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EXCAVATIONS ON HUAHINE, FRENCH POLYNESIA

by Yosihiko H. Sinoto

Since 1973, the author has been excavating a large habitation site with cultural deposits submerged in the groundwater on Huahine, Society Islands, French Polynesia. The site is located on the grounds of the Hotel Bali Hai Huahine at Vaitoʻotia and Faʻahia, near the capital of Fare on Huahine Nui. The site was accidentally found while ponds were being dredged on the hotel grounds. The initial test excavation revealed that the site is the oldest known in the Society Islands, and the significant recovery of perishable vegetal materials and numerous wooden artifacts has not been matched by any site so far excavated in central Polynesia. In March 1977, Mr. Richard Soupene, architect for the Hotel Bali Hai Huahine, notified us that wooden hand clubs and beaters had been recovered from dredging at Faʻahia on the hotel grounds. In response to our urgent request, the National Geographic Society granted funds for archaeological salvage excavations. Fieldwork was carried out between 23 July and 2 September 1977. This article is a brief report on the Faʻahia site salvage excavations, previously submitted to the National Geographic Society.

Introduction

Faʻahia is located immediately north of the Vaitoʻotia site, where three sessions of extensive excavations were carried out between 1973 and 1975 (Sinoto 1974, Ms. a, and Ms. b; Sinoto & McCoy 1975 and Ms.). In 1977, backhoe excavation began in the Faʻahia area to obtain sand for a tennis court, and wooden, stone, and whalebone artifacts were uncovered. Mr. Soupene halted the dredging and moved it to another area; almost everywhere the backhoe excavated, however, artifacts were encountered. He kept all the artifacts and avoided further digging until our arrival.

After examining the bank of the dredged pond, it was evident to the author that the cultural deposits were spread out over almost the entire area of backhoe excavations. We salvaged a small remnant portion of a stone workshop area and partially uncovered a habitation area, the rest of which may still be intact under the undisturbed area.

The recovered artifacts obviously belong to the same cultural context as those from the Vaito'otia site. The Fa'ahia site is also waterlogged, and contains much vegetal material and many wooden objects. The material culture assemblage and site features of Fa'ahia and those of Vaito'otia may represent different segments of one large settlement complex.

Some of the significant discoveries were: (1) parts of a canoe and its accessories--a boom for an outrigger, planks from the platform of a large double canoe, a large steering paddle, a spreader, paddles, and a bailer; (2) two types of wooden handles for adzes; (3) a grooved, wooden tapa beater that was associated with a possible stone anvil; (4) whalebone and wooden hand clubs *(patu);* and (5) long wooden clubs. These large wooden artifacts were found below surface in an area that is lower than the surrounding ground; our test pits were placed in this depression between the hotel bungalows and the dredged area, extending to the beach. All the pits in this low area yielded wooden objects, such as posts and worked logs, and midden materials. After careful examination of the present beach next to one test pit (Square HH97, Section 5; Fig. l), we found a layer containing humus, charcoal, and midden that had been exposed by wave action. Near this pit, a complete basalt reversed-triangular adz (a so-called Tahitian triangular adz) was found. This is a very encouraging discovery because it indicates that further excavation of this area may yield cultural materials and features from the late-Tahitian prehistoric culture. Somewhere inland the settlement period and the late-period cultural deposits may overlap. If so, this discovery would fill the present gap in the prehistoric Tahitian cultural chronology. We did not have time, however, to excavate this area in the 1977 field session. An additional drawback was the seepage of groundwater into the pits, and it was difficult to pump it out with the available equipment. Since our limited time and funds did not allow for transporting the large, waterlogged, wooden objects, they were reburied and left intact at the site.

Realizing the extreme importance of the site for Tahitian prehistory, as well as for the rest of Polynesia, and because destruction of the site is imminent with expansion of the hotel complex, the author appealed to the Territorial Government of French Polynesia to protect the site and to provide financial assistance for further research. Government officials responded immediately and with great concern. The site was visited on 28 August 1977 by the then High Commissioner, the Honorable Charles

Schmitt; the Vice-President of the government council, Mr. Francis Sanford; the Director of the Territorial Assembly; the President of the Tahiti Tourism Board; and Mr. Jacques Drollet, Service de l'Enseignement, who has given his support and assistance to our work in the past. We were assured that the site would be protected and that they would work to secure funds for continuation of the research. Furthermore, they will try to provide laboratory facilities in the Territory for analysis of the recovered materials and for preservation of the wooden artifacts. The author submitted a proposal and budget to the High Commissioner in October 1977, and anticipates a reply in the near future.

Site Location

Fa'ahia is the traditional place name of a land section on the island of Huahine Nui, 600 meters northwest of Fare, capital of Huahine (Fig. 1). The site, formally designated ScH-1-2,* is situated on a flat coastal plain on the property of the Hotel Bali Hai Huahine. Fa'ahia borders Vaito'otia on the north. The precise boundary line between Vaito'otia and Fa'ahia is not known, but according to local information it runs in an east-west direction from the beach, along the bungalows on the northern side of the present hotel complex, to the road that leads toward Maeva village (Fig. 1). Test pits 12 through 14 in Area B of the Vaito'otia site, excavated in 1975 (Sinoto Ms. a), actually belong to Fa'ahia.

The Fa'ahia area is geomorphologically the same as Vaito'otia. This part of the island, built up by natural deposition of coral and other debris, completely blocked the lagoon that forms Fauna Nui lake toward the northeast. The area between the site and the lake is low and swampy, and there are numerous brackish-water pools.

The environmental setting of the site can be reconstructed from present conditions and from the results of the excavation. At the time of initial occupation of the site area, the ground level was lower than today, and it is possible that the action of tidal waves in the subsequent period covered the now waterlogged cultural deposits. The deposition patterns of debris such as wooden materials, coconut husks, and pandanus keys indicate that even in the occupational period the ground was damp, and perhaps was flooded after heavy rains.

The locality is well situated for marine exploitation in the lagoon or the deep sea, accessible through nearby Avamoa Pass. Taro could have been cultivated easily in the adjacent swampland without terracing. In recent years, in fact, returning islanders began taro farming in the swamp-

*S = Society Islands, H = Huahine Island, 1 = Quad, 2 = individual site number.

land. The thick soil deposit visible near the foot of the hill, about 500 meters inland, could have been utilized at one time to cultivate crops such as yams. There are two wells with stone alignments in this area. One of the wells was deepened recently, and the water it supplies is more than enough to accommodate the hotel's needs.

The Fa'ahia cultural deposits extend inland from the beach for about 300 meters, over a width of 200 meters. No physical features are visible on the surface of the site area.

Summary of Fieldwork

The main objective of the 1977 fieldwork was salvage of cultural resources before destruction. The dredging operation was postponed for about three months until our arrival. The operation resumed with our monitoring, and whenever cultural materials were brought up, the backhoe moved to other areas. As was noted earlier, the backhoe hit cultural deposits almost everywhere. It was fortunate that by that time most of the needed sand had been obtained, and dredging went as deep as possible to avoid horizontal expansion.

Test pits and grid systems (2-by-2-meter squares) were laid out next to the areas where cultural materials had been recovered. The site area was divided into five sections for facility of recording and description; Sections 1, 2, 3, and 4 designate individual grid systems and Section 5 designates the rest of the tested areas (Fig. 1).

Section 1: The first test pit (TP1) was put down in this area because four wooden clubs and beaters were uncovered by backhoe in the immediate vicinity, now in the dredged pond. Later, TP3 was placed next to TP1 and eventually both pits were incorporated into the grid system as Squares K11 and J11. We excavated a total of 30 square meters in Section 1, but these excavations revealed that the area was at the border of the main activity area of the Fa'ahia complex.

Section 2: Approximately 18 meters northwest of Section 1, a small peninsula-like area of undisturbed ground projects into the pond, with a coconut tree standing on the point. Based on the Section 1 excavation, we assumed that the center of occupation had been farther toward the middle of the pond, and decided to excavate this narrow peninsula. We found a large, flat, basalt grinding stone with two piles of *Turbo* shells *(Turbo argyrostoma)* next to it (Fig. 2a). On the same level were several unfinished adzes and completed and half-finished pearl-shell scrapers and graters. Raw materials for manufacturing these items--basalt fragments and pearl shells--were also scattered in the squares. Total excavated area was 32 square meters.

Section 3: While we were working in Section 2, the backhoe started digging in the area now designated Section 3, and immediately brought up worked logs, fragments of thick, wide planks, a piece of wood shaped like a surfboard, and numerous other wooden pieces. The surfboard-shaped board sank in the pond, but we retrieved it and determined that it was the blade portion of a paddle. The handle, which had been broken off at the blade by the backhoe, is over 1.85 meters long. This length and the size of the blade (1.97 meters long, 33 cm wide, and 4 cm thick) indicate that it must be the steering paddle for a large canoe (see Fig. 16c). We brought a small canoe to this part of the pond and searched with our hands along the bank, where the backhoe had scraped. Within a 6-meter area along the bank, we found five logs protruding as much as 50 cm into the pond, about 20 to 30 cm below the surface of the water.

We placed the grid system and excavated about 16 square meters, leaving a baulk by the pond. This section turned out to be the richest area for wooden artifacts, yielding specimens in enormous sizes and quantities.

Using a large water pump borrowed from the hotel, and our own 3-hp pump, we managed to lower the water by about 50 cm and were then able to lift and record the logs and other objects. We hit a plank over 7 meters long and 50 cm wide, and found another, similar plank about 30 cm below it. About 50 cm below the lower plank was a deposit of a pile of wooden pieces, and we decided not to dig down any farther. In searching for the end of the upper plank we had to relocate the road (to the hotel manager's house) two times before we finally exposed the complete length. The lower plank, however, extends still farther under the road and we did not reach its end.

The reason for such a volume of wooden materials in this area was evident after examining a profile of the pits. The original ground level in Section 3 was depressed and much lower than the surrounding area. It is possible that a swamp or small pond existed at the time of occupation. Our hypothesis (Sinoto & McCoy Ms.; Kitagawa Ms.) that tidal waves washed clean beach sand over the Vaitoʻotia site applies to the Faʻahia site also. After the flooding by tidal waves or heavy rains, wooden objects drifted with the receding water, accumulated where the water remained last, and finally were deposited in the depressed area of Section 3.

Based on the east to west profiles of the pits, we learned the limit of the depression in that orientation. In order to determine the limit in other directions, we placed a 2-by-2-meter square (U43) on the other side of the road, 15 meters from the pond. The depression continues toward this area, although it becomes shallow. Here we uncovered two heavy, flat logs, one with a pointed, perforated end. We expanded two more squares and found the end of one log, but the other continues even farther.

We reburied the logs and planks in situ. All other large wooden artifacts from the entire excavation were stored in the Section 3 pits and covered with beach sand, and a barbed-wire fence was built to protect the area.

Section 4: At the northwest bank of the pond, opposite Section 2, we found a thicker cultural deposit, mixed with small charcoal pieces and with a log protruding from it. Since we had not found any signs of fireplaces in the Vaito'otia excavations, and charcoal pieces may indicate a fireplace in the vicinity, we placed a grid system and excavated 60 square meters (Fig. 2b). We found standing post-bases, fallen posts, and a wooden piece, about 5 meters long, that looks like a ridgepole. However, we did not expand excavations enough to determine a reconstruction. Since some of the logs extend into the unexcavated area, further excavation will reveal more data.

Here, again, we were not successful in finding any evidence of a fireplace. However, important findings include a grooved, wooden tapa beater that was associated with a possible stone anvil, a whalebone hand club, similar to Maori *patu*, and oblong, flat, wooden beaters or clubs. Many basalt adzes and pearl-shell scrapers and graters were found from this section. Unfortunately, a good part of the site area may have been lost as a result of the dredging.

To search for the extent of the deposit in Section 4, we put four test pits (K21, L30, V20, and D35) northwest and west of the excavated area. The limit of the cultural deposit was found approximately 50 meters from the pond toward the northwest, but it continues outside of the excavated area to the west and northeast.

Section 5: Test pits were placed between the beach and the south portion of Section 1, in a narrow strip of low ground between the bungalows and the pond. From our experience with the Section 3 excavation we thought that this low area might be another depression containing wooden debris. We laid five test pits in the area between Section 3 and the beach, and one test pit between Sections 1 and 2. We found cultural materials and wooden objects from all pits except one, although the cultural layer is not deep. Square W72, which yielded no cultural evidence, is actually on higher ground than the other pits. In W53 a postbase standing in the hard-packed coral gravel and pebbles suggested a habitation floor. In pit HH97, at the beach bank, a row of fourteen wooden stick bases was uncovered, standing across the pit like a fence. These may be a fish-holding pen, or part of the side wall of a house. No portable artifacts were found from this pit, but a reversed-triangular adz found from the beach in the immediate vicinity indicates that the feature may belong to a much later cultural period than the rest of the Fa'ahia site.

Test pits 2, 4, and 5 were excavated on the west side of the pond, where a complete whalebone hand club (see Fig. 14a, left) had been found during dredging. However, the excavations revealed little cultural material, indicating that the area is marginal.

Stratigraphy of the Site

The sediment in the site, under the humus-mixed overburden, is beach sand, composed mainly of coral and particles of other lime-secreting organisms and silt. Colors are dominantly yellowish-gray to brownish-gray. Sections 1 and 2 are similar in stratigraphic formation and materials, although the backhoe moving through the area disturbed the ground extensively and probably compacted the deposits. Three layers are recognized in these sections, with an average total depth of about 40 cm. The top layer (I) is 10 to 20 cm thick and consists of humus, grass roots, and sand. The middle layer (II) is a yellowish-gray sand deposit, 6 to 17 cm thick. The cultural layer (III) is 10 to 15 cm thick and the deposit is brownish-gray with a higher silt content than the layers above. The groundwater level is affected by tides and by rainfall, so Layer III is submerged from time to time and is always wet (Fig. 3a). In Section 4 the stratigraphy and the depth are similar to that of Sections 1 and 2, but Layer II is whitish-gray with charcoal particles. Under Layer III in Sections 1, 2, and 4 lies white, clean beach sand--the materials that was sought by the dredging (Fig. 3b).

The stratigraphy of Section 3 is different from that of the above sections. The profile on the O-line, between grids 43 and 45, indicates that the road fill is about 50 cm deep. Under the fill, the dark, humus-mixed overburden (Layer I) is thicker than in other sections, but there is no equivalent of the Layer II recognized in other sections. However, there is a very dark humus lens (IIIa) with sporadic thick deposits of grass (*Costus* sp., Zingiberaceae family; identified by Dr. Pieter van Royen, Department of Botany, Bishop Museum) on top. This plant still grows on the present ground surface. The surface level of IIIa is submerged, and is approximately 25 cm lower than the top of Layer II in Section 2. Under IIIa is the deep, convexed Layer III; we did not reach the bottom of this layer because of water seepage, but it extends at least 1.10 meters from the lowest point of the lens (Fig. 4). In this thick Layer III deposit, major wooden objects were found, and many of them were still intact (Fig. 5).

In Section 5 the stratigraphy, especially the depth, varies from pit to pit. Basically it is the same as Sections 1 and 2, although it is shallower, with coral-pebble content increasing toward the beach.

Features

Only sporadic features were found. A grinding stone in Section 2 (Fig. 2a) shows that adz-finishing activity took place here. Next to it are two piles of *Turbo* shells (29 and 84 shells). Three shells in each pile contained articulated exoskeletons of hermit crabs. It is possible that they were used for food, or were living in the refuse piles, or were collected accidentally with live *Turbo* shells and were discarded after cooking.

In Section 4, standing post bases (Fig. 6a), and numerous fallen posts indicate that some structures were there (Fig. 6b), but our excavated area was too small to yield enough evidence for reconstructions. The scattered wooden beaters, whalebone hand club, and pearl-shell scrapers and graters give the impression that the area was disturbed and buried, probably by tidal waves or floods (Fig. 7). However, the main force of the tidal wave went along the south portion of Sections 1, 2, and 3 and hit the Vaitoʻotia site, where the scattering of stones and the whale rib evidence the direction of the water. In Section 4, the wave impact was not great, yet it probably drove the inhabitants out of the area. The fallen posts and logs are concentrated toward the lagoon, indicating that the receding water carried them at least for a short distance. The stone anvil may have stayed in its original location, and the standing post bases near it may indicate that tapa beating was done near the structure (house?), probably in the yard.

Artifacts

Although the artifact collection from the Faʻahia excavations and dredging is not as large as that from Vaitoʻotia, the artifact types and frequencies evidence some differences. The most characteristic of the Faʻahia artifacts are the large wooden objects, most related to canoes. Some smaller wooden artifacts, such as tapa beaters, were discovered for the first time in the context of a settlement-period culture. It is an interesting pheonmenon that the entire collection from Faʻahia includes only one small one-piece fishhook blank and fragments of two trolling hook shanks, while fishhook manufacture appears to have been the major work of the people at the Vaitoʻotia site. Detailed analysis of artifact types from both Vaitoʻotia and Faʻahia will indicate the differential specialities of the inhabitants and the contemporaneity of occupation periods.

Table 1 shows types of artifacts and their distribution in the Faʻahia site. A total of 367 artifacts was recovered. Most of the large wooden objects (61 pieces) were reburied in Section 3, and 109 of the smaller artifacts were turned over to the Musée de Tahiti et des Iles. Four artifacts

are on display at the Hotel Bali Hai Huahine. The rest of the artifacts, including small wooden objects, were temporarily exported to the Bishop Museum for study and conservation.

Stone, Shell, and Bone Artifacts

Basalt Adzes: Twelve classifiable adzes, one blank, and thirteen chips were uncovered from the excavation, and thirty-eight classifiable adzes and six blanks were recovered from the dredging (Table 1). The adzes are all classifiable within the forms described from Vaitoʻotia (Sinoto & McCoy 1975:156; Figs. 8, 9, & 10). Table 2 shows classifications and frequencies. Form 3A adzes are the most frequent, followed by Form 4. Both forms are also common in Vaitoʻotia; detailed comparative analysis will be discussed in a later paper.

Since only one layer with cultural material was recognized in the Faʻahia excavations the adzes recovered from dredging must have come from this layer. If the adzes from excavations and dredging are considered as a single collection, the ratio between completed and unfinished adzes is 25 to 32, respectively. Although the collection from the dredging tends to have more complete adzes than that from the excavation, at least fifty-seven percent of all adzes are unfinished; this indicates that the blanks were made elsewhere, and the finishing was done at Faʻahia. The large grinding stone found from Section 2 may substantiate this hypothesis.

One adz, which was embedded in the exposed deposit at the beach near test pit HH97, is of considerable importance. The adz is a typical late-Tahitian reversed-triangular type, and is the only specimen of this type found from Vaitoʻotia or Faʻahia. The relationship of the adz and the cultural deposit to the fence-like feature in HH97 is unclear. However, there is a good possibility that this relationship can be determined, in addition to clarifying the place of these features in the context of the Faʻahia site.

Chisels: Eleven *Terebra*-shell chisels were found from excavations and fifteen from dredging. Except for one *Terebra (oxymeris) crenulata* from the excavation, all are *Terebra (oxymeris) maculata.* The apex of the shell is beveled and the outer lip is chipped off for ease in holding. *Terebra* chisels are one of the common artifact types from both Vaitoʻotia and Faʻahia (Fig. 11a).

Peckers: *Terebra* shells *(Terebra [oxymeris] maculata)* were also used for the three pecking tools from the excavations. The apex of the shell has a blunt end for striking.

Scrapers: Two types of scrapers were recovered. Type A is spatula-like, long, and rectangular, with a sharpened edge on one end. Pearl shell

and turtle bone were used to make this type. Five complete, twelve broken, and eight blanks made of pearl shell (Fig. 11b), and three nearly complete, four broken sections, and one blank made of turtle cortal plates were excavated (Fig. 11c).

For Type B, small, whole pearl shells were used and two-thirds of the dorsal margin was sharpened for scraping. Three complete Type B scrapers were found (Fig. 11j). These scrapers are the most common type from Vaito'otia, but Type A is more common at Fa'ahia.

Graters: Three pearl-shell graters were excavated, similar to Type A scrapers in general form, but with serrated edges (Fig. 11d).

Fishing Gear: It is surprising that only four artifacts related to fishing were found at the Fa'ahia site. A pearl-shell one-piece hook, with a missing point and a 53-mm-long shank (Fig. 11e), and the head portion of an unfinished trolling hook shank (Fig. 11f) were found fom dredging. A trolling hook shank, missing the head portion (Fig. 11g), and a blank tab for a small one-piece hook were found from the excavations. The trolling shanks are of a typical early East Polynesian massive type.

Abraders: Two basalt abraders, used either for polishing or as whetstones, were found.

Grinding Stone: A large, flat grindstone, 80 by 63 cm in triangular form, was found in Square J22, Section 2 (Fig. 12a), in the peninsula-like point in the pond. It would be interesting to know the position of the grinding stone in relation to features such as a dwelling site, but unfortunately any features were probably destroyed by dredging.

Hammerstones: Three waterworn, round, basalt stones have striking marks on their sides. They fit the hand well, and most likely were used as hammers.

Basalt Scrapers: These scrapers, twenty specimens from excavation and one from dredging, are large flakes of mugearite with sharp edges worn by cutting or scraping (Fig. 11h).

Basalt Knives: These are also large mugearite flakes, but with bifacial chipping for cutting or sawing. Two were collected from excavation (Fig. 11k).

Pendant: One porpoise tooth was found from Square L23. It has a horizontal perforation near the base for suspension (Fig. 11i).

Stone Anvil: One stone anvil, 60 cm by 40 cm in semicircular form, was found in Square E21, Section 4. The surface is slightly concaved, with splitting evidenced. A wooden tapa beater found nearby indicates that the stone could have been used as a tapa anvil (Fig. 13a).

Hand Clubs *(Patu)*: One complete whalebone *patu* was found from Square F21, Section 4, and two additional whalebone *patu*, one complete and one broken, were uncovered by the dredging. The forms of the two

complete *patu* are different; the one from excavation (Fig. 14, right) is slender and the one from dredging (Fig. 14, left) is wider. The wider specimen has worn, concaved sides, indicating that the object was used for striking, as well as for thrusting. These indentations were noticed on the first specimen found in Vaito'otia (Sinoto & McCoy 1975:162). Hand clubs from Vaito'otia and Fa'ahia now total ten specimens, including fragments. These must be reexamined to determine their function as tools. It is doubtful that the wear evidenced by the indentations could have resulted from use as weapons during the settlement period in the Society Islands.

Wooden Artifacts

Tapa Beaters: Two tapa beaters were found--one from excavation (Square D22, Section 4) and one from dredging. The excavated beater has vertical grooves and is 43 cm long and 6 cm in diameter at the beating section, with a reduced diameter in the handle (Fig. 13b). The other beater is plain and smaller, 31 cm long and 4 cm in diameter, and the handle tapers to 1.75 cm in diameter.

Beaters: Five flat beaters, rectangular in cross section and with long, thin handles, were found--one from excavation and four from dredging. The handles may have been thicker originally, judging by the extent of the deterioration. One beater from Square F21, Section 4, is 47 cm long, 8.5 cm wide, and 4 cm thick, and the handle tapers to 1.5 cm in diameter (Fig. 13c).

Adz Handles: There are four unfinished adz handles in the Vaito'otia collection, and two unfinished handles were uncovered from dredging at Fa'ahia. Unfortunately, only the head portions were found, but these give us important information about the methods and forms of blade lashing.

The smaller head, roughly cut in rectangular form, measures 10.5 by 5 cm and has a flat surface for blade lashing. It is 3.5 cm thick at the base of the handle. The size and form of the lashing surface indicate that this was a handle for small to medium-sized adzes, of Form 2a or 3a. The handle is broken off, but probably measured about 1.5 cm in diameter and 50 cm long (Fig. 14b).

The other, larger handle head has a well-polished finish and a round, concaved groove for lashing a Form 5 adz with a lenticular cross section or a convexed back. This may be the first archaeological example of a handle for early Polynesian adzes. The head is 14.5 cm long and 6.75 cm wide at the base, narrowing slightly toward the top. The inside measurements of the concaved portion are 10.5 cm long, 4.5 cm wide at the base, and 1.5 cm deep. The handle portion, which was broken off, is 4 cm in

diameter and 15 cm long; the whole handle was probably 70 to 80 cm long (Fig. 14c).

Canoe Parts and Accessories

Canoe Brace (Spreader): This object has a V-shaped form with a flat base. The object is roughly rounded, about 8 cm in diameter, thickening to 11.5 cm at the base. One arm is 46 cm long and is stepped at one end, with a vertical groove. The other arm is 43 cm long and the end is missing. The inside measurement between the arms is 72 cm, and the outside of the base measures 9 cm long (Fig. 15a). Our best guess is that this object is a canoe spreader, but it may have had another function. The historically known canoe bases are more U-shaped, and to what extent braces were used in old Tahitian canoes is not known.

Canoe Bailer: One large unfinished bailer was found in Square 044, Section 3, lying on the plank. It is 49 cm long, 18 cm wide at the handle end, and 15 cm wide at the scoop end. In plan view, the handle end is rounded and the scoop edge is squared; in profile, the base tapers up to the scoop edge. The handle and its base were carved, but the area inside the scoop has not been hollowed out (Fig. 15b). The size of the bailer indicates that it would have been used for a large canoe.

Steering Paddle: This item was dredged up in Section 3 and the handle was broken off and into two pieces by the backhoe. The paddle is not quite finished--the blade surface has adz hewing marks on one side, and the other side has abrading marks. The blade is long and rectangular in form with a pointed tip, and in cross section shows slight curvature. It is 197 cm long, 30.5 to 33.5 cm wide, and 4 cm thick. The handle is round and nearly finished. The diameter of the handle at the blade is 11 cm, and it tapers toward the broken end to 7.5 cm. The handle measures 1.85 meters long, and may have been a meter longer (Fig. 16c).

The shape of the paddle is different from those in the ethnological collections from East Polynesia. It is interesting to point out, however, that the shape is amazingly identical to the large Marshallese steering paddles in the Bishop Museum collection.

Paddles: Two paddle-shaped wooden objects were found from test pit N45, Section 3. One has a round handle, 75 cm long, and the blade is a narrow, rectangular shape, 32 cm long, 9 cm wide, and 2.25 cm thick, with a pointed end (Fig. 5). The overall length of the complete object would be a little over 1 meter. The other object is a fragment of a blade, of the same shape and size. Since these seem to be too small to be functional canoe paddles, they must be dancing paddles.

Foreboom: A part of a canoe foreboom was found from dredging near Section 3. The piece is 1.71 meters long, and the end where it would be lashed to a canoe hull is missing. The broken end is 13 cm in diameter, tapering to 11 cm. The piece bends slightly and tapers again in oval cross section (Fig. 16a). Its form is similar to that of a boom for a Tahitian sailing canoe, and its size suggests that the canoe was quite large.

Platform Planks from a Double Canoe: Two huge planks were encountered in the Section 3 excavation. Both are L-shaped in cross section and were uncovered with the shorter side down and still buried, which at first led us to believe that they were canoe hull planks (see Fig. 17). The entire upper plank was finally exposed, but the other plank, about 30 cm below, still lies in the unexcavated area.

The intact section of the upper plank is 6.66 meters long, and the fragments remaining from the broken end indicate that it was at least another 50 cm longer (Fig. 16b). The base portion of the plank is 43 to 51 cm wide, forming a right angle with the standing portion, 24 cm wide. Average thickness is 3 cm. The outer edge of the base side is rounded. The outer edge of the standing side is reduced in thickness, like a step but smoothly rounded. The intact end of the plank is square-cut, and is shaped so that there is a projection on the base portion (see Figs. 16b and 17). There are three holes along this end, and twenty-one holes along the outer edge of the base portion. Six holes are in the center of the standing portion, closer to the broken end. The holes are 2.5 to 3 cm in diameter. The lower plank is identical in measurements, except that the length is not confirmed. Both planks are well finished, with smooth, polished surfaces. We could not raise the planks because of lack of time, facilities, and funds, so we reburied them *in situ.*

Preliminary research, using canoe models and early accounts, indicates that these planks were probably used on the front and back ends of the double canoe platform. The model in the Bishop Museum collection of the double sailing canoe from Fagatau, Tuamotu, has such L-shaped planks on the platform. If the Fa‘ahia planks were used in this position, the extrapolated length of the canoe would be 24 meters (80 ft).

Miscellaneous Wooden Objects: A number of posts, some with bases still standing *in situ,* and ridgepoles were found in Section 4. The distribution pattern of these standing and fallen posts may allow us to formulate reconstructions after expansion of excavations and gathering of additional evidence.

The most numerous fragments of worked wooden pieces were uncovered in Section 3. We have not been able to determine functions for some of these wooden objects (Fig. 18). Further excavation of Section 3 may reveal a greater range of wooden artifacts, although they may not lie in

their original contexts. One of the fragile specimens from Section 3 consists of two broken wooden pieces bound together with a sennit cord.

Midden Collection

All midden materials were collected by water-screening of sand and dirt. The main components of the midden are vegetal materials--pandanus keys and coconut shells--and bones of fish, turtle, and whale. Midden material is shown by weight on Table 3.

The shell remains show the usual trends evidenced in Central Polynesian sites. Tentative analysis shows that there are a number of different species, but the quantity of each is very small and they represent only a fraction of the inhabitants' diet. Yield per square in both Sections 2 and 4 is similar and seems to indicate that both areas had similar habitation activities. Evidence of dog was found at Vaitoʻotia, but not at Faʻahia. Bird bones are remarkably scarce, compared with those of the early sites in the Marquesas and Hawaiʻi. Land snails, which were found from Vaitoʻotia, are not present in Faʻahia (Sinoto Ms. a:6-7).

Summary and Conclusions

We were very fortunate to have an opportunity to salvage and excavate the Faʻahia site on such short notice. Mr. Richard Soupene, architect for the Hotel Bali Hai Huahine, took prompt action to protect the site area and informed me of the findings during dredging, and the National Geographic Society provided immediate and generous funding.

The Faʻahia site is an extension of the Vaiotʻotia site, but the two sites could have been separate clusters. We will have to wait for radiocarbon dates, but the Faʻahia complex might have been either contemporaneous with or slightly later than the Vaito'otia occupation. The materials related to large canoes and double canoes, uncovered at Faʻahia, reveal that the people were making and utilizing such ocean-going vessels. If the steering paddle, the canoe bailer, or the spreader display any diagnostic traits that can be traced to areas outside of Tahiti, this would provide information about migration and settlement patterns in Polynesia. So far, however, no comparable materials have been found elsewhere.

There are some indications of division of labor by household clusters in Vaitoʻotia and Faʻahia, but additional excavations at Faʻahia will be necessary to formulate any hypotheses. It is now much clearer that the occupation of the Vaitoʻotia and Faʻahia areas was not a short one, but rather that it spanned at least several hundred years, as indicated by the

Vaito'otia radiocarbon dates, A.D. 850-1200 (Sinoto & McCoy 1975:183), and the evidence of later-period occupation near the present beach.

The very recent excavation of the Vaihi site on Ra'iatea, Society Islands, yielded another discovery that is significant in Tahitian prehistory (Semah, Ouwen, and Charleux 1978). The Vaihi site is located near the Ra'iatea airport where a new road is being constructed. The site is similar to the Huahine sites--it is next to a pond, and the cultural deposit is waterlogged and contains preserved wooden objects and vegetal materials. Pearl-shell fishhooks, turtle-bone scrapers, and *Terebra* shell peckers are closely related to those from Vaito'otia. However, the characteristic artifacts from Vaihi are tattooing combs made of dog mandibles; the Vaito'otia combs are similar to early Marquesan combs. The Vaihi combs might be a later type, which probably persisted until the time of contact, with slight modifications. One complete basalt adz was found from Vaihi; it is only about 7 cm long and 3.2 cm wide, and is untanged. The cross section is not illustrated, but judging from the description and the plan view (Semah et al. 1978:pl. 12-2) it seems to be a flat trapezoidal form. The entire body is ground. This type and size of adz is not represented in the Huahine sites, if my assumption about the cross section is correct. The Vaihi site is dated at A.D. 1210 ± 80 (Semah et al. 1978:7), and it seems to be contemporary with the later part of the Huahine occupation. Whether or not the differences between the tattooing combs and adz types represent differences in the material cultures of the two islands or slight differences in time periods is not yet evident, but the latter seems to be the case. We hope that further excavation of the Vaihi site can be carried out to obtain more materials and broaden the data base for comparison with the Huahine sites.

Officials of the Territorial Government have expressed great interest in protecting the Fa'ahia site, and are willing to provide funding. I have submitted a proposal for three sessions of fieldwork, over a period of three years, with a wood-conservation facility to be established in Tahiti. At the conclusion of this writing (June 1978), no reply has been received. We must salvage, at least, the wooden objects that were reburied in Section 3. These materials, or materials of equivalent cultural value and age, are not found in any of the world's museums. We hope to receive a favorable answer from the Government, since this area offers an invaluable opportunity for preserving a portion of the Territory's cultural heritage for future generations.

Acknowledgments

I am most grateful for the generous financial support from the National Geographic Society. This was the third grant provided by the Society for the Huahine projects. I would like to thank a few of the many people who assisted us in carrying out our work: Mr. Hugh Kelley, owner of Hotel Bali Hai Huahine, for permission to excavate; Mr. Tim Drost and Mr. Richard Shamel, Bali Hai managers, for arranging convenient hotel accommodations and equipment, and for guarding the storage pit until the next field season; Mr. Richard Soupene, architect, for notifying us about the site and monitoring the dredging until our arrival. Without his interest and concern, the great value of the site would not have been recognized. Mr. Jacques Drollet, Director, Service de l'Enseignement, has always been helpful during our fieldwork sessions. He arranged for the then Honorable High Commissioner, Mr. Charles Schmitt, Mr. Francis Sanford, Vice-President of the Government Council, and other Government officials to visit our site. Our gratitude goes also to Mrs. Anne Lavondès, Directress of the Musée de Tahiti et des Iles, and her staff for helping us to obtain a temporary export permit for some of the artifacts. My special thanks go to Miss Giselle Lai, daughter of my long-time friend, Mr. Ah Leon in Fare, Huahine, for volunteer work during most of the field season. Finally, but not least, I must give credit to my assistants, Ms. Elaine Rogers-Jourdane, Ms. Toni Han, and Mr. Tim Lui-Kwan for their hard work in the field.

TABLE 1
Artifact Distribution in Fa'ahia Site.

Artifact Type	Provenience: Section 1	Section 2	Section 3	Section 4	Section 5	Collection from Dredging	Totals
Basalt Adzes							
Classifiable adzes							
Complete				1	1	11	13
Fragments	1	2	1			8	12
Unfinished		1		3	2	19	25
Unclassifiable adzes							
Blanks				1		6	7
Fragments	1	7		5			13
Chips		8		5			13
Terebra chisels		2		8	1	15	26
Terebra peckers		1	1	1			3
Scrapers							
Pearl shell, Type A		6	1	9	1	11	28
Pearl shell blanks, Type A		2		6		2	10
Turtle bone, Type A		2		5		2	9
Turtle bone blank, Type A				1			1
Pearl shell, Type B		2		1			3
Graters, pearl shell		1		2		5	8
Fishing Gear							
Fishhook, pearl shell						1	1
Tab, pearl shell	1						1
Trolling hook shanks	1					1	2

TABLE 1 (Continued)
Artifact Distribution in Fa'ahia Site.

Artifact Type	Provenience: Section 1	Section 2	Section 3	Section 4	Section 5	Collection from Dredging	Totals
Abraders, basalt		1		1			2
Grinding stone		1					1
Hammerstone	1			1		1	3
Flake scrapers	1	12		7		1	21
Flake knives	1	1					2
Pendant		1					1
Stone anvil				1			1
Hand club *(patu)*, whalebone				1		2	3
Wooden artifacts							
Tapa beaters				1		1	2
Beaters				1		4	5
Adz handles			2				2
Canoe brace			1				1
Canoe bailer			1				1
Steering paddle			1				1
Dancing paddles			2				2
Foreboom			1				1
Platform planks from double canoe			2				2
Misc. wooden objects			38	8	16	27	89
Cut shell						12	12
Cut bone				1			1
Worked pearl shell	1	7	1	6		24	39
	8	57	52	76	21	153	367

TABLE 2.
Adz Classification and Frequency

Form	Number of Classifiable Adzes	Percent of Classifiable Adzes
2 A	1	2%
B	6	12
3 A	18	36
B	6	12
4	13	26
5	6	12
Total	50	100%
Unclassifiable fragments	13	
Blanks	7	
Total	70	
Adz chips	13	

TABLE 3.
Midden Collection from Sections 1, 2, and 4 of Fa'ahia Site.

Material	Total Weight (grams) Section 1	Section 2	Section 4	Average Weight per Square (2 m^2) Section 1	Section 2	Section 4
Shell						
Univalve, c. 12 species	7.2	316.4	426.2	0.96	39.55	35.51
Bivalve, c. 23 species	829.8	1876.5	1,282.1	110.64	234.56	106.83
Bone						
Fish	149.1	770.3	600.4	19.86	96.28	50.03
Turtle	133.7	2,219.2	3,074.2	17.82	277.37	256.16
Whale	52.8	14.9	377.2	6.93	1.86	31.43
Porpoise	2.4	15.6	69.7	0.32	1.95	5.80
Bird	1.0	1.9	13.7	0.13	0.23	1.14
Teeth						
Shark	11.0	3.7	2.6	1.46	0.46	0.21
Pig	1.6	--	3.3	0.26	--	0.27
Rat	1.0	--	--	0.13	--	--
Human	--	--	8.8	--	--	0.73
Vegetal						
Wooden piece	1,167.0	540.0	654.0	155.60	67.50	54.50
Pandanus key	722.0	2,309.0	2,738.0	96.20	288.60	225.80
Coconut shell	668.0	1,931.0	2,709.0	89.10	242.30	825.80
Candle nut	13.0	54.0	1.0	1.70	6.80	0.10
Tamanu nut	28.0	--	--	3.70	--	--
Stone						
Mugearite	10,055.0	14,877.0	8,550.0	1,340.00	1,859.00	712.00
Basalt stone	35.0	2,367.0	4,777.0	47.00	295.80	398.10
Vesicular basalt	4874.0	24,211.0	35,438.0	649.90	3,026.40	2,953.20

TABLE 4.
Results of Radiocarbon Tests

The results of radiocarbon dating of two charcoal samples from Fa'ahia were received from Teledyne Isotopes in June 1979:

Sample No.	Laboratory No.	Sample Provenience	Years B.P. (1950) for Half Life of 5568	Adjusted Age in Calendar Years*
TRC-146	I-10.769	Layer III, N43 Section 3	1120±80	A.D. 830±90 or A.D. 860-880
TRC-147	I-10.770	Layer III, D19 Section 4	1145±80	A.D. 805±90 or A.D. 830-850

*Ralph et al. 1973

These two dates are in line with those from Vaito'otia, indicating that the occupation took place in this part of Huahine Nui between A.D. 850 and 1200. We do not know how the dated samples may have been affected by the French nuclear tests on Moruroa.

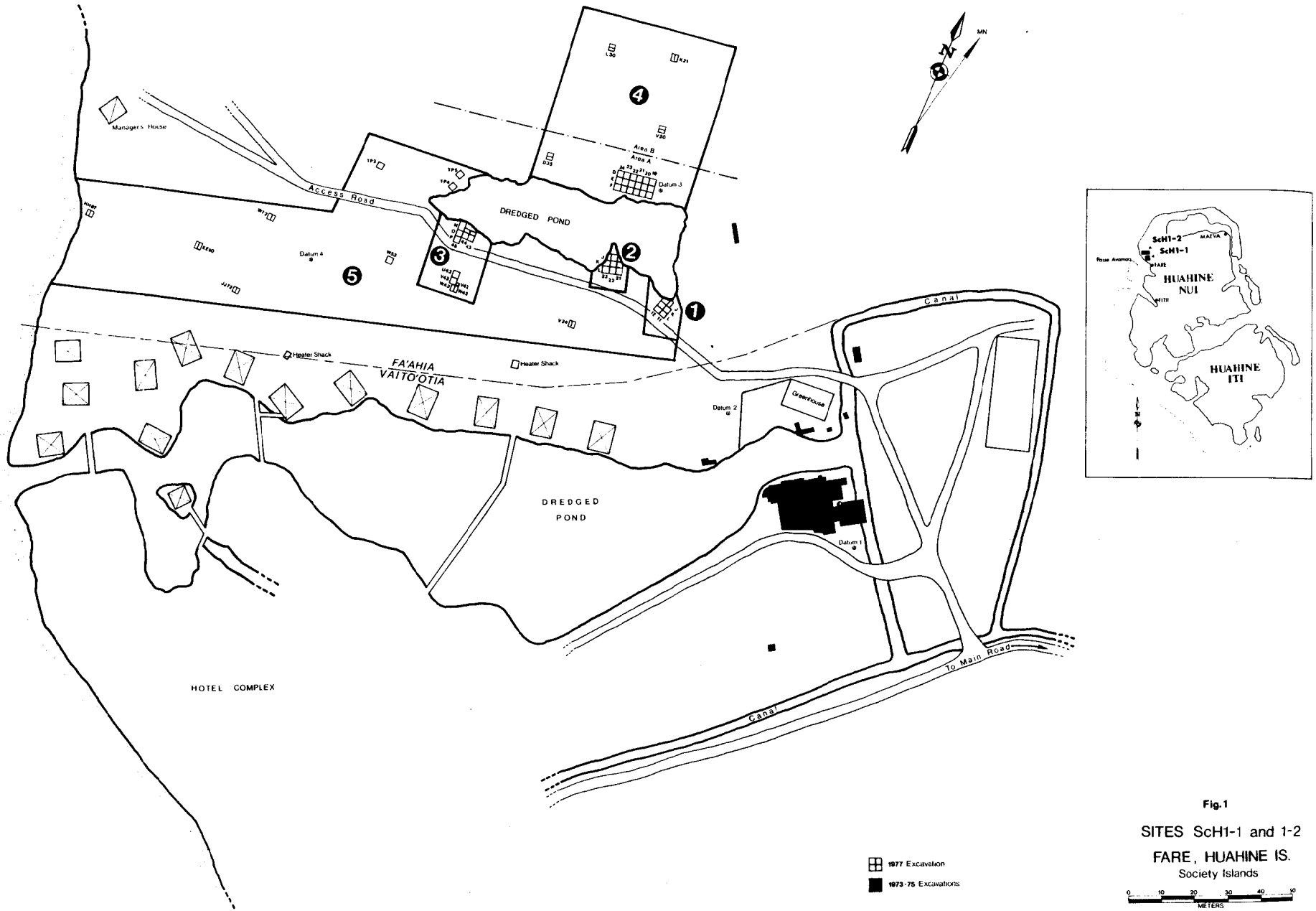
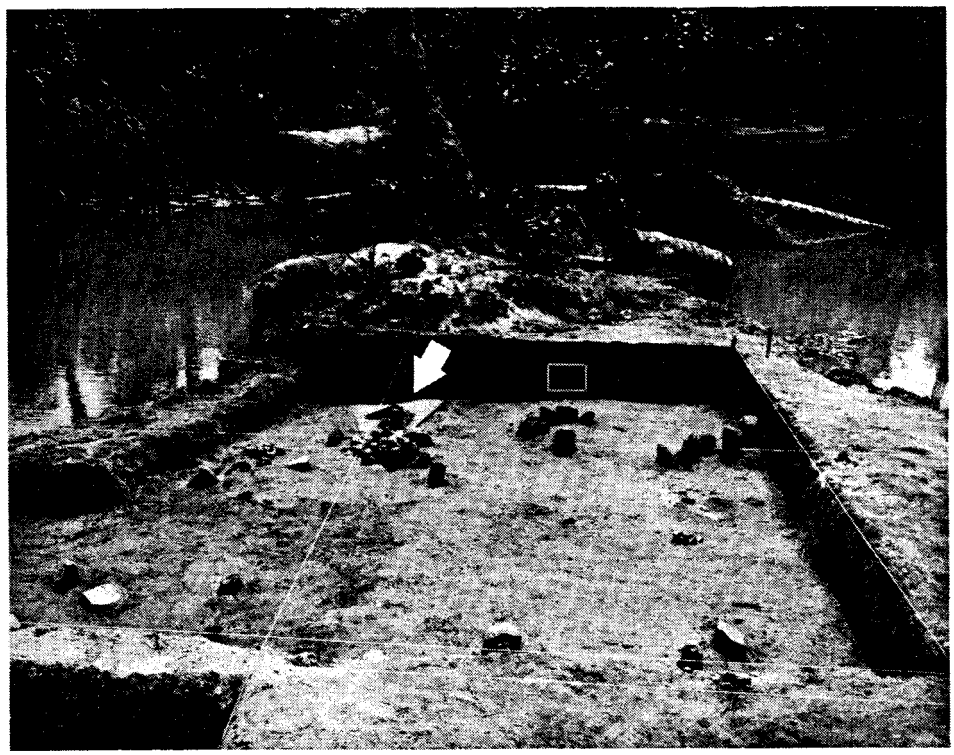


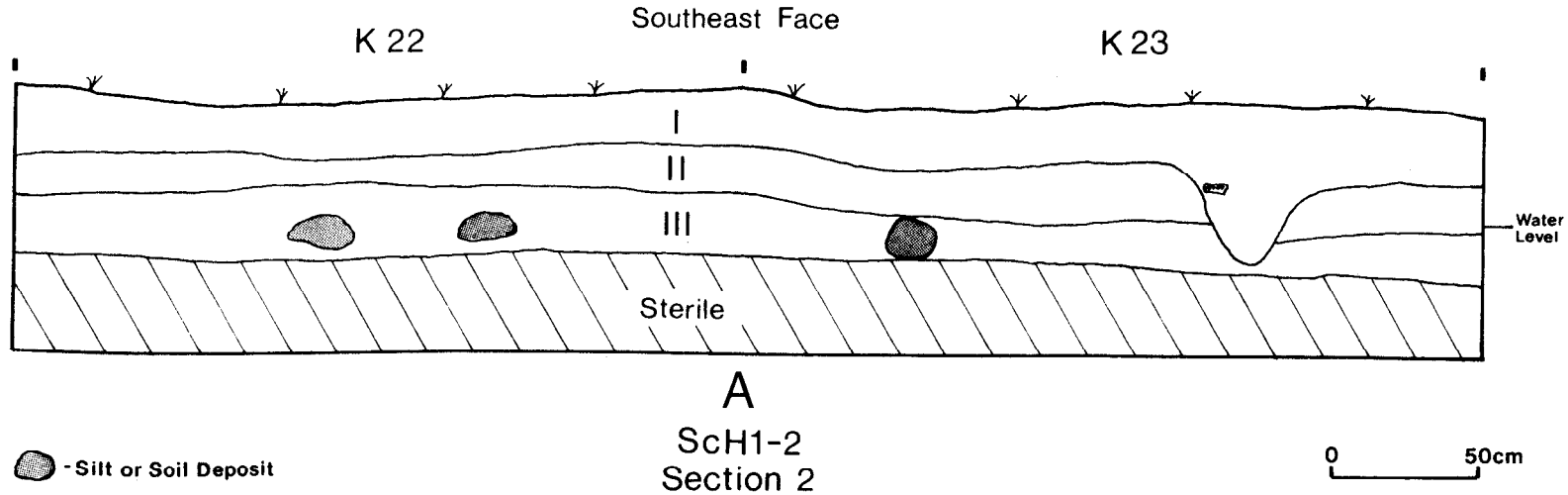
Fig. 1. SITES ScH1-1 AND 1-2.



a. Grinding stone, near two piles of *Turbo* shells on top of Layer III, and scattered stones in Layer II, Section 2. Also see Fig. 12a.

b. Fallen logs and posts and stone flakes exposed in Section 4. Other logs lie under plastic sheets.

Fig. 2. EXCAVATIONS IN SECTIONS 2 AND 4.

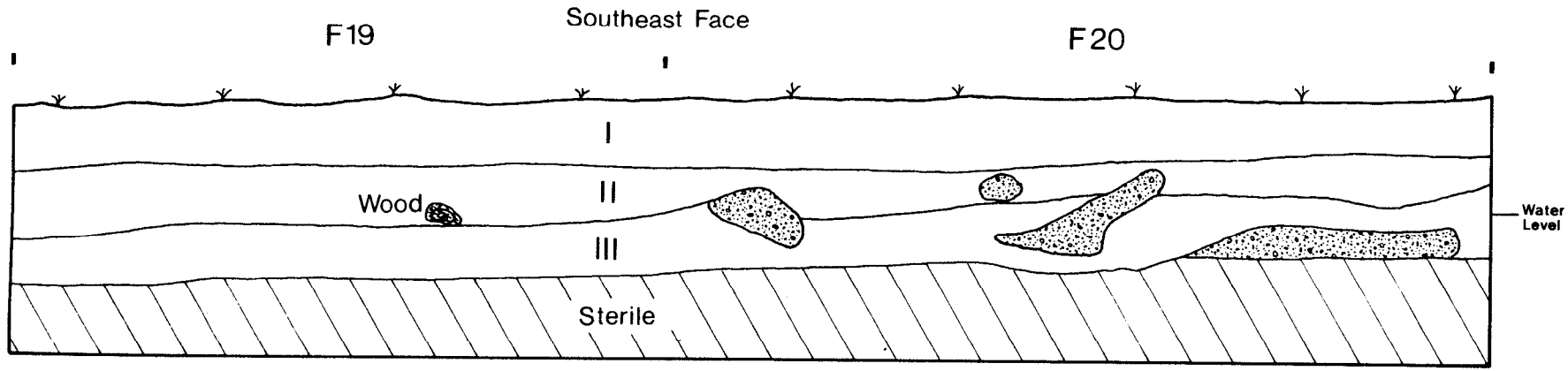


A

ScH1-2
Section 2

Silt or Soil Deposit

0 50cm



B

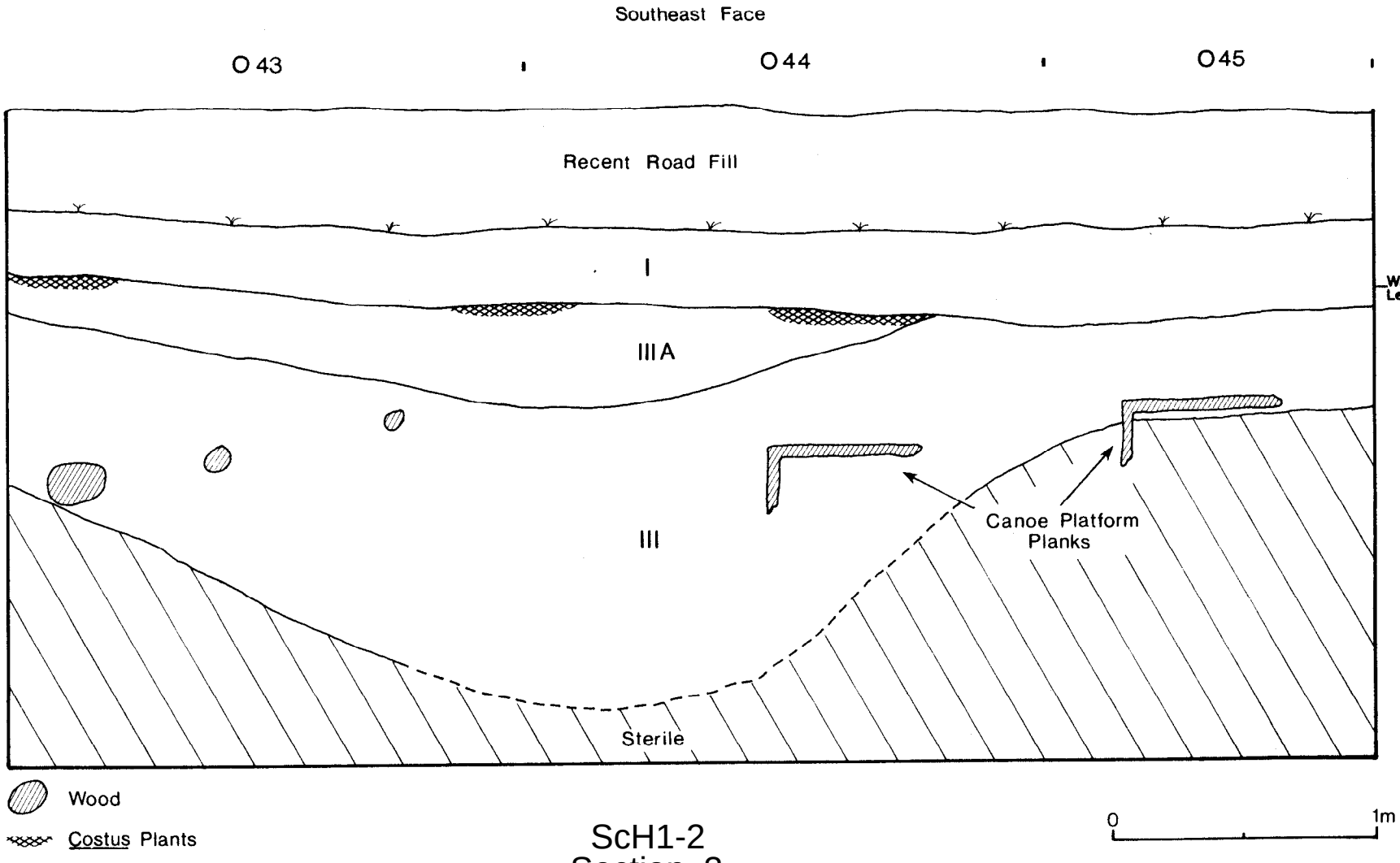


Fig. 4. PROFILE OF EXCAVATION IN SECTION 3.

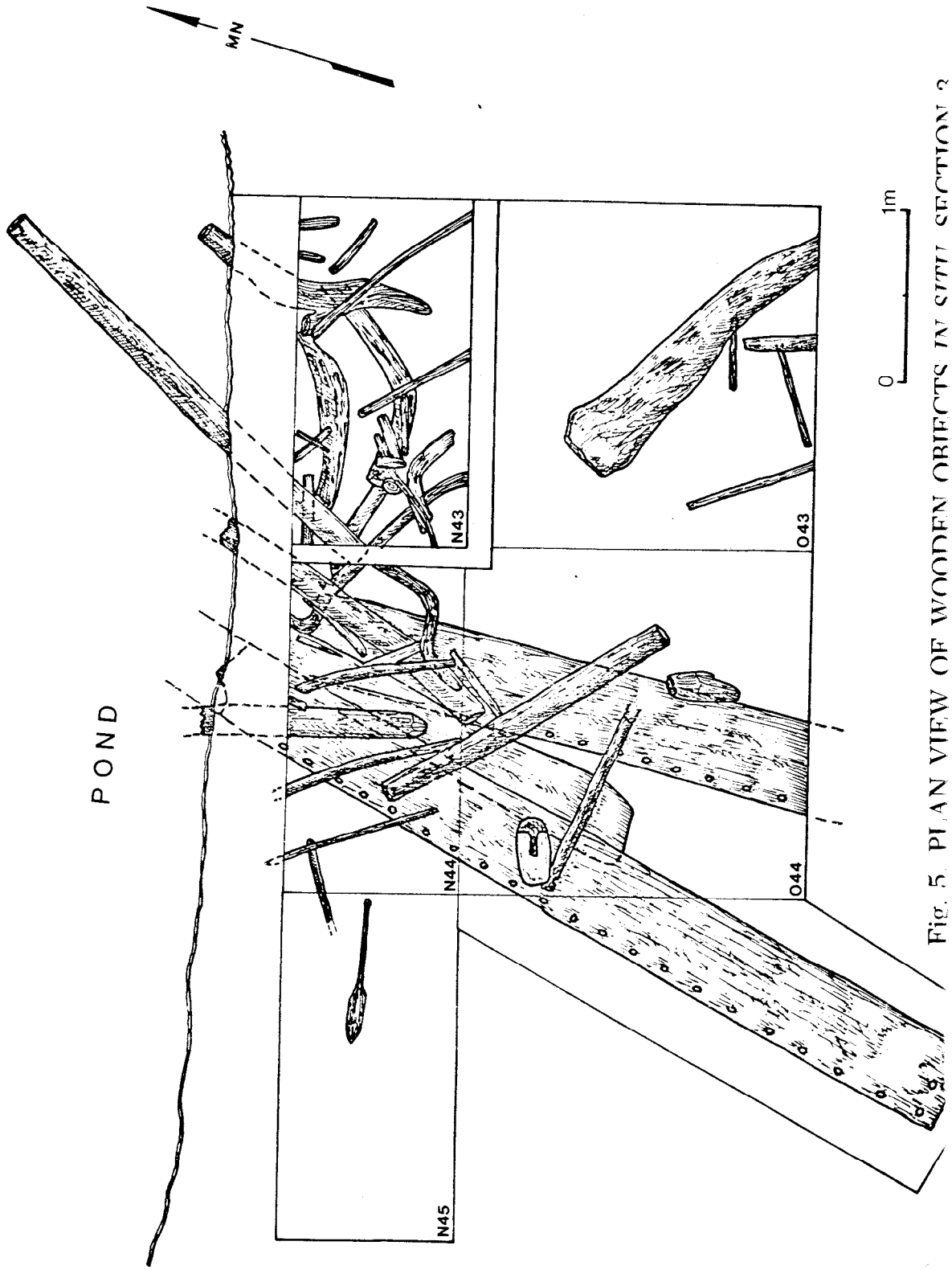
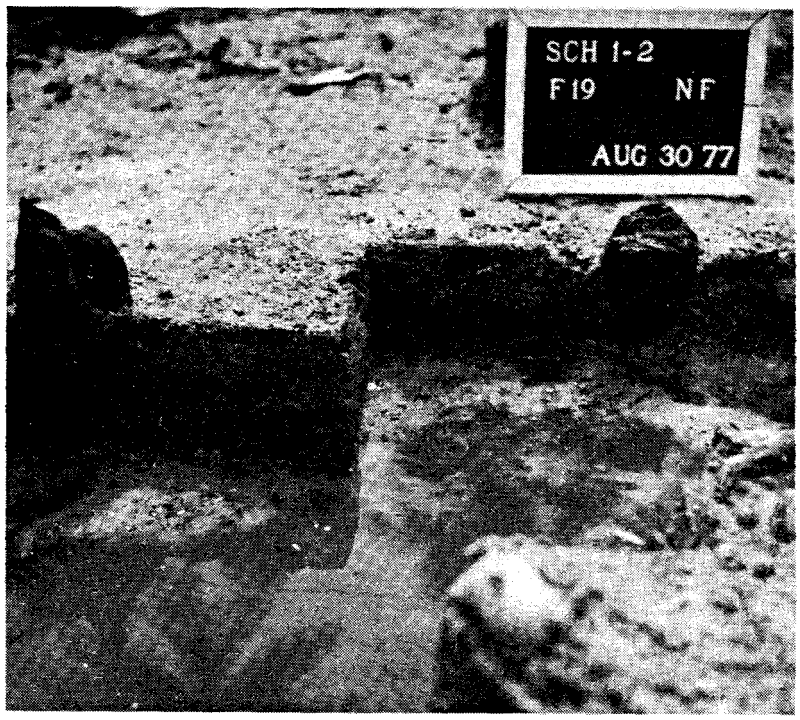
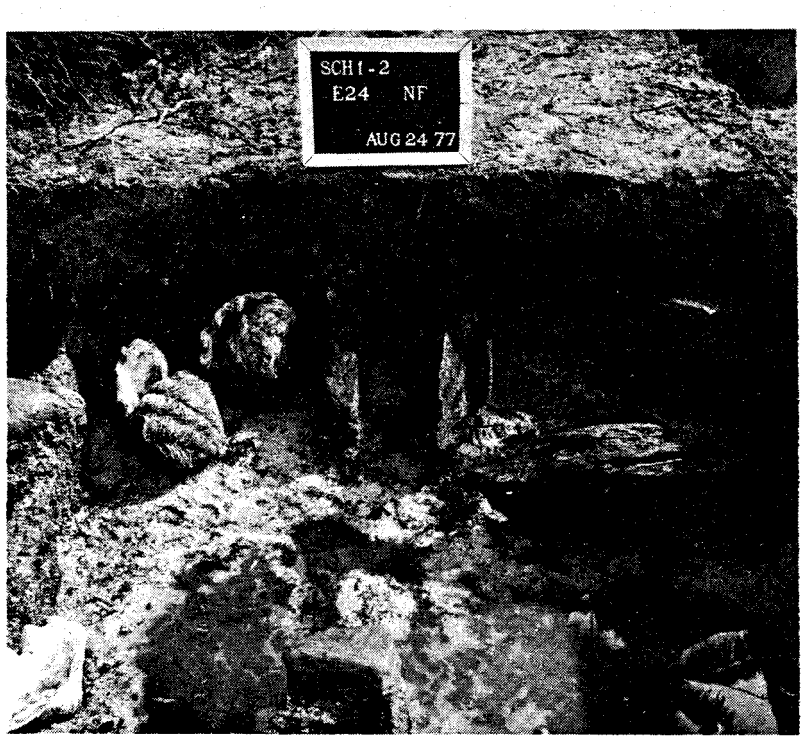


Fig. 5 PLAN VIEW OF WOODEN OBJECTS IN SITU SECTION 2



a. Standing post bases in F19.



b. Fallen logs and *Tridacna* shells in E24.

Fig. 6. EXCAVATIONS IN SECTION 4.

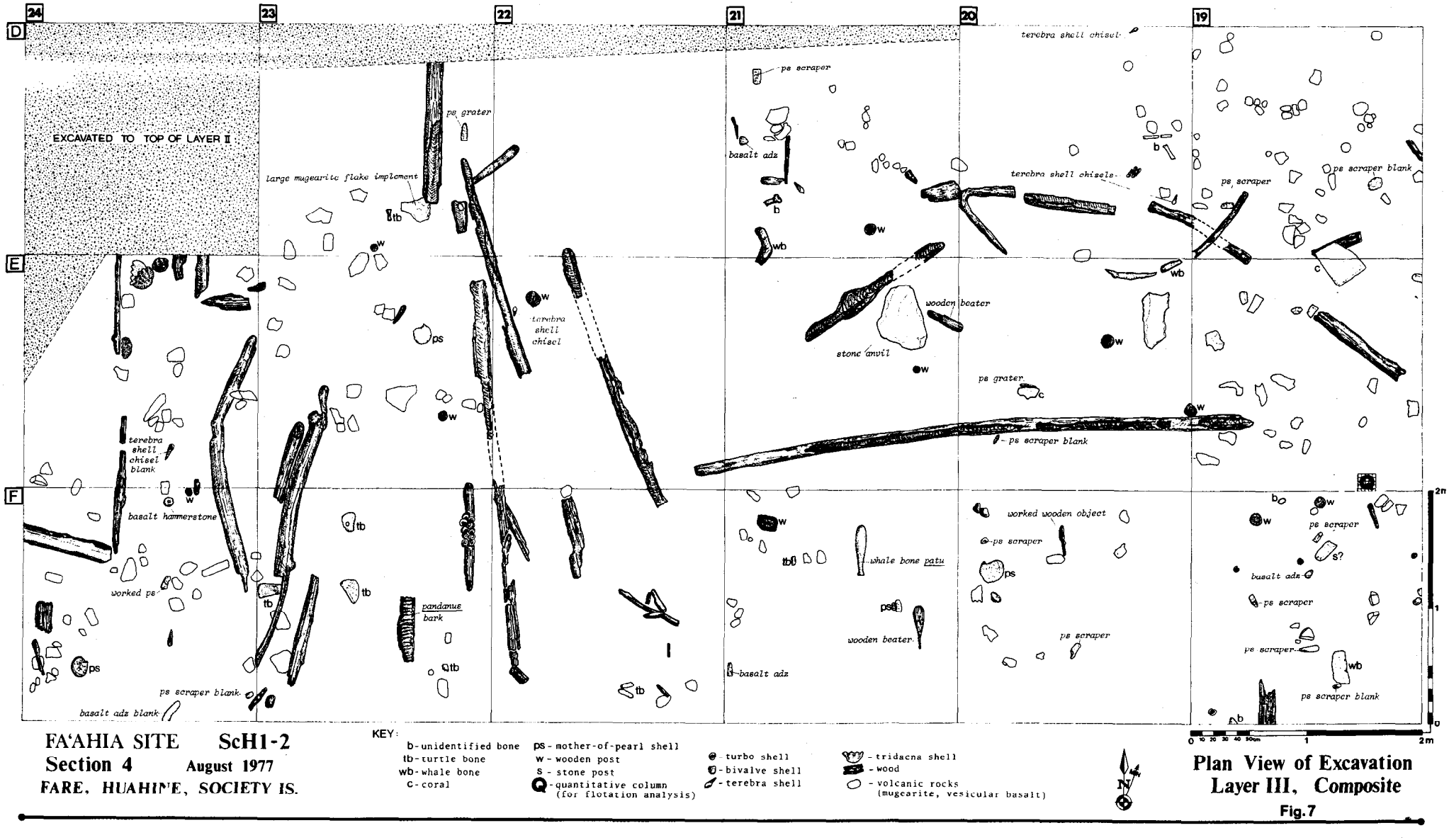


Fig. 7. PLAN VIEW OF EXCAVATION, LAYER III.

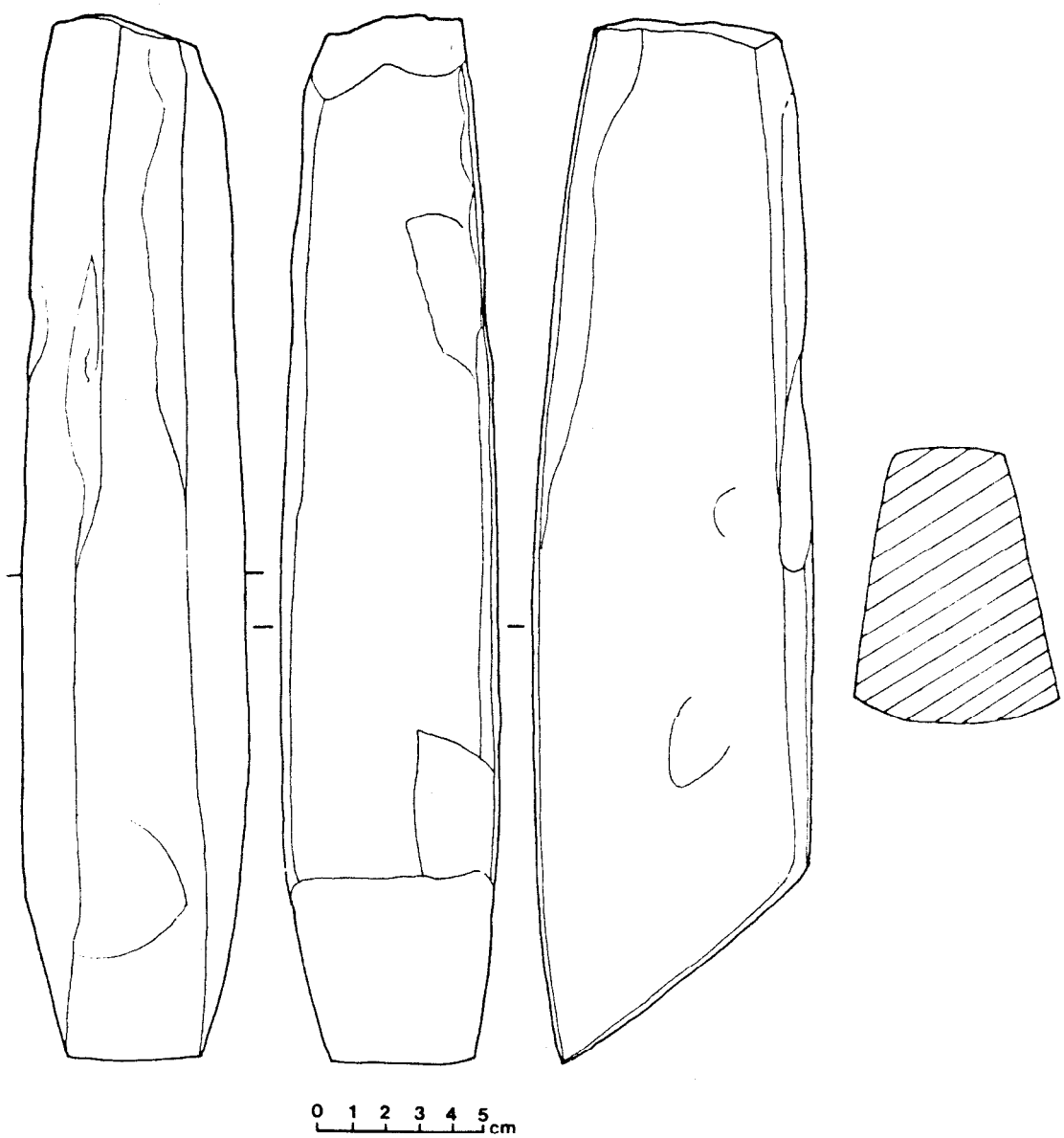


Fig. 8. BASALT ADZ, FORM 2B, FROM DREDGING.

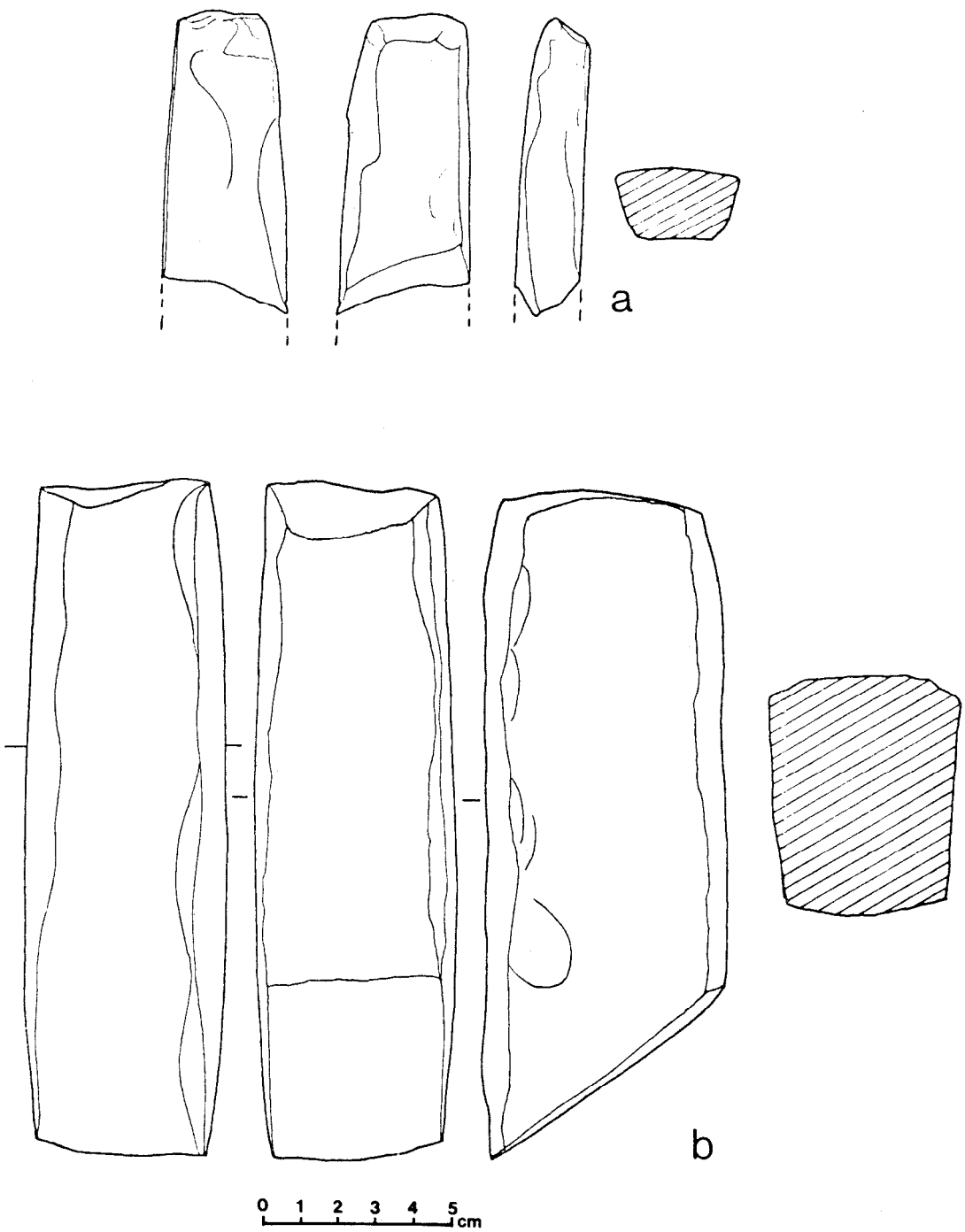


Fig. 9. BASALT ADZES. a. Form 3A; b. Form 3B, from dredging.

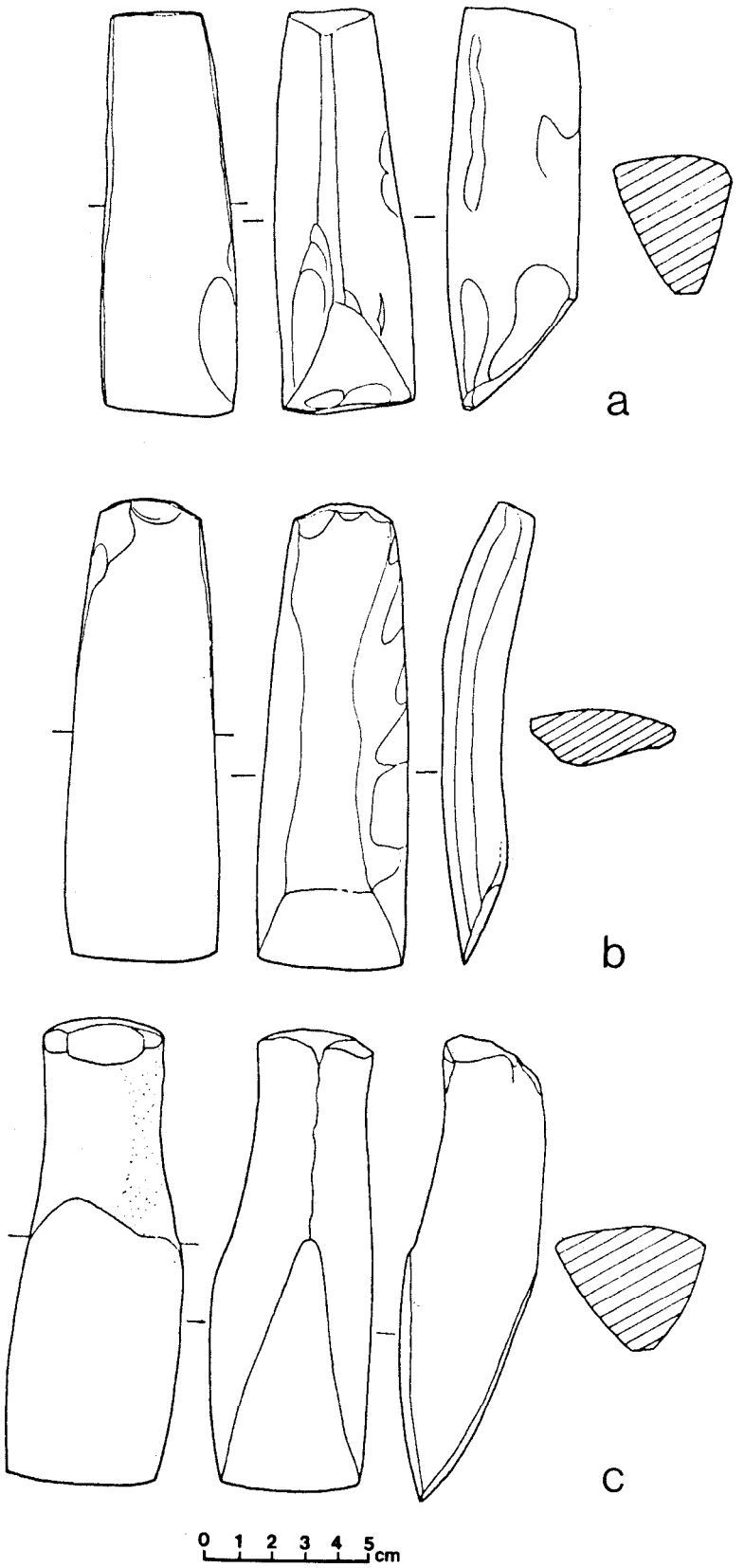


Fig. 10. BASALT ADZES. a. Form 4, and b. Form 5 (both from dredging). c. Reversed triangular adz from the beach near Test Pit HH97.

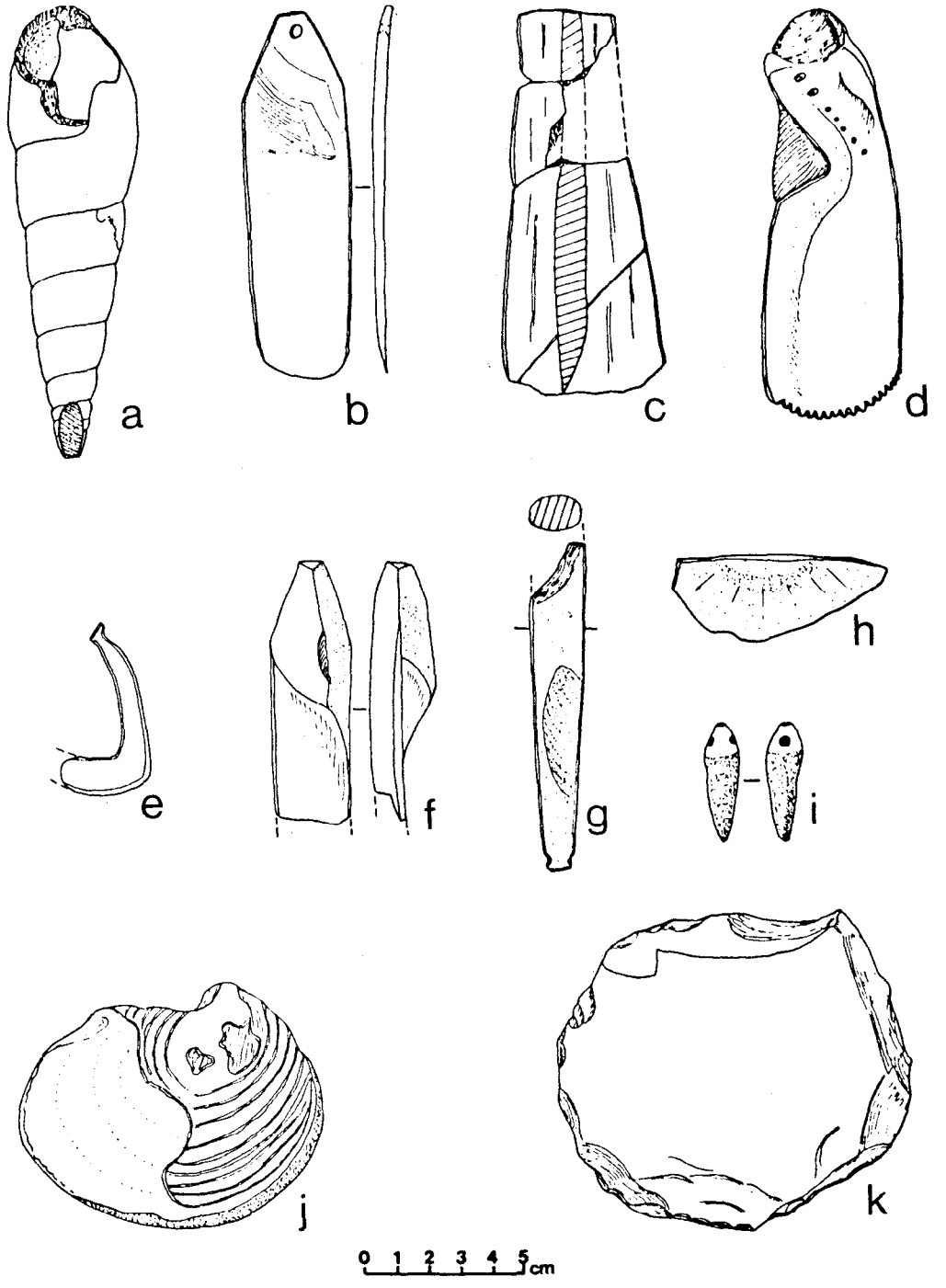
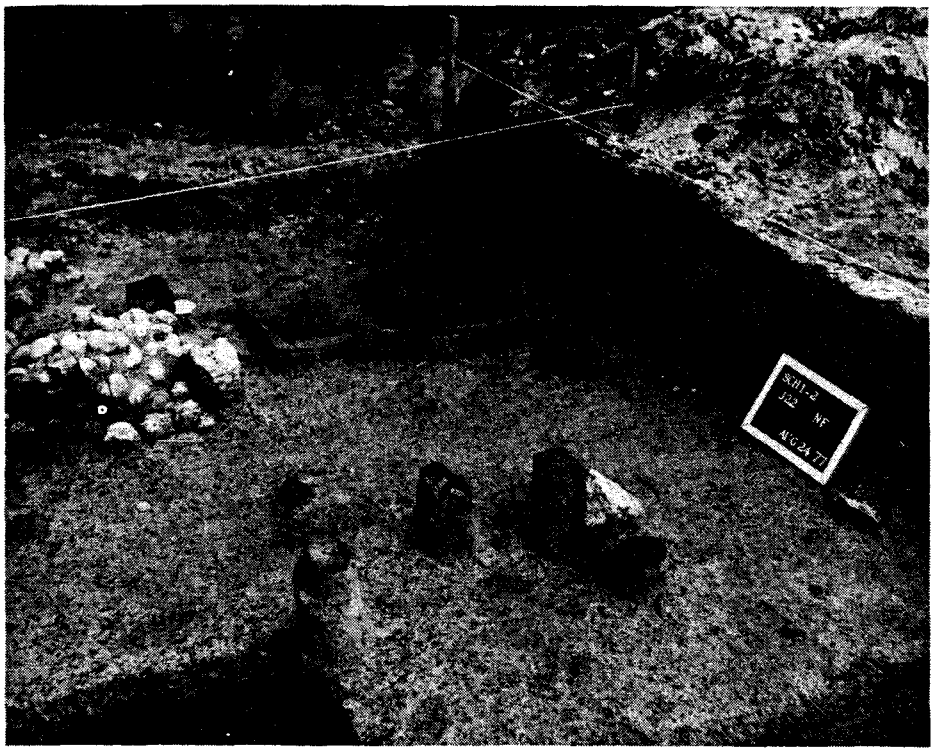


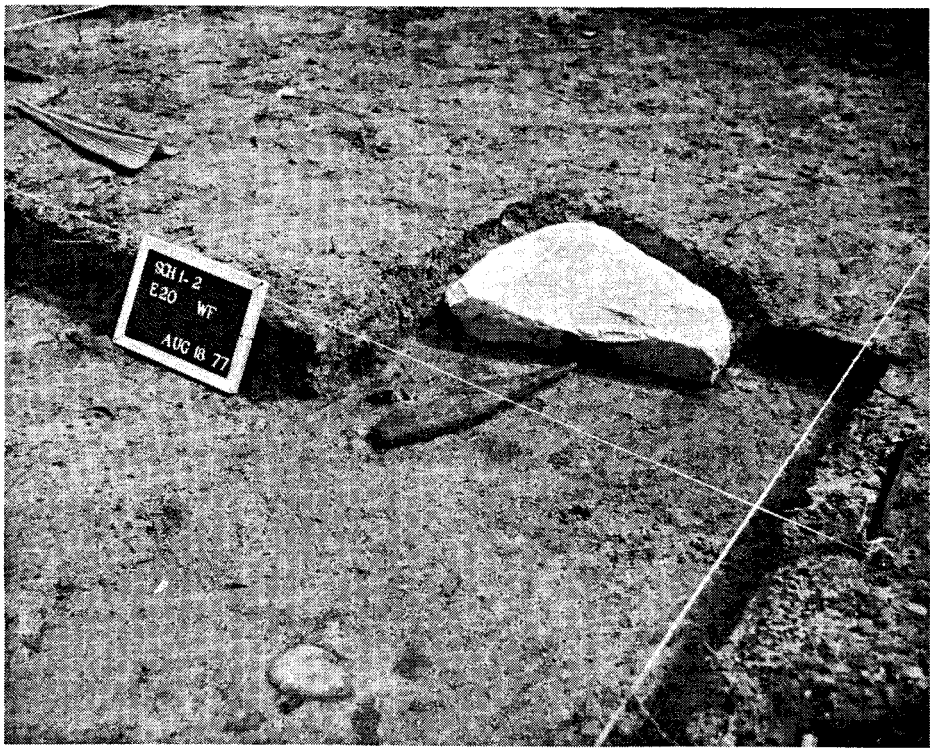
Fig. 11. ARTIFACTS FROM FA'AHIA SITE. a. *Terebra* shell chisel; b. pearl-shell scraper; c. turtle bone scraper; d. pearl-shell grater; e. pearl-shell hook; f. and g. pearl-shell trolling hook shanks; h. basalt scraper; i. porpoise-tooth pendant; j. pearl-shell scraper; k. basalt knife.



a. Grinding stone and piles of *Turbo* shells in Section 2.

b. A whalebone hand club from F21, Section 4. Also see Fig. 14a, right.

Fig. 12. EXCAVATIONS IN SECTIONS 2 AND 4.

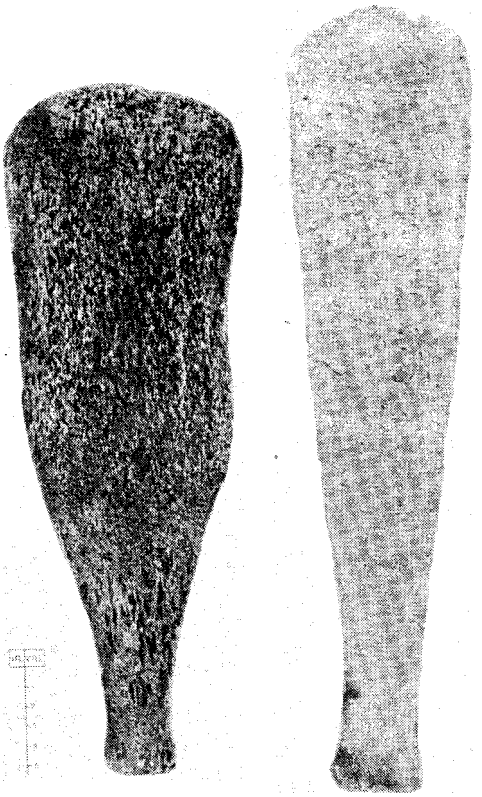


a. Stone tapa anvil and grooved tapa beater found from E21.

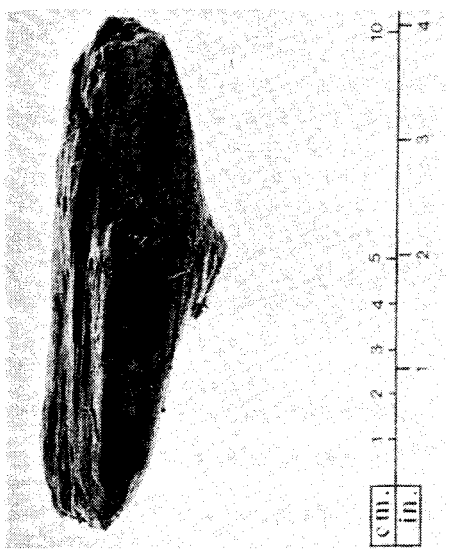
b. wooden tapa beater from D22. Note vertical grooves.

c. Wooden beater from F21

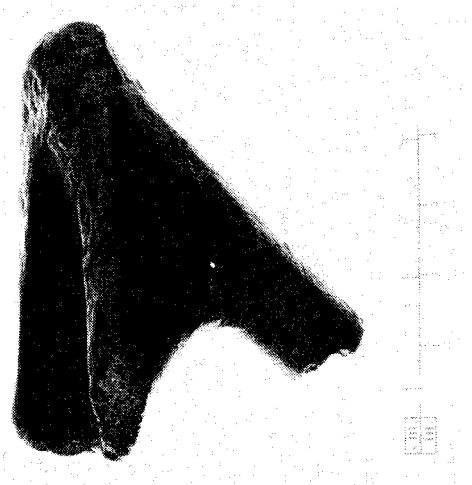
Fig. 13. ARTIFACTS FROM SECTION 4.



a. Whalebone hand clubs, *patu*. Left, from dredging near TP4 & TP5; right, from F21, Section 4.

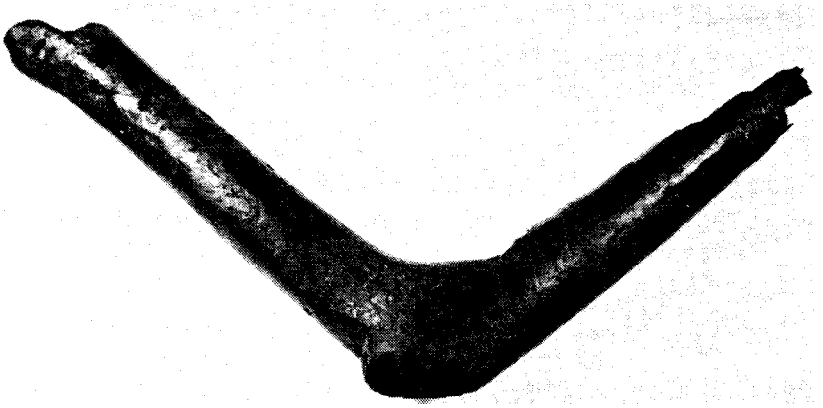


b. Head of adz handle from dredging near Section 3. Note flat face for lashing adz.

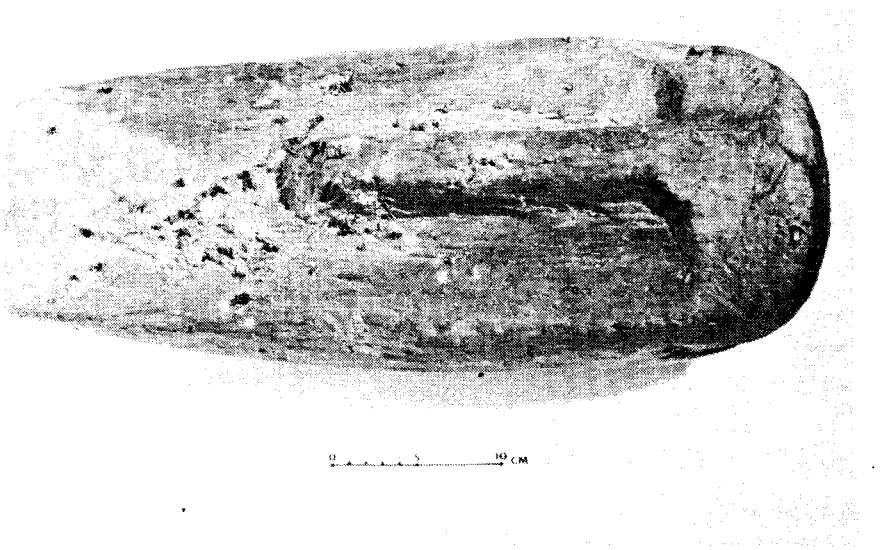


c. Head of adz handle from dredging near Section 3. The head has a concaved receptacle for an adz with lenticular or plano-convex cross section.

Fig. 14. ARTIFACTS FROM SECTIONS 3 AND 4.

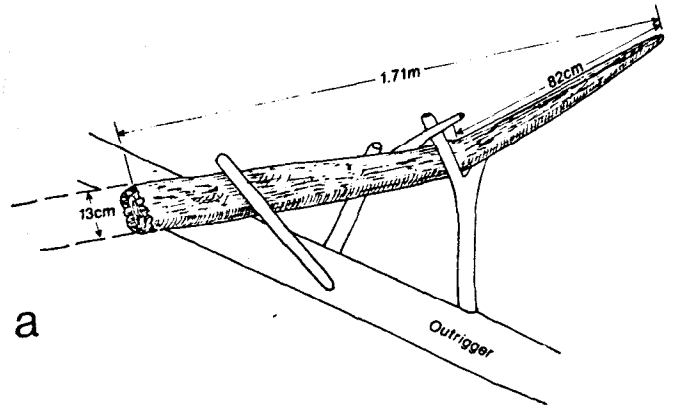


a. Canoe brace (spreader) from dredging.

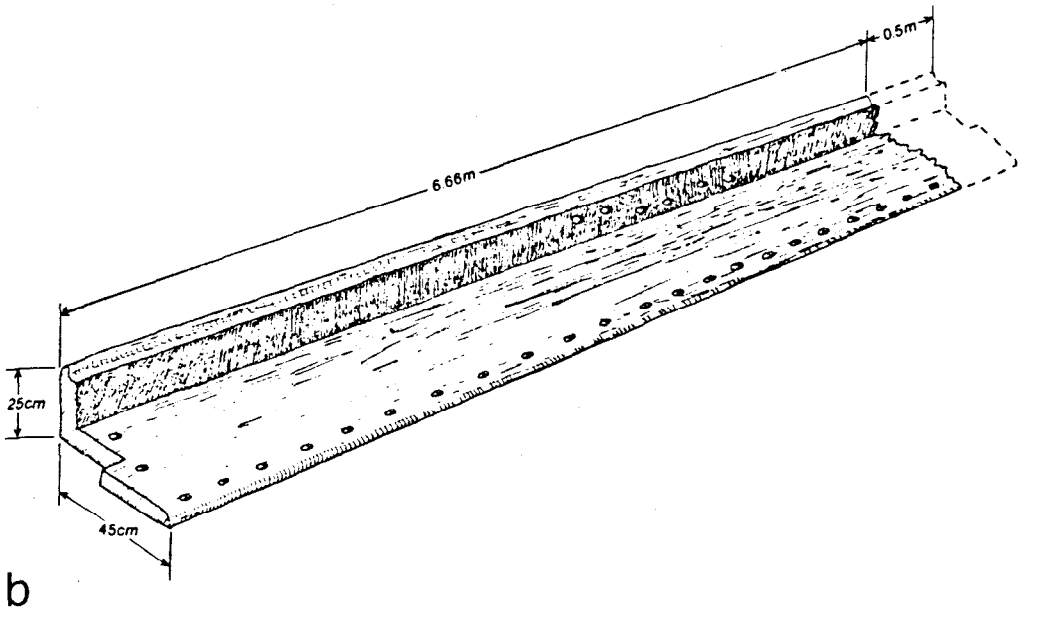


b. Canoe bailer, found on the upper plank in 044 (see Fig, 5). Unfinished; note carved handle portion.

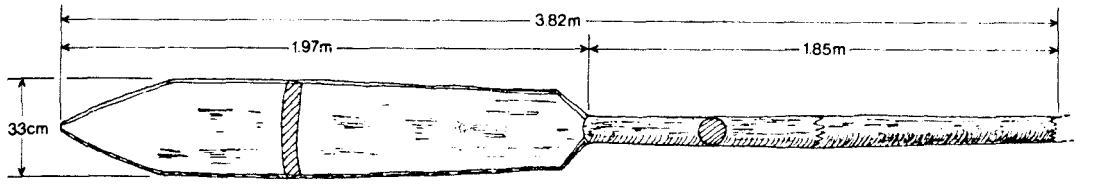
Fig. 15. WOODEN ARTIFACTS FROM SECTION 3.



a. A part of outrigger boom from dredging, near Section 3.

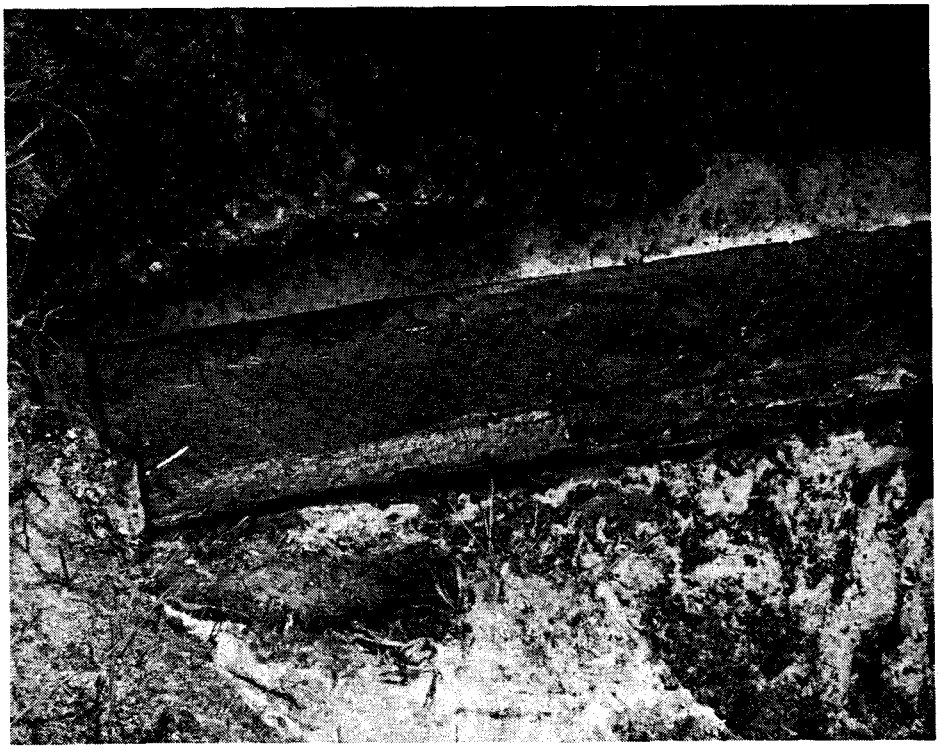


b. Perspective drawing of excavated canoe platform plank.



c. Steering paddle fom dredging near Section 3.

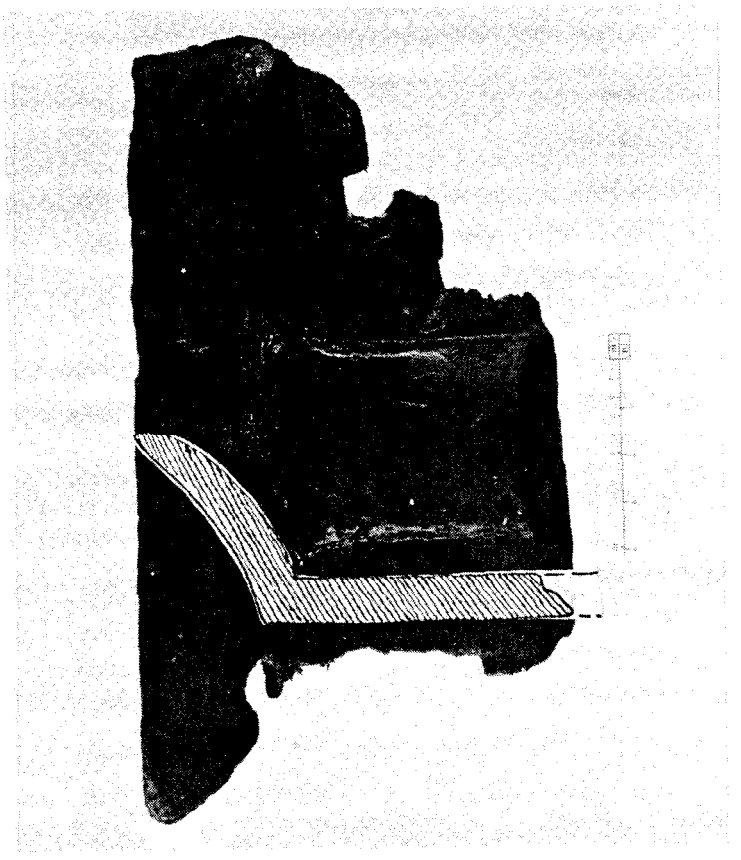
Fig. 16. WOODEN ARTIFACTS FROM SECTION 3.



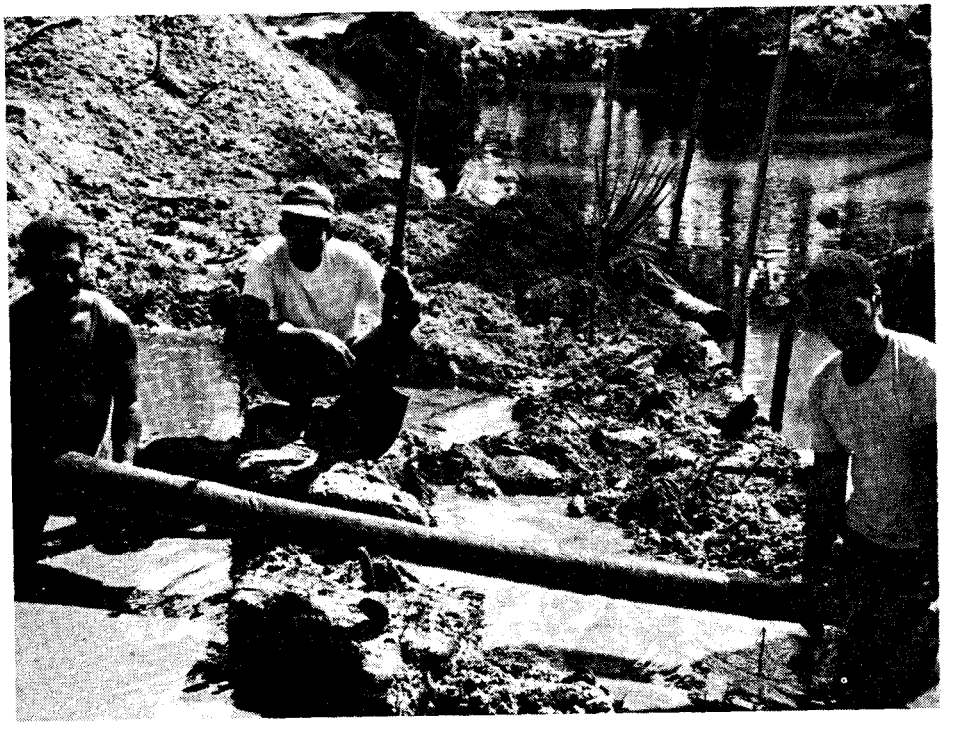
a. Intact end.

b. End broken by dredging.

Fig. 17. DOUBLE CANOE PLATFORM PLANK EXCAVATED IN SECTION 3.



a. A part of cover-like object.



b. Well-worked round log, about 2.8 meters long.

Fig. 18. WOODEN OBJECTS OF UNKNOWN FUNCTION, FROM SECTION 3.

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CHINA AS A PACIFIC POWER*

by Michael R. Godley

Having attracted attention with a somewhat futuristic title, I wish to assure you that China is not about to become a "power" in the terms we usually think of. While her naval forces are expanding, they will not pose a challenge to the United States or increasing Soviet presence in the area. Nor would China really be in a position to outdo the Japanese should that nation, as is likely, redevelop as a sea power. What is more, for a host of geopolitical reasons, China will take a stance in her home waters and the northwest Pacific long before she ventures into distant areas. And when she finally does so, her most concentrated efforts will be reserved for waters adjacent to the South China Sea. Likewise, whatever technology Peking develops to exploit marine resources will be applied first to her own continental shelf and not to the ocean depths. Nevertheless, as if to emulate some old Taoist maxim, China's very lack of conventional strength is apt to prove of considerable leverage in the newly independent Pacific. On her terms, China will be a factor in the region.

A recently featured editorial in the *People's Daily*, the official organ of the party and government, affirmed China's determination to play a part in the South Pacific.[1] As might be expected, Peking portrayed the region as one torn by a Great Power struggle and particularly vulnerable to Soviet expansion and intrigue. But the author, in line with major changes in Chinese foreign policy since the Cultural Revolution, stressed China's commitment to support all Third World countries regardless of their social or politial system. In an effort to combat Soviet and American expansion, Peking further urged regional cooperation and encouraged Australia and New Zealand to pursue an active role in the region.

China's interest in the Pacific has, of course, grown up almost overnight together with the mushrooming new nations. In most cases, this may prove an advantage for Peking which seeks to play up her own semi-colonial past. Moreover, by supporting economic cooperation, cultural exchange and the exclusive economic zone concept, China has rapidly gained friends. But it is her pledge to resist Great Power hegemonism which seems to have struck the most responsive chord. Before belaboring the obvious to tell you of the appeals and also the dangers of any Big

*This paper was originally presented at the Fourth Annual Pacific Islands Studies Conference sponsored by the University of Hawaii, 7 April 1979.

[1] *Renmin Ribao (RMRB)*, 5 July 1978. A translation is available in *Peking Review (PR)*, 22 September 1978.

Brother approach to peoples so long ensnared in dependency relationships, let me sketch the short history of China's relations in the area.

The first hint of interest came in the fall of 1970 when Zhou Enlai offered his best wishes to a Fiji which had been promised independence.[2] Within two years, China had commenced diplomatic relations with Australia and New Zealand, entered the ping-pong era, and grown even more suspicious of Russian intentions.[3] By the closing months of 1975, a South Pacific strategy was almost fully developed. In September, Zhou announced China's intention to recognize Papua New Guinea and established actual relations with Fiji and Western Samoa in November. In each instance, Peking pledged to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the new nations while introducing what may well prove to be the most critical themes: along with their peoples, the Chinese belong to the Third World and must, inevitably, share in the struggle against imperialism.[4] The strange yet important twist, however, was that the Fiji accord was signed in Canberra. But the logic of acknowledging Australia's natural role in the region was made clear the following spring when Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser visited an aging Mao and later heard Hua Guofeng describe China's growing fear of "the other superpower" and its "expansionist ambitions in the Asia-Pacific region." As Hua continued: "We are both concerned for the security of the Asia-Pacific region and opposed to the seeking of hegemony by any country or group of countries."[5]

This strategy of supporting the regional powers as a means of thwarting greater opponents applied also to New Zealand. Prime Minister Robert Muldoon had, in fact, preceded Fraser in visiting Peking.[6] When the Speaker of the House of Representatives paid a call nine months later, the line had hardened: "Situated in the Asia-Pacific region, China and New Zealand are both naturally concerned. . . . That very superpower is stepping up its infiltration and expansion in this region. We are very glad to see that the government of New Zealand and some other Oceanic countries are sharpening their vigilance against the superpower's expansionist ambition. . . ."[7] In the fall of 1977, when Brian Edward Talboys who was carrying several portfolios for Wellington arrived in China, the United States had returned to the picture of a Pacific caught between *two* con-

[2] *PR,* 23 October 1970.

[3] For background, see Linda Dillon, Bruce Burton, and Walter Soderland, "Who was the Principal Enemy?" *Asian Survey,* 17 (May 1977), 456-73.

[4] *PR,* 26 September 1973, 14 November and 21 November 1975. See also *RMRB,* 7 and 16 November 1975.

[5] *PR,* 25 June 1976, and *RMRB,* 20 June 1976.

[6] *PR,* 7 May 1976, and *RMRB,* 30 April 1976.

[7] *PR,* 22 April 1977.

tending global powers but, once again, the "social imperialists" received top billing. And the New Zealander could not miss the message that his country was expected to lead the movement against outside intervention.[8]

For those who have followed Chinese foreign policy, Peking's dependency on the resolve of Australia and New Zealand, countries which have strong ties to Western Europe and America, is a dramatic shift of position but, as is usually the case, a change demanded by strategic considerations and explained to the point of rationalization by the words of Mao. It was, therefore, understandable that the publicity surrounding Chairman Hill of the Australian Communist Party differed in content if not intent from that of his country's formal government when he turned up in Peking at the start of 1978. According to the Australian Communist organ *Vanguard*, Chairman Mao's theory of the differentiation of the three worlds has now come to affect the course of revolution in Oceania: second world countries such as those ruled from Canberra and Wellington can be counted on to unite with smaller nations on certain issues and, most critically, share in the struggle to redesign the international order to preclude superpower domination.[9]

Part of the Third World by self-definition, China has been on the lookout for common interests and issues.[10] In the South Pacific area, the most obvious of these concern the sea. Throughout the various sessions of the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea which commenced in June 1974, China has consistently supported the position of South Seas states. What has been at stake, according to Peking, has been nothing less than "a struggle to defend maritime sovereignty."[11] For her part, China has stood up for the 200 nautical mile exclusive economic zone also pushed by the South Pacific Forum and held out for full international control over the extraction of deep seabed resources.[12] The goal, expressed in a recent issue of *Beijing Review* is "all six million square miles of South Pacific waters under jurisdiction of relevant sovereign South Pacific

[8] *PR*, 4 November 1977.

[9] *PR*, 9 December 1977, 13 January 1978, and 7 April 1978; *RMRB*, 5 July 1978.

[10] For background, see Shao-chuan Leng, "Chinese Strategy Toward the Asian Pacific," *Orbis*, 19 (Fall 1975), 775-92; George T. Yu, "China and the Third World," *Asian Survey*, 17 (November 1977), 1036-48; and Bruce Larking, "China and the Third World," *Current History*, 69 (September 1975), 75-79: also *PR*, 26 August 1977 and 4 November 1977.

[11] *PR*, 22 September 1978; *RMRB*, 5 July 1978.

[12] Consult Menno T. Kamninga, "Building Railroads on the Sea: China's Attitude Towards Maritime Law," *China Quarterly*, 59 (July/September 1974), 544-58; and Barbara Johnson and Frank Langdon, "The Impact of the Law of the Sea Conference Upon the Pacific Region," *Pacific Affairs*, 51 (Spring 1978), 5-23; China's position is made clear in *RMRB*, 18 September 1978 and *PR*, 29 July 1977.

States."[13] Of course, with her own continental shelf to protect and disputed islands in both the East and South China Seas, the Middle Kingdom is concerned with more than either idealism or propaganda.[14] Nevertheless, China's own interests in keeping the rich and technologically advanced nations from exploiting ocean resources genuinely correspond with those of a region now riding a high tide of nationalism and can be used to foreign policy advantage.

Back in the 1950s and early 60s, other Third World countries were courted (and occasionally undermined) in an attempt to combat American encirclement. The principles of peaceful coexistence enunciated at Bandung in 1955 did make some friends in Asia but courtship of formerly colonized nations took a back seat to the smoking rhetoric of paradoxically isolationist leaders during the Cultural Revolution. Once the Russians emerged as more than a sparring partner in ideological dispute, and with US rapprochement leading to United Nations respectability, the early hints at a more positive form of world leadership took root. Today, having dropped talk of the "rural areas" spreading revolution to a North America and Western Europe prosaically described as "cities of the world," Peking has worked to create another United Front. This time, the principal enemy is the Soviet Union.

According to one editorialist: "the developing countries of the South Pacific region have strengthened their unity with Second World countries in the struggle against hegemonism."[15] In the final analysis, however, the ability of all the nations in the area to resist plundering by outsiders depends on the viability of their own regional economy. For this reason, China has attached great importance to the South Pacific Forum and the long-term goal of some sort of Pacific Common Market. As a visiting delegation from Western Samoa learned in Peking in March 1977, China also offers the lure of economic cooperation.[16] New Zealand and Australia have already shown promise of becoming major China traders,[17] but Peking seeks commercial ties with far less lucrative markets. Indeed, the plan of attack sketched before the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Pacific at its summer 1978 New Delhi meetings by the Chinese delegation, stressed trade and the unity thus forged as critical factors in

[13] *Beijing Review (BR)* [NOTE title change], 19 January 1979.

[14] Martin H. Katchen, "The Spratly Islands and the Law of the Sea: Dangerous Ground for Asian Peace," *Asian Survey,* 17 (December 1977), 1167-94; and Hungdah Chiu, "South China Sea Islands: Implications for Delimiting the Seabed and Future Shipping Routes," *China Quarterly,* 72 (December 1977), 743-65; see also "The Legal Tussle for Asia's Seas," *The Far Eastern Economic Review (FEER),* 20 May 1974.

[15] *PR,* 22 September 1978.

[16] *PR,* 25 March 1977.

[17] *PR,* 4 November 1977.

deterring further Great Power penetration.[18] Meanwhile, back in Oceania, the Chinese put theory into practice with the opening of a trade fair at Suva, Fiji.[19]

Clearly Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara's Fiji is a special case--or rather, the model for the relationships China hopes to establish thoughout the area. Embassies have been opened, athletic teams have exchanged visits, and economic cooperation has been stressed.[20] As *People's Daily* pulled together the whole bag of foreign policy themes in an editorial welcoming diplomatic ties in the fall of 1975:

> We have always maintained that all countries big or small should be equal. . . . Both China and Fiji belong to the Third World. Our two peoples have suffered from imperialist aggression and oppression and have always supported and sympathized with each other in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. . . . We firmly oppose hegemonism and power politics pursued by the imperialists, the superpowers in particular.[21]

A real clue to the strength of the relationship came later, in early summer 1978, when Mara appeared in Peking for talks with Hua Guofeng and Vice Premier Li Xiannian.[22] But the most gratifying news did not become public until after the prime minister returned to Fiji where he announced that his government intended to reject Soviet efforts to set up an embassy. Mentioning his recent trip to China, Mara was reported to have said that the Chinese were sincere and aboveboard while the Russians had only subversion in mind.[23] By the end of June, Fiji legislators concurred by an overwhelming majority which prompted a Chinese commentator to note that "Fiji does not want to become another Cuba."[24]

China was similarly pleased when Tonga, together with Fiji, turned down the Soviet vice minister and commercial attaché who toured the South Pacific in 1975 offering aid in an attempt to establish fishing bases.[25] And *Beijing Review* provided coverage of an incident that Papua New Guinea would probably just as soon forget: the reported landing of "latter-day tsarists" on an uninhabited island claimed by Somare's state.[26]

[18] *PR*, 8 September 1978; *RMRB*, 12 July 1978.

[19] *RMRB*, 6 September 1978.

[20] *BR*, 24 October 1975, 14 November 1975; and *RMRB*, 11 and 13 June 1978 and 6 September 1978.

[21] *RMRB*, 7 November 1975, also cited in *PR*, 14 November 1975.

[22] *RMRB*, 10 June 1978; *PR*, 23 June 1978.

[23] *RMRB*, 29 June 1978; also *BR*, 19 January 1979.

[24] *RMRB*, 7 July 1978.

[25] *PR*, 22 September 1978.

[26] *BR*, 19 January 1979.

Although Peking would like to build a Fiji-type relationship with Papua New Guinea, there are a number of considerations which have complicated the balance of power game. Indeed, the government in Port Moresby, responding to domestic criticism and always reluctant to give anti-communist Indonesia anything to become agitated about, has not yet given permission to either the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China to open embassies. Close to a decision in the spring of 1978, the whole matter has been deferred for at least a year.[27] It is not that Prime Minister Michael Somare has never played the China card. Fortuitously the first foreign dignitary to arrive in China after the death of Mao, he was met at the airport by Hua Guofeng, flown to Hong Kong on a special Chinese jet, and apparently basked in the publicity given his infant nation by a Peking which emphasized its own affinities with the Third World.[28] There has also been some exchange of cultural groups,[29] and a steady, if small, parade of lesser governmental functionaries to rural China to observe the ways in which intermediate technology might be applied to agriculture in Papua New Guinea. What is more, the China trade is clearly on an upswing with Peking providing inexpensive consumer goods in exchange for copper, timber and cocoa. As one scholar of the area has noted, a China connection does offer Somare an opportunity to reduce his dependence on Australia and, despite some dangers, will undoubtedly experience controlled growth.[30]

Elsewhere in the region, China remains eager for new friendships. In the summer of 1977, a Chinese acrobatic troupe touring Western Samoa drew 80,000 spectators during its stay.[31] Even tiny Nauru's picture appeared in *People's Daily* [32] and, when newly independent, the Solomon Islands were the subject of a series of special articles.[33] Just last November, the Gilbert Islands had their turn.[34] In all these cases, the Peking press--so often the wellspring of diatribe in the past--was entirely objective even when it came to making reference to the colonial heritages. The virulent words are found elsewhere; these are directed not backward to the years before independence but toward "the late-coming superpower" who, with fitting marine metaphor, "wild with ambition is stretching tentacles

[27] *REEF*, 28 April 1978 and 9 June 1978.

[28] See Ralph R. Premdas, "Papua New Guinea in 1976: Dangers of a China Connection," *Asian Survey*, 17 (January 1977), 55-60.

[29] *PR*, 14 October 1977.

[30] Premdas.

[31] *PR*, 5 August 1977.

[32] *RMRB*, 3 July 1978.

[33] *RMRB*, 3 and 8 July 1978.

[34] *RMRB*, 26 November 1978.

everywhere in the world." According to these charges, the Soviet Union is using "every means to infiltrate this region under the signboards 'champion of national liberation' and 'friendly cooperation.' "[35] As a new and dangerous menace, this particular hegemonist must be excluded from the Pacific.

Although there are some who think that the Chinese are secretly eager for American bases to remain in the Pacific,[36] and this is probably true for colder waters, the use of one great power to check another will not sit well with the emerging nations to the South. At this stage, Peking does not seek a balance of power per se but, rather, the restriction of Russian influence and maritime expansion. As long as American interests coincide, China will not press for our ouster from either Micronesia or Samoa. The justification, as one Chinese editorialist tiptoed across a sensitive issue: the Americans are really only protecting their vested interests; the expanding Soviets pose a different kind of threat. While the South Pacific region does constitute a "new area of contention for hegemony between the Soviet Union and the United States," the present strategy calls for reliance on Second World countries and unity amongst the islanders. Ironically, China even has kind words for Japanese and West German aid which it believes has "to a certain extent contained the infiltration of the Soviet Union in the South Pacific."[37] Thus all of the former colonial masters have a role to play.

It is certainly no coincidence that the Shanghai Communiqué was the first bilateral statement to contain an anti-hegemony clause: "neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish hegemony." Since then, the Chinese have attempted to get as many nations as possible to add their names to the list so transparently designed to discourage Soviet expansion.[38]

The warming of Sino-American relations has continued to carry the headlines. In December, the Australian prime minister and the general secretary of the French Communist Party, ordinarily strange bedfellows, found themselves quoted in the pages of *People's Daily* as supporters of US-China friendship. While the first expectedly praised rapprochement as a step toward peace and prosperity, the second suggested that closer rela-

[35] *PR,* 8 September 1978.

[36] Richard A. Ericson, Jr., "The US View of the Pacific Problem," in Gordon and Rothwell, eds., *The New Political Economy of the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1975).

[37] *RMRB,* 5 July 1978 or *PR,* 22 September 1978.

[38] See Joachim Glaubitz, "Anti-Hegemony Formulas in Chinese Foreign Policy," *Asian Survey,* 16 (March 1976), 205-15.

tions with the Americans provided additional means to combat "any hegemonist movement in the Asia-Pacific region."[39] Thus, while the United States as a superpower receives mixed reviews, Chinese leaders recognize the value of a powerful ally. It now seems strange to read the word "containment" in the Chinese Communist press, but the time-worn cliché is finding new spokesmen in Peking.

As a consequence, China has been paying particularly close attention to the arms race and the relative strength of the competing superpowers. She is visibly alarmed over Soviet naval superiority and expansion into the Indian Ocean and the northwestern Pacific.[40] Ironically, Peking has also noted that the US Seventh Fleet is no match for the Russians,[41] and has quoted no less an anti-communist source than *U.S. News and World Report* when statistics published therein confirmed fears.[42] Balance of power is always a tricky business. Obviously, American strength is in China's interests insomuch as it restrains another more dangerous foe. Peking's long-term security can, however, be obtained only through military modernization and, quite possibly, the eventual extention of her own power overseas. While I believe that China's present effort to help Pacific nations resist exploitation is genuine, it is not improper to speculate about a time when China may have the technological and military wherewithall to stake her own claims in the South Pacific.

There is no question that China, like Japan, is a potential giant in the area. At present the Chinese navy is large but almost exclusively defensive with little ability to project itself far from shore.[43] Although there are some who believe that China's sixty or more submarines (one or two are nuclear), could be used effectively in the insular Pacific, at least as a foreign policy statement,[44] the present international situation will keep these vessels close to home in the defensive front lines. Most experts agree, however, that China has not been utilizing her full shipbuilding capacity. As we move into the 1980s, she will be producing still more attack submarines and adding surface-to-surface missile equipped combat ships

[39] *RMRB,* 18 and 19 December 1978.

[40] *RMRB,* 13 and 15 June 1978 and 21 November 1978.

[41] *RMRB,* year end summary of anti-hegemony struggle in the Asian-Pacific region, 27 December 1978.

[42] *RMRB,* 28 November 1978.

[43] Consult Stephen Uhalley, Jr., "China in the Pacific," *Oceans,* 11 (May-June 1978), 32-37. Much of his material is already out of date, but the more serious student should carry the same word of caution to the specialized treatments below.

[44] Peter G. Muller and Douglas A. Ross, *China and Japan: Emerging Global Powers* (New York: Praeger, 1975), p. 49; Harvey W. Nelsen, *The Chinese Military System* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1977), p. 176; Angus M. Frazer, "Use of the PLA in Foreign Affairs," *Problems of Communism,* 24 (November-December 1975), p. 23.

which, if constructed to the standards of existing prototypes, are very much up to date.[45]

The country's merchant marine is likewise expanding. When one counts a surprising number of ships registered under flags of convenience, China's fleet is second only to Japan in Asia and ranks fifteenth in global comparisons. By buying ships abroad (either new or mothballed in the case of much needed tankers), the Chinese can be expected to carry an even greater percentage of their Asian and Pacific trade in ships showing the Chinese flag.[46] Moreover, China's own shipbuilding industry has been producing dozens of seafaring transports in the 10,000 ton range since 1960 with ships four and five times that size beginning to be commissioned.[47]

Growth in all these programs may have some spinoff effect in the South Pacific when, having upgraded her fleets, China may wish to sell or lease smaller coastal vessels suitable for interisland work. Even more likely, Peking may provide fast, modern, patrol boats to friendly states as a token gesture in defense of their independence and against Soviet advances.

Another area of likely Chinese activity is oceanographic technology. As she becomes more sophisticated at home, China will be capable of giving modest assistance. Ships with geological and scientific missions have already spent many days exploring the South China Sea and resource-rich northern waters, but on at least one occasion, two research vessels made a seventy-two day cruise crisscrossing the Pacific.[48] Nevertheless, as was the case with her submarines, it will be a full decade before Peking can divert equipment from areas close to home. The one exception to watch will be when China perfects a true ICBM and must test it over ocean swells. Then, as a perceptive scholar of the legal issues has already noted, it will be interesting to see the reaction in South Pacific capitals.[49]

China's most immediate concerns would, however, appear to be in the South China Sea. The Spratlies and Paracel Islands which were targets of

[45]See also John R. Dewenter, "China Afloat," *Foreign Affairs,* 50 (July 1972), 738-50; Leo Y. Liu, "The Chinese People's Liberation Army," *Current History,* 75 (September 1978), 57-60; and the testimony before the Joint Economic Committee of the US Congress: "Allocation of Resources in the Soviet Union and China," Part I (July 1975), II (June 1976), and III (July 1977).

[46]See the authoritative estimates by George Lauriat in *FEER,* 21 January 1977 and 10 February 1978.

[47]Lauriat, Uhalley, and *PR,* 13 January 1978. One of the latest statements of Chinese intentions is *RMRB,* 12 September 1978.

[48]*PR,* 12 August 1977 and 3 February 1978.

[49]Kamminga, p. 557.

gunboat diplomacy back in 1974, are currently of far greater geopolitical importance. Off the coast of rival Vietnam and astride major sealanes, these dots of sand are crucial outposts from which China can observe Russian movements, explore for oil, base fishing ships and look beyond to more distant waters.[50] Within range of Hainan island's fighter squadrons, the islands--if they can be held--will enable the Chinese to draw a defense net at least partway to the Philippines. In order to consolidate claims, Peking has announced irregular ferry service from Hainan to the Paracels,[51] and more activity should be anticipated. Rumors that the Chinese have finally started to construct landing craft fits this as well as the familiar Taiwan situation.[52] In any case, as events begin to unfold regarding all of the offshore islands, we will learn a little more about China's capabilities at sea.

For the present, South Pacific nations have little to fear from the People's Republic and can expect Chinese support in international forums. They might, perhaps, keep another ancient Taoist saying in mind: "When a greater nation is humble before a lesser nation, it prevails over the lesser nation." But, then, American policy makers might heed the same advice.

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[50]Refer to footnote 14. For the latest claim, *RMRB*, 29 December 1978.
[51]*RMRB*, 27 December 1978.
[52]Liu, p. 58.

FROM THE GILLS OF THE FISH: THE TAHITIAN HOMELAND OF HAWAII'S CHIEF MO'IKEHA

by Rubellite Kawena Johnson

This study attempts to locate the Tahitian homeland of Mō'īkeha, an ancient hero of the migrations to Hawai'i from the place identified in tradition as Moa'ula (red-fowl).[1] Its full name, Moa'ula-nui-ākea, led Abraham Fornander a hundred years ago in his studies of the Hawaiian migrations to favor the island of Ra'iatea in the Society Group as the most probable site of Mō'īkeha's departure. He linked the *-ākea* of Moa'ula-nui-*ākea* to the *-ātea* in Ra'*iātea,* noting, too, that the reef pass into the lagoon on Ra'iatea is called Ava-*moa*.[2] A comparative study by Teuira Henry in the 1920s disputed Fornander's conclusion. She favored, instead, the island of Tahiti-nui some 130 miles southeast of Ra'iatea. The following detailed examination of the available Hawaiian and Tahitian traditions will substantiate Henry's designation of the island of Tahiti, not greater Tahiti-nui as she suggests, however, but its peninsula to the south, Tahiti-iti or Tai'arapu, as the original homeland of our Hawaiian ancestors.

One of our Hawaiian creation chants by Ka-haku-kū-i-ka-moana describes Mō'īkeha's grandson, 'Ahukini-ā-la'a, as a "chief from the foreign land, from the gills of the fish."

Kū mai 'Ahukini-ā-la'a
He ali'i mai ka nanamū
Mai ka 'api ō ka i'a
Mai ka 'ale po'i pū ō Halehale-ka-lani

Now stands forth 'Ahukini-ā-la'a
A chief from the foreign land
From the gills of the fish
From the overwhelming billows of Halehale-ka-lani.[3]

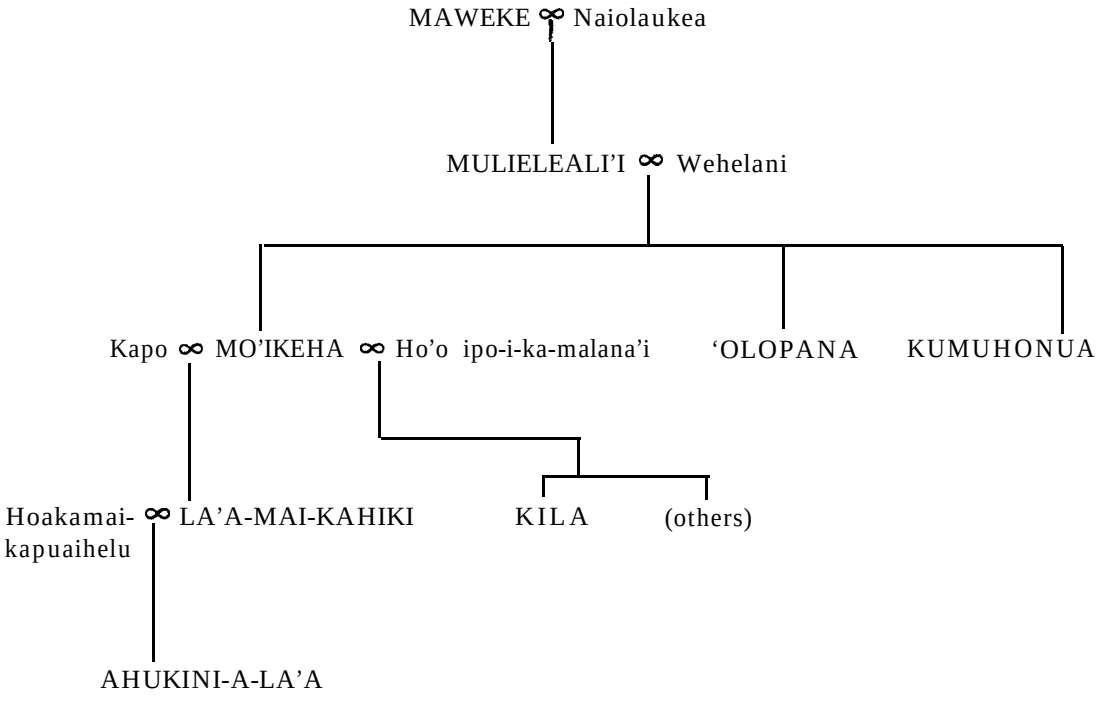
Is this Hawaiian reference to the "gills of the fish" just an idle figure of speech, or does it have a significant bearing upon tracing the Mō'īkeha family back to their homeland in Moa'ula-nui-ākea?

[1]Mō'īkeha may be dated some time near the twelfth century.

[2]Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race,* 3 vo1s. (London: Trubner, 1878-85; reprinted 3 vo1s. in one, Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969), II, 50-52. See also Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961).

[3]Abraham Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore,* Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, vol. 4, 5, 6 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1916-17; reprinted New York: Krans Reprints, 1974), 4, pt. 1, 2-4.

GENEALOGY OF THE MO'IKEHA FAMILY



Source: Fomander, *Polynesian Race,* I, 194-95.
Male names are CAPITALIZED.

In one story,[4] Moa'ula-nui-ākea-*nui* is the place where Mō'īkeha's home was located. After an affair with his brother's wife Lu'ukia and the subsequent courting of her favors by another jealous suitor, Mō'īkeha decided to depart from Tahiti. He set sail with a retinue of skilled navigators and kinsmen, leaving behind his son by Kapo, La'a-mai-kahiki. In another version,[5] 'Olopana (brother of Mō'īkeha) and Lu'ukia are chiefs of Waipi'o Valley, Hawai'i. They are swept by a flood to Tahiti where Mō'īkeha and Kapo are the chiefs of Moa'ula-nui-ākea-*nui.* A similar conflict develops, and Mō'īkeha finds the solution: leave Tahiti.

The journey brings Mō'īkeha to Hawai'i, first along the Ka'ū-Kona coast of the Big Island. As his canoe passes each island, some of the voyagers get off until only a skeleton crew remains. Mō'īkeha lands on Kaua'i

[4]Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities,* 4, pt. 1, 114.
[5]Fornander, *Polynesian Race,* II, 49.

to the northwest and there settles down as a chief with two sisters for wives. After many years and when Mō‘īkeha was nearing death, he yearned to see his Tahitian son La‘a-mai-kahiki. From among his Hawaiian sons, he chose Kila to take members of his original Tahitian crew home to fetch La‘a from Tahiti so that he could catch a last, fond glimpse of his son before dying.

Thus, Kila’s canoe sets out from Hawai‘i. It arrives at Moa‘ula-nui-ākea-*iki* (small) from where Kila glimpses his father’s old house on Moa-‘ula-nui-ākea-*nui* (great). Because one place was easily seen from the other, the Ra‘iatean location for Moa‘ula-nui-ākea seems most reasonable. Ra‘iatea could be the one island and Bora Bora the other since they are in close range. Fornander’s choice of Ra‘iatea would appear to be a logical conclusion on this basis.

More evidence comes from a chant by Kamahualele, who was Mō‘īkeha’s companion on the first migration north from Moa‘ula-nui-ākea. In his chant, Kamahualele refers to the island of Polapola (Bora Bora?). However, his Polapola is placed next to Nu‘uhiwa, an island in the Marquesas, and not by Ra‘iatea where it should be. It is doubtful, then, that the proximity of names in Kamahualele’s chant provides any real clue for locating the exact departure site.

The Kamahualele chant cites Kahiki (Tahiti) as the home of chief Mō‘īkeha, a “royal flower *(pua Ali‘i)* from Kapa‘ahu.” Ancestors who are named, like Hawai‘i, a “grandson” of Kahiko, son of Papa, daughter of Kū-ka-lani-‘ehu (father) and Kapu-(or Kupu-)-lana-kehau (mother) place Mō‘īkeha in the famous Papa-Wakea chiefly lineage:

Eia Hawai‘i, he moku, he kanaka
He kanaka Hawai‘i--e
He kanaka Hawai‘i
He Kama na Kahiki,
He pua Ali‘i mai Kapa‘ahu
Mai Moa‘ula-nui-ākea Kanaloa,
He mo‘opuna na Kahiko lāua ‘o Kapulanakehau
Na Papa i hānau
Na ke kama wahine o Kūkalani‘ehu lāua me Kauakahakoko
Na pulapula ‘āina i pae kāhi
I nonoho like i ka Hikina, Komohana,
Pae like ka moku i lālani
I hui aku, hui mai me Holani
Puni ka moku ‘o Kaialea ke kilo,
Nahā Nu‘uhiwa lele i Polapola
‘O Kahiko ke kumu ‘āina

Nāna i māhele ka‘awale na moku,
Moku ke aho lawai‘a a Kaha‘i,
I ‘okia e Kū-kanaloa,
Paukū na ‘āina, na moku,
Moku i ka ‘ohe kapu a Kanaloa.
‘O Haumea manu kahikele,
‘O Mō‘īkeha ka lani nāna e noho.
Noho ku‘u lani iā Hawai‘i--a
Ola! Ola! ‘O Kalanaola.
Ola ke ali‘i, ke kahuna.
Ola ke kilo, ke kauwā;
Noho iā Hawai‘i a lūlāna,
A kani mo‘opuna i Kaua‘i.
‘O Kaua‘i ka moku -a
‘O Mō‘īkeha ke ali‘i

Here is Hawai‘i, the island, the man.
A man is Hawai‘i,
A man is Hawai‘i,
A child of Tahiti,
A royal flower from Kapa‘ahu
From Moa‘ula-nui-ākea Kanaloa
A grandchild of Kahiko and Kapulanakehau
Papa begat him
The daughter of Kū-ka-lani-ehu and Ka-ua-kaha-koko
The scattered islands are in a row
Placed evenly from east to west
Spread evenly is the land in a row
Joined on to Holani
Kaialea the seer went round the land,
Separated Nu‘uhiwa, landed on Polapola;
Kahiko is the root of the land,
He divided and separated the islands.
Broken is the fishline of Kaha‘i
That was cut by Kū-kanaloa
Broken up into pieces were the lands, the islands
Cut up by the sacred knife of Kanaioa[6]

[6]The citing of Kanaloa as the god or chief who had the sacred bamboo knife *(‘ohe kapu)* with which to cut up (or distribute) land brought up by the fishline of Kaha‘i (a role usually played by the hero Maui) is an association which holds particular importance for the island of Kaho‘olawe, the old name of which is Kanaloa, where the high point is Moa‘ula! According to the Kamahualele chant, the full name of Mō‘īkeha’s home land was Moa‘ula-nui-

O Haumea Manukahikele
O Mō‘īkeha, the chief who is to reside,
My chief will reside on Hawai‘i
Life, life, O buoyant life!
Live shall the chief and the priest
Live shall the seer and the slave,
Dwell on Hawai‘i and be at rest,
And attain to old age on Kaua‘i.
O Kaua‘i is the island
O Mō‘īkeha is the chief.[7]

In another fragment of Hawaiian chants, Moa‘ula-nui-ākea is referred to in the plural as: *I na pae-moku o Moa‘ula-nui-ākea.* (The islands of Moa‘ula-nui-ākea):

‘O Wahilani, ‘o ke ali‘i o O‘ahu
I holo aku i Kahiki
I na pae-moku o Moa‘ula-nui-ākea
E ke‘eke‘ehi i ka houpo o Kāne a me Kanaloa.

Wahilani, chief of O‘ahu
Who sailed away to Tahiti
To the islands of Moa‘ula-nui-ākea
To trample the bosom of Kane and Kanaloa.[8]

Teuira Henry noticed that the principal names of the Hawaiian Mō‘īkeha legend had Tahitian counterparts. She correctly deduced that

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ākea-Kanaloa. It is interesting to note that Kamakau’s history (p. 93) indicates that Moa‘ula was connected with the name of Lono-i-ka-makahiki, son of Keawe-nui-a-‘Umi, who had gone to Tahiti. The Hawaiians, who looked forward to Lono’s return, which had become confused with the seasonal migration of the god Lono for whom Lono-i-ka-makahiki the chief was named, identified Captain James Cook as Lono when his ships arrived in 1778. “Then, both chiefs and commoners, hearing this report said to each other, ‘this is indeed Lono, and this is his *heiau* come across the sea from Moa‘ula-nui-ākea across Mano-wai-nui-kai-‘ō‘ō!’ ” The association with the god Lono explains why a number of *heiau* (*marae* or temples) are named Moa‘ula in Hawai‘i: Waipi‘o, Hawai‘i; Waikolu, Moloka‘i; and Kīpapa, O‘ahu. The *heiau* in Waipi‘o was named during the time of Ka-lani-opu‘u when his son Kiwala‘ō was made heir to the kingdom of Hawai‘i and the war god Kūka‘ilimoku was assigned to his nephew, Kamehameha. This event would have taken place after the death of Captain Cook in 1779 and before the Battle of Mokuohai in 1782. Moa‘ula *heiau* on the ridge of Waikolu gulch, Moloka‘i, is credited to the architectural feats of the *menehune.* See Thomas G. Thurm, *Hawaiian Annual* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star Bulletin, 1938), pp. 126 and 133.

[7]Fornander, *Polynesian Race,* II, 10-11.

[8]David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities,* trans. Nathaniel B. Emerson (Honolulu: Honolulu Star Bulletin, 1951), p. 241.

‘Olopana in the Hawaiian legend is also the name of a chiefly Tahitian family, the ‘Oropa‘a of Tahiti-nui. That the names Kū-kanaloa and Moa‘ula-nui-ākea-Kanaloa are cited in the Kamahualele chant of Mō‘īkeha, in which Kanaloa is the one who wields the sacred bamboo knife *(‘ohe kapu)* by which to “cut the fish line of Kaha‘i,” is an association of three gods: Kū, Kanaloa, and Kāne. The sacred bamboo knife is a symbol of Kāne, god of procreation.

When Kila arrived at Moa‘ula-nui-ākea-*iki*, he visited his uncle Kūpōhihi (or aunt Kāne-pōhihi). Kūpōhihi was called a ‘rat’ *(‘iore)* in the story, meaning no doubt that he belonged to the Rat Clan, the ‘Iore. The ‘Iore were identified by Teuira Henry as the Tumu-nui family who lived in Te-pori-o-nu‘u (north Tahiti-nui). Te-pori-o-nu‘u stretches from Mahina (Point Venus) in the north through Matavai, Pape‘ete, to the border of Fa‘a‘a in the northwest where the present airport now stands. According to Aurora Natua, librarian at the Pape‘ete Museum, the original location and principal home of the ‘Oropa‘a family was at Mahina in the north, a fact confirmed by Teuira Henry. Aurora Natua’s family traces a line of descent back to some of the ‘Oropa‘a chiefs of Mahina.[9]

Moa‘ura, Tautira, Tai‘arapu Peninsula, Tahiti-iti

From the standpoint of corroborative evidence in Tahitian place names for the Hawaiian Moa‘ula-nui-ākea, there is a subdivision by that name, Moa‘ura, in Tautira to the south, recorded by Henry: “After ‘Ativiri came to Ho‘ata-uri . . . *Moa‘ura.*”[10] She must have overlooked this important detail since she was comparing family and island names rather than district names.

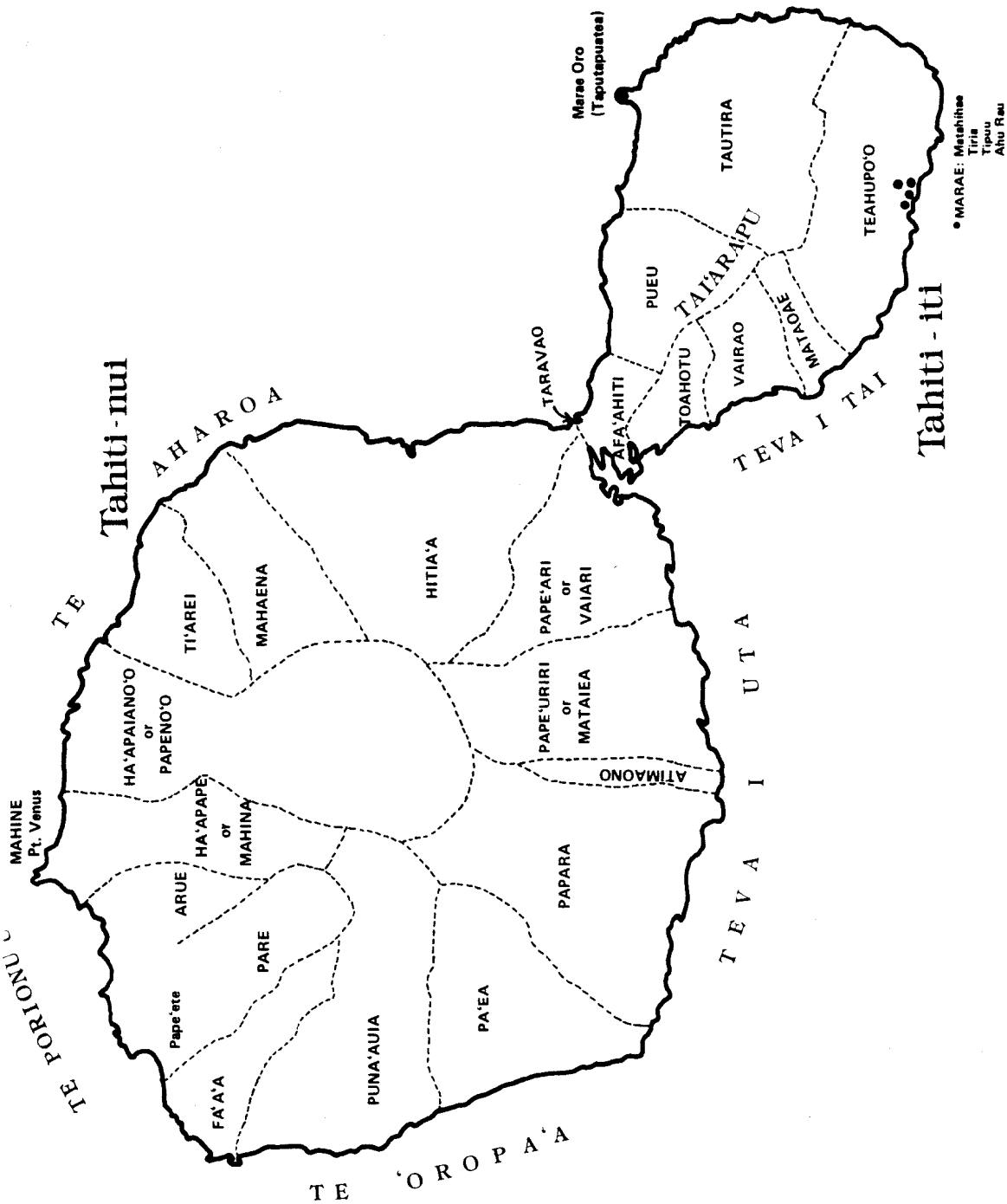
According to their traditional history, the chiefs of Tautira were displaced after battle by the chiefs of Te-ahu-upo‘o district just south of Tautira. Since the names of the orators and chiefs of Tautira are identical with those of Te-ahu-upo‘o, and since the southern (Te-ahu-upo‘o) chiefs won rule over Tautira, then the Tautira names *Tira*-hete and Te-*ra‘a*-roa which suggest the roots for the names of Mō‘īkeha’s two beloved sons, *Kila* and *La‘a*, must have belonged originally to the chiefs of Te-ahu-upo‘o, the southern district of Tai‘arapu.[11]

The name ‘Oropa‘a does not appear, however, among the names of titles of chiefs or orator chiefs of Tai‘arapu, but the ‘Oro clans (‘Ati-‘oro, ‘Ati-‘oro-i‘oro) did occupy Tautira, and they also fell under the yoke of

[9]Oral communication from Aurora Natua, Pape‘ete, Tahiti, to the author in May of 1977.

[10]Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1928), p. 87.

[11]Henry, p. 86.


Marae Oro
(Taputapuatea)
TAUTIRA
TEAHUPO'O
MARAE: Metahiha
Tiria
Tipuu
Ahu Rau
PUEU
TAI'ARAPU
VAIRAO
MA'AOAE
TOAHOTU
TARAVAO
AFA'AHITI
Tahiti-iti
TEVA I TAI
Tahiti-nui
TE
AHAROA
TI'AREI
MAHAENA
HITIA'A
PAPE'ARI
or
VAIARI
HA'APAIANO'O
or
PAPENO'O
PAPE'URIRI
or
MATAIEA
ATIMAONO
MAHINE
Pt. Venus
HA'APAPE
or
MAHINA
ARUE
PAPARA
TEVA I UTA
TE PORIONU
PARE
Papeʻete
PUNA'AUIA
PA'EA
FA'A'A
TE 'OROPA'A

Te-ahu-upoʻo. The tradition of Mōʻīkeha records that his brother ʻOlopana had come to Moaʻula-nui-ākea-nui from Hawaiʻi.[12]

The name Taʻaroa (Kanaloa) is, according to Henry's description, significant in two ways. It is the name of a subdivision of land in Tautira district (Taʻaroa-i-te-faʻa), and it is also the name of the power, chief, or god Taʻaroa over the *marae* Pure-ora in Tautira. Again, as we have seen before, these names are found in close proximity in the Hawaiian chant by Kamahualele of the Mōʻīkeha migration:

> A man is Hawaiʻi
> A child of Tahiti
> A royal flower from Kapaʻahu
> From Moaʻula-nui-ākea *Kanaloa*
> A grandchild of Kahiko and Kapulanakehau
> Papa begat him
> The daughter of Kūkalaniehu and Kauakahakoko
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Broken is the fishline of Kahaʻi
> That was cut by *Kanaloa*
> Broken up into pieces were the lands, the islands
> Cut up by the sacred knife of *Kanaloa* . . .

The evidence thus far strongly favors Te-ahu-upoʻo, southern Tahiti-iti, as a place from which Mōʻīkeha may have left and another district, probably Tautira, within close range of Mōʻīkeha's home (Lanikeha) to which Mōʻīkeha's son Kila sailed to get Laʻa on the earlier return voyage and to take back Mōʻīkeha's bones on the later one. Could it be logically argued that Moaʻula-nui-ākea-*nui* is Tahiti-*nui* and Moaʻula-nui-ākea-*iti* is Tahiti-*iti*, large Tahiti and small Tahiti?

As was mentioned above, the ʻOropaʻa high chiefs were not in control of the land subdivision of Te-ahu-upoʻo or Tautira in Tahiti-iti. The Tahitian clan name of the ʻOropaʻa chiefs is given, rather, to a major division of land called Papara or Vaitoru west of the Isthmus of Taravao between Tahiti-nui and Tahiti-iti (Taiʻarapu Peninsula):

> This subdivision was formerly named ʻA-ʻOropaʻa (of strong warrior). The mountain above is Mouʻa-tamaiti; the assembly ground below, Poreho; the points outside Mahaʻi-atea and Manomano; the rivers Fariʻi-ore and Vai-poea; the marae, Mahaʻi-atea . . . Upon on a high mountain of Papara is a great cavern which has

[12]The Hawaiian version pinpoints this Hawaiʻi as that of Waipiʻo Valley in the Hawaiian chain, but Hawaiʻi is also an old Tahitian name for the island of Raʻiatea.

been the family vault of the high chiefs, Te-ri‘i-rere and Tati . . . Following is an archaic war song *(pehe-tama‘i)* referring to the ancient history of these districts which evidently dates from a time when the dauntless warriors of the ‘Oropa‘a were subjugating different parts of Tahiti, and which seems to throw light upon this part of Papara being named ‘A-‘Oropa‘a (of strong warrior) :

Te Rua-i-tupua te Rua-i-tahito ra!
Mai te tai maira vau,
Mai te mahu fenua,
Te-tou nohora‘a aroha e!
E hoatu anei ia Rua-i-tupua tahito
Ia Vaitoru?
E to‘u fenua maita‘i e,
Papara to‘u fenua ia mau.
Tou ivaiva
Ua fatata i tau ma te ono.
Ho atu anei ia Rua-i-tupua tahito,
Ia Vaitoru?
Papara to‘u fenua ia mau.
Te ruma nei ra ‘Oropa‘a e!
Mai tana nei te fanau‘a ‘oura ri‘i marae
E tere Hiro, e fete e feta
Pati fenua ia ‘oe.
Tu ra, e oroi, pua,
Te manu mou‘a ri‘i
Papa tane te fenua e mau e!

Rua-i-tupua (source of growth)
Rua-i-tupua (source of growth)!
From the sea have I come,
From the misty land [Te-‘oro-pa‘a]
The Cordia, O residence beloved!
To Rua-i-tupua of old shall
Vai-toru (three-waters) be given? [The three Paparas]
O my good land,
Papara is the land I’ll hold.
Raging warrior,
The time of vengeance approaches.
To Rua-i-tupua of old shall
Vai-toru be given?

Papara is the land I'll hold.
O 'tis lowering over ʻOropaʻa!
From its mountain sacred to gentlemen
Clamor is brooding.
The little shrimps [people of little power] of the
marae are crying,
As the sweep of Hiro comes the outbreak.
Thou wilt make them leap upon the land,
Stand, turn, blown away,
Shall the mountain birds [people] be.
Rock the man shall be in possession![13]

In this context, the Kamakau genealogy of the brothers Kumuhonua, ʻOlopana, and Mōʻīkeha provides additional evidence in favor of this part of Tahiti-nui and in particular the district of *Vaiari* where Lake Vaihiria is located in the mountains and from which come the waters flowing into the valley that borders on Vaiʻuriri:

Ua ʻōlelo ʻia ua kaua ʻo Kumuhonua me kona Kaikaina me ʻOlopana, a ua heʻe ʻo ʻOlopana a kaua i ka moana, a heʻe i ka moana ʻaʻohe wahi e peʻe ai i uka, a ua lawe-puʻe ʻia ʻo Laʻamaikahiki e ʻOlopana, a me Mōʻīkeha. ʻAʻole wahi e pae ai i Hawaiʻi. Ua holo loa ʻo ʻOlopana i Kahiki, a noho iloko ʻo Moaʻulanuiākea. Ua laweʻia ʻo Laʻamaikahiki i Waihilia a noho i uka ʻo ke kuna ka iʻa a Mōʻīkeha i lawe pū ʻia e ʻOlopana. I ka moe ʻana ʻo Moʻikeha iā Luʻukia. ʻOia ke kumu i hoʻi hou mai ai ʻo Mōʻīkeha, a noho i Kauaʻi.

It is said that Kumuhonua fought with his younger brother, ʻOlopana, and ʻOlopana fled and fought on the sea; (and he) fled to the sea (for) there was no land in which to hide upshore, and Laʻamaikahiki was taken by ʻOlopana and Mōʻīkeha. There was nowhere to land (the canoe) on Hawaiʻi. ʻOlopana sailed to Tahiti and lived in Moaʻula-nui-ākea. Laʻamaikahiki was taken to *Vaihiria* and there lived inland the eel, the fish of Mōʻīkeha taken by ʻOlopana.[14] Then Mōʻīkeha married Luʻukia. that is the reason why Mōʻīkeha came back again and lived on Kauaʻi.[15]

[13]Henry, p. 80.

[14]This sentence may be translated also as: "Laʻa-mai-kahiki was taken to Vaihiria and lived inland of the eel, the fish of Mōʻīkeha taken by ʻOlopana."

[15]Samuel M. Kamakau, "Moolelō o Hawaii Nei," *Ka Nupepa Kū* Honolulu, 23 September 1865, Helu 14, 15, 16.

Hawaiian *Waiali,* equivalent to Tahitian *Vaiari,* means a base, foundation, or place for the king to speak at the rostrum for speakers, the *kahua Waiali* in the *heiau:*

Nui make o nōlaʻelaʻe mālamalama moʻakāka
Waiho wale kahiko ākea; ikeʻa kahua ʻo Waiali
ʻIkeʻa ke hipahipa o ka moku
Ka pae kiʻi, ka pae newenewe
Ka hale hau a ke kua, hoʻolono wale iho.

Fresh coconuts of clear water, clear as the light
Akea remained unknown in ancient times,
Now appears upon the rostrum
Appears the wonder of the island
The image gods now stand full in their places
In the house built for the gods,
There the people hear the worship.[16]

Henry continues that the name ʻA-ʻOropaʻa had long been dropped, and that the three subdivisions were united into one Papara under the chieftainship of Tati whose seat of government was there. Papara and all the southern districts of Tahiti as far as the Isthmus of Taravao were called Te-teva-i-uta (mainland plain) and all the districts of Taiʻarapu are called Te-teva-i-tai (ultra plain) from the belief that "*They were united in the fish before its sinews were cut,*" a Tahitian reference to a fresh-water eel *(kuna)* alluded to in the Hawaiian story of Mōʻīkeha.[17]

The Isthmus of Taravao, "the gills of the fish"

The myth of the "cutting of the sinews of the fish," or the cleaving of Tahiti at the Isthmus of Taravao by Tafaʻi dates from the ancient past of Tahitian mythology. In 1822 and 1824, the story was recited by King Pomare of Tahiti. In the beginning, all of the islands were once attached to the sacred island of Raʻiatea. Once while the gods were sacrificing at Taputapuatea, they ordered all humans to remain in their homes. Disregarding this order, the young maiden Terehe secretly went swimming in a nearby river. The gods were angry at her disrespect and caused her to drown. As she sank below the billows, a giant eel *(tuna)* swallowed her, and it became possessed with her enraged spirit. The eel thrashed about so much that it tore the land in two between Raʻiatea and Huahine. The girlʻs spirit entered into the loosened land and like a great fish it started

[16]Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities,* 6, pt. 3, 379, note 29.
[17]Henry, p. 81.

swimming away. Only the god Tu took notice of the "fish." He dashed away from the religious services being held and guided the "fish" safely south and eastward--the island of Tahiti had been formed. Now that the fish had become stable, it was necessary to cut its sinews to prevent it from moving. The victorious warrior Tafa'i with his miraculous axe (Te-pa-huru-nui-ma-te-vai-tau) chopped until the sinews of the throat were cut and the head of the fish drew back until there only remained two large mountains separated by an isthmus called Taravao (corner-plain).[18]

The head of the fish, therefore, is Tahiti-iti; while the main body Tahiti-nui is behind it to the northwest. This Tahitian reference may then explain the expression *mai ka 'api o ka i'a* (from the gills of the fish) in the creation chant of Ka-haku-kū-i-ka-moana:

> Kū mai Ahukinia-la'a,
> He 'ali'i mai ka nanamu
> Mai ka 'api o ka i'a
> Mai ka 'ale po'i pū o Halehalekalani.
>
> Now stands forth Ahukini-a-La'a,
> A chief from the foreign land,
> From the gills of the fish
> From the overwhelming billows of Halehale-ka-lani.[19]

Where else, then, would the gills of the fish be other than Tautira on the one side or Te-ahu-upo'o on the other? With the various associations of names and from the evidence cited, we may safely say that Te-ahu-upo'o was one of the possible sites mentioned as the homeland of Mō'īkeha.

The 'Oropa'a Burial Vaults

Another problem associated with Mō'īkeha's homeland is where the burial vaults were located to which Kila went with La'a to return Mō'īkeha's bones. Again, Teuira Henry favors the northern district of Tahiti-nui. In her work, she defines the three major districts of the 'Oropa'a as (1) North Tahiti: Tahara'a, Tapahi, Mahina, Fenua'ura; (2) West Tahiti: Te-'Oropa'a (Mano-tahi, Mano-rua; Puna'auia, Pa'ea); (3) Southwest Tahiti: Papara (Vaitoru, A'Oropa'a). Any one of these three districts could have been the destination of Kila and La'a. Henry affirms that the location of Mō'īkeha's burial place was Kapa'ahu in northern Tahiti-nui, when she states, "the name of Ka-pa-ahu (heaped up shore) . . . is evi-

[18]Henry, pp. 437-42.
[19]Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities,* 4, pt. 1, 2-4.

dently identical with the hilly coast called Ta-pahi . . . in the district of Mahina, the home of Tafa'i.[20]

Again her identification of northern Tahiti-nui as the home of the Rata family, the 'Iore or Tumu-nui clan mentioned in the legends, is a strong argument in her favor. However, in the last part of the Mō'īkeha tradition, when the family removes the bones of the dead Mō'īkeha to Tahiti, it should be borne in mind that Mō'īkeha, as a member of the 'Olopana/'Oropa'a chiefs, would have qualified for burial in the vault of the 'Oropa'a "up in a high mountain"[21] in Papara and not in northern Tahiti-nui. If the migrating party of Kila and La'a failed to get back to Tahiti, it may explain the lack of Tahitian tradition about Mō'īkeha's return to the cave of the 'Oropa'a. No information is available on the whereabouts of burial vaults for other chiefs, such as those of Te-ahu-upo'o and Tautira in Tai'arapu. It is interesting, therefore, to note the concluding part of the Mō'īkeha tradition in Hawai'i.

> It is said that because La'a-mai-kahiki lived on Kaho'olawe, and set sail from that island, was the reason why the ocean to the west of Kaho'olawe is called "the road to Tahiti" (Ke-ala-i-Kahiki) . . . After La'a-mai-kahiki had lived on Kaho'olawe for a time, his priests became dissatisfied with the place, so La'a-mai-kahiki left Kaho'olawe and returned to Kaua'i. Upon the death of Mō'īkeha, the land descended to Kila, and La'a-mai-kahiki returned to Tahiti [with his brother Kila whom he picked up in Kaua'i] . . . and the bones of their father which were to be deposited in the mountain of Ka-pa-ahu, Mō'īkeha's own inheritance, where La'a-mai-kahiki and Kila also lived until their death.[22]

Henry does not mention any other burial vault in a high mountain *except that in Papara* for the 'Oropa'a. It would be interesting to find out if there were other burial places for the 'Oropa'a chiefs in northern Tahiti besides that of Papara, for the Hawaiian account clearly states that his bones were to be deposited "in the mountain of Ka-pa-ahu, of Moa'ula-nui-ākea-nui."

In looking over the maps of Tahiti-nui to locate the names of mountains qualified by "-ahu," or *marae* named 'ahu, Te-ahu-upo'o yields the same association of names that tend to link it with the Mō'īkeha-Kila migration. Te-ahu-upo'o in Tai'arapu Peninsula is itself an -ahu and it has the mountain, Te-*ahu*. the counselor of Te-ahu-upo'o district at the Fare-

[20]Henry, pp. 566-67.

[21]Henry, p. 80.

[22]Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities,* 4, pt. 1, 154.

‘orometua-nui center of learning in ancient times was named Te-*ahu*-marua. Also of interest in this district is a group of *marae* at Matahihae, Tiria, Tipu‘u and *Ahu*-rau. (See map.)

The meaning of Ka-pa-ahu in Hawaiian is uncertain. It may be *kapa-‘ahu* (cloak, covering, clothing) or *ka-pā-ahu* (platform enclosure, heaped-wall, platformed fence, terraced enclosure). It is important within this context of possible meanings to reflect upon the history of Te-ahu-upo‘o and how it got its name. Henry states that the name was derived from a “wall of heads” taken from the people slain in battle between the districts of north and south Tai‘arapu. A boundary dispute had begun the war that ended in bloodshed and the victorious southern district decapitated their slain foes and “made a wall of their heads for the boundary line” at Rapa‘e.[23]

Thus, Henry’s statement, “the name of Ka-pa-ahu . . . is evidently identical with the hilly coast called Ta-pahi . . . in the district of Mahina” must be reexamined in the light of the evidence we have suggested above, or until other traditions or archaeology bring forth evidence that the ‘Oropa‘a chiefs had more than one burial vault!

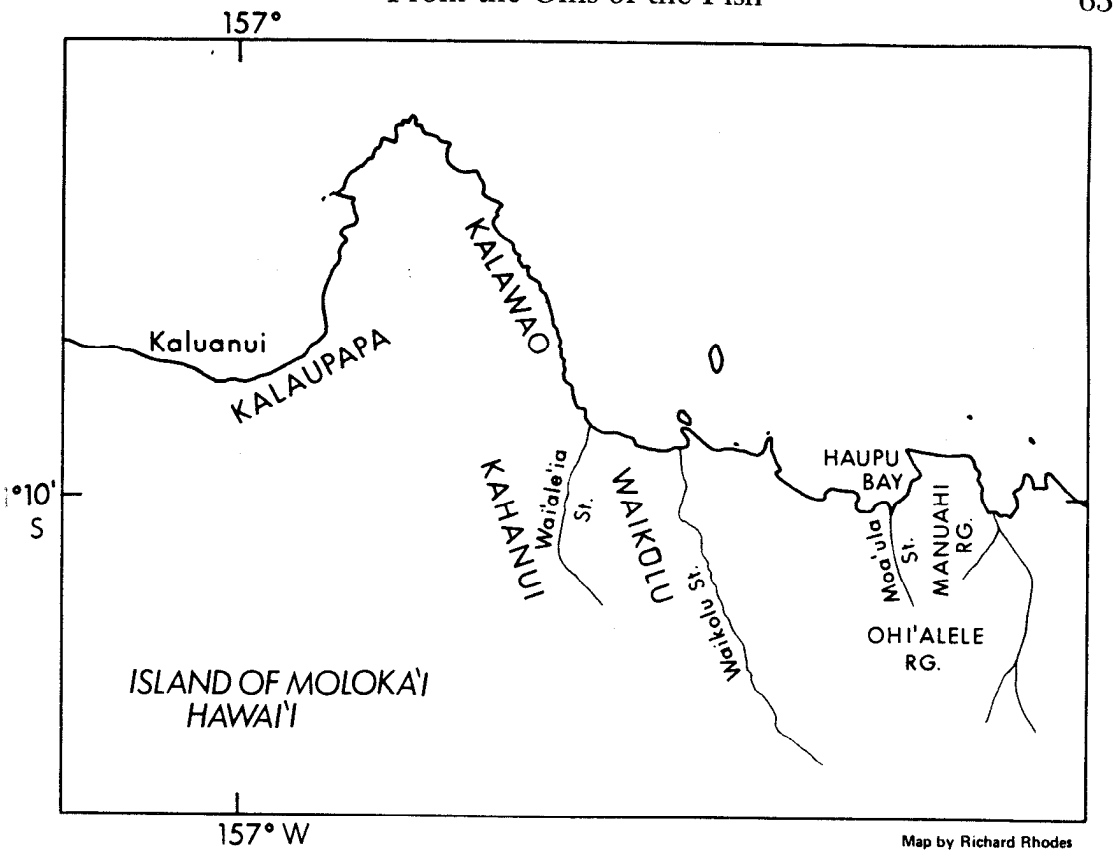
Place Names in Hawai‘i

Now that the two departure sites (homeland) from Tahiti have been established, we shall attempt to locate the possible residences of the Mō‘íkeha family in Hawai‘i. Where in Hawai‘i do we have place names in close proximity to suggest that they were named after similar locations in Tahiti by the Mō‘īkeha family?[24] The juxtaposition of the names Taravao and Vaitoru of Tahiti may be identified with a similarly named district on Moloka‘i: Kalawao (Taravao) and Waikolu (Vaitoru). (Refer to maps.) The Moa‘ula tradition including the ‘Olopana chiefs may have ties with the Ka-lua-nui district on O‘ahu which includes Punalu‘u and Hau‘ula, the stronghold of chief ‘Olopana! The western border of Ka-lua-nui district is situated by sacred Kualoa toward Kahalu‘u in Kāne‘ohe. Similarly, Ta-haru‘u in Tahiti-nui is on the border between Papara district and Mataiea; the pass in front is Te-ava-ra‘a.

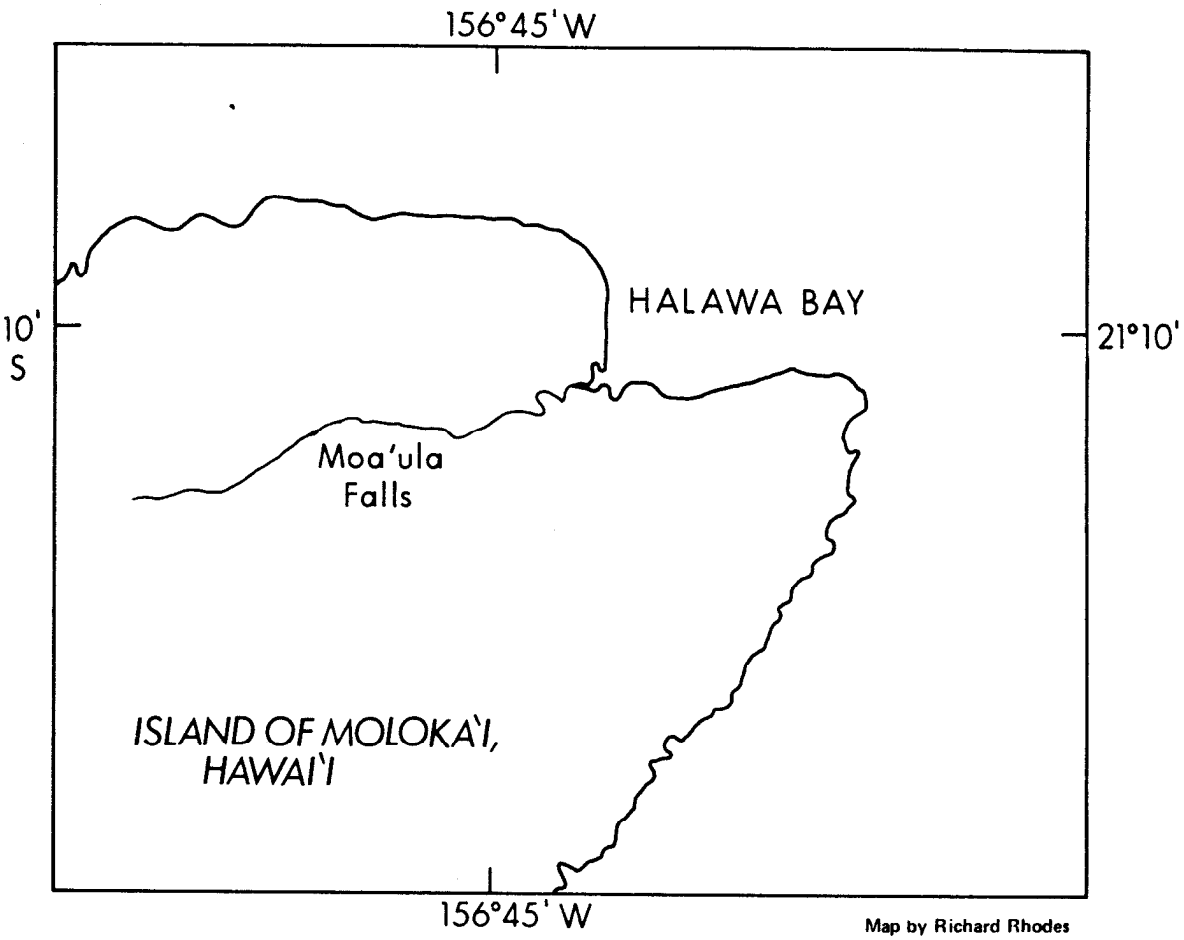
Another good example on Moloka‘i would be the prominent waterfalls named Moa‘ula northeast in Halawa Valley and in Waikolu on the eastern side of Kalawao district. Waikolu also boasts of a Moa‘ula *heiau* and this district borders exactly upon Kalawao, a remarkable coincidence of names with the districts of Papara (Tahiti-nui) and Tautira (Tahiti-iti)! We have already mentioned La‘a living on the island of Kaho‘olawe, anciently

[23]Henry, p. 86.

[24]See Mary K. Puku‘i, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther R. Mo‘okini, *Place Names of Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974).



Map by Richard Rhodes



Map by Richard Rhodes

called Kanaloa, whose high point is Moaʻula. All of these names were, perhaps, bestowed upon the places by Kila's voyagers who disembarked on Molokaʻi, Oʻahu, and Kahoʻolawe during the several Mōʻīkeha-Kila-Laʻa migrations.

Conclusion

In reviewing the positions taken by scholars Abraham Fornander and Teuira Henry for the location of Mōʻīkeha's homeland in Moa-ula-nui-ākea-nui, our detailed evidence from Hawaiian and Tahitian traditions favors a place in Tahiti-nui or Tahiti-iti. Raʻiatea may ultimately be the original home of the Moaʻula or the ʻOropaʻa chiefs, but until more traditions have been evaluated, none of the recorded place names and chiefly titles for Raʻiatea present any exceptional proof in that direction. As for the exact location of Ka-pa-ahu where Lanikeha was situated and to which Mōʻīkeha's sons, Kila and Laʻa, returned the bones of their father, the evidence thus far favors southern Tahiti, which is at variance with Teuira Henry's choice of northern Tahiti-nui. A cluster of associations between Hawaiian place names of districts, *heiau,* waterfalls, and chiefly titles with comparable Tahitian ones favors the districts. of Te-ahu-upoʻo and Tautira in Taiʻarapu Peninsula (Tahiti-iti) as the home of Mōʻīkeha and the probable location of Moaʻula-nui-ākea. The associations between Molokaʻi and Papara for Waikolu/Vaitoru and Kalawao/Taravao suggest an early migration of ʻOlopana/ʻOropaʻa chiefs from south Tahiti to Ka-lua-nui, Oʻahu, and early contacts between north Molokaʻi's Kalawao-Waikolu district chiefs and the ʻOlopana/Luanuʻu chiefs of Ka-lua-nui and Kualoa (Oʻahu), hence the relationships of the descendants of those Tahitians who cleaved asunder Tai-arapu Peninsula from whence came Laʻamaikahiki and his son Ahukini-a-Laʻa from "the gills of the fish."

Ma ke aho i lawaiʻa ka iʻa nui a Kahaʻi
I kona lawe mai a haʻi i ka poʻo o ka moku,
Moku a nahā ka ʻapi o ka iʻa
Ma Kalawao i ka puʻu o Kahiki.

Ahu lau ka poʻo o Kaukila i ka pā
I ka pā o Ke-ahu-poʻo i ka lā;
Kulu mai ka maka i ka wai ʻekolu
Mai Waikolu e kau i ka ʻolu
I ka ʻolu o ka wai e keha i ka ʻiu
E keha i ka ʻiu o Moaʻula.

By the cord was the great fish of Kahaʻi caught
When he brought forth the head of the island to be broken,
Severed and split were the gills of the fish
At Kalawao in the throat of Kahiki.

Heaped at the altars were the heads of Kaukila in the wall,
In the wall of Ke-ahu-poʻo in the sunlight;
The tears of three streams flowed at the source
Of Waikolu set in the coolness,
In the coolness of streams flowing from the heights
From the dignity in the lofty zenith of Moaʻula.[25]

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[25]Poem written by the author in 1977 comemorating the great deeds of Kahaʻi.

THE REFOUNDING OF THE LDS MISSION IN FRENCH POLYNESIA, 1892

by R. Lanier Britsch

On 30 April 1844, the whaler *Timoleon* dropped anchor off the island of Tubuai, 350 miles south of Tahiti. On board were Latter-day Saint (LDS) Elders Addison Pratt, Benjamin F. Grouard, and Noah Rogers who had sailed from New Bedford, Massachusetts. These men had been called by Joseph Smith, Jr., leader of the Latter-day Saints, to open the first Mormon mission in the Pacific area.[1] During the next eight years, Pratt, his companions, and other missionaries who later joined them succeeded in baptizing fifteen hundred to two thousand people (mostly Tuamotuans) and in establishing a number of branches of the church. Unfortunately for the LDS, their entry into these islands was almost simultaneous with the French ascendency there. The French government made Tahiti, Tubuai and most of the Tuamotu Islands a protectorate by 1848, and restricted missionary activities for all non-French groups such as the London Missionary Society and the Latter-day Saints, after that time. Because of conflicts between the Latter-day Saints and the French Roman Catholic priests, the French government made matters so uncomfortable for the LDS missionaries, deporting some of them and restricting the activities of others, that in 1852 they left the islands.

After the expulsion of the missionaries in 1852, the Tahitian, Tuamotuan, and Tubuaian saints (as Latter-day Saints call themselves) were left to fend for themselves and keep the church alive for forty years. President Brigham Young, who succeeded Joseph Smith as leader of the faith, suggested to Walter Murray Gibson, a missionary who was sent to the Pacific in 1861, that he might call on the saints in the Society Islands if it was convenient, but Gibson became involved in the church in Hawaii and never visited French Polynesia.[2] No other LDS missionaries were sent to French Polynesia until 1892.

[1]S. George Ellsworth, *Zion in Paradise: Early Mormons in the South Seas* (Logan, Utah: The Faculty Association, Utah State University, 1959), 34 pp. Professor Ellsworth discusses this first period of the LDS French Polynesia experience from 1843 to 1852, in a thoughtful, scholarly manner.

[2]Young to Gibson, 5 March 1851, Brigham Young Letterbooks, Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereinafter cited as HDC.

The story of the saints from 1852 to 1892 is sketchy at best. Persecutions continued for many years.[3] Government and Catholic harrassment of the saints on Ana'a and other Tuamotu islands was so serious that it became dangerous for one to espouse Mormonism openly. This fact, in combination with an absence of an appointed authority who could resolve differences regarding doctrine and procedure, allowed dissensions to arise which ultimately broke the church into factions--Mormons, Israelites, the Sheep, Abraham's Church, Darkites, and the Whistlers. Not until 1867, when the government extended general toleration throughout the protectorate, were any of the factions allowed to worship openly. By that time the LDS church in French Polynesia was in a thoroughly disorganized state.[4]

James S. Brown, who served as an LDS missionary in French Polynesia from 1850 until he was expelled in 1852, returned as a missionary to Tahiti in 1892, after an absence of forty years. (More about him later.) He concluded that the various sects had taken different names in order to avoid persecution. But, he also observed that many unusual or erroneous doctrines had been adopted such as holding daily meetings (which was not the accepted LDS pattern) and allowing only one man (or woman) to conduct services, lead the hymns, pray, and preach.[5] How early these changes occurred is not known.

Several island saints stand out, however, as stalwarts in the faith. Elders Tihoni and Maihea are known to have withstood imprisonment and many other ordeals rather than deny what they knew to be true. Each of them tried to keep the saints in their areas active and faithful to the gospel.

John Hawkins, an interisland sailor and trader who was converted to the LDS Church by Addison Pratt, and who worked as a missionary while the Utah elders were in the islands, also tried to keep the church going. He later joined with the Reorganized LDS Church (an offshoot of the LDS Church which was organized in 1860), but for many years he served

[3]James S. Brown, *Giant of the Lord: The Life of a Pioneer* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1960 [first published in 1902]), pp. 279-80; Andrew Jensen, "Manuscript History of the French Polynesia Mission," typescript, 31 December 1953 (but written in the 1890s), HDC, hereinafter cited as MHFP; F. Edward Butterworth, *The Adventures of John Hawkins: Restoration Pioneer* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1963), pp. 203 ff. Andrew Jensen served as assistant LDS Church Historian for almost five decades. He visited Tahiti in 1895 and gathered historical data. He also interviewed many missionaries and read many missionary journals in an effort to document the development of the LDS Church in French Polynesia.

[4]MHFP, 1867; Ellsworth, p. 31.

[5]MHFP, 1867; Ellsworth, p. 31.

well. According to F. Edward Butterworth, an RLDS missionary and historian, Hawkins continued to work as an interisland trader after the missionaries left. In order to move freely from place to place he kept his relationship to the church a secret from the government, but appointed five local brethren to work with him in the ministry. Each of the others established a store where Hawkins could supply goods and church support without being suspected by the gendarmes. He remained active as a missionary until at least 1864. After that other concerns occupied his time.[6]

It is known that two island Zions, "gathering places," were established. The saints on Tubuai called Mahu "Tiona," or Zion. The saints in and around Pape'ete gathered in a little mountain sanctuary near Fa'a'a, three and one half miles west of the city. They too called their place of refuge "Tiona." Exactly how many members of the church lived there is not known, but they did conduct schools as well as regular church meetings. In the early 1870s this little community was under the care of local Tahitian elders, along with the help of an East Indian (or part East Indian) member named David Brown.[7]

It was into this branch of the LDS Church that two missionaries from the Reorganized Church happened to come. Charles Wandell, an apostate Mormon who had joined the RLDS Church, and Gloud Rodger arrived at Tahiti on 13 December 1873. A leak in their ship brought about their unscheduled landing. After several days in Pape'ete they learned about and visited the Tiona settlement. Unfortunately, from the LDS perspective, they convinced most of the saints that they represented the church which had inherited the authority of the Prophet Joseph Smith after his martyrdom in 1844. They claimed that Brigham Young and the Utah Mormons were apostates and that the authority to lead the remnant of Joseph Smith's church had been given to his son, Joseph Smith III, who was the figurehead leader of the Reorganization. Before they departed they baptized fifty-one people into their church. Having accomplished this, they went on to Australia to fill their missions.

The next RLDS missionary to claim authority over the saints in the islands was William Nelson who arrived in 1879. He was followed by Thomas W. Smith, an apostle in the Reorganized Church, who arrived as an assigned missionary in 1884. Before Utah Mormon elders returned in 1892, Nelson and Smith had led a fairly large number of members into their church.

[6]Butterworth, *Adventures,* pp. 203 ff; and *Roots of the Reorganization: French Polynesia* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1977), pp. 92-94. Butterworth hardly footnotes, but he supplies information that is unavailable elsewhere.

[7]MHFP, by date.

There are several possible reasons why the LDS Church did not take better care of the Tahitian saints. One was the problems that were raised in Utah during these years (1851-90) by the polygamy issue, which brought so much persecution the church had to fight for survival. Another and better explanation is that the church simply forgot about the existence of these saints. Whatever the cause of the negligence, it is tragic that the saints were left alone.

After the closing of the LDS mission in French Polynesia in 1852, the mission in Hawaii (founded 1850) was the only one to remain active for the next several decades. In 1888, however, missionaries were sent from Hawaii to Samoa to establish the LDS Church there. By the summer of 1891 the mission in Samoa was well established. Headquarters had been set up at Fagali'i, a few miles outside of Apia, Samoa's principal city. Even though the mission was only three years old, President William O. Lee decided it was time to open new fields of labor. In June he sent missionaries to Tonga. Then, with the blessings of the church's First Presidency, who were headquartered in Salt Lake City, he began making plans to send elders to Tahiti. Soon after Elder William A. Seegmiller of Richfield, Utah, arrived in Samoa on 4 October 1891, President Lee asked him whether he would be willing to help with the reopening of church work in Tahiti.[8] He accepted the call and eleven days later, when Tahitian Bibles and a dictionary arrived, he set to work trying to learn the language. President Lee acted as instructor, even though he too did not know the language.

Elder Joseph W. Damron, Jr., was selected to go to Tahiti with Elder Seegmiller. Damron arrived in Samoa on 28 November, and was given his new assignment the next day. Between late November and 22 January 1892, when they sailed for Pape'ete, the companions were busy memorizing words and studying what bits of grammar they could figure out. When the steamer *Richmond* left Apia harbor, both men were apprehensive concerning their future, but they wrote of their conviction that they could succeed in this new assignment.[9]

The natural beauty of Tahiti added to the feelings the young elders shared as the ship *Richmond* glided to its mooring. How would they be accepted by the people, the government? Could they find any Mormons from the early era? They wished one friendly face would emerge from the noisy, jostling throng at the port. "But in all that crowd," wrote Elder Seegmiller, "not one did we know; it seemed strange, and we were indeed

[8]William A. Seegmiller, Journals 1891-1895, dates as given, HDC.

[9]Seegmiller; Joseph W. Damron, Jr., "Missionary Labors of Joseph W. Damron, Jr.," in his own handwriting, HDC.

strangers." It was 27 January 1891--the Tahitian Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was open again after a hiatus of forty years.

The elders could not easily find inexpensive living quarters, but after looking the first day and spending the night on the *Richmond* they finally found a small room without much furniture, supplied with cobwebs and mosquitoes but priced low enough for self-supporting Mormon elders--six dollars a month. A week or two later they found something more to their liking, a three-dollar-a-month room.

As soon as they were settled, Elders Damron and Seegmiller began carefully studying the local situation. Through visits to Mr. Turnball, manager of a local firm, and Mr. William F. Doty, US consul, they learned a little about the governmental situation. First, the territory was officially called *Établissements Français de l'Océanie.* The Protectorate, as it had been known to earlier LDS missionaries, was now a colony. Between the 1840s and 1880s the French had laboriously assembled the five archipelagos of the area (the Society Islands, the Marquesas, the Tuamotus, the Gambiers, the Australs, and the isolated island of Clipperton) into one governmental entity headed by a governor and council. Although the French had hoped the islands would bring economic advantage to the home country, by this time these hopes had not materialized.[10] The islands proved to be of little economic value to France, then or later, except for their romantic appeal. The elders learned that the government was still concerned with the steady decline of the population because of disease. But Mr. Doty assured the elders that there were no restrictions concerning preaching the gospel or "carrying out our duty."[11]

Their initial fears concerning the local people were quickly swept away as they became acquainted with them. Even while the elders were at their first home they were almost literally adopted by a Tahitian neighbor and his family. Daily, Amaro brought fish, fruit, cabbage, breadfruit, and other foods. He voluntarily ran errands and helped in many other ways. The Tahitian people were especially warm and friendly. Both Damron and Seegmiller observed the Chinese segment of the population. They later learned that in 1865 a planter imported a fairly large number of Chinese to work on his cotton plantation, which did not survive. But the

[10]In 1838 the Colombian government gave France the right to construct a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. From then until the French attempt to build a canal failed in 1889, there was considerable discussion of the economic advantages that could be had in the Pacific. See C. Hartley Grattan, *The Southwest Pacific to 1900* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 217.

[11]Seegmiller, 28 January 1892; Damron, same date; see also C. Hartley Grattan, *The Southwest Pacific Since 1900.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. 411-12.

Chinese did, and by 1892 they owned hotels and stores and were an important part of the populace. White people, mostly French by birth, numbered less than a thousand. Most of them were traders and merchants or government employees.

One day, shortly after they arrived, Elders Damron and Seegmiller learned about a group of Mormons who lived only three and one half miles outside of Pape'ete at Fa'a'a. On 8 February, Amaro took them there but when they arrived, they soon discovered that the supposed Mormons were actually RLDS. The presiding elder who was in charge of this group was away on other islands. His assistant Tupuni explained that there were over two thousand members of their church in the various islands.[12] This meeting was the first of hundreds of encounters between elders of the two churches. During the 1890s the problems between the two churches were of major importance; more on this later.

In mid-February the elders made shoulder bags for their belongings and started on an extended walk around the island of Tahiti. Their purpose was two-fold: to learn the language faster and to get better acquainted with Tahitian customs. The thirteen-day walk taught them much. After returning home to Pape'ete, they decided to remain there until they had better fluency in the language; they had been frustrated in not being able to preach.

Because they could not speak Tahitian or French, their work as missionaries moved slowly in the early months. Both elders were troubled by this and so informed the First Presidency in letters home. In order to improve communications between Salt Lake City and Tahiti (all communications had previously been sent through the mission president in Samoa), the First Presidency appointed Elder Damron to be president of the newly organized Tahitian Mission. The elders were told to report directly to Salt Lake City on a monthly basis. Damron learned of his appointment on 29 April 1892.[13]

The First Presidency listened to the elders' pleas for help and called Elder James S. Brown, now sixty-five years old and missing one leg, to go to Tahiti and preside over the new mission. He was the only living member of the earlier mission group. Brown's son, Elando, and an Elder Thomas Jones, Jr. were called to accompany the veteran elder.[14]

By 1 June, when the three reinforcement elders arrived, Damron and Seegmiller had not accomplished much that was visible. They were beginning to use the Tahitian language fairly well, however, and they did know

[12]Damron.

[13]Damron: First Presidency to Damron and Seegmiller, 29 March 1892, First Presidency Letterpress Books, CR-1-20, vol. 24, HDC.

[14]First Presidency to James S. Brown, 14 April 1892, HDC.

the lay of the land. What they wanted now was to get some converts and especially to find members of the church who had remained faithful since the early mission closed.

Even with President Brown as leader, the work did not immediately show much progress. A friend of Brown's, Mr. Dorence Atwater, who had been US consul for twenty-five years, allowed them all to stay in a very comfortable home in Pape'ete; a number of RLDS members who knew Brown visited him and renewed old acquaintances. But still the work was not moving. In fact, for a short time it appeared that James S. Brown might be a greater detriment to the mission than a help, for reasons that will follow.

Not long after his arrival, President Brown was invited to use Mr. Atwater's hall for religious services. Atwater, however, suggested that the elders should obtain the governor's permission before going ahead. Mr. Atwater introduced Brown to the Director and Secretary of the Interior, actually a functionary position, "who immediately asked me if I was not the same Brown who had difficulty with the government many years ago." Brother Brown said he was the same man. Three days later the elders were informed that they would not be "permitted to labor as ministers" among the people of the colony. After consulting the American consul, writing letters, and seeking French legal counsel, they learned that they could legally preach if they notified the appropriate authorities, the mayor or local magistrate, in writing before holding services. Brown said that because of this restriction they were "practically shut out from holding meetings."[15]

Government restrictions notwithstanding, all of the missionaries remained busy by talking to small groups in the market places, studying the language, sending letters to other islands in an attempt to locate members of the church who had remained faithful since the 1850s, and walking around the island on preaching tours. Then, on 22 August, President Brown received a letter from an old church member named Tehahe, or Opu, who lived on Tubuai. It proved to be the opening the elders had been hoping for. Tehahe warmly invited the elders to come to Tubuai, as he said "they had been left in the dark many years without one ray of light."[16]But this letter was not the only encouragement the missionaries received that day. They were also visited by an employee of a wealthy part-Tahitian named Mapuhi, who lived in the Tuamotu Islands. Mapuhi claimed to be a member of the church and wanted to see the missionaries. He later proved to be a true Latter-day Saint. He shared his home, which

[15]MHFP, 3 June 1892.
[16]Damron.

the missionaries described as a seven-room mansion, larger than the fine homes of Pape'ete, and his three schooners with the elders and saints. Mapuhi had joined the church as a small boy when S. Alva Hanks ministered in the Tuamotus. As a young man he learned the trade of ship-building and by trading with the island people he had become known as the "pearl king" of the islands, that is, he traded in pearls and pearl shell and was very successful at it.

As soon as transportation could be arranged, President Brown, in company with Elder Seegmiller, sailed to Tubuai. When they landed at Mata'ura on 20 September, the elders soon learned that representatives of the RLDS had preceded them. The people were obviously cool toward them; in fact, President Brown reported that for several days very few people were at all hospitable. If a boat had been available to take them back to Tahiti, they would have gone. But they had to persevere. About a week after their arrival, they moved five miles around the island to Mahu. It was here that "the clouds over the mission began to break." Many of the Polynesians began to talk openly with President Brown and to bring food. The next Sunday Brown and Seegmiller met with a number of people in an open-air meeting; understandably they were not allowed to use the RLDS chapel because the minister forbade it. It was at this time that Seegmiller gave his first public address in the Polynesian language. In that meeting Elder Brown "explained how the authority had continued in the church from the Prophet Joseph to the present organization." Following the meeting several people asked for baptism, and two days later, on 4 October, Elder Seegmiller had the satisfaction of baptizing twenty-four persons. Brown's journal entries noted numerous baptisms over the next few weeks: October 10th, "nine baptized"; October 14th and following, "baptized several"; November 8th, "baptized eight"; November 14th, "eight members were added to the Church"; November 16th, "added five more souls to the Church by baptism." On 23 November, Elder Seegmiller baptized the school teacher at Mata'ura and two of the governor's daughters.[17] Before the end of November, sixty-five Tubuaians claimed membership in the Church.

On the twenty-fourth, President Brown sailed from Tubuai. But before he left he placed Elder Seegmiller in charge of the branches there. The difficulties Seegmiller had to handle were not easy. Serious problems remained to be settled regarding property ownership, and some of these matters were not resolved for many years. Seegmiller and the re-established church also had frequent conflicts with the Catholics, Protestants and RLDS. These problems notwithstanding, when President Brown left

[17]Brown, pp. 511-16.

the island he was convinced that the Lord had blessed them for their perseverence, prayers, and hard work. After a rough and extra long seven-day voyage, in which sixty-five year old Brown had been forced to remain seated on a two-by-three-foot space on deck in sun and rain, day and night, the little interisland transport vessel finally put into port at Pape'ete on 1 December.

Elder Brown had scarcely landed again when he learned from his son Elando that Elders Damron and Jones were having success in the Tuamotu Islands. A conference of all the saints in that area was planned for early January 1893, and Brown's help was needed.

Meanwhile, after Brown and Seegmiller sailed for Tubuai, Brother Mapuhi had come to Tahiti. The elders were eager to sail with him to Takaroa, his home island, and see the saints of that part of the colony. They sailed from Pape'ete on 26 October in Mapuhi's 105-ton schooner, *Teavaroa.* After stopping briefly at a couple of islands where the RLDS were in the majority, the *Teavaroa* docked at Takaroa on 1 November.[18]

On this island Elders Damron and Jones found a branch of one hundred church members who had resisted the RLDS missionaries. After the elders met with these saints, these faithful island people concluded that authorized messengers had finally come from the church in Salt Lake City. On 6 November, they officially accepted Damron and Jones as their missionaries. By early December, thirty-three people had been added to the Church by baptism.[19] The Takaroa Branch was organized and holding regular meetings. When the missionaries arrived there, the people were building a stone meeting house thirty-five by seventy-nine feet in dimension. Brother Mapuhi was the motivating force behind this effort.

Gradually a more complete picture of the church in the Tuamotus began to emerge. One day Elders Damron and Jones heard about saints on Ana'a, and another day they learned of saints in Katiu. In December they discovered that all the Taumotu saints were led by an old man, now blind, named Maihea. He claimed to have received his authority while Pratt and Grouard were in the islands. This venerable leader from Ana'a had called a conference of all Tuamotu saints to be held on the island of Fa'aite beginning 6 January. When Damron and Jones learned about this they wrote to Tahiti and asked their mission president to make every effort to join them at the scheduled conference. By leaving Pape'ete on 15 December, Elders James S. and Elando Brown arrived at Takaroa on the 26th. Several days later, they, in company with Damron and Jones and six boatloads of local saints, sailed for Fa'aite.

[18]Damron.

[19]*Deseret News* (Salt Lake City) 46:557, Letter from Damron, 15 January 1893.

The fleet of Takaroan Latter-day Saints arrived at Fa‘aite on 31 December. Others had already arrived as was evident from the large number of canoes and boats in the lagoon. Elaborate preparations had occupied the local members for weeks before the gathering. Foods of all kinds that were available--pigs, coconuts, fruits, fish, canned goods and so forth--were amassed for the anticipated throng. But more exciting than the anticipated feasts, the renewal of friendships, and the exchange of information and gossip, was the joy of having men among them who were missionaries of what they believed to be the true church.

According to Elder Damron, not many minutes after they came ashore Elder Brown and companions were visited by a delegation of older men who were led by Maihea. Maihea came almost immediately to the point by asking a series of questions:

> His first question to President Brown was this: “Are you the real Iatobo (James) that brought us the Gospel forty years ago? Second, Are you now representing the same Gospel as before?” Various were the questions propounded, and finally to satisfy himself that it was the real “Iatobo” he asked the location of different villages on Anaa, the island where Elder Brown labored while on his former mission. Being convinced, he said with unspeakable joy: “We receive you as our father and leader, but had you not come back personally we would have refused to receive any foreign missionaries, as so many false teachers have been in our midst and decoyed many from the Gospel of Christ.”[20]

Maihea then related how he and his people had prayed constantly that God would again send them missionaries with the light of truth and the Holy Spirit to bless them. Their prayers had been answered after forty years of waiting.

During the conference meetings, the elders learned that there were ten branches with 425 members. This number included the recent baptisms on Tahiti and Tubuai. Of these members only seventeen veterans of the early mission were known to still be alive or faithful to the church. In order that all members of the church could be properly ministered to, the missionaries ordained Tehina of Ana‘a and Karere of Katiu as elders. A number of other Polynesian elders were sustained in their positions as branch presidents.

Following the January conference the Browns, father and son, sailed for Ana‘a, where they taught the gospel until April. Elders Damron and

[20] *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City) 46:557, Letter from Damron, 15 January 1893; Brown, pp. 518-19, MHFP, 1-7 January 1893.

Jones remained in the vicinity of Takaroa, and Elder Seegmiller remained on Tubuai.

During the absence of the missionaries from Tahiti, a new group of elders arrived from church headquarters in Salt Lake City. They had sailed into Pape'ete on the brigantine *Galilee* on 21 March 1893. The new recruits included Frank Cutler, Thomas L. Woodbury, Eugene M. Cannon, Carl J. Larsen, I. Frank Goff, Fred C. Rossiter, Jesse M. Fox and Edward Sudbury. Upon finding no leaders in Pape'ete when they landed, the new missionaries rented a home and set to work studying the Tahitian language. Finally, in early May, President Brown returned to Tahiti and gave the missionaries their teaching assignments.

The method of doing missionary work that the elders established during the next few months became a regular procedure for many years to come. Basically the program consisted of from one to four elders traveling alone or together from island to island, meeting with the people, living with them in their huts or homes, eating local food, blessing the sick, organizing the branches, baptizing an occasional convert, arguing with leaders of other denominations (particularly the RLDS), trying to escape the inconsistent but heavy hand of the government, and in general attempting to leave the saints morally and spiritually stronger when they, the elders, left than when they arrived. Local Tahitian elders generally presided over the branches.

In July 1893, about thirteen months after he had arrived in the islands, James S. Brown turned the leadership of the now firmly established mission over to Joseph W. Damron. On the eighth, Brown, accompanied by his son Elando and Elder Edward Sudbury, whose health was poor, sailed from Tahiti.[21] From this time on the mission was in the hands of a new generation of workers.

When Brother Brown arrived home in Salt Lake City, he reported to the First Presidency of the church and made several suggestions, specifically that ten more missionaries be sent to Tahiti by the next spring, that these missionaries should be prepared financially to support themselves and avoid living off the members, that the mission should have a ship, and that a headquarters building should be obtained in Pape'ete. Concerning the ship, he explained that interisland travel was so unpredictable and dangerous that a vessel of one hundred tons should be procured to serve the mission's needs. Many decades passed, however, before such a boat was purchased by the mission. (An eighty-two foot, two-masted schooner was purchased by the church in 1950 and used by the mission until about 1960.) Brown's request for a mission headquarters, fortunately, was met much sooner.[22]

[21]Brown, pp. 526-28.

[22]MHFP, July-August 1893.

After James S. Brown left the islands, the work proceeded without any serious problem until the time for the release of President Damron and his assistant, Elder Seegmiller. Unfortunately, in late March 1895, a relatively new French administrator of the Tuamotu islands, E. A. Martin, decided to create difficulties for the Mormons and, later, for all of the non-French religious groups, specifically the RLDS and the Seventh-Day Adventists. Martin accused the Mormon elders of being "beggers, spongers off the natives, idlers who had nothing to do in our own country." These accusations were leveled at Elders Eugene M. Cannon and Carl J. Larsen on 30 March, while they were en route to Takaroa for semi-annual conference, On that same day, Martin dispatched an order that the regular conference not be held. In pompous words, according to Elder Cannon, Martin declared that he had not sanctioned the conference and that those who had called it would be "taken to judgment" if his order was not followed. Martin also ordered the missionaries in the Tuamotus to cease teaching the gospel. His orders were followed. During the next six months, President Frank Cutler spent countless hours in writing legal petitions, meeting with Mr. J. Lamb Doty, US consul (who was a great friend to the Mormons), and arguing the church's case directly before Governor Martin of the Tuamotus and Governor Papinaud of the French Establishment or colony. He used every device he could employ to accomplish his objective, which was to obtain assurance that the Mormon elders could teach the gospel and hold meetings and do so with the sanction and even the protection of the government. Cutler assured Governor Papinaud that Latter-day Saints "obey, honor, and sustain the law," and support the local government. His main request was for a license to preach. This, Governor Papinaud told President Cutler, would have to be requested from the government in France and would take many months to obtain. Such a license was never granted, but because of pressure applied through Consul Doty, Governor Papinaud ordered his subordinate, E. A. Martin, to desist from his unfriendly acts and to allow the Mormon elders to continue their work. The missionaries were of course very happy to have the obstacles removed from their way, but six months had been lost.[23]

When this affair was over, the missionaries realized that the entire problem was the doing of one man in a position of power, E. A. Martin. In the beginning, Governor Papinaud had followed normal governmental procedure and supported his subordinate. When it became evident that Martin's position was neither just nor responsible, Papinaud reversed his stance and ordered Martin to stop harassing the Mormons, RLDS and Adventists.

[23]See MHFP, 30 March 1895 to 9 November 1895. Details of the day to day encounters with Martin, *et. al.,* are given.

It is an accepted fact that the colonial administration of the *Établissements* was incredibly topheavy. There were over five hundred paid officials during this time to administer a colony of less than fifteen thousand people. Indeed there was a persistent "tendency of the French to use Tahiti as a 'dumping ground' for bad officials."[24] Governors were frequently changed. The gendarmes or police were seemingly ever-present. During the 1890s and the years following, the quality of government was highly inconsistent and seldom satisfactory to anyone, particularly the Mormon elders. Their feeling was that the officials did not have enough to do and thus turned to harassing the missionaries. This is probably an overstatement that contains an element of truth.

An unhappy sequel to Martin's story was that his last act prior to his death in 1897 was to discharge a Tahitian Mormon elder from his position as school teacher and replace him with a Roman Catholic. Aside from this, a truce had existed between Martin and the Mormons since November 1895.[25]

One positive result of the Martin affair was that President Cutler found it necessary to reevaluate and assess the status of the church in the islands in order to write convincing letters to the government. President Cutler learned that Mormons made up one-fifth of the total population of the Tuamotu Islands. There were at that time 255 Mormon families. He also found that the RLDS and Roman Catholics each had approximately one thousand followers in the Tuamotus and that the Protestants and Mormons each had about seven hundred. At the end of 1895, there were sixteen LDS branches in the Tuamotus and two branches on Tubuai, but only five members on the island of Tahiti where over ten thousand people lived. There was a total of 984 church members including children. It now seems ironical that the LDS mission was called the Tahiti or Society Islands mission during this era. It might well have been called the Tuamotu mission.[26]

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[24]F. J. West, *Political Advancement in the South Pacific* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 86; see also Stephen H. Roberts, *The History of French Colonial Policy, 1870-1925* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1963), [first published in 1929 by P. S. King and Company, Great Britain], pp. 511-16.

[25]MHFP, March 1895.

[26]MHFP, 31 December 1895.

PACIFIC ISLANDS HISTORY IN THE 1980s: NEW DIRECTIONS OR MONOGRAPH MYOPIA?

by Kerry R. Howe

The modern study of Pacific islands history has made a significant contribution to our knowledge of the area, particularly of the period of culture contact in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it has to a considerable extent lost sight of basic directions, such as some of those outlined by its principal founding father--the late J. W. Davidson. Today, historians of the Pacific islands seem to be heading rapidly towards a state of monograph myopia. We are finding out more and more about less and less. Relatively little consideration seems to be given to any overall purpose or direction.

This paper will attempt to explain how this state of affairs has come about, and will suggest some new directions. Some of the issues which will be raised are not of course unique to Pacific islands history. They can have a relevance to many other branches of historical study.

Until the early 1950s, the history of Pacific islands, if it were studied at all, was an adjunct of imperial history. The islands were important to historians only in so far as they could be placed within the context of European imperialism. These historians were concerned with European initiatives and motives in the Pacific--particularly those of explorers, evangelists, administrators. The Pacific islanders, their cultures and their general way of life, were largely irrelevant in this imperial context. Nor was culture contact studied for its own sake but only in so far as it might highlight the activities of imperial agents.

The decolonization of Pacific islands history was begun in the 1940s by J. W. Davidson. In the 1950s and 60s he further developed his views laying a basis for our modern studies.[1] In brief, Davidson pointed out the serious limitations of using imperial oriented history when attempting to understand events on Pacific islands. He suggested that instead of looking at these islands from distant European capitals, the historian should place

*This is a version of a paper presented to the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, Honolulu, August, 1979.

[1]J. W. Davidson "European Penetration of the South Pacific, 1779-1842," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1942; *The Study of Pacific History: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Canberra on 25 November 1954* (Canberra: Australia National University 1955); "Problems of Pacific History," *Journal of Pacific History,* 1 (1966), 5-21.

himself or herself literally and figuratively on an island and look outwards. The islands themselves were to be the focal point. Events there were to be interpeted not as they reflected imperial concerns, but as they affected the lives of the local inhabitants. This change in perspective had two main consequences for the historian. First, imperial history had, in Davidson's words, to "give way to the history of European expansion"[2] in the Pacific and that meant looking at many influences other than the predominant concerns of the imperial historian. It was not sufficient to concentrate on explorers, missionaries and govermnent agents. Thus the lowly beachcomber, an impoverished sandalwood trader, a ragged whaling crew in search of rest and recreation might be as significant, both in terms of their activities and/or observations, as any top-hatted evangelist or ostrich-plumed governor. Davidson likened European penetration to a series of waves, each one breaking, as he put it "upon the coral ringed shores of the South Seas, each one overtaken by the next before its energy is quite spent."[3]

The second main consequence of his new perspective has meant appreciating that Europeans in the Pacific were influenced by local conditions and especially by the indigenous societies. Pacific islands history had thus to be seen in terms of cultural interaction which necessarily meant studying both sides. Thus the islanders were brought into the picture. Their communities were now credited with a history of their own and one worthy of serious academic study. Modern historians of the Pacific islands have subsequently concentrated on the social, economic, political and intellectual changes experienced by island societies as a result of their ever increasing interaction with Europeans and western influences generally.

Davidson's basic theoretical contribution was to advance a new conceptual framework from that of the imperial historians. But he was not so arrogant as to believe that Pacific islands history should be in any sense unique or autonomous, He stressed that historians of the islands, like all historians, should base their "empirical studies upon certain generalizations.... the testing and rectification of these generalizations is, or should be, one of the objects of all worthwhile empirical research. Pacific history must be seen in relation to this general background as well as in its internal complexities."[4]

The offering and testing of such generalizations required a good deal of detailed research. Staff and students in Davidson's Department of Pacific History, established in the 1950s at the Australian National Univer-

[2]Davidson, "Problems of Pacific History," pp. 8-9.

[3]Davidson, "European Penetration of the South Pacific," p. 313.

[4]Davidson, "Problems of Pacific History," p. 10.

sity, have been responsible for a significant amount of this research, especially since the mid-1960s when the intake of Ph.D. students was increased. And over the past ten years or so other universities in Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific and the United States have been contributing to the growing stockpile of information.[5]

Part of the problem, as I see it, is that researchers have been so diligently ferreting out and publishing their detailed findings that a good many of them have lost any basic sense of direction. They have become too immersed in the internal complexities to see the general background. Pacific islands history is a breeding ground for more and more highly specialized articles, monographs, and symposia. As I said initially, we are finding out more and more about less and less. Few writers seem able to pull back from the microcosm to consider the implications, if any, for a broader or macrocosmic view of islands' history.

The defense of this current trend can be put simply: that generalizations must wait until the fine details are uncovered; that it is still too soon for the synoptic view; that the subject should not be made to run before it can walk. Such an argument was certainly valid in the 1950s and 60s, but in view of all the published and unpublished research that has now emerged this case is no longer so convincing.

In the introduction to his magnificent survey of Pacific prehistory, Peter Bellwood has this to say to those who argue that with the prehistory, as with the history, of the Pacific islands, it is too soon to move from the particular to the more general: "to those who would see this book as premature, I would only say that I am certainly not going to wait another twenty years in the hope that all will suddenly be made clear. This is defeatism."[6] Indeed it can even be suggested that this defeatism can also be an excuse for an unwillingness to push the intellectual frontiers of the subject into more demanding areas.

But there are, I believe, a number of other reasons why the modern historian will continue to concentrate almost solely on documenting minutia. Some of these reasons are particular to Pacific islands history, others are more basic problems relating to historical study generally.

Because the Pacific islands and their indigenous communities are so small the historian is likely to adopt a pin point focus in order to see the participants at all. Moreover the use of hitherto out of the way private and public archival collections, and the recording of oral traditions have

[5]The most comprehensive bibliography of current publications appears annually in *The Journal of Pacific History*.

[6]Peter Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific: The Prehistory of Southeast Asia and Oceania* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 23.

made it possible for the historians to view their subjects under a microscope. The vast amount of material constantly being made readily available through, for example, the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, makes such study, if not an easy task, at least a manageable one. Historians of the islands are not as yet treading on each other's toes in the scramble to corner a topic. For the foreseeable future each researcher can probably find his or her own little region or aspect, with documents aplenty, and can happily fill in four by six file cards, and produce scholarly articles and monographs. Of course this can be of great advantage. As Davidson has said: "The student of a political or religious movement in Samoa or Fiji. . . . can, so far as the records allow, study the activities of every leading member. In this way, the guesswork in history is reduced to a minimum."[7] Yet if this is a strength of Pacific islands history, it can also be a weakness if this approach continues unaltered and unchecked. There is always the danger of not being able to see the wood for the trees. Or, to use Oskar Spate's more eloquent metaphor: historians "may on occasion not see the Ocean for the Islands, may be content to be marooned in the tight but so safe confines of their little atoll of knowledge, regardless of the sweep of the currents which bring life to the isles."[8] Pacific historians can perhaps be accused of intellectual complacency; that they are doing what can be done, and generally doing it well, but are they not also in danger of adopting an unthinking, empiricist approach? Greg Dening has expressed such a view:

> If we applied the standards expected of social history in the United States, Britain and the continent and the standards expected of cross-cultural histories elsewhere in the world, then we would have to say that the Pacific is an historically under-developed area. The empiricism that dominates most Pacific study is at the root of the problem. Research dominated by a narrow georaphical area, an instituion, a period. History is what happens or what the sources let know what happens within those limitations. No problem, no theory, no methodology takes the researcher outside those confines.[9]

In the hands of so many Pacific historians, detailed information, often painstakingly gathered, becomes the thing itself, its own *raison d'être.* Seldom is it used to test and modify generalizations.

[7]Davidson,"Problems of Pacific History," pp. 12-13.

[8]O. H. K. Spate, "The Pacific as an Artefact," *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H. E. Maude,* ed. Niel Gunson (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 34.

[9]Gregory Dening in a review in *New Zealand Journal of History,* 1, No. 12 (1978), 82.

The pursuit of information for information's sake is of course compounded, perhaps largely caused, by thesis research. A good deal of recently published Pacific islands history is based on doctoral dissertations. And to quote Oskar Spate again: "the insular Pacific is so splendidly splittable into Ph.D. topics that it is a very fine training ground in the mechanics; but where do we go from here?"[10]

Ph.D. oriented research raises questions which concern, or should concern, all historians no matter what their particular field might be. Peter Munz has expressed the dilemma in vivid terms: "a successful Ph.D. candidate is far from being a qualified historian, He is nothing but a detective inspector and should seek employment at the local police station."[11]

The broader philosophical considerations of the seemingly endless supply of factual historical detail deserve at least a mention, if only to put some of the problems of Pacific islands history within a wider context. Munz continues:

> Unless we can relate the fact that Caesar crossed the Rubicon to a wider series of events and that series to a very wide perspective of Rome and its importance, there is no point whatsoever in solving the question whether he did or not.[12]

This is, of course, not the place to take the argument further except to say that we must be more concerned, as Pacific historians, with where we are going, and why. I suspect that most of us *do* a particular topic because it is there. How many aspiring Ph.D. dissertation writers have been sat down in front of a map of the Pacific and had the historically unknown regions pointed out to them, and then been sent off to look at the relevant archival material?

I think we could take some lessons from Pacific prehistorians. They frequently undertake the most detailed, sophisticated and specialized research. In its published form it is often unreadable to anyone other than another prehistorian. Yet many prehistorians have an overall purpose. They not only know where they want to go, but why. Their objectives are relatively straight forward: where did the islanders originate, how did their various cultures develop in the Pacific, what form did these take by the time of European contact? Thus prehistorians like Peter Bellwood, Janet Davidson, Roger Green, and Jack Golson, to name but a few, are able to take the detailed information, see its general implications, and mold it

[10]Spate, "The Pacific as an Artefact," p. 42.

[11]Peter Munz, *The Shapes of Time: A New Look at the Philosophy of History* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1977), p. 247.

[12]Munz, p. 248.

together into a scheme or overview which the layman can understand. It is worth speculating about what could have happened if the empirical methods of modern Pacific islands history had been applied to problems of prehistory. These methods might, for example, have produced a vast amount of information about Lapita pottery, what it looks like, where it is found, how old it is. That is, they would have stressed its intrinsic value and local significance. But because these methods are not geared to an overall objective or objectives, as is the case in the work of prehistorians, they would probably fail to reveal the wider implications of Lapita ware, namely that it provides major clues about the cultural ancestry of Polynesians.

Thus, the historian of the Pacific islands needs to rise about the level of grappling with internal complexities and consider some, or a series of, basic objectives. If detailed findings cannot contribute to some sort of overview; if they cannot add to, or subtract from, *accepted* generalizations, then we must begin to question whether the effort had been truly worthwhile.

Unfortunately such a proposition is often scoffed at by these historians. Some are horrified at the thought of popularizing their subject, believing instead that the ultimate achievement is 100 footnotes per article or chapter. Most popular books about Pacific islands history are rightly disdained by the academics, but how many of them have bothered to write for the layman or even for undergraduate students? As long as academics continue to write for an increasingly smaller, more specialized audience, they have only themselves to blame if the only people writing about the Pacific for a wider audience are journalists, feature writers, amateur enthusiasts. To quote again Peter Bellwood justifying his overview of Pacific prehistory:

> My experience in teaching undergraduate courses . . . indicates to me the need for this book, which has no comparable predecessor. And if the man in the street still puts his faith (as many do) in astronauts or a white master race hot-footing it to the four corners of the earth, then the academic ivory tower needs to take some steps at least to preserve its credibility.[13]

Modern Pacific islands history is in danger of becoming a rather pleasant, self-indulgent backwater. What, then, might be done to let in a few fresh currents to set us drifting in *some* directions?

First of all, the detailed research *must* continue. In this paper I have not been critical of information gathering itself. Rather I have been criti-

[13]Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific,* p. 23.

cal of the fact that this is, in many cases, *all* that is being done, If Pacific islands history remains just an exercise in empiricist research at a micro-level, no matter how many new topics may be discovered, then it will make no progress. But if such research is used as a basis for new approaches then we will again be on the move.

I can see six practical directions historians might consider. None of them are particularly original, but most of them have virtually been ignored. First, more effort needs to be placed on writing the histories of specific islands and groups. Hawaii is perhaps best served in this regard, followed by New Guinea, Samoa, Fiji and Tonga. But what about all the other islands and island groups? Of course there have been many detailed studies of selected aspects of these islands' histories. But while it might be *island oriented,* much of it has been based upon a short period, a narrow theme, or upon some western institution--a mission, a trading concern or a colonial government. Few historians have followed Davidson's scheme of analyzing waves of Europeans coming ashore. Take the case of the Solomons: there are numerous articles and an excellent monograph on the labor trade; there is a study of the Catholic missionaries; another on the Protestant missionaries; there is a study of the island of Bougainville; and there are scores of articles touching on a wide range of subjects. But who has published a history of the Solomon Islands? The same case could be made for a great many other parts of the Pacific.

Secondly, we need one or several short or concise histories of the Pacific islands. These could be written right now largely on the basis of existing publications and recent unpublished theses. The great value of such a book would not, of course, lie in any claim to comprehensiveness (no book can). But it would lie in its overview. It would, if properly done, distance the reader from the nitty-gritty of specialized research. It would delineate patterns and try to reveal the more general implications of current detailed findings. In short, it would give the synoptic view. It would take what parts we now have and try to fit them into a whole, and the whole would be so much more than just the sum of its parts. For, in advancing some sort of synthesis, hitherto insignificant information can take on an unforseen importance. On the other hand, matters which by themselves might have seemed of some significance might suddenly appear of little consequence. An overview provides a new frame of reference, or a new yardstick against which all sorts of information can be measured and tested. Furthermore, such an overview would have an identity of its own, which again would be much more than the sum total of its constituent parts--just as a car is more than the pieces of metal and nuts and bolts from which it is made.

Why one short history of the islands--Douglas Oliver's *The Pacific Islands*--should have stood alone for almost thirty years never ceases to amaze me. This fact seems proof enough of the charge that historians of the Pacific islands spend all their time contemplating their navels and have little inclination to raise their heads and look around. Whatever strengths Oliver's book has, the main one is, I believe, its lack of competition.

Thirdly, we need to return to those topics which can be approached in terms of thematic and/or regional systems. In throwing out the imperial view and coming down to island level, we have tended to lose sight of those features of Pacific islands history which transcend the purely local and institutional. Various economic ventures are a good example of this. Colin Newbury has deomonstrated how you can steer a new direction between seeing the labor trade as an imperial or sub-imperial economic concern on the one hand, and as a simple function of "culture contact" in any one area on the other. Instead Pacific islands laborers can be seen as an essential resource in a much broader pattern of commercial development--development of a kind that cannot necessarily be defined in imperial or national economic terms, or in terms of an impact on indigenous communities, though it clearly can have major implications for both these areas.[14] In 1966 Davidson wrote: "There is no history of copra, of phosphate, of cotton, of sugar, or of any of the industries, such as cocoa or gold, which have been so important in more recent times."[15] This is still the case, and one could add others to his list--whaling for example.

This sort of approach leads to a fourth category--that of seeing the Pacific islands within the much wider geographic, economic and political framework of the Pacific Ocean involving, as it must, its adjacent shores--the Americas, Russia, Japan, Korea, China, Southeast Asia, and Australasia. This is an Oceanic as opposed to insular orientation.[16] For too long we have been caught up in geopolitical straitjackets whereby one region becomes, for purposes of historical investigation, quite autonomous. Thus can we fail to see the interplay of exotic and indigenous influences. For example, ***we*** have the *Journal of Pacific History* based in Canberra which covers Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia (though it generally excludes

[14]Colin Newbury, "Imperial History or Development History? Some Reflections on Pacific Labour Markets in the Nineteenth Century," address to the 1979 ANZAAS Conference, Auckland.

[15]Davidson, "Problems of Pacific History," p. 17.

[16]Spate, "The Pacific as an Artefact."

Australasia). From the other side of the ocean, from California, there is the *Pacific Historical Review* which deals with countries on the Pacific rim, especially Southeast Asia and the Americas and virtually excludes the islands in between. We are fortunate that an Oceanic view is being attempted by Oskar Spate who has completed volume one of a planned multi-volume history of the Pacific.[17]

Fifthly, apart from a pioneering work by Caroline Ralston on early beach communities,[18] there is virtually no comparative history of the islands. One can think immediately of many topics which are admirably suited to this approach mainly because of their ubiquity and elements of commonality, for example, the emergence of Polynesian kings and missionary kingdoms. One could take any of a number of themes and study them in several islands, for example the nature of indigenous leadership and its evolution, land usage, cults, or indeed any other aspect of social, economic and political life on the islands. There has yet to be any comparative work on colonial rule, the experience of the second world war, or the whole process of decolonization.[19]

Sixthly, and last, dare I raise yet another plea for more interdisciplinary investigation? There is some truth in the hackneyed view that the social scientists have the theory but no facts, while the historian has the facts and no theory. But how many interdisciplinary projects have there been? And what, for example, has come of the brave new hopes for ethnohistory--that blending of anthropology and history--advocated by Greg Dening more than ten years ago?[20]

[17]O. H. K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake* (Canberra: Austraian National University Press, 1979). See also his "Prolegomena to a History of the Pacific," *Geographia Polonica,* 36 (1977).

[18]Caroline Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses: Pacific Beach Communities of the Nineteenth Century* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1977; Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978).

[19]Since this paper was prepared, there have appeared two publications which take some steps towards a comparative approach: Peter J. Hempenstal, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance* (Canberra: Australia National University Press, 1978), and *The Journal of Pacific History,* 14, Nos. 1 and 2 (1979) which are devoted mainly to the nature of leadership in Pacific societies. See especially Bronwen Douglas, "Rank, Power, Authority: A Reassessment of Traditional Leadership in South Pacific Societies," pp. 2-27.

[20]Gregory Dening, "Ethnohistory in Polynesia: The Value of Ethnohistorical Evidence," *Journal of Pacific History,* 1 (1966), 23-42.

I have suggested some of the more practical ways in which we could give Pacific islands history more impetus and direction. I have perhaps been rather harsh in my criticism, and I know that some exciting research is currently underway. But this is no time for complacency. We must constantly keep our minds not just on the mechanics of our research but on our overall direction. We must keep in mind Davidson's exhortation for the testing and modification of generalizations. We must work with material that emerges from a micro level but we must constantly try to see the implications of our findings in a broader perspective.

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Thomas S. Barthel. *The Eighth Land. The Polynesian Discovery and Settlement of Easter Island.* Trans. Anneliese Martin. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978. Pp. xi, 372, illustration, bibliography, index. $17.50.

Barthel's *The Eighth Land,* the English translation of the 1974 German original, *Das Achte Land,* represents a major contribution to Easter Island ethnology. The work is based on an early twentieth century document, Manuscript E, which was discovered on the island in 1955. This manuscript is the most complete of several known versions (Mss. A-F) of oral migration traditions which were written down in the Polynesian language, Rapanui, as they were remembered by several old Easter Islanders *(korohua);* the likely source for these traditions is Pua Ara Hoa A Rapu who was born around 1840. The translation from the Polynesian and the structural analysis of this manuscript complement and correct various other partial or garbled versions of the migration myth. Barthel had promised earlier a complete analysis of Ms. E which now forms the basis of this book, augmented and tested through his work with informants on the island in 1957-58.

Barthel follows the manuscript organization in dealing with major topics: the island's first inhabitants; the earlier history in the migrants' homeland; the new land described in Hau Maka's dream; dispatching scouts to search for this land; the voyage of Hotu Matua, the first *ariki* or chief; Hotu Matua's arrival; his conflicts with his wife, Vakai, and arch-enemy, Oroi; and Hotu Matua's death. A final chapter is added to discuss the stone statues. One of the two appendices describes steps taken to authenticate the manuscript; the other appendix provides the complete Rapanui text.

The place name for Easter Island, *Te Pito O te Henua A Hau Maka O Hiva* (fragment of the earth of Hau Maka from Hiva), and the directions for finding it originated in a dream by a person called Hau Maka. Hau Maka's dream soul passes by seven islands shrouded in mist before discovering the last, the eighth *(he varu kainga)* which, as a number, refers to the most sought after, well-balanced perfection.

The traditions indicate that there were people on Te Pito O te Henua prior to the arrival of Hotu Matua's scouts, but, unfortunately, this earlier population, which is thought by Barthel not to be the common, legendary "original inhabitants" found in Polynesia, remains unidentified in the manuscript. However, to substantiate a pre-Hotu Matua population on the island, Barthel is forced to refer to evidence other than that of the

early place names and the myth of the giant Uvoke; he uses archaeological and linguistic assessments for the initial settlement derived from the Marquesas or Mangareva at A.D. 400-500. He convincingly argues against suggestions that this earlier population consisted of the Hanau Eepe ("Long Ears" or "Stocky People") or American Indians.

Barthel analyzes chants, place names, and the extensive lists of items taken on board the voyaging canoe and then delineates the classification systems and illustrates the use of numbers and names as mnemo-technic devices. Chants are analyzed as poetry on four different levels. Place names transferred to the island show a parallel arrangement to the names of months when paired and contrasted. Local names served as month indicators by giving information about the stars and seasonal activities. The long list of plants and animals gathered for the trip and stowed on board the canoe reveal contrastive pairs or groups based on systems of numerical, sexual, or other attributes. Plant name systems seem to correlate with lunar cycle phases.

A new distinction is specified between two kinds of *ariki* in the homeland which were contrasted by social rank and functional roles: *ariki motongi* are thought by Barthel to be political leaders while *ariki maahu* are designated as spiritual leaders. The *motongi* title applied to Hotu Matua and his mythical ancestors who were kings in the homeland; included among these are pantheon gods familiar from elsewhere in Polynesia, for example, Tangaroa and Tiki Hati.

The manuscript and Barthel's interpretations offer insights into the relationship between the two feuding factions on the island, the Hanau Eepe and the Hanau Momoko. Both groups are shown to be part of the same Polynesian population. Hostilities between the two groups began in the homeland, Hiva, during the reign of Hotu Matua and were caused by land disputes. The conflict was settled by force and, in the end, 500 [sic] Hanau Eepe prisoners were taken on the voyaging canoe as slaves to Easter Island.

Manuscript E clearly relates the importance of stone statuary *(moai maea)* in the earlier Polynesian society. Two small stone images served as star-voyaging guides for the scouts and the use of stone as a medium for ancestor-related magical power is illustrated in two stone images which Hotu Matua planned to take with him to Easter Island. Barthel suggests that in Hiva the statues served as boundary markers between the land and the sea, in this way they were supposed to prevent floods; apparently they did this unsuccessfully because flooding was the reason Hotu Matua was forced to leave his homeland.

Stone statues are said to have represented ancestors rather than more remote deities, meaning that genealogically close ancestors rather than

very remote mythical ones were depicted in stone. Translating the term "*moai,* image, statue," as "*mo ai,* for the progeny or descendants," supports the ancestor image association.

Both living *ariki* and ancestor statues were closely related to fishing and, no doubt, to other foods, as already documented. The ability of some stone statues to cast spells over fish is illustrative.

A general relationship between the statues and burials in the stone *ahu* platforms is indicated in Ms. E., but its exact nature is problematic. Barthel's informants believed the statues served as memorials on the first *ahu,* literally, "living face" *(mo aringa ora)* for the dead father and were to guard the burial chambers *(mo tiaki o te avanga).* However, this relationship is not at all clear from the archaeological record; numerous burials have been found in *ahu* platforms but, I believe, none can be unequivocably associated with the erection of the statue and, in fact, most burials in *ahu* date to the late prehistoric or historic periods. This association remains a problem that must be resolved with archaeological data.

Uncarved eyes are thought by Barthel to indicate that the person represented was still alive and the eye sockets were hollowed out upon the person's death when the statue was moved to an *ahu.* A comparison he fails to make--one that supports his argument--is that the small carved wood *moai kavakava* figurines which represent decaying bodies of ancestors also have carved out eye sockets with obsidian and bone inlays. Obsidian eye inlays are known to be contemporaneous with the stone statues. The recent discovery of coral and scoria eyepieces, reportedly fitting the large stone images, makes the parallel even more striking.

Barthel errs in assigning a too-recent date for the standardization of *moai* and the major period of quarrying activity. He bases his argument largely on Skjolsvold's date of A.D. 1470 ± 100 from Rano Raraku and concludes that the "remarkable *moai* belong to the beginning of the modern era. . . ." The radiocarbon sample cited was only 35 to 50 cm beneath the surface of a mound of quarry rubble. It now seems that a previously questioned reading of A.D. 1250 ± 250 located nearly three meters beneath the above sample is reasonable because dates compiled from the Tahai complex show *ahu* and associated stylized statues at A.D. 1100 to 1200 [W. S. Ayres, "Radiocarbon dates from Easter Island," *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* 80, 4 (1971); 497-504]. Because the quarrying of stylized *moai* was well underway by this time and, as Barthel states (p. 269), the stylized forms were developed locally, it must be concluded that their originators arrived before the thirteenth century. Barthel says that the Hotu Matua migration can be dated by genealogies and by the introduction of the Rongorongo script, but he gives no specific dates. I take his statement (p. 273) that the locus of statue quarrying shifted from the

west coast to Rano Raraku "shortly after the arrival of the settlers from Hiva" to mean that the proposed Hotu Matua settlement date would be around the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, too late for these migrants to have developed the standardized *moai.* Alternatively, Hotu Matua may have arrived much earlier. Available archaeological evidence about the earliest occupants shows strong continuities with the later, better known and clearly Polynesian materials, thus *if* two populations were involved, then they were both Polynesian and so shared a long-standing carving and statuary tradition.

Given the strong historic Tahiti-Easter-Island contacts, particularly from the 1860s to the 1880s, one wonders if other Polynesian migration myths might have influenced those written down by Easter Islanders; however, Ms. E shows its strongest linguistic links to the Marquesas, New Zealand, and Mangareva rather than to Tahiti. Scholars may question some conclusions in the book because ethnographic and linguistic data from different periods are sometimes collapsed into one temporal frame and because difficulties arise in translating words with multiple meanings; nevertheless, Barthel derives an impressive array of supportive and corroborative evidence for the document's authenticity and reliability.

In sum, the discovery of Manuscript E marks a major addition to the ethnographic data on Easter Island; Barthel's analysis of it provides an important perspective on the development of this complex Polynesian society. The work innovatively employs linguistic and structural methods for solving ethnohistoric problems and is perhaps the most complete multi-level structural analysis of a Polynesian migration cycle yet published. Insights gained here should be used in re-examining other extant Polynesian migration cycles.

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Frederick W. Beechey. *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Straits.* 2 vols. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968. Pp. 924, maps. $50.75. (First published in London in 1831).

Barry M. Gough, ed. *To the Pacific and Arctic with Beechey. The Journal of Lieutenant George Peard of* H.M.S. Blossom *1825-28.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973. Pp. x, 272, maps, plates. £11.00 (US $32.50).

On 19 May 1825 the *H.M.S. Blossom,* captained by Frederick W. Beechey with First Lieutenant George Peard aboard, sailed from the British naval base at Spithead for a three year cruise in the Pacific Ocean. The British Admiralty had great hopes for the voyage: it instructed Beechey to help in the search for a Northwest Passage and to correct faulty hydrographic surveys of the Pacific. The *Blossom's* voyage was also designed to indicate to the expansion-minded nations of Russia and the United States that Great Britain would protect its interests in the Pacific Northwest.

The journals kept by Beechey and Peard chronicle the successes and failures of the *Blossom's* voyage. Most aggravating of the failures was the inability to breach the Northwest Passage--delays due to ice and to a missed rendezvous with the land expedition led by Sir John Franklin in the Bering Strait frustrated this aspect of the *Blossom's* mission, The hydrographic surveys, however, proved to be quite successful: extensive revisions of older surveys were made and numerous new charts plotted, all of which aided the British Navy in subsequent years. When the *Blossom* returned to England, several informative volumes on the natural history of the Pacific islands were published; these were later used to good advantage by the American scientists who sailed under Charles Wilkes on the United States Exploring Expedition (1838-1842). Whether t-he presence of the *H.M.S. Blossom* had any effect on Russian or US expansion is unknown; indeed, it may be that these two nations took no notice of the *Blossom's* activities. Nonetheless, for the maritime historian, these journals provide insight into Great Britain's imperial ambitions and reveal the numerous problems that plagued nineteenth century exploration.

The *Blossom's* official duties, however, are not the only facet of these journals. In any memoir, some of the author's personality will manifest itself in the kinds of activities he describes, the language and imagery he uses, and, if he is visiting a different culture, his perceptions of those differences. Thus one of the most intriguing aspects of these journals is the reactions of Beechey and Peard to the same event. One such shared experience was the performance of Polynesian dances that they viewed in Tahiti and Hawaii.

Peard was shocked by what he perceived to be the dancers' lasciviousness. Although he did not close his eyes, his moral superiority was aroused by the "disgusting, the revolting gestures of both men and women." On another occasion, Peard faithfully described the female dancers' costumes (or lack of them), noting that the women "could not be said to dance and their postures were indecent in the extreme." (pp. 121 and 188)

Commodore Beechey had a few complaints about the peformances, but they were not in the same vein as Peard's. In contrast to his prudish First Lieutenant, Beechey was irritated by the false modesty of the dancers' costumes: "the dance . . . was spoiled by a mistaken refinement, which prevented [the dancers] from appearing, as formerly, with no other dress than a covering to the hips . . ." A purist, the Commodore felt that the "frilly chemises" now worn, "far from taking away the appearance of indecency . . . at once gave the performance a stamp of indelicacy." (II, 107)

As these two different orientations might suggest, the two British naval officers differed greatly in their reaction to the work of the British and American missionaries in the Pacific. Peard was favorable to their efforts: for instance, he applauded the Sandwich Island Mission's attempts to combat the Hawaiians' "inordinate love of Spirituous liquors." He also approved of the missionaries' attempts to restrain "the wantonness" of the Hawaiian women, but he doubted that these efforts would be successful. (p. 191)

Beechey, on the other hand, challenged the American missionaries on those very points, claiming that these religious enthusiasts were interfering with Hawaiian culture. Further, he wrote that the mission had succeeded too well in spiritual matters: because of scriptural laws and the demands of education on the Hawaiians' time, they were no longer reliable workers. Commodore Beechey was not entirely consistent in his charges of cultural interference. He noted with pride, for example, that the Hawaiian King "was fully aware of the superiority of the Europeans." This perception colored Beechey's assessment of Honolulu, which he described as a "European colony;" he thereby implicitly ignored Hawaiian sovereignty as did so many Europeans and Americans who sailed around Cape Horn. (II, 91 and 104)

As these incidents suggest, neither Peard nor Beechey are particularly endearing men--evidence of their personal biases and prejudices, their culture's ambitions and ethnocentricity, are scattered throughout the texts. But one need not like these men to learn from them: the books will be invaluable to historians and anthropologists of the Pacific who focus on the interaction between the European and indigenous island cultures. The

republication of these volumes, then, provides the reader with more than just a dry record of a scientific expedition.

Despite the overall excellence of these journals, I have a few complaints. First, the prices of these works are prohibitive. This is particularly true of the Beechey volumes, and with the recent cut-backs in university budgets, even many libraries may not be able to afford to purchase the journal; of course, there is little one can do about inflated costs, but the problem is irritating nevertheless. A more scholarly complaint involves the lack of an editorial introduction and/or an index to Beechey's narrative. This omission makes it difficult for the reader to locate important aspects of the *Blossom's* voyage and to identify properly the various people who figure in the journal. Fortunately, this deficit is offset by Barry M. Gough's excellent introduction to George Peard's journal. Gough provides detailed background to the *Blossom's* voyage, supplies a coherent and convincing summary of its goals, and gives biographical sketches of Peard and Beechey and others. In short, he places the voyage in historical perspective. Anyone wishing to examine the *Blossom's* activities should start by reading Gough's comments.

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Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycinet. *Hawai'i in 1819: A Narrative Account.* Trans. Ella L. Wiswell. Marion Kelly, ed. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978. Paper. Pp. xii, 136, illustrations, maps. $6.95.

Théodore-Adolphe Barrot. *Unless Haste is Made: A French Skeptic's Account of the Sandwich Islands in 1836.* Kailua, Hawai'i: Press Pacifica, 1978. Pp. 128, illustrations, index. $4.95.

De Freycinet's account of conditions in Hawai'i in 1819 is taken from chapters 27 and 28 of his *Voyages Around the World* . . . . The primary importance of the Freycinet journal is accurately summarized by anthropologist Ben Finney. "What is perhaps most valuable and unique of de Freycinet's account is that it furnishes us with a picture of the political situation on the island of Hawai'i at a crucial period in the history of the emergent Hawaiian monarchy." The arrival of the *Uranie* in Hawaiian waters a few weeks after the death of the great chief Kamehameha was an opportune if not propitious time when the question of royal succession

and consolidation of Kamehameha's conquests came to the forefront of island politics. The distribution of political and economic power among the paramount chiefs became the fundamental issue and source of conflict observed by de Freycinet.

Being well acquainted with the journals of his exploratory predecessor James Cook, de Freycinet was cautious and sensitive in his scrutiny of Hawaiian social and political behavior, observing the imposition of ritual *kapu* on persons and places with considerable trepidation. Conversely, de Freycinet was considerably more descriptive of the Hawaiian "beach" community, who provided valuable insight into the important developments in Hawaiian politics. Descriptions of the Hawaiian chiefs are set forth with some restraint and comports with descriptions given by other island visitors.

Another valuable feature of the publication are the numerous and important footnotes and annotations of editor Kelly, which greatly supplement de Freycinet's narrative. Likewise maps by cartographer J. I. Duperry and drawings by Jacques Arago complement the literary descriptions. Some comment must be made on the data compiled by de Freycinet. Although the primary interest of the expedition focused on geographic, botanical, and other scientific research, de Freycinet could not refrain from acquiring statistical data on some of the physical attributes of the Hawaiians themselves, including some of the chiefs. Nor could de Freycinet refrain from commenting on the physical appearances of particular personalities, both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian. The early-nineteenth century account is generally free from critical commentary and observations generally found in later source material. It may well be that de Freycinet's voyage was the last of the "noble savage" visions initiated by Europeans during the course of the eighteenth century.

Barrot's narrative has less objectivity. Written seventeen years after de Freycinet's visit, Barrot's account is occasionally punctuated with factual errors and littered from time to time with anti-missionary remarks which reflect his own personal discontent with Hawaiian society in the 1830s. Though Barrot maintains a largely journalistic tenor, he is not oblivious to important political and social developments, particularly in the foreign resident community. He is impressed with the hospitality of the chiefs, but skeptical with the consequences "civilization" thrust upon Hawaiian society. Barrot adds little in the way of historical data, but confirms impressions made by other visitors on the general social state of the islands during the early nineteenth century. Barrot is perceptive in his observations, but occasionally lapses into philosophical monologue on future prospects of the islands under the increasing influence of foreign nations. Almost ironically, Barrot fails to mention the French presence in the is-

lands, though considerable comment is made on Jean Rives. This may have been due to the short length of his visit or perhaps to his reluctance to take a position against his own countrymen in view of his own ambivalence on European and American activities in the islands.

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Robert Norton. *Race and Politics in Fiji.* St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977. Pp. xv, 210, maps, bibliography. $17.95.

Based upon his doctoral dissertation, Norton's work is a substantial and very useful analysis and description of the politics of contemporary Fiji. It is also a valuable contribution to the small but growing list of published works about the politics of the Pacific islands' states as they emerge from their colonial condition. It is also a useful addition to the list of works dealing with the politics of multi-ethnic communities, like Guyana and Malaya to which Norton compares, in some respects, the situation in Fiji.

Norton describes the social setting of Fiji's politics as one in which racial and ethnic identities are fixed by historical and economic circumstances. The indigeneous Fijians are today a minority of the population, with the Indians, who began immigration to Fiji to become indentured laborers on the sugar plantations 100 years ago, actually outnumbering them. The Europeans, mostly British, retain the foothold they secured for themselves as colonial rulers and continue to dominate the economy. Although they constitute only 3 percent of the total population, Europeans and part-Europeans exercise an enormous economic authority.

Modern democratic politics began in Fiji in 1963 when, for the first time, the bulk of the Fijian population cast their ballots in a general election. The beginnings of the present Federation (largely Indian) and Alliance (largely Fijian and European) parties were during the mid-1960s. The Federation Party grew up in the northwest sugar growing area and the Alliance Party was founded to counter it in the southeast.

All of the elements for continuous racial conflict seem to be present in Fiji. There is little intermarriage between the ethnic groups. Fijians are Christians, while the Indians are mostly Hindu or Muslims. Each group prefers to speak its own language; each attend its own schools for the most part. Fijians live largely in villages under a form of paternal communalism, while the individualistic Indians and Europeans control the business life of the community. The Europeans control the big enterprises, and the Indians operate small stores and businesses in both the rural and urban areas. For all of these social cleavages, however, organized violent action by one group against another has been notably absent from the Fijian political scene. Not that extremist appeals have not been made. There are those Fijian nationalists who have vowed to drive the Indians from the country, but the anti-Indian Fijian response has been at the ballot box, rather than at the barricades. Fijian extremists have succeeded in convincing some Fijians that they merited electoral support. In the April 1977 elections, the Fijian Nationalist Party took enough votes from the Alliance party for it to lose its majority in the House of Representatives. In the elections in November 1977, however, the Alliance Party regained its majority, and the Fijian Nationalist Party lost votes. Apparently, most Fijians preferred national stability to race-baiting, which was the chief plank in the platform of the Fijian Nationalist group.

This brings us to Norton's major point: that politics can be utilized to manage racial divisions. The idea is scarcely novel but does bear repeating. It has been through politics that the cleavages in many societies have been resolved. It is not necessary for a stable society to agree on the most fundamental things or everyone to belong to the same social groupings. It does require that all major groups in the society agree on the rules of the game, the constitution, the way in which disputes are to be processed and policies decided. It also requires responsible action by the leaders of the respective groups, a willingness to accept half a loaf now and then and not to press one's advantage too far. In Fiji, Norton says: "the manipulation of racial loyalties in political action has been restrained by the recognition of the racial division in building social and political structures," and, "Recognition that a struggle for domination would be destructive of all fostered a national endeavour to manage the conflict." (p. 146)

Coexistence is a major political value in Fiji. Race relations are "structured" so that differences and inequalities offset each other rather than reinforce racial cleavages. As Norton puts it: "Indian superiority in commerce . . . is balanced by Fijian control of land, by institutional affirmation of their special honour as a racial group . . ." (p. 147) The electoral system has from its beginning been based upon racial communities, with each group enjoying a number of guaranteed seats in the Parliament, In

the Senate certain seats are reserved for a number of Fijian senators. The Great Council of Chiefs has been continued as holdover from the colonial epoch, and its special mission is to review all policies relevant to the Fijian community.

Race is not the only factor underlying political allegiance in Fiji, Norton points, out. A number of Fijian radicals have found comfort and a home in the predominantly-Indian Federation Party. Conversely, a number of important Indians are in the Alliance Party. Class and regional differences also form the bases of political differences. The northwest and southwest regions are economically and historically different, and these differences have political and economic implications, Norton tells us. As Fijians change their residential locale and enter more and more into the professions, and as Indians exert more pressure for Fijian lands and jobs in the government service, a traditional preserve of the Fijians, class divisions may emerge which will override traditional Fijian loyalties and concerns. Norton shows how the political appeals of the Federation Party have been directed at Fijian economic interest. Its Indian leadership has attempted to create class feelings and drive a wedge between the Fijians and their chiefs, traditionally holders of political power in the Fijian community. It can so be pointed out that the cleavages within the Indian community, cleavages of origin in India, linguistic and religious cleavages, occupational cleavages, and so forth, have prevented the Indians from presenting a united front in Fijian politics. The Federation Party is a faction-ridden, quarrelsome alliance of competing groups. The Fijians, on the other hand, have generally been loyal to their chiefs and their traditions. They have made common cause with the Europeans because they have need of allies against the Indian majority. The history of Fijian-British relations has not always been one of undivided loyalty and affection, although there has been plenty of that evident. The Fijians were politically quiescent until aroused by the British who themselves, sixty years ago, began to feel threatened by the growing Indian population and its militancy, There were among the Fijians, up through the 1930s, those who generally opposed the policies of the colonial government, among them Ratu Sukuna, perhaps the most distinguished Fijian leader of the past century. After the war, however, Ratu Sukuna joined his Fijian colleagues in support of official policies. The Fijians had turned to the British and affirmed their loyalty to them as the guardians of Fijian interests.

Norton hesitates, very wisely, to hazard any prophecies for the future political stability of Fiji. The social situation may be against it, but, as he argues, communal contentions may be regularized and accommodated by the political process. Some nations have succeeded in doing this, others have not. For the sake of the people of Fiji we must hope that the founda-

tion established by the current generation of political leadership is grounded in bedrock.

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Caroline Ralston. *Grass Huts and Warehouses: Pacific Beach Communities of the Nineteenth Century*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978. Pp. 268, maps, index. $12.50.

For generations of scholars and romantics, the Pacific islands have been the stuff that dreams are made of. And as A. Grove Day has told us, the writings of Melville, Pierre Loti, Becke and Grimble, Stevenson, Maugham, Michener, and Nordhoff and Hall, and the imaginations of lots of Everymen, have conjured up for us the image of the Beachcomber, an enduring and sometimes endearing cultural fantasy of Western Civilization. It is probably a safe bet that all of us who love the South Seas have at one time or another toyed with the myth's connotations of freedom, beauty, *joie de vivre,* easy living, easy loving, and all that.

Caroline Ralston's book is a scholarly look at the real, historical beachcombers of the Pacific islands, and at the rather important role they played in the ethnography and ethnohistory of Oceania. She focuses on the historical record and the (albeit sketchy) economic and social data from nineteenth-century Honolulu, Pape'ete, Apia, Levuka and the Kianga-Bay of Islands area in Hawai'i, Tahiti, Samoa, Fiji and New Zealand in order to present a composite portrait of what she calls the "independent beach community." Her book makes three potentially lasting contributions to Pacific scholarship. One is the introduction and description of the beachcomber as a distinct anthropological and sociological type. The second is her implicit proposal of a historical sequence for describing the origins and growth of Pacific island port towns and their societies. And the third is her description and analysis of the key (and interesting) part these beachcombers had in these processes of urban evolution and acculturation.

No book is perfect and Ralston's *Grass Huts* has its defects. Most are relatively trivial. Theoretically she leans (too far) toward a naïve ecologi-

cal determinism in explaining why beach communities appeared where they did and not elsewhere (pp. 3 and 25). By directing attention to Polynesia plus Fiji, while ignoring equally interesting developments in Micronesia and some successful Melanesian settlements, she may help perpetuate unwarranted stereotypes. Her uncritical acceptance of the label "chief" indicates some unfamiliarity with modes and styles of traditional Pacific leadership, but she is, of course, not alone in this error. Likewise, her blanket condemnation of missionaries (p. 191) unfairly overlooks their often beneficial contributions. Finally, Ralston's book is in some ways too obviously a reworked doctoral dissertation in that it is too repetitive and has too many intrusive paragraphs that are not quite germane to the themes at hand. This is understandable, and it merits our sympathy. Dissertations are usually supervised by faculty committees composed of disparate egos, who are in their own views omniscient and from the student's perspective omnipotent, who read the work separately and piece-meal, and who always have their own private hobby-horses that must be discussed or their current favorite oracles who must be cited. This would ruin any book, and the writer gets hopelessly entangled in a futile struggle to please both self and multiple masters.

Returning to the positive aspects, Ralston makes clear that Pacific island cities are not like those of older Europe or America, and that their developmental processes have followed a different trajectory. South Seas urbanization is an artifact of cultural contact and interaction. None of the five sites she examines were important in aboriginal times. Synthesizing the data, she proposes a standard developmental sequence beginning with desultory contacts and trade between islanders and alien visitors. Next, the beachcombers themselves appear, men who abandon their European associates to live on the islands. The typical beach community was a point of cultural contact, an entrepôt where two cultures met to trade goods and knowledge, and where the beachcombers gathered and lived. They lived in fact in two worlds: a Western economy, but with Pacific islands social and sexual mores (e.g. local wives and families). In Ralston's schema, this era of relatively good social and ethnic relations gradually degenerated as foreign naval, consular, and missionary interests grew more numerous, more potent, and more intrusive. With the arrival of European or American women on the scene, the older harmony became discordant, and two social classes, native and expatriate, materialized. As she sees it, these Pacific islands beach communities end as port towns, alien enclaves where expatriates dominate commercial and administrative affairs and the islanders are disenfranchised in their own lands by foreign occupation or annexation.

As for the beachcombers themselves, she notes that they were neither particularly good nor evil, neither weak nor strong, neither wise nor foolish. Most were sailors, trying to readapt to life ashore. Most were simply human, trying to get along as best they could, bridging the two cultures. Most were possessed of at least some practical or trade skills, who would have had limited prospects at home, but whose services were valuable to the islanders. An overlooked and somewhat surprising point is that significant numbers of the resident beachcombers were Hindus, Filipinos, American Negroes or of other not strictly European origins (p. 54).

Finally, these beachcombers were in a sense builders of a new order. They were cultural brokers who introduced and interpreted Europeans (or Americans) and islanders to one another. They shared their rudimentary technical skills, and island leaders used them as informants about Western ways. In at least Samoa, they anticipated the later syncretic millenarianism and cargo-cultism by establishing definitely unorthodox and even bizarre quasi-Christian “sailor” religions among the villagers (p. 33). Ralston rightly has, it appears, more than just a tolerant acceptance of the beachcombers as cultural brokers or a phenomenon of the past. She duly credits them with helping protect the islanders from more rapacious Westerners, and she notes that there was little or no racial hatred during beachcomber days (pp. 43 and 210). Not all actors on the scene of Pacific history seem so non-malevolent, nor their sins so trivial, in objective retrospect.

Caroline Ralston has made a useful contribution to Pacific island scholarship with this study of urbanization in Oceania and her consideration of the mythical beachcomber as social type, cultural broker, and reality.

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Fred R. Reinman. *An Archaeological Survey and Preliminary Test Excavations on the Island of Guam, Mariana Islands, 1965-66.* Agana, Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, 1977. Paper. Pp. ix, 197, illustrations, drawings, map. $8.00.

The appearance of a new publication outlet for archaeological reports is always welcome, and it is encouraging to see that the Micronesian Area Research Centre has issued Reinman's report as the first monograph in its Miscellaneous Series. The report is virtually identical with a mimeographed version privately circulated by the author some years ago; with the resurgence of archaeological interest in Micronesia in recent years, it is highly desirable that all relevant material be made more widely available.

The report describes an intensive site survey, test excavations in five sites in the southern part of the island, and the artifacts and floral and faunal remains recovered. There is a brief concluding section and two appendices on human remains from excavations, one by Jane Hainline Underwood on the skeletal remains and one by Walter H. Birkby on teeth.

The site survey describes sites according to several environmental zones. The great amount of site destruction and damage that have taken place on Guam and the difficulties and occasional successes of locating sites described by earlier workers are well documented. Some important conclusions about the lateness and brevity of occupation at some inland sites are drawn.

The five sites in which excavations took place are all in the south of the island, three on the coast, one a short distance up a river valley and one on an interior upland plateau. The excavations consisted of scattered test pits, and in each case overall interpretation of the history of the site is difficult despite the relatively simple stratigraphy usually encountered. A number of radiocarbon dates are of some assistance in correlations between test pits.

The substantial section on pottery represents a serious attempt to advance the study of Guamanian and Marianas pottery beyond the point reached by Spoehr. It is based on the distinction between temper types, but the divisions identified by Spoehr are on the whole supported. A major difficulty with the pottery study is that it is based on material from test pits excavated by spits, and it will be interesting to see how it stands up when more coherent assemblages from stratigraphic units become available for study.

A wide range of other artifacts are described and illustrated, including stone and shell adzes, slingstones, pestles and mortars, shell fishhooks, and

a variety of other objects in stone, bone, and shell, as well as post-European items.

The section on floral and faunal remains is rather brief. Following older works, a complete check list of molluscs is provided, but information on quantitative analysis of bone and shell is sketchy and lacks chronological control.

The discussion has not been revised to incorporate any new material despite the long delay between the writing of the report and its final publication. This is, of course, a difficult point. Since the conclusions are largely inward looking, concerned with Guam rather than Micronesia at large, the decision not to revise was probably a sensible one.

The report, in essence, is a straightforward account of fieldwork carried out more than ten years before publication. It states what was done and decribes what was found. As such, it provides a useful body of information for those now working in the Marianas or adjacent areas. The inexpensive format, with adequate binding and a substantial number of line drawings and photographs, is a suitable way to publish data-rich reports of this nature.

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Jim Richstad and Michael McMillan. *Mass Conmmication and Journalism in the Pacific Islands: A Bibliography*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978. Pp. xxxiv, 299, index. $15.00.

One's first effort on receiving a bibliography such as this (immediately after finding whether one's own references are all there) is to see "what they missed." Judgment: this bibliography deserves a superior rating as a pioneering effort to compile sources relating to Pacific island journalism. A trip through this volume, produced by two staff members of the East-West Communications Institute, was much like working along a reception line of old friends, each of which had been cultivated individually and in divers places. It was exciting to see them all in one place.

Textually, the compilers emphasize the deficiencies they found in literature dealing with this field, a field of alien institutions in the traditional cultures of the islands. Among these are the lack of research into and reports on cinema and its role in Pacific island societies, as well as a paucity of theoretical approaches and systematic research reports on communication in the Pacific.

It is pointed out, for example, that there is no history of the press in print, although at least one manuscript is noted as having been written. No further reference is given for that manuscript, though it seems such a break with formal bibliographical tradition might be justified, given the informal and laborious nature of information flow in the Pacific. With such vast distances to be covered, and with so few formal resources for gathering and disseminating information, one must take one's information where and when it surfaces. A volume on the history of the islands' press now in manuscript but published next year may have decades to wait before another bibliography is produced.

Nevertheless, by pointing to deficiencies in the literature they found, the compilers hope to stimulate formal exploration of the process and institutions in these islands to fill some of the gaps, an awesome task.

The bibliography itself is organized into geographical units, with twenty-four island groups (from American Samoa to Western Samoa, alphabetically) and preceded by a "Pacific Islands General" section. The 1975 separation of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands is accounted for by duplicate references where appropriate under the two groups (the Gilberts became Tuvalu), but the recency of changes in the Trust Territories of the Pacific (Micronesia) ruled against the same considerations there. As a result, references for all Micronesian Islands are included in a Trust Territories section. Guam, however, is treated separately. Within geographical units, items are arranged (generally chronologically) under nearly two dozen communication-related categories, though Hawai'i is the only island group which utilizes all twenty of the categories.

The relative scope is illustrated by a look at individual island group entries. Hawai'i, the home base of the East-West Center and the group with the most highly developed mass media system, contains 1196 references on eighty-three pages for the most comprehensive coverage (references are numbered serially throughout the volume). By contrast, six island groups require one page or less: Easter and Midway Islands have one reference each, Johnston and Ocean Islands have two references each, Wallis and Futuna (combined) has six references, and tiny Pitcairn an explosion of eight references on one page. Trailing Hawai'i in volume are Papua-New Guinea (379 references on thirty-one pages) and Fiji (280 references on twenty-one pages). The total bibliography is 3332 reference items (each newspaper, as a mention of its existence, serves as a single reference, though no published material describing the publication may be cited).

Unavoidably, perhaps, *Pacific Islands Monthly (PIM)* and the two major Honolulu daily newspapers (the *Advertiser* and the *Star-Bulletin*) find themselves the major citation sources. This, itself, is a bit of a bitter com-

mentary for scholars on the state of communication data on the South Pacific islands.

Not surprisingly, then, the two most thoroughly covered topics are the Honolulu Community-Media Council, a press council established in Honolulu in 1970, and the celebrated feud between Honolulu Mayor Frank Fasi and the *Star-Bulletin,* one with profound press freedom implication, which started in 1969 and erupted regularly through 1974. Access to printed sources made this coverage predictable. It would have been at least as helpful, in a Pacific islands context, however, to have had local citations (*PIM* was the primary source) chronicling the continuing press freedom dispute between Prime Minister Mata'afa and local newspapers almost from the moment of independence. The *PIM* entries are provocative, but stories in *Samoana* and, later, *Samoa Times* are priceless literature of South Pacific press freedom. One missing citation, by the way, is an exploration of that problem and a profile of Bob Rankin, *Samoana* editor, in the International Press Institute *Reports* in the mid-1960s, shortly before *Samoana* died.

Collaborators could have enriched the book by collecting this type of material from holdings in the Mitchell Library of the Library of New South Wales in Sydney, the Central Archives and Sir Alfred Baker Memorial Library in Suva, Fiji, the Library of the Auckland Museum and Institute in Auckland, New Zealand, and even the Nelson Memorial Library in Apia, Western Samoa, to mention a few. One holding that was available, however, was an entrancing collection of newspapers covering the Mau rebellion in Western Samoa, with press freedom and published agitation as focal points, in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu. No mention was made of this resource. Perhaps someone will begin collecting these publications in a central repository. It is in these publications that the battles for press and development are really fought, and from which these battles are reconstructed.

The scattered nature of the repositories is responsible for another major omission. These are the Japanese-language newspapers that proliferated during the administration of Micronesia under League of Nations mandate after World War I. The bibliography contains no reference to Micronesia publications prior to 1943.

Yet, this volume will lighten the chore of researchers, a chore that is almost impossible without resources, of finding some basic sources. It makes the trip from Square One to Square Two less exhausting, leaving more energy for the original explorations that Richstad and MacMillan find so scarce. In short, a research resource that is taken for granted in many fields and areas is now available to help facilitate journalism and

communication research in the Pacific. However, this bibliography by no means does it all. There is still plenty of room for scholarly discovery here.

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Spencer Wilkie Tinker. *Fishes of Hawaii. A Handbook of the Marine Fishes of Hawaii and the Central Pacific Ocean*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Service, Inc., 1978. Pp. xxxvi, 532, illustrations, drawings. $14.95.

Aristotle studied about a hundred species of fishes, all from the Aegean Sea; Rondelet, one of the Renaissance "fathers" of ichthyology, dealt with 234 species, mostly European; two centuries later, Linnaeus in the now taxonomically critical tenth edition of the *Systema naturae* of 1758 diagnosed some 413 species. As yet, the world of fishes was still manageable and the class of specialists, as well as that of interested laymen, was small. Nowadays, however, we recognize about 20,000 species and it is no longer possible for the talented ichthyologist to master this whole field. Meanwhile, an ever-wider circle of snorklers, scuba-divers, aquarists and just plain holiday-makers, most especially in the warmer waters of the world where the ichthyofauna is richer, are seriously in need of guidance. The result has been, if not a plethora, then a steady stream of popular books on tropical marine fishes. Various formulae have been tried and it is of interest to judge Spencer Wilkie Tinker's contribution to this genre.

The great era of ichthyofaunal studies dates from about the 1850s. It is bejewelled by names like Pieter Bleeker (Indonesia), Felipe Poey (Cuba), Francis Day (India), Wilhelm Rüppell (Red Sea) and many others, leading up in our own times to such classics as J. L. B. Smith's book on southern African fishes, first published in 1948. Smith's work was a fine example of a relatively new approach, the book that was as much used by ichthyologists as by laymen. Smith really did try to make easily worked keys (especially his masterly finray guide), he provided almost every species with a picture, and he gave biological, ecological and sporting information of more general interest. Modelled on Smith, but far too complex for the layman (and for many an ichthyologist too) were Ian Munro's guides to the fishes of Ceylon and New Guinea. Carcasson's field guide to Indo-Pacific fishes merely compressed the Munro formula into little more than

a check-list. Meanwhile, another formula had appeared, the picture book. The camera lens is vastly cheaper than the eye of the artist, so why not show fishes in life and not as dead specimens? The result has usually been bulky, as for example the six incomplete jabs at *Pacific Marine Fishes* by Warren Burgess and Herbert Axelrod, although one cannot but admire the many superb pictures. Yet another formula is the *Species Identification Sheets* produced by FAO and so far covering the Caribbean, the Mediterranean and southeast Asia, intended primarily for fisheries biologists and market recorders but often of considerable value to ichthyologists. If one day these are issued in book form and not in loose-leaf folders, then they will provide another useful alternative to the layman.

Such are the contending styles. Tinker's choice was to eschew keys and to rely on good black and white (and 109 color) photographs, as well as line drawings, with a brief description and notes on habits, habitat and points of general interest. Pictures are undoubtedly the best general guide to identification and it is most important that they should be placed with the description, as they are here, and not be relegated to the back of the book. With about five hundred fishes, the non-specialist needs to be able to flick through to get his bearings in a visual way before settling to more exact identification. The classification of fishes underwent a major reorganization in the late sixties and more and more popular books now adopt what is loosely called "Greenwood et al." but Tinker, perhaps through caution, does not. However, dipping here and there and looking through his Appendix, he evidently did his best to keep abreast of name changes and new species, with literature references up to as late as 1977.

Curiously enough, the Hawaiian fish fauna seems to have been particularly well served in the literature, beginning with Jordan and Evermann's fine study published in 1905, with 441 species and very many of these illustrated. Long out of print, this was reprinted in 1973 and is still notable for its excellent descriptions. Fowler's *Fishes of Oceania* of 1928 was a *tour de force* for the reference hunter and Tinker's own earlier version of the present book, published in 1944, afforded some help to the amateur (but very poor color plates). The standard modern work has been that by Brock and Gosline (1960), which has an excellent family key as well as keys to species (584, or 448 inshore) and is primarily of use to the student.

Tinker's book will, I suspect, supersede that by Brock and Gosline for the non-specialist, although he could with profit have emulated their family key with its thumbnail sketches and diagrams. However, he has admirably succeeded in his aim to build "a bridge across the chasm that separates the beginning or amateur naturalist from the seemingly involved and

difficult world of fish names and fish classification." This is a useful addition to twentieth century ichthyofaunal compilations (in the best sense of the word) and people will reach for their Tinker as they still reach for Smith, Munro, Böhlke, Randall and a number of other handy guides.

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