

[7]J. Brenan to Under Home Secretary, 18 July 1895. QSA Colonial Secretary's Correspondence in letter 8483 of 1895.

[8]Lieutenant Gordon Bremer to Commander E. G. Rason, 15 November 1895. QSA Colonial Secretary's Correspondence in letter 3116 of 1896.

[9]Secretary of State for the Colonies to Government Kennedy, 22 February 1882. QSA Colonial Secretary's Correspondence in letter 2180 of 1882.

bonded term of three years initially for £6 per annum. A small number of islander males also worked as domestics in the capacity of grooms, coachmen, and liveried servants to the more wealthy or pretentious sugar planters.[10] Most men and boys were employed however as either shepherds on pastoral stations (until 1877) or as menial agricultural laborers on the expanding sugar estates. The initial experience of servitude would have been extremely traumatic for all Melanesians coming from small scale societies so dissimilar in structure and ideology from that of colonial Queensland. They were harshly thrown into a bewildering and frighteningly strange environment where the whip and the irons were frequently used on them; where their labor was extracted from them and where their own sacred values had little meaning. Sissy Tarenga, an elderly woman of New Hebridean ancestry, recalled in 1977 the traumas her grandmother had endured as a domestic servant. Her grandmother had her ears pierced so that pig's teeth or other ornaments could be worn, though these were discarded in Queensland. On one occasion, she had been given orders by her mistress but failed totally to comprehend the language and thus the requirements. Tarenga stated that: ". . . the mistress hooked her finger into the lobe and pulled her over to what she wanted her to do. She couldn't understand what she was talking about . . . and it was still like that when we were young [at the turn of the century].[11]

In 1884, the Liberal government under Samuel Griffith introduced a bill regulating the employment of Melanesians in Queensland. Pacific islanders, except those with special exemption tickets, henceforth were to be confined within the single occupational category of unskilled tropical agricultural laborer. Certainly the liberals imbued with the ideology that all non-Europeans in the colony had to be economically and socially contained as a prelude to their eventual exclusion, also wanted to prevent islanders competing with white workers in the sugar mills. The implications of this legislation were extremely far reaching. First, it meant that the liberals were ensuring the maintenance of a caste-based society which denied any socio-economic mobility to non-Europeans. In this regard, they were inadvertently reinforcing their political opponents, the conservative sugar planters' economic base.

The early 1880s in the Queensland sugar industry witnessed an unprecedented expansion in capital formation, the number and size of plan-

[10] *Queensland Parliamentary Debates (QPD)*, XLVII, 1885, 1067; XXIII, 1877, 60; *The Queenslander*, 8 February 1880.

[11] Mrs. S. Tarenga interviewed by Matt Peacock on Australian Broadcasting Commission program "Broadband" session entitled "The Forgotten People," December 1978.

tations and more sophisticated manufactories. Rural capitalists, having located sufficient capital, land, equipment, and skilled technical staff, needed to secure an ever-expanding unskilled work force to perform the menial routine labor involved in cane production on the gang system.[12] To this end, various experiments with a wide variety of ethnic groups were conducted. But for the Melanesian communities in the colony, it had two crucial implications. First, it meant that islanders could not find employment in more financially rewarding occupations outside the cane fields. Secondly, it meant that females would be taken out of the domestic sphere and would henceforth be required to perform the same labor as their menfolk. Essentially, it can be seen that capitalism's need to provide an ever expanding number of service workers for the cane fields took precedence over patriarchal ideology which defined the sexual division of labor. This apparently unaccustomed reversal was comprehensible and acceptable only insofar as it was subsumed within wider patterns of race relations. Though colonized aboriginal women were usually engaged in domestic duties, and at the same time were also forced to provide sexual services, a common experience of all domestic servants, they might be expected to assist in strenuous pastoral work. This invariably occurred in remote areas where there was a chronic labor shortage.[13] Therefore, under special conditions, certain labor capacities, usually designated as "male occupations," could be performed by non-European women. Such females would be, therefore, defined by their racial rather than sexual identity when it suited their masters. They were regarded as racially inferior bondswomen who could be forced to engage in a variety of occupations, whereas the sexual division of labor for Anglo-Australian females was clearly defined and adhered to. Moreover, in conjunction with this pattern, it was usual for routine plantation agriculture to be undertaken only by imported nonwhite indentured servants. Until the reorganization of the sugar industry in the early 1890s on the basis of the small farm/central cooperative mill system, plantation field labor was disparagingly dubbed "niggers' work" and white men never engaged in it. It was, however, acceptable to engage in unskilled labor in the sugar mills. So, upon the convergence of quite distinct political, ideological, and eco-

[12]Kay Saunders, *Workers in Bondage. Masters and Servants in Queensland 1874-1916* (forthcoming, 1981), chapter 3.

[13]Raymond Evans, "Harlots and Helots," in R. L. Evans, K. Saunders, and K. Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination. Race Relations in Colonial Queensland* (Sydney: ANZ Book Co., 1975); Ann McGrath, "Aboriginal Women as Workers in the Northern Territory, 1911-1939," *Hecate: A Women's Interdisciplinary Journal*, 4 (1978).

nomic factors, it was therefore acceptable for islander women to be taken from the domestic sphere and relegated to plantation gang labor systems.

Some islander women had previously been made to perform field labor by certain masters before these regulations; Alfred Brown, a wealthy planter at Maryborough and member of the Legislative Council, testified to the 1876 Select Committee on Conditions of "Polynesian" Labourers (as these Pacific islanders were frequently and erroneously dubbed) that he had some gangs composed of four or five women doing "light work."[14] William Truss, a ganger (an overseer's assistant) on an extensive plantation likewise informed a Royal Commission in 1889 that he was in charge of sixteen islander women, seven of whom had small children who were also required to perform moderate labor services. He reported that as he never gave them any "heavy work nor are they hurried in any way," they "show no unwillingness to work."[15]

Such assertions are quite contrary to the overwhelming evidence of the long hours of harsh toil which broke the back and sometimes the spirit and which was often coerced from an unwilling labor force[16] and, therefore, cannot be entertained as representative. Sissy Tarenga affirms that:

> My grandmother was in the house some of the time and then she had to go out into the fields to clear the scrub, the trees, burn-off, dig out the stumps because they [the masters] wanted cane . . . they worked beside the men, worked as hard as the men . . . from daylight till night. . . . It was very hard for the women . . . they didn't understand. They had to be forced.[17]

Normally women were kept in their own gangs and did not work alongside men, though they did perform the same excruciating and unremitting toil.

The change in their usual labor patterns wrought by the exigences of the plantation regime afflicted both male and female Melanesians. Men in traditional society normally were engaged in cooperation with their kin in work considered either prestigious or dangerous--clearing scrub in preparation for garden plots, hunting, hut and canoe-building, and deep sea fishing. Unmarried girls would assist their mothers in tending the smaller

[14]"Select Committee to Enquire into the Condition of Polynesian Labourers," *Queensland Votes and Proceedings (QVP)* 1877, 111, 133.

[15]Royal Commission to Enquire into the Depression in the Sugar Industry, *QVP,* 1889, iv, 169.

[16]Kay Saunders, " 'The Black Scourge.' Racial Attitudes and Responses to Melanesians in Queensland 1863-1907," in Evans, Saunders, and Cronin.

[17]"The Forgotten People" interview.

children and acquiring basic agricultural and animal husbandry skills. Married women would plant and weed their husbands' gardens, hand-rear their pigs, and collect shell fish and vegetable products in the forests. It can be seen that not only were various subsistence activities subject to a sexual division of labor, but males and females worked within quite different patterns. Men were accustomed to cooperative labor with a wide kin network, whilst women performed their tasks often aided only by their young daughters, though married women might forage in small groups. Women's labor in traditional society was therefore much more private and isolated than men's. The colonial industrial patterns of working in supervised gangs for wages all year round was entirely foreign to the experience of both sexes. Melanesian women who were employed as domestic servants were placed in an alien, segregated environment. Those who were field laborers would be forced to work in apparent harmony with total strangers, which was a traumatic and unfamiliar experience. There were never sufficient women from any one tribe coming together to Queensland as a group who could form the nucleus of a coherent efficient work gang. An islander woman entered colonial servitude invariably because of her relationship with a lover. On the other hand, Melanesian males often came in kin-based groups from the same tribe. A common pattern was for five or six pubescent unmarried youths from one tribe to "join up" together. In Queensland, most planters maintained these kin-based groups as the nucleus for a gang. This was to ensure efficiency and harmony. In this respect, men were allowed far more stability, cohesion, and continuity than women even though both sexes were entirely unfamiliar with the capitalist mode of production. These patterns of mutual support and dependence for male islanders were reinforced by the tendency on large estates to contain a number of groups from very divergent areas of Melanesia. This allowed intertribal rivalry 'to flourish; this, in turn, depended on very strong patterns of intratribal solidarity. Planters calculatedly employed this "divide and rule" syndrome which allowed no possibility for a concerted and organized rebellion.

Masters normally housed unattached males in barracks which could accommodate up to sixty men. These were very unpopular with and unacceptable to Melanesians, as it forced men to sleep near strangers who might perform sorcery against them. Frequently men from one tribe would build their own communal dwelling. This accords with traditional Melanesian practices where men and boys over seven years would spend

[18]C. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* (London: Macmillan, 1910); B. A. L. Cranston, *Melanesia. A Short Ethnography* (London: British Museum, 1961).

much of their time in the men's house to which females were forbidden entry. In Malaita, from which over 9,000 people alone enlisted for Queensland, a married man who had intercourse with his wife would leave her homestead before dawn to return to the men's house. In Malekula, villages contained two distinct spatial areas, one for men and one for females and small children.[19] In Queensland, islanders were forced to come to terms with a preexisting mode of spatial arrangements into which they were forced to accustom themselves as best they could. Certainly, it was possible, if sometimes difficult, to maintain some semblance of a men's house. Women would be totally excluded from their dwellings. Heterosexual couples were domiciled in small separate cottages situated away from the barracks and would be thrown together far more than would occur in their traditional society. Masters, in this regard, were applying their own ideas of the necessity of privacy and isolation for the nuclear family which were culturally unfamiliar to Pacific islanders.

This would engender a whole series of problems within the Melanesian community on each estate; for it was not usual for men and women to spend the night together and this cultural imposition would violate traditional avoidance and seclusion patterns. In traditional society, menstruating women would live alone in a special hut, for it was considered that women were then particularly defiled and capable of pollution. Any food and water touched by her was contaminated, and any man who had intercourse with his wife at this time might expect to die. In the colonial environment, several logical possibilities which could maintain these crucial seclusion restrictions suggest themselves. Historical documentation is very sparse on the question of this particular aspect of the islanders' material life in Queensland. Several do however seem feasible.

First, during menstruation the women would necessarily have to stay in their cottages, but whether the men retreated to a barracks containing kin or at best nonhostile men or stayed and risked contamination is not mentioned in the documentation. Ian Hogbin's research, conducted in the early 1930s in Malaita in areas where many men had formerly enlisted for Queensland and had returned fervent evangelicals, discovered that among Christians, men would still reside in the same house but in a separate room during a woman's menstrual cycle.[20] Cottages in colonial Queens-

[19]H. I. Hogbin, *Experiment in Civilization. The Effects of Civilization on a Native Community of the Solomon Islands* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1939), p. 51; A. B. Deacon (C. Wedgwood, ed.), *Malekula--A Vanishing People in the New Hebrides* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1934), p. 23.

[20]Hogbin, p. 201.

land, at least for first contract indentured servants, were very primitive in construction and would have afforded little scope for seclusion. Noel and Christie Fatnowna, whose family were Malaitans, were brought up in Mackay in the 1920s and 1930s and were secluded from women after the age of six. They ate and resided in a grass hut but with other kinsmen; when they entered their mother's house they were only allowed into the kitchen or the parlor and never into the bedroom of either their mother or sisters. They were reared in an environment which reproduced an indigenous Malaitan culture as far as was possible under the trying circumstances; they learnt the correct rule of marriage, avoidance, authority, obedience, magic, and ritual.[21]

In traditional society, the parturient woman could be isolated in a hut also, several weeks antenatally and for up to three months postnatally. Often no midwife attended the birth. During this time both mother and child were ritually unclean and underwent purification ceremonies on release from this enforced seclusion.[22]

Little documentary evidence exists on the subject of reproduction and childbirth practices of Melanesian women in Queensland. One extremely well documented case which only was investigated on the insistence of an unusually humane and diligent Justice of the Peace will be analyzed. J. A. Gibson, J. P. at Yatala, reported "a most horrible story" to the Colonial Secretary in November 1884. Tomvater, uncontrollably in tears, had stated:

> Massa had compelled me to go with the others and work in the field and leave picaninny at home and when me and my husband came home from work, we saw a big black dog run out of the humpy and on looking at our baby, I found the dog had been eating it.

Gibson stated the unfortunate new-born baby lived for several days after "one of the arms and a portion of the breast . . . had been eaten by the dog," though the government medical officer who was sent to perform an autopsy alleged that the infant lived only a few hours and "died from exposure alone. It was a very warm afternoon." At the inquest, Tomvater stated that she had been very ill during the unassisted birth. The overseer, James Fulton, on the estate, *Yellow Wood,* confirmed that he had made

[21]Noel and Christie Fatnowna, Mackay. ABC "Broadband" program "The Forgotten People," No. 2, January 1978. My own brief interview with Noel Fatnowna in January 1977 confirms this.

[22]S. Lindenbaum, "Sorcerers, Ghosts and Polluting Women. An Analysis of Religious Belief and Population Control," *Ethnology,* 11 (1972), 972.

her work right through her pregnancy as "I didn't see any harm in letting her work till the last minute. I've seen white women do this." Both Tomvater and her husband Paper testified that she was forced back to heavy manual labor within forty-eight hours of parturition. No facilities or care were provided for their son who was left neglected and exposed to the fatal attack by a savage dog. Gibson wrote a series of heartfelt, emotional letters to the Colonial Secretary, stunned that "such inhumanity was being enacted in my neighbourhood." He was now the subject of taunts and ostracism as "certain persons do not relish my interference in dragging those things to the light of day." He concluded perceptively: "These atrocities, as I cannot help calling them met with concealment, and by analogy, silent approbation on the part of the white community. Can it be possible that the finer feelings and instincts of their nature are being deadened?" Gibson then made exhaustive enquiries throughout the district and uncovered other cases of inhumanity to black women and their children. On Winfield's plantation, for instance, an unnamed woman with a seven-month-old baby was forced to leave it "in a hut all day by itself whilst she was at work in the fields. I often heard the child crying piteously when I went past." Furthermore, "everyone else passing knew what was going on." Originally the mother worked as a domestic in the planter's house but as the infant cried continuously, she was relegated to the fields, despite her pleas "to stay in the house for the child's sake." The woman confided to Gibson that she wrapped her baby in an old dress and often kept it near her as she worked but even this was "unbearable."[23] The visiting Irish politician Michael Davitt confirmed this latter type of practice.[24] Ethnographic research demonstrates the extent to which mothers in Melanesia tended their children, so that this particular modification caused by colonial servitude would be unendurable.

Extensive oral research conducted by Patricia Mercer and Clive Moore has revealed the hitherto unsuspected tenacity of certain Melanesian practices, especially in the area of magic.[25] The most widely consulted and accepted speciality occurred in the area of love-magic; many young men would consult tribal elders and experienced sorcerers to assist them to enhance their sexual attractiveness to women. Certainly, the vast discrepancy in the sex ratio in Queensland encouraged these practices.

[23]Correspondence of J. A. Gibson to Colonial Secretary (including Record of Inquest into death of Melanesian baby), November-December 1884, QSA CSO in letter 9000 of 1884.

[24]M. Davitt, *Life and Progress in Australia* (London: Metheun & Co., 1898), p. 272.

[25]P. M. Mercer and C. R. Moore, "Melanesians in North Queensland. The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices," *Journal of Pacific History,* 11 (1976), 78-79.

TABLE 2
Marriage Patterns among Melanesians* in Queensland, 1906

Locality	Total adult male population	Total adult female population	Married own Islanders	Married other Islanders
Ayr	333	14	4	10
Beenleigh	77	2	--	--
Bowen	34	4	3	--
Bundaberg	552	13	12	1
Cairns	651	--	--	--
Childers	176	7	5	2
Innisfail	375	7	6	1
Gin Gin	24	1	1	--
Ingham	500	14	5	--
Mackay	918	44	27	7
Nambour	119	21	24	7
Pt Douglas	400	6	--	6
Proserpine	37	7	--	7
Rockhampton	117	22	12	8
Thursday Is	232	32	--	32
	4,545	175	89	81

*Source: Royal Commission to Enquire into Deportation of Melanesians, 1906. These figures refer only to those to be deported.

This disparity between the sexes had major repercussions. First, the whole structure of marriage collapsed with a considerable proportion of Melanesians marrying totally unacceptable partners in terms of their own culture. This particular cultural change was crucial when the newly formed Australian Commonwealth proposed deporting them, as a strategic area which had to be tackled if a "White Australia" was to be effected. As a Malaitan, Keeseru testified to the 1906 Royal Commission, he would be killed on his return home as his wife was from another island. This was recognized by the Commissioners who confirmed this in its official report and added that many had fled to Queensland initially "to escape a vendetta or punishment for transgression."[26]

[26]"Royal Commission to Inquire into the Deportation of Pacific Islanders," *QVP* 1906, IV, 786.

It would seem that Melanesians who contracted liaisons and families in Queensland, which would be incorrect at home, were also not considered permanent or binding. If, for instance, a woman who was living with an "incorrect" partner in Queensland was able to contract a marriage in the right kin categories, a bride price was paid to the first man. This seems to be a skillful expedient. Henry Caufield, an experienced inspector of Pacific islanders, related one case he had investigated where

> . . . a man whose real wife came to Queensland unexpectedly, and, when this gentleman found it out, he very quickly severed his Queensland connection in order to take up with his original wife, because she was insisting on the fulfilment of his part of the compact. That showed me that he looked on the first with very different eyes and that he considered the Queensland marriage as the less binding of the two.[27]

Secondly, in many other respects the formidable restraints and the certainty of revengeful retribution for any sexual transgressions were substantially weakened or even absent in Australia. Despite the prevalent stereotype of Pacific island males as lascivious rapists who brutally defiled white women, this was never an accurate appraisal. They seemingly realized all too well the nature of the colonial power structure and only in very rare instances violated their masters' property rights in the form of his dependant females. These restraints did not apply so readily to white prostitutes who solicited in the bushes near the plantations.[28] Melanesian males would also frequent the brothels known as Yokohamas where Japanese prostitutes worked.[30] Historical documentation is extremely sparse on the question of sexual relations between white men and islander women in Queensland. It would seem likely that islander women might be forced to provide sexual services to their masters, like the women in the ante-bellum South or aboriginal women in Australia. One fully documented case involved a woman, Rambroke, who was seduced by her master, Harry Wessel of *Belle Vue* Plantation, Bundaberg. Rambroke's male kin assaulted Wessel in retribution for disgracing them and their kinswoman.[31] But it is impossible to determine how common or typical this particular case really is. Certainly masters saw islander and aboriginal women as

[27]"Royal Commission," pp. 457 and 499.

[28]"Royal Commission," p. 499.

[29]*Maryborough Chronicle,* 3 January 1855.

[30]Raymond Evans," 'Soiled Doves.' Prostitution and Society in Colonial Queensland," *Hecate: A Women's Interdisciplinary Journal,* 1 (1975), 6-24.

[31]QSA COL/A 815 in letter 5175 of 1896.

transmittable commodities. A valued male Melanesian servant might be summarily given a Melanesian woman by his master. Jarronah, a San Cristobal islander who arrived in Queensland in 1875, was engaged as an indentured worker on Gairlock plantation on the Lower Herbert River. Her masters, the Mackenzie brothers, made an arrangement with a neighbor whereby she was separated from her husband and "given" to the latter's cook. Jarronah objected strongly and absconded, only to be recaptured and "locked up at night to prevent her escaping."[32]

Kyassey, employed at *Seaforth* plantation at Ayr, was charged with "unlawful shooting" of a black woman who "wouldn't go down to the lagoon with him" for sexual intercourse. He was given three months hard labor.[33] The Police Magistrate at Cardwell brought the case of a Tanna woman employed at *Hamleigh* plantation who had been raped to the attention of the Colonial Secretary in 1882. No enquiry was forthcoming as a competent interpreter could not be located![34] Charles Forster, an observant government protector, reported in 1885 that "much trouble has occurred at times on the plantations in consequence of disputes about the women."[35] In November of the previous year, the police were required to maintain constant patrols in the Maryborough districts to prevent skirmishes between Solomon and Aoban men over possession of women.[36] Cases of extremely violent rape were perpetrated upon black women by other Melanesians from antagonistic subcultures. Forster detailed an incident involving a Bugga Bugga islander who was viciously raped by seven Solomon Islanders (who themselves were from different areas, Guadalcanal and Vella Lavella). The woman's husband was forced to watch the rape. A white farmer "heard the woman screaming but did not go near to interfere, having my own house and family to look after." Forster's superior, Alexander MacDonald, reported in a confidential memo to the Immigration Agent in Brisbane that "I don't attach much importance to what Mr Forster says." The case came before the Magistrate's Court but was again dismissed for "want of an interpreter."[37] Forster was still

[32]QSA CSO in letter 643 of 1876.

[33]Regina vs Kyassey. Townsville Supreme Court, 14 November 1894. QSA. Supreme Court Records, Northern Registry: Criminal Cases, A 18314.

[34]G. Giffen, P. M. Cardwell to Colonial Secretary, 15 May 1882. QSA CSO in letter 1397 of 1882.

[35]C. Forster to Sub-Inspector of Police, Mackay, 16 November 1885. QSA CSO in letter 9527 of 1885.

[36]P. M. Mercer, "Pacific Islanders in Colonial Queensland 1863-1906," *Lectures on North Queensland History*, (1974), p. 105.

[37]Forster Correspondence.

anxious as another woman on Costello's farm had been warned she would also be raped and lived in fear and trepidation. A case at Port Douglas in 1889 showed that eight or nine armed Pacific islanders abducted some black women, obviously with the intention of rape.[38] Such cases were not investigated, though any Melanesian convicted of sexual assault on a white woman was executed.

Sid Aoba in 1977 related a significant incident which illustrates these changes in morality engendered by colonial service. His father enlisted with a party of nineteen other young men. On their return to Aoba, New Hebrides, one of these former recruits waylaid a girl at night and raped her. She informed her father and the tribal chief who gathered together all the warriors to administer retribution. " 'Tie up the culprit,' the chief said" related Sid Aoba's father, and

> . . . burn this man alive. Just to show you other fellows and anyone else who goes to Queensland that you don't bring the Queensland laws here. . . . We're not born of animals; we're born of human beings. Therefore, no man waylays a girl here . . . and no woman runs around with a child by a bloke that's not enough to father it [sic]. Let this be a lesson to you all.[39]

Some Melanesian men in Queensland realized that they could rape other islander or aboriginal women with virtual impunity, for in general, the law was only applied when a white woman had been assaulted. Without kinsmen to avenge her, a woman was isolated and vulnerable. The rape of black women was not regarded as serious or worthy of investigation. In the Kyassey case, the Judge, in ordering a three month gaol term on a charge of "unlawful shooting," was handing down the same punishment that the *Masters and Servants Act* (1861) provided for a disobedient absconding servant!

Other powerful forces were however instrumental in transforming these modes of behavior among Melanesians. By the late 1880s, many of the Pacific islanders who enlisted for service had previously served a term in either Queensland or Fiji and, on coming to Australia, decided to remain permanently. Having been alienated from their traditional culture, these people were particularly susceptible to cultural adaptation and in particular to Christianity. Certainly too there is considerable evidence in the early phases of indenture that some indentured Melanesians had already been converted at home by the Presbyterian and Anglican mis-

[38]E. Eglington, Port Douglas, to Under Colonial Secretary, 3 February 1889, QSA CSO in letter 3024 of 1889.

[39]Sid Aoba interviewed by Matt Peacock, ABC "The Forgotten People," January 1978.

sionaries active in the New Hebrides. The Anglican priest, Frederick Richmond, observed in the 1870s that Pacific islanders ". . . would meet daily for prayers and the singing of hymns until the station hands, to whom devotedness was bad form, jibed them out of it. The zealous clergyman in Maryborough kept them well together, instructing them and baptising those that were still heathen."[40] Masters were extremely reluctant in this period to engage literate and English-speaking islanders for they could complain of ill-treatment and abuses.[41] But the mid 1880s witnessed a reversal of policy on the part of planters who, fearing that their supply of cheap servile non-European labor was rapidly diminishing, encouraged Melanesians to remain in the colony. Since the whip and the lash would hardly constitute very inviting incentives to stay, Christianity was rather crudely exploited to provide an earnest, obedient work force. As Theo Pugh, the Bundaberg Police Magistrate, observed in 1889: "The Planters universally admit the advantages that have arisen from religious training and the police are in accord with the planters on this point."[42]

The activities of the Queensland Kanaka Mission (QKM) established by Florence Young, a zealous member of the Plymouth Brethren and one of the proprietors of *Fairymead* plantation at Bundaberg, were encouraged. Within three years of its commencement, the organization in 1889 could boast of over 1,500 Pacific islanders under its tutelage.[43] By 1895, there were six schools and three lay missionaries in Bundaberg instructing Melanesians, and at Mackay some fifteen night and Sunday schools catered for over 1,000 people.[44] The QKM stressed an emotional and fundamental approach, relying upon a literal interpretation of the scriptures, evangelical fervor, open-air singing, testimony and mass baptism. The morality continually reinforced the virtues of thrift, self-discipline, sobriety, and continuous application to hard work and duty. Above all, the Christian nuclear family was vaunted as the ideal to which the earnest convert should aspire. Christianity was a crucial agent of social change within the

[40]F. Richmond, *Queensland in the 'Seventies.' Reminiscences of the early days of a young clergyman* (Singapore: C. A. Ribeiro, 1928), p. 49.

[41]H. Finch-Hatton, *Advance Australia! An Account of Eight Years' Work, Wandering and Advancement in Queensland, NSW and Victoria* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1886), p. 129.

[42]T. Pugh to Under Colonial Secretary, 14 December 1889. QSA CSO in letter 11120 of 1889.

[43]Pugh to Under Colonial Secretary.

[44]Premier Hugh Nelson to Governor Henry Norman, 1 August 1895, QSA CSO in letter 8768 of 1896.

Melanesian communities in Queensland, for it provided the most tangible basis upon which former indentured servants could transform themselves into hardworking if ultimately unwelcome members of the host society. The heterosexual couple, by the uniqueness of the new situation, was forced into a more ready acceptance of the Anglo-Australian model of residence and family structure. The Right Rev. C. H. Frodsham observed that "most married Kanakas are Christian."[45] *The Queenslander* disparagingly commented on 11 February 1893,

> The time expired boy, as a rule, has adopted the household customs of civilization. He has a bedroom and a living room; . . . his kitchen boasts of table and chairs and pots and plates; his wife becomes a fairly good cook and . . . suppers prepared in kanaka huts an epicure would not disdain.

Christian women in Queensland could attend literacy, Bible-reading classes and church services with the husbands. In the new culture, the role of men and women as part of a Christian congregation were far more equal than anything in their traditional society. This, though, is not to assert that Melanesian customs and ideology were totally discarded, merely that they were adapted and became increasingly cultural vestiges.

In conclusion, it can be seen that the experience of Melanesian women delineates a crucial, if hitherto neglected aspect of the relationship which exists between racism and sexism in emerging colonial societies. Islander women were not ever really acceptable indentured servants for colonial masters, for their reproductive capacities could endanger their whole structure of an easily replacable, fluid servile labor force. Those women arriving before 1884 were confined to the domestic sphere decreed by patriarchal ideology. But a crisis in capitalism, in this case the need to secure an expanding labor force for the sugar fields, could lead masters to nullify their sexist ideology and stress instead those which were racially determined. If field labor was "nigger's work," then island women could be allocated with impunity.

As individuals, Melanesian women found themselves in an environment that was extremely hostile and savage; where they were "unprotected" by traditional mores which secured their integrity. In Queensland, they could be raped by strange islanders and had no kin to avenge their dishonor; they might simply be accorded the status of a commodity and unilaterally transferred by their masters from one islander to another; they might be forced to return to hard physical labor within days of giving birth. Ironically, it was the evangelical Churches, those pillars which

[45]1906 RC, p. 852.

supported racist and sexist ideologies in colonial Queensland, which ultimately offered the means by which more acceptable and negotiable modes of behavior could be accomplished. For by giving sanctity and support to the formerly alien structure of Christian marriage and the nuclear family, the lives of Melanesian women were transformed.

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SAVAGES NOBLE AND IGNOBLE:
The Preconceptions of Early European Voyagers in Polynesia

by I. C. Campbell

Among the many notions which Europeans have held about non-European peoples that of the Noble Savage is perhaps the best known. Even students with only a bare acquaintance with history know the term and can suggest that Europeans traversed the world expecting to find one reclining beneath every palm tree. They probably also know that on closer examination Noble Savages were prone to become less noble, and to be seen as the bearers of vices which another European habit commonly ascribes to foreigners. The prevalence of these beliefs is not particularly remarkable and is probably due less to actual knowledge of the past than to the fact that people still do harbor romantic ideas about life in the state of nature, free from the sophisticated plagues of urbanization, rural squalor, government, laissez-faire, employment, unemployment, pollution, hypertension, loneliness, over-crowding and the activities of the multinational corporations. The message lies within every tourist industry poster and leaflet enticing people to forget in one or another Pacific haven.

Although it is commonly associated with the eighteenth century, and in particular with the name of Rousseau, the belief in the actual or possible existence of people living virtuously, happily and simply is one of the great continuities of European history. As Baudet has shown throughout recorded history, Europeans have nurtured an image of human perfectability which has sometimes been associated with the distant past, and at other times has been thought of as contemporary, but geographically remote.[1] By the second half of the eighteenth century, many people had been successively associated with the idea, so it was probably inevitable that the most remote peoples of all, the antipodean Pacific islanders, should have their turn. Perhaps that extreme remoteness accounts for some vestige of the idea lingering in people's perceptions of the Pacific; it has of course been helped considerably by the durability of the Polynesian reputation for friendliness and hospitality. If one were to survey popular opinion asking "the man in the street" what place he most readily associated with the term Noble Savage, the most common answer would probably be Tahiti, or Polynesia, or the Pacific islands.

[1]Henri Baudet, *Paradise on Earth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

It is only a short step from being aware of the idea of the Noble Savage, and of its persistence in European imaginations, to using it as a device to explain various aspects of European conduct in the Pacific, and this tendency is reinforced by noticing the romantic imagery and speculations of voyagers of the eighteenth century and later. The obvious inferences to be drawn are that these ideas were widespread, and that they were closely related to behavior. The argument of this paper is that both these inferences are false.

To begin with, however, it should perhaps be pointed out--as Bernard Smith has done--that the Tahitians were not the only Pacific islanders to bear the burden of supposed perfection.[2] The Noble Savage could be found wherever he was sought. For example, the people of the Palau Islands in the far western Pacific enjoyed a vogue for a few years following the publication of the experiences of the survivors of the East India Company vessel *Antelope* that Captain Henry Wilson wrecked there in 1783.[3] In this account, not written it should be noted by Wilson or any member of his crew, but from information given by them, the Palauans were represented as enjoying a life of plenty (what is now called subsistence affluence), governed by principles of natural justice, natural courteousy, hospitality, and honesty. Wilson had returned to Britain with the son of the local king. The young man was known as Prince Lee Boo and his premature death in Britain inspired poems by at least two minor Romantic poets and a passing reference from Coleridge.[4] The pathetic story of Prince Lee Boo and the vision of natural perfection in the account of Wilson's experiences in the Palau Islands led one of Wilson's colleagues, John McCluer, a Captain in the East India Company, to resign in 1793 and retire to these supposed "Islands of the Blest." That McCluer should become disillusioned with savage life followed more or less inevitably; his expectations were so unrealistic one can only marvel that he stayed as long as he did: fifteen months.[5]

The Palauans did not hold their preeminence for long. They were simply forgotten when, in the 1790s new exploring expeditions, early trade relations, and missionary aspirations turned the attention of Europe once more to its favorite cult figure, the Tahitian. This association between

[2]Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

[3]George Keate, *An Account of the Pelew Islands, Situated in the Western Part of the Pacific Ocean* . . . (London: printed for Captain Wilson, 1789).

[4]H. N. Fairchild, *The Noble Savage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), pp. 117, 273, 276. The two minor poets are W. L. Bowles and Joseph Cottle.

[5]J. P. Hockin, *A Supplement to the Account of the Pelew Islands* (London: printed for Captain Wilson, 1803).

developing contact and a developing romantic ideal is provocative inasmuch as it implies a causal connection between the two. On closer inspection, however, such a connection proves to be tenuous at best.

In the 1780s and 1790s thinking people in Britain (notably the Evangelicals) became concerned that the near perfect savages of Polynesia fell short of perfection in their ignorance of Christian theology and morality and that their imperfections were likely to be increased by contact with Europeans. This concern lay behind the formation in 1795 of the Missionary Society (later London Missionary Society). Even here, however, the influence of the concept of the Noble Tahitians is less than it might appear. Much of the pro-Mission propaganda was concerned generally with the lost souls of the heathen in many places. Yet some modest claim can be made for the Tahitians and their image inasmuch as they provided the inspiration to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Haweis, the Father of the Missionary Society.[6] The Tahitians and their close cultural relations in the Marquesas and Tonga became the first objects of missionary attention. As Gunson has argued, Evangelical clergy generally were hostile to the idea of the Noble Savage,[7] but it is true to say that the currency of the myth and the publicity which it generated for Tahiti and its neighbors was a strong contributing factor in the development of missionary enterprises.

Notwithstanding the limited influence of the Noble Savage in this most likely example, there is a tendency to interpret European actions, policies, and perceptions in terms of preconceptions and misconceptions. The "invisible baggage," in other words, is taken to be (and it often is) a powerful influence in directing behavior. Among the many items of "invisible baggage," however, the idea of the Noble Savage is much less conspicuous than has frequently been assumed.[8] It is in fact, extremely difficult to establish that the explorers and other early visitors were fuzzy-

[6]See R. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895,* 2 vols. (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), I: 117-120.

[7]Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 96.

[8]The potency of the Noble Savage has been taken for granted most recently and notably in a remark by K. R. Howe, "The Fate of the 'Savage' in Pacific Historiography," in *The New Zealand Journal of History,* 2 (1977), 138. See also W. H. Pearson, "Hawkesworth's Alterations," in *The Journal of Pacific History,* 7 (1972), 45-72. Pearson argues that the alterations made by Hawkesworth to the journals of Cook and Banks when he prepared them for publication were done for reasons other than promoting primitivism. In doing so, however, he implies that primitivism was a characteristic of the thinking of the explorers. Despite this implication, Pearson's turning attention away from primitivism is consistent with the argument of this paper.

headed Romantics whose apprehension of experience was distorted by ideas of natural perfection.

The commonly accepted candidates for such confusion are Bougainville, Banks, and Forster. Bougainville's narrative can be found to contain passages which in their mode of presentation suggest his having been influenced by the current Arcadian vogue, and by a belief that men in a state of nature (Tahitians in this case) enjoyed pleasures and freedom from tension and anxiety denied the rest of humanity. For example, he wrote of one visit ashore:

> We were stopped by an islander, of a fine figure who lying under a tree, invited us to sit down by him on the grass. We accepted his offer; he then leaned towards us, and with a tender air he slowly sung a song, without doubt of the anacreontic kind, to the tune of a flute, which another Indian blew with his nose: this was a charming scene, and worthy the pencil of Boucher.[9]

Of another occasion he wrote: "The ground was spread with leaves and flowers, and their musicians sung an hymened song to the tune of their flutes. Here Venus is the goddess of hospitality . . ."[10] Bougainville, incontestably, was charmed; but it is either a simple fact or it is not, that flowers were strewn, that Tahitians sang, that the people seemed happy. Whatever their tone, these statements are statements of observation, not of expectation or interpretation. Bougainville's use of contemporary imagery is not sufficient evidence to identify him as a believer in the nobility of "savagery." To establish that the Noble Savage was a major influence with Bougainville it would be necessary to show that statements similar to those quoted constituted at least a large proportion of his descriptions of the Tahitians and, secondly, that he made similar statements about other peoples in addition to the Tahitians. Both of these conditions cannot be met. Such passages are rare in Bougainville's narrative, and these passages are to be found on the same pages as accounts of the French setting up an armed camp, of Tahitians stealing from the French, of what seemed to Bougainville to be free love and of which he was censorious, and even of clashes leading to bloodshed. At the reconciliation after the bloodshed Bougainville wrote: "The good islanders loaded me with caresses; the people applauded the reunion, and in a short time the usual crowd and the thieves returned to our quarters."[11] Bougainville found much of which to approve in Tahitian society, and praised what he

[9]L. A. de Bougainville, *A Voyage Round the World* . . . (London: J. Nourse, 1772), p. 222.
[10]Bougainville, p. 228.
[11]Bougainville, p. 236.

liked; but he also noticed and described cruel warfare, human sacrifice, polygamy, and fickleness. These, to Bougainville, were as much characteristics of savage life as were, in the Tahitian case, open houses, the apparent absence of private property, good humour, and hospitality. That he was not undiscriminating in his observations is shown by his remarks about other peoples; the Samoans he found less gentle, and of more savage features, than the Tahitians;[12] and the Patagonians, not ordinarily nominated for nobility, he found hospitable, affectionate, robust, humane, handsome and well made.[13] Therefore, to see Bougainville as the perpetrator of myths, as an observer who could not distinguish between what he saw and his own disposition, is to read into him defects which belong elsewhere.

According to Bernard Smith, Bougainville and Banks were enthusiasts of a similar kind; both thinking that they had sailed into the Golden Age.[14] Banks's reputation among historians has perhaps declined in recent years. He seems to be remembered more for his "any blockhead can do a grand tour of Europe" remark, and less for his contributions to science. He was not, in 1768, an infatuated adolescent simply enjoying himself in exotic places. His scientific observations were notably thorough and dispassionate, as is shown by his description of the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego. He described their appearance, voices, weapons, housing, and method of government without any suggestion of favorable or unfavorable prejudices. On meeting the Tahitians, his first impressions left him "admiring a policy at least equal to any we had seen in civilizd countries, exercisd by people who have never had any advantage but mere natural instinct uninstructed by the example of any civilizd country."[15]

In other words, Banks expected savages to be rude and uncultivated: in a word, savage. The next day he had an experience of "some hundreds of natives who shewed a deference and respect to us which much amazd me."[16] After their first clash of interest with the Tahitians, leading to the fatal shooting of a Tahitian, Banks witnessed a chief meting out justice to offenders who stole from the voyagers. Impressed, Banks called the chief Lycurgus, and his powerfully built friend, Hercules. This word play of Banks might be taken as evidence that he was steeped in the vogue of

[12]Bougainville, p. 281.

[13]Bougainville, pp. 137-142.

[14]Smith, p. 26.

[15]J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768-1771,* 2 vols. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1962), I:256.

[16]Beaglehole, I:256.

classical learning and in the cult of the simple virtues to such an extent that he perceived an identity of moral stature between the classical heroes, and the leaders of a savage people whose good sense, decorum and judgment was thought to be instinctive.[17] That Banks was thinking nothing of the kind ought to be suspected when one learns that he and his friends gave the name Ajax to one man because of his "grim countenance," and to a fourth fellow--a big eater--the name Epicurus. Suspicion hardens into proof when one reads Banks's journal entry a few days later: "This day we found that our friends had names and they were not a little pleased to discover that we had them likewise; for the future Lycurgus will be called Tubourai Tamaide . . ."[18] The next day Hercules was discovered to be "Tootahah," and Banks's little joke ended. He used classical names because it was expedient to call people something; a name which seemed to match observed characteristics would be easily remembered, and that Banks chose classical names demonstrates only that there are not suitable English ones equally distinctive, that Banks had been educated in the classics, and that he was a man of wit.

Elsewhere, Banks's observations about the Tahitians are similar to Bougainville's. He liked some aspects of Tahitian culture and said so; he disliked others; he described them all. He was impressed with Tahitian craftsmanship in timber, stone and reeds, and compared such work favorably with that done by European artisans--implying an expectation of European superiority, not an expectation of savage perfection. He told the story of two of Cook's marines deserting in Tahiti with no trace of Romanticism; he gave full details of thefts; and far from idealizing the Tahitians, he wrote of them when he met their neighbors on Huahine: "The people also were almost exactly like our late [friends] but rather more stupid and lazy."[19] This is not to deny Banks's enchantment with Polynesian life, but he remained an astute observer and was not swept off his feet by the tide of Romanticism. His final judgement on them, in Latin: "O great happy if they but knew their own happiness"[20] when read in context is evidence only of what he saw--not of what he hoped to see, or of what he subsequently fancied.

The third traveler nominated by Howe as particularly prone to identify Pacific islanders with the Noble Savage ideal was George Forster, a

[17]Smith, pp. 24-25; Howe, pp. 137-39.
[18]Smith, pp. 265-266.
[19]Smith, p. 315.
[20]Smith, p. 342.
[21]Howe, p. 318.

naturalist on Cook's second voyage.[21] Here surely is a case of mistaken identity. George Forster's narrative is among the most temperate of all, and while there are a few passages in his long, two-volume work which could conceivably be interpreted as supporting the charge of Romanticism, they do so only if taken out of context.[22] George Forster was an astute, detailed observer; he did find much in Polynesian and Melanesian life to admire, and much which was not admirable. But inasmuch as he attached any moral value to the habits and institutions and modes of life of the many peoples he met, it was to demonstrate the superiority of civilization.[23] In one place he specifically dissociates himself from Rousseau and "the superficial philosophers who re-echo his maxims."[24]

George Forster was the younger partner in the father and son team which accompanied Cook on the *Resolution*, and it is the father Johann Reinhold Forster who seems to support the belief in primitive virtue and innocence, and sophisticated vice and decadence. But such an interpretation also would represent a misreading of his work. J. R. Forster, like his son, was too intelligent a scientist for such crude polarizing.[25] He was an environmental determinist, although there are indications that he believed in a state of primitive perfection, as did anyone who accepted the doctrine of the Fall. In Forster's view, the ancient civilizations represented the pinnacle of human achievement, and he had no illusions that humanity had ever escaped from fallibility to the extent of living a life of supposedly Rousseau-esque virtue. The most debased in his view were those who lived in the harshest environments--those further from the tropics: "The inhabitants of the islands in the South Sea, though unconnected with highly civilized nations, are more improved in every respect, as they live more and more distant from the poles . . ."[26] This is not to say that civilization is corrupt simply on the grounds of Europe's high latitudes:

> . . .the happiness which European nations enjoy, and are capable of, becomes, on account of the degeneracy of a few profligate

[22]George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World* . . . 2 vols. (London: B. White, 1777), 1257, 303, 368; II:350, 383.

[23]Forster, II:236, 324-326, 363-364.

[24]Forster, II:207.

[25]His rehabilitation has been thoroughly carried out by M. E. Hoare, "Johann Reinhold Forster, the Neglected 'Philosopher' of Cook's Second Voyage (1772-1775)," in *The Journal of Pacific History*, 2 (1967), 215-224.

[26]J. R. Forster, *Observations made during a Voyage*. . . (London: G. Robinson, 1778), pp. 286-287.

> individuals, very much debased, and mixed with the miseries . . . entailed . . . by luxury and vice; if therefore the felicity of several European and Asiatic nations, seems to be inferior to that of some of the nations of the South Sea . . . it does not seem to follow, that a high degree of civilization must necessarily lessen, or destroy natural, moral, or social happiness.[27]

Forster was an astute scientist. His theories were based on observation He employed his observations in attempts to explain the way things were. He did not set out with a ready-made theory or fantasy which he then imposed uncritically and unintelligently on his experiences. His ethnographic accounts of many peoples encountered on the voyage are both favorable and unfavorable according to local circumstances; and for none of these people does he fancy that he has met an archetype Noble Savage The Tahitians, however, were for him the pinnacle of savage development, and he praised them for "their delicacy of manners, true courtesy and politeness; their chearful and open behaviour; their goodness of heart, and hospitality, their knowledge of plants, birds . . ."[28]

Far from wallowing in the sea of sentimentality about primitives which is commonly thought to have characterized the eighteenth century, Forster was in advance of his time, foreshadowing the social evolutionist ideas which were not fully articulated for over a century. The stages of social development he likened to the stages of individual growth, and developed analogies between infancy and animality, childhood and savagery, adolescence and barbarism, civilization and maturity; progress from one stage to another could not be accelerated, nor any stages avoided.[29] Forster's personal view of the attractions of savage life--even at the Tahitian pinnacle--was not that of a man seduced: "a man in his senses cannot but think himself happy that he was born in a civilized nation . . . the happiness of the savage is not so eligible, as some philosophers will make us believe, who never viewed mankind in this debased situation . . ."[30] One cannot help concluding that Forster would have regarded a Noble Savage as a contradiction in terms.

These four examples: Bougainville, Banks and the two Forsters are not necessarily representative of eighteenth-century voyagers; they are, however, supposedly the giddiest of a naïve and Romantic crew, and therefore ought to be sufficient to show that, as the older Forster suggests, they

[27]Forster, p. 287.
[28]Forster, p. 294.
[29]Forster, p. 303.
[30]Forster, pp. 302-303.

were mere philosophers who never saw a savage, who wanted to ennoble him. The cult of the Noble Savage, therefore, seems to be something which has been elevated to a position of unreal importance by historians who have perhaps succumbed to the myth themselves, or at least have adopted an unduly elitist bias. Samuel Johnson's view was in fact more representative of educated opinion; he dismissed accounts of primitives with the words, "There is little entertainment in such books: one set of savages is like another."[31]

Nor should the child-savage imagery employed by Forster (and also by Lapérouse) mislead. The eighteenth century produced a cult of the child, twin to the cult of the savage, with practically interchangeable imagery and sentimentality. Yet there is little basis for the belief that the lot of children in the later eighteenth century was either especially enviable or markedly improving. Certainly their condition does not suggest a widespread belief in childish innocence and natural virtue. If savages were regarded as childlike, children were regarded as savage.

By the time that continuous European activity in the Pacific began, simplistic ideas which ennobled and glamorized primitive life were already being superseded by ideas which firmly placed the races of man on a scale of Being, a set of ideas which only awaited Darwin's model of evolution to become part of the stock-in-trade of scientific and popular thinking on race alike. Yet the assumption is commonly made that such misconceptions about the lives of non-European peoples were widespread conventions among large sections of the population, and this assumption is especially the case when dealing with European activity in the Pacific. For example, when writing of common sailors--generally illiterate, and with no obvious access to the intellectual playthings of the rich and learned--E. S. Dodge explains deserters leaving their vessels because they were captivated with "tropical islands that were nearer to paradise than any of the weary whalemen could possibly imagine . . ."[32] The whaleships, one might argue, were certainly as far from paradise as any weary whaleman could possibly imagine, but a survey of popular attitudes towards the Pacific islanders does not support views such as that quoted. Some voyagers, of course sailed with a preconceived optimism; but even if a most generous interpretation is placed upon the evidence, references to islanders being savage and treacherous cannibals outnumber references to them as being something akin to hospitable children of nature by at least six to one.

[31]Fairchild, p. 338.

[32]Ernest S. Dodge, *New England and the South Seas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 34-35.

Some of the apparently prosavage evidence is at best, ambiguous, and some such references can easily be explained away. For example, one of the first traders in the North Pacific, John Meares, was faced with mutiny after spending the winter of 1788-89 at Nootka Sound, on the northwest coast of America. Meares attributed the mutiny to the harshness of Nootka, the repulsiveness of its inhabitants and their alleged cannibalism, in contrast to Hawai‘i which they had visited on the outward voyage. Meares promised his crew that they could soon sail for Hawai‘i, and “the eyes of everyone sparkled at the thought.”[33] Hawai‘i represented warmth, good food, and women--and no fear of being eaten. Under the circumstances one could not claim this anecdote for the favorable image of Hawai‘i in the popular imagination; the crew had already visited Hawai‘i, and the starkness of Nootka Sound was incentive enough to visit another place--perhaps any other place. The proper significance of this ambiguous anecdote is clarified when it is compared with the reactions of another weary sailor as he approached New Zealand, which, he said, “had ever been associated in our minds with all that is barbarous and inhuman in savage life.” Nevertheless, such was the weariness of a long voyage that even “barbarous and inhuman” New Zealand was “by no means an unwelcome sight.”[34] In other words, circumstances made an unsought encounter tolerable.

Circumstances did not always improve the view of savage life. When in 1802 the *Margaret* was wrecked in the Tuamotus, the crew preferred their chances on the sea in a “crazy punt” than trust to the mercy of savages. Their employer wrote of their behavior in the proximity of islanders: “It may not be unnecessary to observe, that two out of three of these fellows were convicts; and, however courageously they had dared the laws of their country, they were now only remarkable for their pusillanimity.”[35] Nor is this the only example of desperate castaways preferring the sea. John Twyning’s narrative is a story of five days of intense hunger and thirst, of two boat’s crews and a dog in one boat, a rough sea, a black squall approaching and still the Captain and some of the men opposed making for land inhabited by savages.[36]

[33]John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789* . . . (London: Logographic Press, 1790), p. 191.

[34]J. Oliver, *The Wreck of the Glide* (London and New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1848), p. 17.

[35]John Turnbull, *A Voyage Round the World* (London: A. Maxwell, 1813), p. 304.

[36]John P. Twyning, *Shipwreck and Adventures* (London: the author, 1850), pp. 41-42.

Such stories of the imagined terrors of castaways could be multiplied, and are not confined to one part of the ocean or to one group of islands.[37] Even Tonga--Cook's "Friendly Islands"--was looked on with dread: Mariner said that at the time of the *Port-au-Prince* massacre in 1806, he would have preferred to be a victim than a survivor.[38] Two decades later, sailors had a horror of Tonga's supposedly barbarous state of cannibalism, and castaways in the vicinity prayed that the missionaries would find them first.[39]

Captain Alexander McKonachie in a survey of the commercial potential of the Pacific islands summarized what was known or believed of their inhabitants. He was writing in 1818. Of the New Caledonians, for instance, he contrasted the favorable account of Cook with the unfavorable account of D'Entrecasteau. Of Polynesia, the most likely place to find Noble Savages, he described the people as follows: New Zealanders are notorious for their warlike nature; Tongans fierce and treacherous; Samoans very fierce; Society Islanders (including Tahitians), although cheerful and hospitable when first discovered, "bore the incontestable marks of habitual sensual indulgence," but subsequent contact has robbed them of their good characteristics. The Marquesans are handsome, but fierce and intractable, and also given to "excesses of sensual indulgence"; the Hawaiians were fierce and intractable also, but not always hostile, and had improved a great deal.[40] That McKonachie was reflecting a general opinion is verified by an American sailor, Milo Calkin, who toured the Pacific in 1836. Calkin found himelf practically overwhelmed by the difficulty of conveying adequately what he described as the "immense depravity and ignorance" of man in a state of nature. Nevertheless, he was able to identify the characteristics which mark the different island populations: the Marquesans, Samoans, and Tongans were warlike; the Fijians treacherous; the people of Hawaii, Society, and Cook Islands had progressed furthest and were less offensive than their brethren.[41]

[37]Compare Horace Holden, *A Narrative of the Shipwreck* . . . (Boston: Russell, Shattock and Co., 1836), pp. 27, 33.

[38]John Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tongan Islands* (London: John Murray, 1818), I:46-47.

[39]Rev. Walter Lawry, "Diary, 1818-1825," ms. p. 82; Thomas W. Smith, *A Narrative of the Life* . . . (Boston: W. C. Hill, 1844), p. 191; Peter Bays, *A Narrative of the Wreck of the* Minerva *Whaler* (Cambridge: B. Bridges, 1831), p. 26.

[40]Captain Alexander McKonachie, *A Summary view of the Statistics and Existing Commerce* (London: Richardson and Blackwood, 1818), pp. 201-223.

[41]Milo Calkin, *The Last Voyage of the Independence* (San Francisco: privately printed, 1953), p. 50.

From the supposedly romantic French explorers of the eighteenth century to the American sailors of the mid-nineteenth, there is not much sign of the Noble Savage. If he was not altogether extinct, then his provenance was extremely limited--probably extending no further than the salons, libraries, and drawing rooms of those philosophers and romanticizers whose ideas and information derived principally from their imaginations. The idea of the Noble Savage was real enough, but it played no part that can be identified in shaping the political, social, or economic history of the Pacific, at least before the age of official colonization. The tenacity of the idea is clearly enough seen in the advertising of the tourist industry which unequivocally appeals to people's hopes, delusions or impressions; but it is only with modern methods of travel which have brought the Pacific close to major concentrations of European populations, that one can detect any close relationship between the Noble Savage fantasy and a major historical development.

Explaining the existence of these ideas is less easy than demonstrating their limited currency. It is clear, however, that such ideas did not develop as a result of European contact with Polynesia. It also seems likely, though with less certainty, that the decline of these ideas in Europe also had little to do with events in the Pacific. The entire, intricate complex of ideas about non-European peoples involving a multiplicity of images in addition to that of the mid-eighteenth century Noble Savage, belongs unequivocally to the intellectual history of Europe, not to the social history of the Pacific; nor, it may be inferred, of Africa, Australia, Asia, or America. If the idea of the Noble Savage is to be understood and if its full significance is to be appreciated, then attention should be focused on the European intellectual climate, and in particular on ideas about race. In this respect evidence from the Pacific seems to be illuminating. For a start, attitudes to Pacific peoples were not modified by experience. In a strict sense, islanders were stereotyped in the European mind. However much personal encounter might contradict the preconceived image, the preconception prevailed with each new encounter. The whaleman H. E. Harrison, for example, was delighted with the hospitality and friendliness of the Marquesans during his visit there in the 1830s, but insisted that continued vigilance was necessary because adjacent communities in the same group of islands were cannibal.[42] Herman Melville tells us the same thing.[43] Wariness is, of course, consistent with prudence, but the

[42]H. E. Harrison, "Journal of a Voyage . . . ship *Benjamin Rush,*" ms. 1833-4, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, pp. 34-35.

[43]Herman Melville, *Typee* (New York: New American Library, 1964), pp. 38-41, 66.

persistence of the stereotype suggests that these fears are evidence less of prudence than of a pervasive and tenacious characteristic of European culture.

Even the early missionaries who expected the most of the Polynesians, did not expect to find Noble Savages. They did expect to find people who could be brought close to the Evangelical ideal of piety, a puritan morality, hard labor and sombre pleasures by being shown the way. In this sense the missionary view of the Pacific peoples was an optimistic one. At the same time, however, the missionary view was dark and pessimistic. The Polynesians, they thought, needed salvation not simply to the extent of opening their eyes to the gospel, but because they were sunk in depravity and wretchedness, debased by a culture which because it was not Gods handiwork was the work of the Devil.[44]

European attitudes at both extremes were unrealistic. The optimistic fantasies of the armchair philosophers and the dark fears of the travellers equally bore little relationship to the reality of life in the Pacific. The fears were less naïve, but not less unrealistic, as is demonstrated in the attitudes of Europeans to cannibalism. This particular fear is highly revealing because it demonstrates that much of the fear and horror relates to the treatment of corporeal remains after death rather than to their treatment in life. That is why the fear is unrealistic. Cannibalism was not practiced in quite the way, nor for quite the reasons, nor as widely as Europeans commonly thought; and unless one strongly shares the belief that rising from the dead on the day of the Last Judgement depends in part at least on one's having been interred in a fully articulated condition, then what happens after one is killed by the ignoble savages is irrelevant. Yet the savages being cannibals rather than simply murderers, figures prominently in the expressed fears of European travellers.[45]

What might be salvaged from this abundance of unrealism is the proposition that the conflicting opinions do not cancel each other out especially since, in this case, both poles of thought had such a strong hold on the eighteenth and nineteenth century imagination. The fact that both

[44]Missionary attitudes to the Pacific islanders, particularly the Polynesians, are explored by Gunson, pp. 195-214.

[45]For example, J. Shillibeer, *Narrative of the Briton's Voyage* . . . (London: Law and Whittaker, 1817), p. 38; Isaac Driver, "Log of the Ship *Clay*," ms. Pacific-Bêche-de-Mer journals, Microfilm Department of Pacific History, Australian National University; E. im Thurn and L. C. Wharton, *The Journal of William Lockerby* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1925), p. 19; R. L. Browning, "Notes on the South Sea Islands," ms. Browning Family Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

poles were produced, and nurtured, and flourished within the same cultural matrix is indicative of the complexity of European attitudes to non-European peoples. It would be misleading to dismiss them simply as "different points of view." The existence of the idea of the Noble Savage is intimately though indirectly related to the existence of the irrational dread of cannibalism, almost in the sense that one is dependent on the other. The two attitudes seem to be another dimension of an attraction-repulsion complex which is manifested in other forms in Pacific history: in the desire of beachcombers to live in the islands, and their desire to get away again; in the loving way missionaries sought to redeem their people, and in their private remarks about depravity, degeneration, and "vile people;" in the desire of administrators to preserve, and their compulsion to eradicate indiscriminately many aspects of indigenous culture.

To link opposing attitudes or feelings in this manner is, on the face of it, contradictory. The suggestion of ambivalence is, however, compatible with the known irrational element in race relations generally. Race is one issue upon which people do frequently hold contradictory attitudes, and the contradiction often takes the form outlined above: simultaneous idealization and condemnation. To reconcile the contradictions, that is, to come to a degree of understanding which can present extremes of human experience as a unity, some consideration should be given to the role of unconscious motivation. In this shadowy and uncertain area, dark skin color is often a symbol for a range of different fears, hopes, aspirations and frustrations. The pattern which emerges in conscious belief systems and behavior depends on the interplay of the mechanisms of the mind with the experiences of childhood which provide the data for fantasy, and with more immediate, consciously apprehended experience. It becomes possible, consequently, to associate with a remote community the desires which are at present unattainable, and also anxieties which threaten one's own security. The element of admiration in envy is an example of this process. When the remote community in question is a colored one, the product of fantasy becomes elaborated with the emotive associations which color may have. Hence the psychoanalytical commonplace that "There is little doubt that for . . . the primitive strata of our own psyche, the association of darkness with badness, sexuality and mystery intensifies our feelings about differently coloured folk, and often their fascination for us."[46]

[46]Frieda Fordham, "The Shadow in Jungian Psychology and Race Prejudice," *Race*, II (1961), 68.

The implications of psychoanalysis have not escaped other historians who have been interested in attitudes to race. Baudet, for example, hinted at the ambivalence in European thought when he observed that "The improper held an inordinate fascination for the eighteenth century . . . one is inclined to believe that the exotic nakedness and sexual freedom reported by so many travelers must from the outset have fascinated a Christian Europe hemmed in by so many strict moral rules."[47] Nakedness and unchastity were two things which Europeans in the Pacific islands were most anxious to stamp out. The intensity of this aim suggests a strong emotional reaction which in turn is indicative of a violent unconscious conflict between desire and repression. Even dancing was forbidden because of its erotic connotations, and the contemporary justification that it was the work of the Devil adds further support to the identification of dogma about primitive peoples with unconscious conflicts and prohibitions.

The same complex of ideas was noticed and applied by Mannoni in *Prospero and Caliban* where he argued that civilized man identifies primitive man with his own unconscious, and therefore with the uninhibited expression of his own instincts.[48] The Noble Savage therefore represents European Man's ideal self image which he knows to be nonexistent, or perhaps unattainable. This ideal man personifies morality, lacking all the vices and passions which are the objects of repression and censure. An excellent example of such a creature is Crusoe's Man Friday--quite sexless and canine in his devotion and loyalty; another is the sprite Ariel in Shakespeare's *The Tempest.* To counterbalance the impossibly-virtuous Noble Savage was the terrifying cannibal: the personification of all the repressed passions--naked, ungovernable, licentious, violent and significantly dark, both morally and physically--which all the forces of church, law, and puritan morality were allied in repressing.

The "invisible baggage" which Europeans took with them to the Pacific was therefore considerably more complex than a series of boxes variously labelled with slogans like "Noble Savage." Instead of using such relatively simple concepts, historians must explore and invoke as a unity the complex of attraction-repulsion, love-hate, and repression-nostalgia which lies at the core of European attitudes to non-European peoples.

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[47]Baudet, p. 48.
[48]O. Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban* (New York: Praeger, 1964), p. 99.

EDITOR'S FORUM

THE DEFINITION OF AUTHENTIC OCEANIC CULTURES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO TONGAN CULTURE

by Sione Lātūkefu

The meaning of the term "culture" has been the subject of serious debate among eminent social scientists throughout the years, particularly anthropologists and sociologists. As recently as 1973, Louis Schneider, a leading sociologist, had to admit that "even at this late date, when social scientists have repeatedly mulled over some of their essential terms . . . there is still insufficient clarity among them about 'culture' and cognate categories, which too often are messy items" (Schneider 1973:120-21). However, for the purpose of this paper, "culture" refers to the total way of life of a society, which is a "group of people who are dependent on one another for survival and well being." (Harris in Schneider 1973:120). Culture includes the society's material possessions, technology and economy, social organization, its regular daily and ceremonial behavior system, value and belief system, expressive system including language and art, social control and thought patterns. Culture is a complex whole which is the sum total of a rather complicated interaction of its various components with the environment. In the process of this interaction, change is stimulated so that culture is continually growing or being transformed. It is a living entity with dynamic capacities for growth (Crocombe 1972:2).

The role of the environment, whether natural or man-made, cannot be underestimated. The first British settlers of Australia found it difficult to see any beauty in the Australian landscape, birds, animals, vegetation and so on. Even early paintings tended to distort the true appearance of the landscape and inhabitants to fit in with what was familiar. It remained for the Australian-born artists and writers to develop a genuine appreciation of and see beauty in the unique Australian environment--its landscape, rocks, vegetation and fauna. When the ancestors of the Maoris first arrived in New Zealand from their original homes in the tropics, their culture had to be adapted to the demands of their new environment with its colder climate and different vegetation and fauna. When the *Pakeha* or

early Europeans came, their culture changed the New Zealand environment and this inevitably affected Maori culture, which has greatly changed from its earlier form, yet has also retained distinctive Maori attributes.

It cannot be argued that culture is something fixed, static or divorced from the people of a society at a particular historical epoch. Many writers discussing people of Oceania have tended to convey such a timeless and unchanging impression; but Oceanic cultures, like cultures everywhere, are constantly shaped and reshaped to meet the changing needs and aspirations of their members. Cultures everywhere are dynamic with a great capacity for growth and change, sometimes with surprising speed. Even in the most isolated and apparently static society there are always some members who do not adhere to the accepted norms of the culture at all times. Some innovative individuals may defy traditions within the culture--tradition being those aspects of the culture which had been practiced by the ancestors and which may or may not still be practiced. These innovative individuals are the ones who usually stimulate change or growth in the society in spite of the usual formidable resistance from the more conservative majority who would prefer to maintain the status quo and who are deeply suspicious of change for fear of possible harmful and unpleasant alternatives, and a corresponding loss of the existing privileges. However, when innovations are finally accepted by the society at large, they automatically become traditional aspects of the culture. If others are rejected, they are simply forgotten. This process of acceptance or rejection is not usually done consciously. In fact, resistance is usually stronger if coercion is consciously applied. Every member of a society is to some extent molded by the culture. What one prefers to eat, wear, make, sleep on, think, believe, enjoy or dislike, love or hate, and the question of how or why one behaves in a particular fashion under certain circumstances are mainly determined by the culture. Yet once some individuals begin to change, whether through innovation from within the culture or through outside influence, there is the potential for change within that culture.

"Authentic" Oceanic cultures here refers to those cultures which originated among Pacific islands societies prior to or at the time of the first organized foreign settlements in the area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Spreading over a vast area which consists of about a third of the world's surface and separated from one another by expanses of ocean, these cultures were numerous, small and diverse. While those in Polynesia and, to a lesser extent, Micronesia were relatively homogeneous, in Melanesia diversity prevailed, as greater land masses, natural

barriers such as mountain ranges and more difficult terrain, climatic variation, larger populations and other social factors tended to isolate small communities from each other. However, in spite of the apparent diversity of cultures in this region, they, in fact, shared a lot in common. With the exception of the inland areas of the larger islands, especially Papua New Guinea, the coastal Melanesians and other islanders shared very similar natural environments in the form of typical tropical vegetation and their material possessions and the means of exploiting their islands' resources were very similar to each other. The types of food eaten, for example, and how they were prepared were very similar throughout Oceania and markedly different in comparison, for instance, with the neighboring regions of Southeast Asia, Asia, or America. In their subsistence economies, none of their crops were storable for periods longer than a year, unlike the rice of tropical Asia or the grains of temperate climates. Therefore, crops could not be accumulated as a form of wealth, and any surplus had to be shared, commonly at times of feasting and ceremonial. In doing so, the more successful farmers acquired prestige rather than material wealth; but through this, they were still able to gain influence and power over others. In social organization and attitudes towards the same, these Oceanic cultures shared a lot in common. Kinship relationships were the basis of social relationships, and group activities designed for security and survival were of paramount importance. While one can perceive these broad resemblances between the cultures of Oceania, it would be misleading to assume that there was any self-conscious acknowledgment of such similarities until quite recently. Politicians and academics nowadays like to refer to it as a "Pacific Way," but this is quite a new idea which has emerged very recently and the coinage of the term has been attributed to Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara of Fiji (Tupouniua, Crocombe, Slatter 1975:1). The Pacific Way is for the present and future generations of Pacific islanders to develop. In the meantime, all these authentic Oceanic cultures have undergone many changes as a result of the external influences which have affected the Pacific region just as they have all other parts of the world. To illustrate the types of changes these Oceanic cultures have undergone in general, I shall now turn to one of them, the Tongan culture, which many observers have repeatedly alleged to have remained traditional. I shall attempt to show that in reality the Tongan culture has undergone radical changes. While the discussion will focus upon the way Tongan culture has changed from its past to its present

[1] Kāinga has other meanings. It can mean relatives. For a comprehensive discussion of this meaning see (Kaeppler 1971: 174-93; Decktor Korn 1974:5-13). It can also mean a group of people from a particular area (Kavaliku 1977:48) or church.

form and what future developments are likely, many of the points raised can be readily applied to the developments in other Oceanic cultures.

Tonga, a constitutional monarchy, lies within the tropics between 15° and 22° south of the equator, being about 1,770 km. northeast of New Zealand. It is the only independent kingdom in Oceania, and has the distinction of being the only group that has never been colonized. In 1900, it became a protected state of Great Britain but resumed full independence in 1970. The kingdom is made up of 150 small islands, thirty-six of which are inhabited. Its total area is only 640 km^2 and it has a population of about 100,000, most of whom are of Polynesian stock (Crane 1978:4).

The allegation often made by observers that Tonga is the most traditional of all the societies in Oceania needs closer examination. If it implies that little or no change has occurred in the society and its culture, then these observers are definitely mistaken. But if, on the other hand, it means that the Tongan culture has developed in its own distinctive way, then the observation seems correct as the remainder of this discussion will attempt to show.

Like other Polynesian societies, Tonga was a stratified society with a chiefly political system. Blessed with relatively mild and beautiful climate, fertile soil, and combined with efficient management of their economy, the Tongans were able to produce enough food both from the land and sea to support the system where chiefs did not have to soil their hands in manual work and were there to protect and supervise the commoners in their activities. Except in times of war or natural disaster, such as hurricanes or drought, the staple crops such as yams, taro, *kumala,* banana, breadfruit and coconuts were always in abundance. Cooking was plain with little use being made of spices; but some traditional dishes, particularly those prepared for chiefs, involved a lot of hard work and were very time consuming to prepare.

Housing for the commoners was a simple construction of bush materials which could be erected by anyone or by a small number of people with great ease in a short time. The relatively mild and healthy climate

[2]Firth analyzes culture on two levels, the pragmatic and the symbolic. He says "the newer way of looking at culture is as a symbolic system, a way of expressing meanings, partly through language and partly through non-verbal actions. So a marriage ceremony doesn't just have the function of uniting two people for companionship in a socially, legally--and maybe religiously approved way, for production and rearing of children in legitimate relation to society. Every action in the marriage ceremony . . . is a symbolic way of saying things about the values of the society in some positive approving way:" (Firth 1974:19)

did not demand any complicated type of construction for survival. The houses for the chiefs were, on the other hand, very elaborate indeed for social, political and religious reasons and required specialist craftsmen, a lot of manpower and great expense to erect, taking up to two or three months or even longer to construct. Considering the kinds of tools used at the time, this was not surprising. It was also costly, since substantial amounts of food had to be prepared every day to feed the principal builder and his men and also the elders who were normally engaged in drinking *kava* and plaiting sinnet which was used to lash the framework of the building together and fasten the material for roofing and the reed walls. The preparation of food, the making of *kava,* and the provision of other drinks involved a lot of people, both men and women. At the completion of the work, a huge feast would be prepared to celebrate the occasion, in which a presentation of food and *koloa* (gifts of mats and tapa [bark] cloth in particular) would be made to the principal builder and his assistants. Mainly for these economic reasons, only the chiefs could afford to build such lavish and elaborate edifices. Any labor that involved physical strength and endurance was done by men. In house building, for example, men did all the construction work except for the making of *pola* (plaited coconut leaves for the roofing) and mats for the floors. Men also engaged in fencing, gardening, canoe building and deep sea fishing. The tools for gardening and production of other wealth were made from timber, shell, and stone which required constant replacement or repair for lack of durability, making the work extremely hard and time consuming.

The women engaged in the manufacture of *tapa* cloth from the bark of the mulberry, wove mats, baskets and fans from pandanus leaves and made other household goods under the supervision of chiefly women. While women's work demanded a lot of industry, time and organization, it did not require muscular strength. Women in Tonga were not expected to carry heavy loads or do hard manual work as their counterparts in Melanesia did. Their status was comparatively high and they wielded much influence though they seldom held formal political office as chiefs in their own right.

Social organization and relationship played an important part in the production and distribution of wealth. As noted earlier, the chiefs played a supervisory role while the commoners carried out the actual physical work. The best of everything went to the chiefs in recognition of their social position and responsibilities. Taboos and restrictions were usually placed on certain resources and products which were reserved for the exclusive use of chiefs, for instance turtle or a variety of yam considered to be the best, *kahokaho,* and for ceremonial occasions.

Social stratification was characteristic of all Polynesian societies and to a lesser extent also Micronesia, but it was most complex and elaborate in the Tongan chiefly system. At the pinnacle of the society were the *ha'a tu'i* comprising three royal dynasties, the Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Next in descending order were the *hou'eiki* or chiefly class, followed by the *mu'a* (gentry class), the *matāpule* (chiefs' attendants class), the *tu'a* or *me'avale* (commoner class) and finally the *pōpula* (slave class). In addition to these classes there were also professional classes. These were the *taula* or priestly class, the *ha'atufunga* (caretaker class), the *toutai* (navigator class) and the *tufunga* (skilled tradesmen) class.

Relationships among these classes were strict and of crucial importance to the smooth running of the society. Three important values governed these relationships: *faka'apa'apa* (respect); *fatongia* (obligation) and *mateaki* (loyalty). All were expected to respect their superiors, not only in word but also in action. A special language of respect was used in addressing royalty or in talking about them, another was used for the chiefs, and one of humility was used by the commoners when talking to their superiors about themselves. There was also a common language used by members of each social class. People of the same class talking among themselves about eating, for example, would use the word *kai;* but when talking to a superior about their eating, they would use the word *mama* which literally means "chewing." When talking to a chief or about a chief eating, the word *'ilo* was used, and to the eating by a royal personage the appropriate word was *taumafa.* In the presence of royalty, commoners would prostrate themselves; and in addressing a superior, one had to crawl and sit in front of him with hands clasped in front as a sign of respect and probably for reasons of security since it would be impossible to make an attempt on the superior's life from such a position. It was taboo for an inferior to assume a position higher than the head of his superiors.

Good citizenship was marked by the way one performed one's *fatongia* 'obligations.' Members of each social class knew his or her *fatongia* to other members of his class and to the members of other classes, particularly those of higher status. The *fatongia* involved obedience and, at times, sacrifices. The chief's obligations were to protect the group from outside interference or attack, to settle their disputes and to provide conditions under which his people would work and enjoy peace and prosperity. In return the people performed their *fatongia* to him by working his garden, providing him with the best of everything they produced or possessed and attending to whatever he might want them to do. At its best the whole *fatongia* relationship was governed by the principal of reci-

procity. The royal dynasties had similar *fatongia* to the whole country, as the chiefs had to their own groups, and the chiefs and people brought tribute to the royalty. Land was vested in the Tu'i Tonga and the heads of the other dynasties, and the chiefs received their entitlements to lands from him. Unlike other Oceanic cultures where land belonged to the group, tribe, or clan, in Tonga, it belonged to the title holder. This was another reason for performing the *fatongia* to superiors. Fear also played a part, for chiefs had absolute and arbitrary power over the commoners. The chiefs were believed to possess *mana* (spiritual power) which derived from their descent from one of the royal dynasties, which in turn stemmed from the founding ancestor 'Aho'eitu who was the son of one of the Tangaloas or sky gods. Failure to perform the *fatongia* would lead to severe physical punishment from the chiefs or supernatural punishment from the gods.

The third value which governed these relationships was *mateaki* or loyalty. One was expected to have complete loyalty to one's chief and one's *kāinga* and to one's country. In his attempt to unite Tonga into a kingdom, Tonga's most outstanding national leader, Tāufa'āhau who later became known as King George Tāufa'āhau Tupou I, encountered resistance from some powerful chiefs. In one of his battles, Tāufa'āhau saw one of his warriors speared in the abdomen and holding on to part of his intestines which had come out. When Tāufa'āhau remarked at his wound, the brave warrior replied, "Tāufa'āhau, it is your victory, not my wound that counts." This anecdote typifies the absolute loyalty to one's leader which was so highly esteemed by Tongans.

The relationships so far outlined definitely determined day to day behavior, but became most apparent in a formalized way in important ceremonial occasions where each class had to perform its prescribed responsibilities and where individuals and groups were reminded of their relationships to each other. The most important occasions were at marriages, funerals, and the installation of titles, ceremonies which were carried out with deep reverence and solemnity, each with its own rituals which were strictly adhered to. The greatest of the national ceremonies was the *'inasi*, the annual presentation of first fruits to the Tu'i Tonga, as representative of Hikule'o, the god of fertility and harvest. In the ritual preparation and drinking of *kava* and the presentation and distribution of various gifts which were integral parts of every ceremony, each class had a role to play and rituals had to be strictly observed, for mistakes carried severe punishment and public disgrace for those concerned.

These values were learned early in the relationships within the various socio-political units in which individuals grew up. The smallest of these

was the *'api* (household), at the next level was the *fa'ahinga* (extended family) and then the ***kāinga***[11] (the group under the effective rule of a chief). Above this level were the *ha'a,* a loose confederation of genealogically related chiefs and their ***kāinga,*** and finally the *fonua* (the whole country). The relationships within the *'api* or household are crucial to an understanding of those within the wider socio-political units, since these were modelled upon them (Gifford 1929:21; Martin 1827, II:135). Within the *'api,* two important relationships existed, the ***fānau*** (children relationships) and the ***mātu'a fānau*** (parental-offspring relationships). Two principles governed the relationships within the ***fānau,*** namely sex and age (Lātūkefu 1967:4). The sister was superior to her brother in rank, irrespective of age, and the elder was superior in rank to the younger of the same sex. Relationships of respectful avoidance existed between brother and sister as they entered adulthood. It was taboo for a brother to enter his sister's house and vice versa and this was also extended to their spouses. The sister's superior rank was also extended to her children who would occupy the important and privileged position of *fahu,* implying unlimited authority over their maternal kin. The sister's eldest daughter was the principal *fahu* over her maternal uncle.

In the ***mātu'a-fānau*** or parental-offspring relationship, the *tamai* (father) was head of the household and as such was accorded respect and deference. It was taboo to touch his hair, use his personal possessions, or to eat the remnants of his food or drink. Breaches of these taboos resulted in severe punishment, either physical or supernatural. These taboos were also extended to the father's brother and particularly to his sister, who was known as *mehikitanga.* The taboos surrounding the paternal aunt were very stringent and breaches of them entailed severe punishment. She was the highest ranking member of the household and had ultimate authority over her brother's children. The taboos surrounding the father's side of the family were compensated for by the complete freedom and informality which prevailed between children and their mother and her relatives.

The belief system was important in sanctioning the social order. As noted above, any violation of the taboos was believed to anger the gods and natural disasters such as drought, hurricane, or sickness and death were attributed to the displeasure of the gods. Most of the ceremonies were designed to appease the deities; for example, it was believed that failure to carry out the *'inasi* festival would result in national disaster. The social order was reflected in the belief system and reinforced and perpetuated by it. Commoners, for example, were believed to lack souls; and when they died, they simply became vermin. Only the chiefs had

mana and souls; and when they died, their souls automatically went to *Pulotu*, the Tongan paradise, where they became secondary gods. This belief justified the chiefs' treatment of commoners who were arbitrarily subjected to their whims and led to the submissive acceptance by commoners of their lot. Moral values also reflected the social system; for example, murder, theft, and adultery were not regarded as offences unless they were committed against equals, superiors, or sacred objects.

Social and religious values were also reflected in the expressive system of the culture which played an important role in the ceremonies and the entertainment of the chiefs. The language was rich and poetic. Metaphors and similes were used liberally, particularly in poetry; and elements of natural objects, such as the fragrance of flowers or the sound of waves were used to depict ideas of beauty, valor, etc. Dancing was usually accompanied by the singing of poetic verses and the movements of the hands and feet were designed to illustrate the meaning of the words. Many of the dances to entertain the chiefs were closely connected with sex, but the dances for ceremonies were closely linked with the traditional religion or praised the heroism of prominent ancestral leaders. Some of the dances were performed exclusively by the chiefs.

Men in Tonga were far behind their counterparts in Fiji or New Zealand in manual skills, and this was partly due to the scarcity of suitable timber. Tongan carving was crude; but to compensate for this, the Tongans developed and perfected the arts of warfare and seafaring. By conquest they established an empire that covered Samoa, Tokelau, Tuvalu, 'Uvea, Futuna, Rotuma in the north of Fiji, and the Lau islands east of Fiji. From Fiji they collected finely carved war clubs, spears, kava bowls, stone adzes, turtle shell, fish hooks, and huge double canoes expertly built of large planks by Fijian craftsmen and from Samoa the most finely woven mats, *kie Ha'amoa* (Samoan mats), greatly valued by the chiefs for ceremonial purposes. Tongan women produced large and attractive tapa (bark cloth), some 100 feet in length by fifteen feet in width and wove beautiful mats of all kinds for flooring, bedding, and ceremonies, though none could rival the *kie Ha'amoa.* Standards of personal beauty, as with other aspects of culture, were greatly influenced by the tastes and views of the chiefs. The chiefs were almost always people of tall physical stature, fine looking, with fair complexion and smooth large legs, particularly at the calf. These attributes were greatly admired qualities in a person's physical appearance. Anyone with thin legs was not regarded as attractive and therefore commoner rather than chiefly in appearance.

The thought patterns of the Tongans were molded by their culture and their physical environment. Abstract thinking was more poetic and

religious than scientific and philosophical. Most people were concerned with the immediate practical problems of daily living and survival. Phenomena which were beyond comprehension were merely attributed to the gods and mythical folk heroes. No formal system of learning existed as it did among the Maori. The younger generation learned the skills and professions, values and behavior expected of them by observing and imitating their elders. The young were expected to learn to do things in the manner of their ancestors. To question the validity and wisdom of the status quo was unthinkable for any person of low rank. Such a privilege was the prerogative of high chiefs only; but even among this powerful group, any innovator among them had to face strong opposition from the rest because of loyalty to the memories of the ancestors or for social, political, and religious reasons.

So far I have given a brief sketch of the Tongan traditional culture, and have endeavored to show how, on the one hand, members of the society through the complex interactions of the various facets of their way of life and their physical environment managed to create a culture distinctively their own, and how, on the other hand, the culture continually helped to mold the individuals within the society. It was a well integrated culture, dynamic and full of potential for change and was never static in spite of the expressed desire of the majority of community leaders to preserve its purity and their reluctance to depart from traditional precedents. A close look at modem Tongan culture and the processes that helped to produce it, should illustrate this point vividly.

If any of our ancestors who died a century ago were to return to Tonga today, they would be shocked by the changes that Tongan culture has undergone during this period, particularly if they looked at the culture from what Raymond Firth has referred to as its pragmatic level.[2] After a hard, close scrutiny from the symbolic level, however, they would find Tongan culture still recognizable, for values tend to endure and change rather slowly, though change they have, for changes in one aspect of culture inevitably affect the others. These changes have been stimulated by the exposure of the Tongans to outside influences. Contact with the neighboring island groups (particularly Fiji and Samoa) have, as pointed out above, introduced new elements into the culture, particularly in the expressive system of the culture. The most significant, outside influences on the culture, however, came as a result of the contact with Europeans--the explorers, traders, beachcombers, missionaries, New Zealand and American military personnel during World War II, and the tourists today. The increasing migrations of Tongans to New Zealand,

Australia, USA, Great Britain and other countries to visit, study, work, or to live and only periodically return to visit their families has also had an important impact on Tongan culture.

Tongans, like people everywhere, want to make life easy, comfortable, and enjoyable. The first aspects of the culture to undergo drastic changes were the material culture, technology, and economy. While it was more difficult to understand, appreciate, and accept European values, beliefs and thought patterns, and while it was difficult to admit that these were superior to their own, the Tongans readily accepted that European technology was superior, making traditional labor easier and more efficient and less time consuming. European goods were quickly found to be more attractive and durable and were soon coveted by everyone. Today traditional stone and shell tools and wooden implements used for cutting and digging have been completely replaced by steel tools. Traditional clothing are only used now for ceremonial purposes. European-type materials and imported cloth are now universally used although the Tongas together with the Samoans and the Fijians have adopted certain types of fashion, a shirt and a *vala* (a laplap or sarong) for men and a dress with ankle length *vala* for women. For formal occasions, the Tongans add a *ta'ovala* which is a mat specially woven to be worn around the waist, thus completing what is now regarded as the Tongan national dress. Footwear, mostly sandals or thongs, are also worn. For church and formal occasions, a tie and a coat are also added to the garments of dignitaries. The few with academic qualifications wear their academic gowns and hoods over their Tongan dress on formal occasions. The adoption of European-type materials in place of leaves, tapa cloth, and mats were for reasons of convenience, durability, hygiene as well as aesthetic. The addition of the *tao'vala* to the national dress is a symbolic action making it uniquely Tongan and at the same time providing continuity in the culture, since it was a part of traditional ceremonial dress to wear mats around the waist, especially in the presence of chiefs (Trumbull 1977:141).

Housing is becoming more Westernized. When I visited my village, Kolovai, situated eleven miles west of the capital Nuku'alofa, three years ago, the elders said that very soon there would be no more Tongan houses in the village. When I visited it again in January 1979, their prediction proved fairly accurate, for there were only a handful of Tongan houses still standing, and all the rest had been built of timber or cement blocks with corrugated iron roofs. Some are attractively designed, beautifully built, and comfortably furnished while the majority are just simple structures often without ceiling or furniture. In some cases, the actual design and shape still resembles the traditional Tongan houses, and certain fea-

tures continue to be common, such as a separation between sleeping and eating or cooking quarters. In the villages, traditional methods of cooking using earth ovens continue to be used and these must be done outdoors, while the *kava* circle of drinkers is now commonly held indoors and requires a large room with little or no furniture so that mats can be laid down for seating, or for indoor feasts to be held in Tongan style. Many observers lament what they claim to be the desire of the Tongans to ape the Europeans, and correctly point to the fact that the traditional Tongan houses built of bush materials are cooler during the summer and warmer during the winter. However, few of these nostalgic traditionalists have ever had to live for any length of time in any of these houses, particularly a dilapidated one during the rainy season. The Tongans prefer the European-type house mainly for economic and prestige reasons. Its materials last, whereas the thatch roof of the Tongan house has to be replaced every two or three years, and this involves a lot of work and expense. The roofs and walls of the traditional houses were mainly made from plaited coconut leaves and the cutting of the leaves for this purpose retards the growth of the coconut. The construction of the type of dwelling traditionally used by the chiefs involved cutting down coconut 'trees from which the materials for the framework of the house were made. This would drastically affect the production of copra which remains the mainstay of the modem Tongan economy. The other reason for the new trend in housing is that it is prestigious to own a European-type house and the quality and comfort of these houses is continually improving as Tongans become influenced by overseas fashions through education and travel. In addition, the higher personal income which is now available either from a salaried job or through remittances sent by members of the family working overseas or from business and commercial farming, makes it possible for Tongans to acquire modern houses and furnishings or other consumer goods imported into the country.

Modes of transport have also changed dramatically. The canoes which had been the sole means of transport have been almost entirely superseded by buses, trucks, and private cars. Motor vessels and air transport have taken over the interisland travel, and the Tongan government runs a shipping line of overseas cargo vessels. When I was a child, horse-drawn carts and bicycles were the main form of transport from the villages of the main island, Tongatapu, to the capital. Now they are only used to travel to the gardens or within villages, as more Tongans have acquired some form of motor vehicle or use those owned by others.

The developing monetary economy has stimulated farmers to grow new crops such as melons, pineapples, and vanilla for cash, as well as

those traditional crops such as bananas or coconuts which they can grow for export. This has affected the availability of land for the traditional staple crops such as yams and led to times of scarcity when these staple foods command a high price in the town markets. Diet and methods of preparing foods have also undergone changes. Flour, sugar, rice, corned beef, and tinned fish now feature prominently in everyday Tongan diet in addition to the main traditional vegetables such as yam, taro, sweet potato, etc. This is especially true on the main island of Tongatapu where more than half the population now resides. The preparation of food for normal everyday use is now done with the help of kerosene, gas, or electric stoves by those who can afford them.

Feasting in traditional style remains a very important aspect of present-day Tongan culture, and feasts are prepared in the *'umu* or earth oven. Elaborate preparation of foods is involved, requiring many helpers, as pigs, roasted or baked, yams, sweet potatoes, *kape* (giant taro), sea foods, corned beef cooked in Tongan style known as ***lū*** *pulu,* chickens, sweet puddings from breadfruit and many other favorite foods are carefully displayed on the *pola* (long coconut frond trays covered with banana leaves) which are placed in front of the seated guests. The amount of food prepared depends upon the importance of the occasion and upon the social status of the giver. Speeches are delivered while people are eating so that feasts become an occasion for oratory and public speaking. The sponsors of feasts use them as a way of exhibiting their prosperity and popularity. The more popular one is in the community, the more support he gets from others in the work and food contributions for the feasts. In the case of a chief, it can also indicate the degree of loyalty of his subjects and the relative prosperity of the community. Even Tongas living abroad in countries such as USA, New Zealand or Australia, continue to observe, in a modified way, the customs surrounding Tongan feasts, indicating that this is one of the highly valued aspects of their culture.

The initial impact of European contact which quickly revolutionized material culture had little effect on the social organization, for its effects on traditional values was minimal. Traditional social strata persisted and commoners were merely enabled, through new and more efficient technology, to improve the quality of their *fatongia* to their superiors. A significant effect of the new technical change on the value system, however, was due to the fact that certain powerful and influential chiefs began to question the validity of the traditional beliefs as a result of their conviction that the whiteman's God gave Europeans access to wealth, technology, and power; and, therefore, that God must be superior to their own traditional Tongan gods. This doubt paved the way for the work of

the missionaries and helped to ensure the eventual success of their proselytism of the Tongans.

The missionaries came specifically to destroy traditional values which they believed to be antithetic to Christian doctrines, and which therefore were preventing the Tongans from attaining God's salvation. After encountering initial opposition from the chiefs and traditional priests, they eventually succeeded. With the help of the medical and educational sides of their work, they managed to convert a few, among whom were some powerful chiefs, particularly King George Tāufa'āhau (Lātūkefu 1974:83-99). Christianity was eventually accepted almost universally in the form of Methodism by his supporters and Catholicism by his political opponents. The trinity--Father, Son and Holy Spirit--were accepted by most early converts as three separate gods, taking the place of the Tangaloas, the Mauis, and Hikule'o. The souls of the dead became spirits, the good ones going to heaven to live there and perform good deeds for the living, thereby combatting the evil intentions of the bad spirits who roam the earth before ending up in hell and everlasting damnation. The most remarkable aspect of all this was the acceptance of the belief that, like the chiefs, commoners also had souls, and everyone, chiefs and commoners alike, had to attain certain moral standards before they could reach heaven, otherwise they were condemned to eternal hellfire. This was drastically different from the traditional religion which had accepted that only chiefs had souls and could look forward to an after life which came to them automatically by right of birth rather than through their personal conduct.

While it may be difficult to question the sincerity of King George's religious convictions and his belief that Christian civilization would be best for his people, there can be little doubt that he also used Christianity to achieve his own political ends, namely the establishment of a central government under his ruleship as Tu'i Kanokupolu (Lātūkefu 1970). He championed the cause of the Methodist missionaries; and with their blessings and moral support, he managed to unite Tonga into a kingdom in 1845 when he became Tu'i Kanokupolu and later when he succeeded in becoming ruler to the whole of Tonga. Opposition to this led to the last civil war in Tonga in 1852. In the meantime, with the help and guidance of the Methodist missionaries, he had introduced the rule of law by promulgating a simple law code in 1839, known as the Vava'u Code. This was revised in 1850 and again in 1862 and culminated in the Tongan Constitution of 1875 (Lātūkefu 1975). It was through these codes of law that King George was able to bring about some radical changes in the traditional social organization, particularly in respect of the relations be-

tween chiefs and commoners. He declared all people, chiefs and commoners alike, to be equal in the eyes of the law, and by 1862 had granted to commoners their full emancipation from the arbitrary and absolute power of the chiefs. The later Constitution of 1875 provided for a system of government in which commoners participated, though their degree of participation was more limited than those of chiefly or noble birth. It also enabled commoners to become landowners in their own rights, and through the education system which had been provided by the churches initially and later by the government, the sons and daughters of chiefs and commoners were treated equally, thus giving opportunities for many commoners to gain the qualifications needed for positions of importance in the decision making and development of the country. Today, many of the leading public servants, business men, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and ministers of religion are commoners. Several commoners have also become ministers of the Crown, for example, the present Minister for Finance, Mahe Tupouniua; the Minister for Health, Dr. Sione Tapa; and the Minister for Education and Works, Dr. Langi Kavaliku are all commoners who have proved themselves in their respective professional fields. Intermarriage between commoners and chiefs, with the exception of the royal family, has now become more frequent. Commoners are now sharing more and more with the chiefs those aspects of the culture which were in the past the exclusive prerogative of the latter. The language of respect which was at one time reserved for chiefs is now applied to the outstanding commoners who have achieved positions of leadership in the government or in churches. In spite of protests from some nobles, it is now commonly used to address the commoners in public meetings. The *kava* circles which were formerly exclusively held for chiefs and royalty are now widely used by commoners with or without the traditional rituals. When the *tao'vala* (waist mat) was introduced, it indicated the social status of its wearer, since the finer its weave, the higher was the person's rank. Commoners were expected to wear the coarsest type of *ta'ovala.* Today, any commoner who can afford to obtain a *ta'ovala kie* (finely woven mat) can wear it without fear of intimidation, although to do so in the presence of royalty would be regarded as inappropriate and presumptuous. The status of commoners today is a far cry from the days when they were mere chattels, folks without souls to be used by the chiefs however they pleased for their own exclusive benefit. The traditional law of the club has been replaced by a constitutional form of government with the monarch as head of State, Parliament, Privy Council, Cabinet and Judiciary. Although social stratification still exists today, there is definitely a continuing breaking down of strict barriers between social classes.

In the heyday of missionary influence, the missionaries and their converts were instrumental in bringing about many changes to the culture; but after becoming the dominant influence in the country, they became conservative and strongly advocated the maintenance of the status quo. From the outset, they realized the value of the chiefs' influence over the people and the effectiveness of working through them to achieve their own ends. The chiefs, on the other hand, have recognized the advantages of using the influence of the church to protect their remaining privileges. A marriage of convenience had now developed between the church and the state. Because the central government has now taken over the responsibility of protecting the people and their interests from the local chiefs, and the church the spiritual welfare from the traditional priests, the people gradually became dependent upon these two centralized institutions for material, educational, and spiritual advancement.

The principles which governed the social relationships between the social classes, *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *fatongia* (obligation), and *mateaki* (loyalty) were strengthened by the acceptance of Christianity with its emphasis on *'ofa* (love) which one Tongan writer recently noted is for Tongans "the main characteristic feature of their society" (Kavaliku 1977:47) and *fukamolemole* (forgiveness). Although *'ofa* existed in the traditional social relationships, the coercive elements such as fear of the chiefs' *mana* and absolute power were much stronger. Christianity dispelled many of these fears and emphasized that *'ofa* should be the governing principle. As a result of the church and state taking over most of the responsibilities for the welfare of the people, respect, obligation, and loyalty are no longer confined to relations with chiefs and the *kāinga;* but they are now directed more to the immediate family, church, and the nation.

The emphasis put by Christianity on the importance of family life has resulted in the growing importance of the nuclear family, which has become the focus of the principles discussed above. The amount of money sent in remittances by Tongan workers abroad to their families at home speaks volumes for the closeness of family ties among the Tongans. The aged are still respected and properly cared for as an integral part of the family. Grandparents remain close to their grandchildren, and the death of a member of the family is deeply felt by close and distant kin and is attended by elaborate funeral and mourning rituals. The traditional privileges of the *fahu* and the strict taboos which were observed between brother and sister, or children and their paternal kin have already begun to erode and will no doubt continue to do so. However, respect and affection remain, helping to ensure their continuing observance as part of the Tongan identity. The enthusiastic support which the people still give to

the king and government and church at times of national celebration point to the continuing importance of these principles for the villagers. For instance, on the occasion of the ending of Britain's protectorate in 1970 when the villagers on Tongatapu provided for a royal feast attended by 800 visitors, they brought 1,050 suckling pigs, 1,500 to 1,600 chickens, 1,200 servings of *lūpulu* (corned beef with coconut cream and taro leaves), 3,000 crayfish, 2,500 yams, 4,000 plantains, 1,300 servings of *ʻota* (raw fish), 300 watermelons and 1,700 drinking coconuts (Trumbull 1977:147) all of which were given freely. A similar feast for an even larger number of overseas guests was staged in the palace grounds in November 1975 to mark the centenary of the Tongan Constitution, and food was provided by the villagers on the same lavish scale. In the following year, they fed several hundred visitors who came for the sesquicentennial celebrations of the arrival of the first Methodist missionaries. Christianity and church activities have now become integral parts of present Tongan culture.

The expressive aspects of traditional culture were at first severely affected by the coming of the missionaries who prohibited traditional dancing because of its close association with religion and sex, and because after a late night of dancing the people slept during church services. As a result of this prohibition, new types of dancing, free of the old association with sex and traditional religion, were created and sponsored by leading Methodist converts. *Lakalaka* (standing dance performed by large groups of men and women), *tauʻolunga,* and *maʻuluʻulu* (sitting dance) have become popular Tongan dances today; yet in their movements and styles of dancing, they show continuity with the past, to the extent that Kaeppler states that "these 'new' dances are not really new. Rather, they are simply evolved forms of indigenous dance types with new words and new music." (Kaeppler 1970:267). The *lakalaka* and *māʻuluʻulu* are more formal, while *tauʻolunga* can be performed either in ceremonies or simply for entertainment. In addition, European or imported styles of dancing have also become popular among younger Tongans.

Singing remains an important aspect of expressive culture with much time and effort spent in practice by village or church choirs, usually of unaccompanied voices singing in harmony. Traditional Tongan chants have given way to more modem and sophisticated singing, much stimulus being given to this by missionaries, especially the Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton who devised a Tongan musical notation in the late nineteenth century which is still used today. He translated many hymns and anthems into this notation, and these have become widely known and continue to be-taught in Tongan schools and villages. One can today hear choirs of up to two

hundred voices singing classical pieces unaccompanied, with great credit. Love songs and dancing songs are composed using tunes more acceptable to modem tastes. String instruments and brass instruments are now used to accompany singing instead of bamboo sticks and traditional nose flutes.

There have been many new developments in crafts such as mat making, basket weaving by women, and carving by men. The main impetus has come from the money which can be earned from the sale of these items to tourists. Critics of tourism often lament what they refer to as the bastardization of native culture in the interests of tourism. In fact, tourist demand for Tongan artifacts in the form of baskets, handbags, mats, slippers, and carvings has led to imaginative improvements in workmanship, design, and the use of new materials in combination with traditional ones, for example, waterproof plastic lining on the interior of some baskets with painted tapa exteriors. Some of the modern artifacts sold to tourists, nowadays, are more beautifully designed and skillfully made than any that I saw in the past! The demand for tapa (bark cloth) remains although it is no longer used as a form of clothing or covering at night. It continues to be a valued ceremonial exchange item among Tongans themselves, being the most common form of gifts at feasts, weddings, and essential for funeral ceremonies. At the funeral of Queen Sālote in December 1965, her casket was carried along a tapa pathway from the plane, when it arrived from New Zealand where she had died, and the funeral procession walked along the main roads which were covered with mats and tapa (Kaeppler 1978:1). Tapa is also in demand by tourists and it remains an important village industry, still manufactured by groups of women on an informal kinship basis rather than in a commercial manner.

The Tongan language, like any other living language, has changed. It was reduced to written form by early missionaries; and with developments in modem linguistics, its orthography has been improved and standardized so that its written form more accurately reflects the spoken sounds. The vocabulary has altered with the loss of some words and the addition of many new ones. Old poems collected by Dr. Moulton and his students last century are no longer understandable to modern Tongan speakers. Many foreign words have been Tonganized to express new concepts or refer to new objects. Thus universe is *'univeesi,* centenary is *senituli,* and horse *hoosi.* Many Tongan names are derived from these imported words, for instance the name Siupeli is derived from the word "Jubilee."

The changes in other aspects of the culture inevitably affected some modifications in the thinking patterns of Tongans. The introduction of formal education with its emphasis on the scientific explanation of natural phenomena, and more advanced mathematical concepts, the contact with

the wider world through travel, intermarriage and tourism have all widened Tongan horizons and deepened their experiences, thereby affecting their thought patterns. It has become possible for many younger Tongans to become "bi-cultural;" namely to speak English and adapt to European ways while at the same time maintaining their Tongan identity and following Tongan customs when the appropriate situation arises.

It should now be clear that Tongan culture, being a living and dynamic one, has undergone significant changes, many of which were stimulated through the increasing contact with the outside world. Although at times strong pressures have been applied by outsiders such as missionaries on the people to accept change, in the final analysis it was the Tongans themselves who ultimately decided either to accept or reject changes. The decision to accept certain changes was basically motivated by the conviction that such changes would improve their quality of life. The new elements have been integrated into the culture and are usually modified to fit in with the existing traditions. The elements whose functions have been taken over by new ones are usually discarded or take on a symbolic function such as the use of *ta'ovala* (waist mat), for example, helps to "legitimitize" the acceptance of the new elements into the culture. Those who lament the changes usually believe that cultures should be preserved in their so-called purity, which usually means the status quo. They fail to realize that you can only preserve that which is dead, and that a living culture is constantly changing in response to the changing needs and aspirations of society (Lātūkefu 1976:19). The disappearance of certain aspects of Tongan culture or their modification have not, as many have claimed, destroyed it. In fact, they have, in general, improved the culture and at the same time they have in no way affected its distinct identity as Tongan culture.

Any attempt to predict the future of any culture is fraught with danger because of the unpredictability of future events, particularly political or economic changes which can bring about rapid or drastic cultural change. However, in the light of past trends, one may indulge in some guarded future predictions. The material culture will continue to be affected by technical changes outside Tonga. Greater use of modem machinery and fertilizers in agriculture will increase commercial production and there will be greater demand for modern facilities such as electricity, housing, and communications. The trend in housing, built from lasting imported materials is likely to continue; but the development of Tongan designs and the use of modified traditional shapes as a symbolic gesture and to maintain identity, may develop further among those who can

afford this. Migration to the United States, New Zealand, and Australia will continue on a larger scale and overseas education will increase. Unless the oil crisis reverses the trend, the present growth in motor vehicles and motorized boats is likely to continue with the help of remittances from relatives overseas.

The changes in material culture and greater opportunities for higher education and overseas travel will result in greater prosperity, sophistication, and independence among the commoners. This will increasingly and significantly affect social organization, the value system, and social control. Hitherto, the commoners who have managed to advance to the top through the system have been absorbed by it and are enjoying the privileges gained by it; but most of the commoners remain ignorant of their constitutional rights and are deprived of real independence in thought, let alone action. In the future, the real barriers between the social classes are likely to disappear, and the present strong religious emphasis is likely to be greatly modified as more people adopt a secular view of life.

However, respect, obligation, and loyalty will continue to be offered to the state and the churches, not on account of fear, but because of *'ofa,* since these institutions have become and continue to be important parts of Tonga cultural identity. In addition, many pepole regard involvement in civil and church affairs as an opportunity to attain prestige and public recognition. The same thing will apply to feasting and other aspects of the present culture.

Many educated Tongans, including prominent church leaders such as Bishop Fīnau of the Roman Catholic Church and the Rev. Siupeli Taliai, Secretary of the Methodist Conference, are now questioning certain aspects of the present political system, such as the power of the monarch to veto legislation and to appoint ministers, the parliamentary representation which consists of seven representatives of the thirty-three nobles, elected by them, and seven representatives of the rest of the population, elected by them, and also the land system where commoners still have to depend on the good will of the nobles to acquire land and permission to register it. Significant reforms in these areas are required if a smooth development of the culture is to occur. The plight of the monarchical systems in Greece, Ethiopia, and Iran are vivid examples of what happens when appropriate changes are stubbornly resisted.

As the world is shrinking, Tongan culture will share more in common with other cultures, particularly those of Oceania with which they already have a lot in common, as their leaders continue to search for a genuine "Pacific Way." The establishment of regional organizations such

as the South Pacific Commission, the South Pacific Conference, the Pacific Forum, the South Pacific Economic Cooperation, the Conference of Pacific Churches, the Pacific Theological College, the University of the South Pacific, the Pacific Games and Pacific Arts Festival have all facilitated the emergence of a genuine "Pacific Way" through the cultural interchange which is constantly taking place now within the region. Tongans are actively participating in all these new developments, but any foreign elements accepted into Tongan culture would be made to work in the Tongan setting and become accepted as genuine parts of it, helping it to develop in a way peculiarly its own and thereby maintaining the Tongan identity and Oceanic authenticity.

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REVIEW ESSAY

RUSSIANS IN THE PACIFIC: A REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS, 1974-1979

by Patricia Polansky

Soviet interest in the Pacific, while of importance strategically, has on the whole attracted very little scholarly attention. A review of the monographs published in the past six years reveals thirty-five titles. There are some good works among them; and to give Pacific scholars who do not read Russian an idea of the subjects being researched, the following survey is offered.

By far the greatest interest has been in general works about the peoples and places within Oceania. The first volume is available in a projected series on the world's oceans edited by the Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Navy, S. G. Gorshkov. It is called *Tikhii Okean* [The Pacific Ocean] (Moskva: Gl. upr. navigatsii i okeanografii, 1974), has 302 pages of colored charts and maps and is an oversize volume of 47 x 36 cm. While much of the scientific material is dated, it is significant to have a Soviet treatment of this most vital ocean in one volume. It is interesting to look at the maps--Honolulu, for example. One wonders whether the Soviet Ministry of Defense chose to leave out half the roads or whether they did not have access to more current information.[1] In 1976, a separate physical map with a scale of 1:25,000,000, *Tikhii Okean [The Pacific Ocean]* (Moskva. 2d ed.), was published by the Main Board of Geodesy and Cartography. There is an inset on the Geomorphology of the Ocean Bottom.

Three volumes address the political situation of Oceania. The book *SShA I Problemy Tikhogo Okeana: Mezhdunarodno-Politicheskie Aspekty [The US and Problems of Oceania: International Political Aspects]* (Moskva: Mezh. otnosheniia, 1979) examines US relations in the Pacific basin. The role of Hawai'i as a transportation-communication center of the Pacific is discussed in chapter 2, "Tikhookeanskoe Proberezh'e i

[1]Pergamon Press has issued a translation of the table of contents, introduction and geographic index with the title *Atlas of the Oceans: Pacific Oceans* (New York, 1976).

Ostrovnye Territorii SShA [The Pacific Shores and Island Territories of the US]" by I. B. Bulai. Bulai also devotes chapter 10 to "Mesto Avstralii i Novoi Zelandii v Tikhookeanskoi Politike SShA [The Place of Australia and New Zealand in US Pacific Politics]." Boris Slavinsky discusses trade and scientific projects as a positive basis for future friendship in chapter 13, "Nekotorye Voprosy Sovetsko-Americkanskogo Sotrudnichestva na tikhom Okeane [Some Questions on Soviet-American Cooperation in the Pacific]." Of a more historical nature is a new work by Kim. V. Malakhovskii called *Istoriia Kolonializma v Okeanii [The History of Colonialism in Oceania]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1979). The process of colonialism from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, the life of indigenous peoples under colonialism and new developments toward creating independent states are the broad subjects covered. This work has a bibliography of 287 items, the majority being in English, and a geographic index. A more specific treatment of colonialism is provided by V. L. Reznikov in his *Politika Kaizerovskii Germanii v Okeanii [The Policies of Kaiser Germany in Oceania]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1975). Micronesia, New Guinea, and Samoa are some of the particular areas discussed, as well as plantations and the effects of colonial rule on the inhabitants.

The Soviets often issue collections of essays. Three have appeared from the Institute of Oriental Studies which cover a wide variety of topics and represent the works of several authors. Most of the articles are accompanied by references. The first of these is *Avstraliia i Okeaniia: Istoriia, Ekonomika, Etnografiia [Australia and Oceania: History, Economics, Ethnography]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1978) and contains articles on the foreign relations problems of an independent Papua New Guinea, the dynamics of urban population movements in Papua New Guinea, the economic policy of E. Whitlam, the state regulation of New Zealand's economy, several aspects of the hard-currency policies of Australia in the 1970s, Western Samoa as a special historical-ethnographic region, the Polynesian system of kinship, and the terms of kinship of the Rapa-nui islanders. The second work *Problemy Avstralii i Okeanii: Istoriia, Ekonomika, Etnografiia [Problems of Australia and Oceania: History, Economics, Ethnography]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1976) presents essays on the foreign policy of Australia's Labor Government, Australo-Chinese relations in the 1970s, the fight of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in Tahiti in the nineteenth century, the tendency of forming a Pacific economic complex and developing economic ties between these countries and the USSR, the theory of "democratic socialism" in the Australian Laborites ideology, the

development of Australia's mining industry, several problems of New Zealand's economic development, the ethno-linguistic problems of Oceania, natural and ethno-social levels of integration in Oceania, the anthropological classification of Australians, contemporary data about the origins and characteristics of Oceanic agriculture, several aspects of the ethnocultural problems of Pacific Ocean basin countries, and the calendar of the Polynesians. The final work is titled *Proshloe i Nastoiashchee Avstralii i Okeanii [The Past and Present of Australia and Oceania]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1979) and provides articles on the study of New Zealand in Soviet historiography, the early stage of English penetration in New Zealand, the question of German colonial expansion in Samoa, questions about the general aims and basic conflicts between Japan and Germany in 1940-41, the historical prerequisites for the formation of the general Australian Congress of Trade Unions, the state and the development of education in modem Australia, 1945-75, the development of Port Moresby, Australia and Japan--two approaches to economic cooperation with developing countries of the region, the development of New Zealand's agriculture in the 1970s, the initiation rites in New Guinea, the Australian community, the beginning stage of missionary activity in Polynesia, the power of a spiritual leader on Easter Island, the Maori syncretistic religion in the past and present, the ancient Philippines and their connection with Oceania, and the establishment of the shamanism of Malaysia's Semangs and the Australian aborigines.

O Iazykakh, Fol'klore i Literature Okeanii [Concerning the Languages, Folklore and Literature of Oceania] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1978) is another collection of articles on topics not included in the previous three works. There are six essays on the social, linguistic, and psychological factors of the linguistic situation in Papua New Guinea, the nominal possessive construction in the Melanesian languages, several characteristics in the development of the Rapanui language based on folklore texts, problems of studying the singing folklore of Oceania, the connections of the musical folklore of the Papuans of New Guinea with their mythology, and the formation of a national literature in Oceania.

The development of a singing folklore tradition and its connections with mythology and legends among the peoples of New Guinea, Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia is explored by the ethnographer B. N. Putilov in his work *Pesni Iuzhnykh Morei [Songs of the Southern Seas]* (Moskva: Nauka, 1978).

Five monographs are available as a result of the 1971 cruise of the research ship *Dmitrii Mendeleev* through the Pacific. D. V. Naumov,

Director of the Leningrad Zoological Museum, in his book *Na Ostrovakh Okeanii [Through the Islands of Oceania]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1975) recounts his impressions from a scientific point of view. His own photographs accompany the text in which he discusses the flora, fauna, atolls, coral reefs, and marine life of Fiji, the Maclay Coast and other parts of New Guinea, Samoa, Nauru, the New Hebrides, and Australia. The leaders of the research expedition, A. A. Aksenov and I. M. Belousov (the latter died before the book was published) describe the people and work of the geographers, geologists, zoologists, biologists, and ethnographers on the cruise in the book *Zagadki Okeanii [Riddles of Oceania]* (Moskva: Mysl', 1975). A map on the inside front cover shows the route of the *Mendeleev* and there are chapters covering each of the places visited. Two sections of good quality photographs accompany the text. G. M. Ignat'ev bases his volume on the *Mendeleev* cruise and the *Kallisto* cruise in 1976-77. The author discusses the geographical features and zones of the Pacific islands and factors which created the landscapes and the problems of nature conservation, There is also a substantial bibliography and very good color photographs by the author. The historian Irina M. Meliksetova tells about her impressions of the traditions, schools and technical progress of Western Samoa, Nauru, Tonga, Fiji, and Papua New Guinea in her work *Vstrecha s Okeaniei 70-kh Godov [An Encounter with Oceania in the 70's]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1976). Perhaps the most substantial work to be published in all the resultant literature of the *Mendeleev* cruise is the ethnographic volume entitled *Na Beregu Maklaia [On the Maclay Coast]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1975). This work will be more welcome to Western scholars since it is accompanied by English abstracts of each chapter. The authors who contributed to the fourteen essays in this work are N. A. Butinov, D. D. Tumarkin, G. M. Ignat'ev., I. A. Suetova, O. M. Pavlovskii, V. N. Basilov, M. V. Kriukov, B. N. Putilov, and I. M. Meliksetova. Since the cruise of the *Mendeleev* was to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the famous nineteenth century Russian anthropologist Nikolai Miklukho-Maklai's stay on the Maclay Coast of New Guinea, much of the material is about the Bongan village which he studied. A foldout map and photos accompany the text.

The most prolific writer award must go to Kim Vladimirovich Malakhovskii. Not only is he the editor of several books already discussed and author of one mentioned so far, but in the Academy of Sciences USSR series *Peoples of the World*, he has written six monographs on different Pacific islands, and one on Australia (see later). Although more popular in

format and with few references, they serve to bring these islands to the attention of Soviet readers. In the volume *Pod Iuzhnym Krestom [Under the Southern Cross]* (Moskva: Nauka, 1974) the history and contemporary situation of the states of Western Samoa, Nauru, Tonga, and Fiji is discussed. After the history and general description is given, the importance of its strategic position is discussed in *Ostrov, Otkrytyi Mugellanom (Guam) [The Island Discovered by Magellan (Guam)]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1975). The history and struggle for independence is presented in *Ostrov Raiskikh Ptits: Isotoriia Papua Novoi Gvinei [The Island of Birds of Paradise: The History of Papua New Guinea]* (Moskva: Nauka, 1976). The effects of colonialism on the Marianna, Marshall, and Caroline Islands are portrayed in *Posledniaia Podopechnaia (Istoriia Mikronezii) [The Last Trust Territory: A History of Micronesia]* (Moskva: Nauka, 1977). The last two publications are about *Solomony Ostrova [The Solomon Islands]* (Moskva: Nauka, 1978) and *Istoriia Ostrovov Kuka [History of the Cook Islands]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1978).

Research on people who were important to the history of the Pacific is well presented in biographies by B. N. Komissarov about *Grigorii Ivanovich Langsdorf, 1774-1852 [Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff]* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1975) and T. A. Lukina about *Iogann Fridrikh Eshshol'ts, 1793-1831 [Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz]* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1975). Both of these studies have references, cite Soviet archival materials and clear up a number of previous bibliographical problems on just what these men published in Russian. M. I. Ios'ko presents the fascinating life[2] of *Nikolai Sudzilovskii-Russel': zhizn' revoliutsionnaia deiatel'nost' i mirovozzrenie [Nicholas Sudzilovskii-Russel: The Life, Revolutionary Activity and World Outlook]* (Minsk: Izdvo BGU, 1976). V. A. Divin's biography on V. M. Golovnin is nicely illustrated and referenced and was useful to Ella Wiswell in her recent translation[3] of Golovnin's Kamchatka voyage. Divin's work is called *Povest' o Slavnon Moreplavatele [A Story About a Famous Seafarer]* (Moskva: Mysl', 1976). IA. M. Svet's illustrated account of the life and voyages of *Dzhems Kuk [James Cook]* (Moskva: Mysl', 1979) is intended for a lay audience.

Australia is the subject of five volumes: *Vneshniaia Politika Avstralii, 1939-1974 [Australia's Foreign Policy, 1939-1974]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav.

[2]For an English study of the 'Hawaiian phase of his man's life, see R. Hayashida and D. Kittelson, "The Odyssey of Nicholas Russel," *Hawaiian Journal of History,* 11, (1977), 110-124.

[3]V. M. Golovnin, *Around the World on the Kamchatka, 1817-1819* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society and University of Hawaii Press, 1979). Translated by Ella Wiswell.

red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1975) by I. A. Lebedev examines the growth of foreign relations from the eve of World War II to the present, emphasizing its dependence on the US. There is also a chapter on Australia's adventures in colonialism. One of Australia's authors most widely translated into Russian is the subject of a complete bibliography (English and Russian works) compiled by G. M. TSapenko entitled *Katarina Susannah Prichard, biobibliograficheskii ukazatel' [Katharine Susannah Prichard, A Bio-bibliographical Index]* (Moskva: Kniga, 1975). The growth of trade unions and the workers movement, as well as the foreign and domestic policies of the Labor Government since 1972 is presented by K. V. Malakhovskii in *Budni Piatogo Kontinenta [Work-a-Day Life of the Fifth Continent]* (Moskva: Nauka, 1975. Series "Peoples of the World"). Another work examines the formation, organization and eventual coalition of *Liberal'Naia i Agrarnaia Partii Avstralii, posle vtoroi mirovoi voiny [Australia's Liberal and Agrarian Parties after World War II]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1976). Finally, V. Kidinov provides notes to *Mify i Legendy Avstralii [The Myths and Legends of Australia]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1976).

The tragic, yet eternally interesting, ethnographic study of *Tasmaniitsy i Tasmaniiskaia Problema [The Tasmanians and the Tasmanian Problem]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1975) is recounted by Vladimir R. Kabo. He examines the mystery of the origins of the Tasmanians, explores archaeological evidence, the art, material culture, economy, society, religion, and language. There are 275 references in the bibliography. There does not appear to be as much political exploitation as this topic could have allowed a Soviet, but rather it is more a description and examination of what is known.

B. A. Bogomolov writes about the *Ekonomika i Politika Novoi Zelandii [New Zealand's Economy and Politics]* (Moskva: Mysl', 1978). Special features of economic development, agriculture, industry, the socio-political structure of society and New Zealand's international relations are analyzed.

The last group of books to be brought to the reader's attention is on languages. In the series *Languages of the Peoples of Asia and Africa,* three works have been published. They are A. A. Leont'ev's *Papuasskie Iazyki [Papuan Languages]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1974), V. Krupa's *Polineziiskie Iazyki [Polynesian Languages]*[4] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1975) and V. Krupa's *Gavaiskii Iazyk [The Hawaiian Language]* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1979).

[4]This work was published first in *English--Polynesian languages. A survey of research.* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973. Janua linguarum, series critica, 11)

Each work includes a substantial number of references and covers roughly the same topics--phonetics, phonology, lexicology, morphology, and sentence structure.

As the titles of the above works suggest there is varied interest in the Pacific islands. The ethnographic contributions--*On the Maclay Coast* and the work on the Tasmanians--are probably the least politically tainted and among the most substantial scholarly efforts. The biographies of Langsdorff and Eschscholtz are particularly good, especially since they quote archival materials. These research efforts can also be assessed by examining the Western sources to which Soviet scholars have access.

Russian Bibliographer
Hamilton Library
University of Hawaii

REVIEWS

Timothy Earle. *Economic and Social Organization of a Complex Chiefdom: The Halelea District, Kaua‘i, Hawai‘i.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1978. Pp. xii, 205, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. $6.50.

Since Karl Wittfogel promulgated his “hydraulic” theory of social organization in 1957, anthropologists have pondered its applicability to various agricultural societies. Earle discusses at length the viability of “hydraulic” theories with respect to the evolution of ancient Hawaiian chiefdoms. Evidence is based on detailed archaeological data on the Halelea irrigation system patterns and from ethnographic, historical, and travel literature on Hawai‘i.

The basic “hydraulic” theory proposes that there is a casual chain of evolutionary social development in which a society, under the influence of a complex irrigational technology, selects a centralized systems management for the proper and efficient mobilization of labor, reallocation and redistribution of resources, and for protection in time of war. Earle notes that Hawai‘i is ideal for testing such propositions because prehistoric Hawai‘i “showed definite evolutionary trends towards specialization and centralization of leadership.” Wittfogel himself characterized traditional Hawaiian society as a “crude, agrobureaucratic state,” result-

ing from the need for centralized and specialized management, i.e., chiefs, in directing the functions of complex irrigation systems.

While it is not disputed that traditional Hawaiian chiefly society evolved to a "complexity beyond the simple chiefdom," it is a matter of concern for the author as to whether such a trend resulted from conditions originally proffered by Wittfogel. Earle concludes that the extensive irrigation systems in Halelea does not reveal any evidence of a "preliminary overall design," but rather appears to have resulted "largely by extension and gradual intensification" of existing irrigation patterns. Hence, concludes Earle, no Wittfogelan centralized management infrastructure existed. The author then addresses the question of resource allocation and redistribution among self-sufficient Hawaiian land unit communities *(ahupua'a).* The closely situated settlement patterns in the *ahupua'a,* reasons Earle, did not require any form of centralized management since *ahupua'a* communities could freely transact among themselves and with other *ahupua'a* communities as well.

The "hydraulic" theory contemplates that warfare in a complex irrigation community results from increased population pressures on scarce prime land needed for subsistence which requires a specialized class skilled in the art of war. At this point Earle suggests an alternative theory of warfare in traditional Hawaiian society. First, it is necessary to accept the idea that competition for political power among Hawaiian chiefs was an "explicit aspect of social existence," whereby the primary goal of many chiefs was to maximize political advantage through the use of accumulated wealth to finance political activities. Though such advantages and ambitions could be achieved peacefully through kinship bonds and friendship pacts, warfare was seen as an alternative strategy and could be, in the author's view, seen as a form of capital investment. In support of this, Earle concludes from ethnographic evidence that the Hawaiian population, on the eve of contact with the West, had not reached an optimum number sufficient to produce warfare, as perceived by Wittfogel, over subsistence land. Halelea cultivation patterns do not indicate intensive and extensive use of land which would readily indicate population pressures. Warfare is seen by Earle as a derivative feature of political competition over local subsistence communities which were necessary for the production of excess wealth necessary to maintain an expanding political following.

Earle's monograph will do much to stimulate rethinking on the nature of chiefly power in Polynesia. Aside from providing data which, in the author's opinion, destroys the vitality of "hydraulic" theories, Earle sets

forth new propositions in social theory which may be the catalyst for new criticism and renewed debate.

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O. H. K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979. Pp. xxiv, 372, maps, illustrations, notes, index. $A 35.00.

This book has been praised lavishly for its high-quality scholarship, elegant writing, beautiful production; just a quick glance is sufficient to confirm such judgements. But few reviewers so far have paid much attention to its place in Pacific historiography. Spate is very conscious of where he stands in relation to past and present writers, and of his definition and treatment of the "Pacific." He has spelt out these concerns in two previous articles ("Prolegomena to a History of the Pacific" and "The Pacific as an Artefact") both of which are important reading for those who would dip their toes into the ocean's history.

What is Spate's Pacific? It is, in his terminology, Oceanic rather than Insular. Mention of the Pacific conjures up in most minds images of sun-drenched islands and lagoons. But the islands in this volume covering the years 1513-1600 (the first in a multi-volumed project *The Pacific since Magellan*) are not the focus of attention. This is not a history of the Pacific islands but a history of an ocean, of the men who crossed it, who charted some of its features, who linked its continental hinterlands in commercial systems. The author's theme is taken from Febvre's introduction to Chaunus' *Séville et l'Atlantique:* "these studies of maritime relations, these reconstructions of the histories of the Oceans considered as real entities, historical personalities, primary factors in the collective efforts of men . . ." Spate's book thus focuses mainly on the Iberians whose explorations and exploitations gave the Pacific its Oceanic identity and who began the process of bringing this one-third of the world into a global context. The story is entertainingly told with heroes and ratbags aplenty, mighty deeds and miserable intrigues, from Balboa's first sighting to the creation of a trans-Pacific Spanish empire.

There are a number of possible objections to this type of history though most of them, I believe, are unconvincing in this particular case. Spate certainly needs no one to defend him; but since he has raised some likely criticisms himself and since they have a wider relevance for Pacific

history generally, they deserve brief mention. First, it could be claimed that his story is Eurocentric and therefore not very respectable, sinful even, in current history writing fashions. After all, Europeans were not the first people to see the ocean, to sail its vastness, nor were they the first to build empires in southeast Asia and the Americas. True enough, but the politico-economic complexes that still lie at the heart of the Insular and Oceanic Pacific were, as the author asserts, "basically a Euro-American creation." It was these foreigners who welded its various parts into larger entities, for good or evil. To study their exploits is a perfectly valid exercise and one which, if handled carefully, as is the case here, by no means puts down those peoples who were there long before them. This raises the question as to whether Spate is simply an old-fashioned imperial historian. Pacific history supposedly has been "decolonized" for decades. We now write about the indigenous people, rightly crediting them with a history of their own and one which predates sometimes by thousands of years the coming of Europeans. And when these foreigners do arrive, Pacific history is usually seen in terms of culture contact and how local societies were affected by it. Focus on the indigenous peoples is very different from the older school of imperial history which saw events in the Pacific region as episodes in Great Power empire building as viewed from London, Paris, Berlin, Washington. Explorers, naval captains, missionaries, colonial administrators were the strutting, leading characters on the Pacific stage. Indigenous communities simply provided a backdrop. Yet there is increasing realization that in decolonizing history the baby was thrown out with the bathwater. Perspectives from metropolitan capitals and from ocean beaches are not really mutually exclusive. It now seems in retrospect that replacing the imperial overview with micro-studies of particular localities has perhaps not so much revolutionized Pacific history as added another dimension to it. Thus there is some renewed interest in imperial/colonial policies in the Pacific, not, of course, echoing once fashionable jingoistic sentiments, but recognizing that just as Pacific history eventually had to take account of the people who lived there, so must imperial concerns that affected life in the Oceanic and Insular Pacific not be ignored as much as they have been in the recent past.

Finally, there might be the more specific charge that Spate has said nothing new at all, that his work is based almost entirely on printed sources (both primary and secondary) and that he has simply regurgitated the work of others. In one sense this is true, as the author readily admits. But his contribution has been to offer a synthesis. He has taken topics, episodes, tidbits of information that hitherto have been examined in relative isolation from each other, and moulded them into a bold, imagina-

tive, and highly coherent framework. His ability to see links between ostensibly disparate events is masterly. This approach is an old one, yet at the same time quite novel to most Pacific historians who in the main have been obsessed with their micro-studies. Spate's real achievement has been to demonstrate that relating parts to some perceived whole is as important as discovering the individual parts themselves. The generalist--which he proudly is--has been out of fashion for too long. Hopefully his work might inspire others to break away from their narrow concerns and write about a slightly wider world.

Perhaps the best assessment of this book comes from the author himself: "My work will perhaps appear a requiem for an era of historiography, which yet must serve as a basis for that which is to come." *The Spanish Lake* is innovatively orthodox, or should that be orthodoxically innovative?

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Timothy Bayliss-Smith and Richard Feachem, eds. *Subsistence and Survival: Rural Ecology in the Pacific*. London: Academic Press, 1977. Pp. 428, references, index.

For all practical purposes, research in the field of human ecology has just begun, and Bayliss-Smith and Feachem's book well illustrates the problems of unravelling the complexities of human/land relationships. Using Papua New Guinea as the field site, investigators from the disciplines of cultural geography, social anthropology, human biology, environmental medicine and nutrition, and tropical plant ecology worked with indigenous peoples that inhabit the glaciated uplands of Papua New Guinea, the montane forests and grasslands of the Highlands, the jungles along the coast, and even the smaller atolls and islands of southwest Pacific. The book's aim is to pull together several decades of research on human ecology in the Pacific, to illustrate the value of human ecological data for governments of newly independent countries of the region, and to raise the broader issues of human subsistence and survival for future researchers.

The book is divided into five parts and fourteen chapters. Part One on "Human Ecology: Theory and Practice" looks at the general field of human ecology (Richard G. A. Feachem) and its application to problems of

change in island populations (Timothy P. Bayliss-Smith). Part Two on "Environments and the Human Organism" opens with Richard W. Hornabrook's review of the International Biological Programme in New Guinea and its biomedical implications; Peter F. Sinnett discusses nutritional adaptation among the Enga peoples; Margaret McArthur raises questions regarding Roy Rappaport's classic study of the Tsembaga; and Richard G. A. Feachem elaborates on environmental health engineering as it applies to human ecology in New Guinea. Part Three, "Environmental Change and Human Activity," looks at human impact upon New Guinea mountain ecosystems (Jeremy M. B. Smith) and tropical agro-ecosystems (Harley I. Manner). In Part Four, "Environmental Exploitation and Human Subsistence," Mark D. Dornstrech looks at tropical subsistence patterns; George E. B. Morren discusses energy flow changes when a society evolves from hunters to herders; and Timothy P. Bayliss-Smith looks at energy use and economic development. Finally, Part Five on "Environment and Man: Policy, Perception and Prospect" concludes with three articles that look at the wider issues of human ecology: (1) the relevance of self-subsistence communities to world systems of resource management (William G. Clarke); (2) ecological perspectives (Roy Wagner); and (3) identification of environmental problems (Andrew P. Vayda and Bonnie J. McCay).

On the whole, the book is an excellent addition to the body of data on human ecology in the Pacific; no Pacific researcher should be without it. Its authors are some of the most well-known and respected investigators in the field of human ecology and Pacific studies, and their insights must not be overlooked. Minor aspects that make the book attractive: (1) a chapter outline that precedes each chapter; (2) carefully executed maps and diagrams; (3) interesting and useful photographs; and (4) an excellent reference section that follows each chapter--a very handy tool for future research pursuits.

No book, however, is perfect, and the following criticisms are meant to merely inform its readers rather than necessarily downgrade the book. Although there is an obvious effort on the part of the editors to bring unity to the book (the subject matter of human ecology; the theme of rural ecology; the geographical laboratory of New Guinea and adjacent islands), many of the articles seem unrelated and could benefit from introductory comments by the editors. One also wonders why certain articles were chosen when their findings were so minuscule and their research effort purely exercises in academic futility (the editors, themselves, raise the question about their own book--"Who will read it apart from fellow academics and students? Will it be of any real value to the people

of the rural tropics or will it merely serve to preserve and promote the discipline and thereby reduce the chances that the authors of the various chapters will be unemployed?“). The reader walks away with the sense that the editors pushed forward with the book’s publication, despite their apparent awareness of this weakness. And, with any multi-authored work, some authors have an ability to write unintelligibly but sound as if they have something to say (Roy Wagner’s “Scientific and Indigenous Papuan Conceptualization of the Innate: A Semiotic Critique of the Ecological Perspective”) while others write clearly but have very little to say, especially for a concluding chapter to a book (Andrew P. Vayda and Bonnie J. McCay’s “Problems in the Identification of Environmental Problems).

The real gem, of which I would have liked to have seen as the philosophical foundation and scope of the book, was William C. Clarke’s “The Structure of Permanence: The Relevance of Self-subsistence Communities for World Ecosystem Management,” for it is here that the important questions lay: What makes a society ecologically stable and thus permanent? What economic systems lend themselves to permanence? What ecological lessons can be learned from the “primitive”? How can these lessons be integrated into larger regions and worldwide socio-economic processes? How can research in human ecology help? I could not agree more with Clarke that geographers and anthropologists, who more than other scientists have studied human ecology at the micro-scale level, must try more to apply their findings to the world’s ecological crises.

For example, Clarke identifies seven major principles of permanence: (1) a “palaeotechnic” agricultural base (one that is not dependent on energy subsidy or extra-system nutrient sources); (2) an agricultural behavior that is not self-poisoning (no toxic flow, and waste products are promptly assimilated; (3) a positive net energy yield (more energy is gotten out of an agricultural system than put in); (4) an agricultural system that utilizes the products of “bound time” (small scale, self-maintaining artificial ecosystems more closely attuned to natural ecosystems); (5) an even spread of energy throughout the community (equal distribution and control of resources and a production method that is predominantly labor intensive); (6) a belief system wherein resources are perceived as something to be cherished, conserved, and/or preserved (preservation of resources for future generations); (7) a subsistence based on polyculture (biotic diversification--variety of plants, animals, and open space).

The first step from the micro-scale level of the Maring tribesmen in New Guinea to the macro-scale of complex industrial societies is one of the mind--not a technological fix, Clarke contends, and I couldn't agree

more. He says it so simply: "A new world must begin with a new mind; if the image is strong enough, our successors will be able to work out the details as they go." According to Clarke, the necessities of a "para-primitive society" (the best of both possible worlds--the advantages of primitive group structure with those of modern western technology) are as follows: (1) a lower material standard of living than that of industrial nations (emphasis on life *quality*--clean air, water; not life *quantity*--environmental degrading and often unnecessary material possessions); (2) a slower rate of technological change (selective control of innovations to avoid possible negative environmental impacts); (3) decentralization (movement toward smaller and more manageable communities that are at a human scale); (4) educational change (a new emphasis on teaching how humans can live in harmony within ecosystems rather than how humans can best exploit the environment; note: "Economics," not "Environmental Studies," is the subject most often chosen by university curriculum committees as required courses for a liberal arts education; (5) limitation on population growth; (6) palaeotechnic agriculture (polyculture = diversification = complexity = stability = longevity = survival of the species = permanence); and (7) biome preservation (maintenance and deliberate creation of varied environments--balanced biomes and biotas).

The primary fault with *Subsistence and Survival: Rural Ecology in the Pacific* is that it is just one more book at the "micro-scale level"--*the* major criticism that human ecologists bemoan about their own field. If Smith and Feachem began their book with Clarke's chapter and used other follow-up articles to apply his "principles of permanence" to illustrate how human ecological research can build ecological stability in human-dominated ecosystems, these two editors would have made a vastly more important contribution to human ecological literature.

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Paul F. Hooper, *Elusive Destiny: The Internationalist Movement in Modern Hawaii,* Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1980. Pp. 240. $15.00.

This wide-ranging and diverse work is an interpretive description of internationalism in nineteenth and twentieth century Hawai'i, termed by the author as a role for Hawai'i in the international affairs of the Pacific basin.

Mid-nineteenth century Hawai'i was drawn into the vortex of international rivalry among major foreign powers in the Pacific. Gradually, however, as Hawai'i's precarious independence as a kingdom was acknowledged, island political leaders began to initiate overtures into the political life of the Pacific. Foreign minister Robert Wyllie is credited by Hooper as perceiving Hawai'i as a superior form of society with an obligation to provide "moral leadership" in the affairs of the Pacific. This notion formed the "basic rationale" for subsequent internationalist activism. The "Primacy of the Pacific" doctrine, perhaps too rashly conceived, appears to have been an immature response to rapidly developing situations in the insular Pacific. The awry *Kaimiloa* expedition to Samoa, sanctioned by the Kalākaua cabinet, was an outgrowth of such a doctrine and perhaps Hawai'i's first adventure in interventionalist politics. The incredulity and amusement by which the *Kaimiloa* expedition was greeted by the German administration was hardly an auspicious beginning for Hawai'i foreign policy. No matter how amusing and ultimately dismaying this era in Hawai'i foreign policy may have been, concludes Hooper, it was still a time of "extraordinary significance" so far as the subsequent Hawai'i undertakings in the internationalist realm are concerned.

The annexation of Hawai'i to the United States terminated direct island involvement in international affairs in the Pacific. The movement, however, pursued new ways of expression and activity. The founding of *Mid-Pacific Magazine,* the Hands-Around-the-Pacific club and even the Outrigger Canoe Club illustrated the vitality of international awareness in Hawai'i. The Pan-Pacific Union became the primary organization that would transform internationalism from a frequently ineffectual, often commercially-oriented, and little known effort into an authentic international movement fundamentally concerned with political and cultural relations. The organization was riveted to the task of brokering a leadership role for Hawai'i in Pacific affairs. The formation of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1925 made important contributions to Asian, Pacific, and East-West scholarship. It is clear that such organizations were convinced, as Wyllie was, that the multi-cultural community of Hawai'i was a particular paradigm for the international community to emulate.

This notion still continues today. Though many such organizations and publications have disappeared or have dissolved, the internationalist movement has continued to pursue its objectives with basically the same strategies and beliefs. It may be said that the major contribution and achievement of the Hawai'i internationalist movement was to promote an idea of Pacific community that ran counter to the isolationist and "yellow peril" positions that permeated metropolitan policies in the Pacific

during the first half of the twentieth century. Whether this movement has outlived its usefulness today merely forms the next threshold question in the forthcoming years.

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