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KINSHIP AND ASSOCIATION IN RAPANUI RECIPROCITY[1]

by Grant McCall

To kin or not to kin: that is the question that strikes the fieldworker in those small societies where people reckon their kinship affiliations cognatically.[2] The problem is not merely an analytical one, bedevilling the mind of the analyst, pouring over the field friends who have become fieldnotes, reducing to circles, triangles, and lines the genealogies of dead and living links. It is a daily dilemma for the people among whom the inquiring and annotating foreigner comes to work. The practical problem lies not so much in knowing who one's kin might be in a small scale, face to face society of a few hundred or a few thousand persons. It rests uncomfortably in deciding which persons are to be treated as non-kin, particularly when it comes to the distribution of scarce resources in goods and services, land and labor.

How do individuals become attached to and identified with particular kin groups? Or, what might comprise a code of intimacy made visible (and public) by which someone who merely is relatable becomes a close kinsman? Herbert Blumer (1969:79) writes that "human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions." The significant actions in most (if not all) human societies are those prestations[3] in goods and labor used to ob-

[1]Rapanui is the term the modern Easter Islanders apply to their island, their language, and to themselves. A Ph.D. scholarship from the Australian National University supported my research on Easter Island between 1972 and 1974. I would like to thank those Rapanui who were kind enough to assist me in my work, particularly Leon Tuki Hey, José Fati Puarakey, Aurelia Hey Riroroko, and Victoria Rapahango Tepuku. In Canberra, I am grateful to Dr. Marie Reay who was my supervisor after my fieldwork.

[2]Insofar as a society holds a myth of common descent from one or a few apical ancestors, it too may be seen as cognatic in operational terms. See Keesing (1970) for an ingenious reworking of Fortes's data to show how perspectives from the analysis of cognatic societies may untangle some of the problems bedevilling the ordering of so-called unilineal ones.

[3]The translator of Marcel Mauss's *The Gift* (1969:xi) made the following note: "There is no convenient English word to translate the French *prestation* so this word itself is used to mean anything or series of things given freely or obligatorily as a gift or in exchange; and

jectify the bonds of association, the character of the control involved, and the limitations the persons involved in the transaction wish to communicate to one another. On Rapanui, transactional relations largely employ a rhetoric composed of kin based denotata.

I present what is to some extent a gloss confirming Mac Marshall's (1977) examination of Trukese notions of the nature of nurture, as they relate to Rapanui. But, while Marshall concerns himself with diagramming the structure of associations in kinship and friendship, my task is to discuss the processes, the significant actions which people use to bind together and operate the structure Marshall proposes. Furthermore, I make explicit how the analysis of symbolic interaction relates to association and its attendant access to and control of the labor power of others. It is people and their productive capacity, not merely material products, which the Rapanui negotiate in their exchanges. The products or services in exchange are simply symbols[4] of the association, desired or actual. In the course of the discussion, I make reference to the earlier work on Rapanui by Edwin Ferdon (1958) and criticize Marshall Sahlins' scheme of reciprocities in the light of my emphasis upon association and labor in Rapanui reciprocity.

Rapanui's history throughout the two thousand years or so that people have lived there has rarely been ordinary or stable, as I chronicle elsewhere (McCall 1979). Enormous monoliths bespeaking pan-island cooperation followed by the systematic destruction of complex ceremonial centers, a cult involving the worship of a high god, and fierce internecine fighting, in roughly that order, comprise the Rapanui prehistory recorded in carved stone or informant's tale. Europeans first came upon the lonely, fifty-five square mile island in 1722. Over 3,600 miles from the South American coast and about the same distance to Tahiti, Rapanui's nearest neighbor of any consequence is Pitcairn Island, about a thousand miles distant. Bereft of anything attractive to the rapacious colonial mind, only about fifty ships stopped to trade for sweet potatoes or carvings for the first century and a half that the place was known to Europeans. During a few months in 1862-63, ships containing various nationalities, but sailing from the Peruvian port of Callao, raided the island, carrying off hundreds into contract servitude and leaving disease in return. The inevitable missionary enterprise turned up to find about a thousand people who survived the slavery and sickness. Through more disease, ill-fated outmigration to Tahiti, and conflict between a redoubtable French trader

includes services, entertainments, etc., as well as material things." An equally good definition of *prestation* as I use it in this paper would be Firth's meaning (1973:372) that, "A gift involves the transfer of a material object, or the performance of a service over time which involves the displacement of material objects."

[4]Sahlins (1976: 120ff.) prefers "motivated sign" for what I more conventionally refer to as a symbol.

and the missionaries, the numbers continued to drop. In 1877, when missionaries departed and the erstwhile trader-self-styled king assassinated, the population fell to its nadir of 110 persons.

From these 110 persons, only less than a third of whose marriages produced two or more offspring, the present population of nearly 2,000 originated. The last century has seen the island transformed from Chilean colonial backwater to English sheepranch, to naval station, to its present incarnation as a developing tourist center. In 1973, of the 1821 Rapanui that I recorded in my census, 484 persons lived off their island, mainly in other parts of Chile.

Association has been an important preoccupation of the Rapanui from the time of the solid stone figures of the past to the present era of speedy jet travel. Evidence from prehistory suggests that extensive trade networks existed between the sometimes hostile clans before the coming of the Europeans whose social and economic structures strive to encapsulate the tiny sociality. The basic principles of association, based upon kin and commerce, have remained the same.

For the Rapanui, the island has been twice born, but not in a religious sense. As is typical of many other societies, a culture hero, Hotu Matu‘a (Great Parent) for the Rapanui, established the hierarchy of clans with his immediate offspring. The depredations of the 1860s and perhaps before exterminated many of these kin groups from the mythological founding order. The present islanders trace their descent, their rights to Rapanui land, and order their associations according to descent from known ancestors who survived the events of the last century and refounded descent groups as apical ancestors. Outsiders who either resided on the island or merely visited it and who left offspring may also figure as eponymous ancestors in disputes over land and labor or marriage choices. The structure of these associations I trace in detail elsewhere (McCall 1979).

Rapanui Ideas about Giving and Receiving

Public and formal ceremonies involving exchanges and their prestations are rare and most of the business of transactions for association transpires between individuals, though the groups whom these individuals represent are present in the minds of the participants.

The prototype of the successful man is the *tangata hōnui* (man of substance). He is a rich man who can afford to give. The term *tangata hōnui* carries a moral connotation that he ought to look after those whom he recognizes as either affinal or consanguine kin. Because of this, with few exceptions, there is no agreed upon list of *tangata hōnui* for the entire Rapanui population. Being a *tangata hōnui* does not give one community-

wide political power, but having influence in the affairs of many persons is a contributing characteristic of persons pointed out as men of substance. A *tangata hōnui's* riches comprise productive land, numerous affiliates of kin who labor for him, and, increasingly today, a role in tourism. In order to participate in tourism which is operated entirely by Rapanui who may hire Chileans as advisers, a man must have a large house to receive paying guests, family members who can attend to the cleaning of the rooms, and kin affiliates *(hae-hae)* who can supply garden produce, fish, and sometimes meat to feed the tourists. All *tangata hōnui* today have one or more motor vehicles for transporting tourists around, and these were acquired through contacts with outsiders. No man of substance in tourism can operate without some extensive associations with outsiders, not only from Chile, but from places further afield. These outsider associations, which the Rapanui discuss in terms of friendship, are strictly business arrangements that involve standard commission and booking arrangements though they exploit less transactionally formal ties also with former clients. Most of the *tangata hōnui* in tourism hold down jobs in the Chilean public service which gives them further access to contacts with outsiders who may be of benefit.[5] All those involved in tourism can trace their associations within Rapanui society, showing how each of the persons related to them by consanguinity or affinity contributes to their operation.

Another path to being a *tangata hōnui* is through commerce in goods from off the island. The two activities, commerce and tourism, rarely overlap. The prime qualification for a career as a commercial *tangata hōnui* is to have some kinsman off the island purchasing the required goods for resale on the island. Alcoholic and nonalcoholic beverages feature as specialities while others sell small dry goods. No successful Rapanui food merchant existed during my fieldwork; small shops and enterprises came and went according to the fortunes of those Rapanui involved.

One *tangata hōnui* is the son of an outsider and with his brother, occupies a prominent position in Rapanui government employment. He is the eldest of the family and has built upon his inheritance from his father

[5]The topic of tourism on Rapanui merits a separate and more extended discussion than is possible here. The use and indeed exploitation of the labor power of kin is becoming a major problem for the Rapanui. Differences in wealth, according to my informants, are much greater at the present time than was the case in the past. Formerly, what different material wealth islanders possessed from their kin was the result of exploiting contacts with outsiders and holding paid employment with them. Tourism results in the direct conversion of kin labor into cash money and in large amounts and will no doubt result in the formation of true classes in a Marxist sense in the near future.

to assume a position of wealth in the community. He is a quiet, even self-effacing man, but his contacts with kin and commerce are extensive. He funds a liquor business which the largest Chilean merchant operates on his land; and since the military coup in Chile in 1973, his brother holds a high military post on the island. Moreover, his sons and daughters occupy important positions in the local Chilean public service, the only source of regular employment on the island. Through his wife, he has access to a number of other families and quietly collects his affiliates who become obligated to him through various acts of kindness. His connections with outsiders are excellent. Tourism, commerce, and extensive kin contacts combine in this one person to produce an individual of great substance.

Forty-seven percent of the adult Rapanui population is female though I heard of only one *vi'e hōnui* spoken of during my fieldwork. She directed the affairs of one nuclear family and whilst she had resources in kin labor, she had no outsider contacts or any interests in tourism or commerce. Her designation seemed to indicate her strong personality and dominance within her own close family more than cash convertible wealth. The lack of *vi'e hōnui* does not reflect a weak position for women but rather a strong patrilineal bias in Rapanui inheritance whereby women are said to leave the family to join that of their husband to whom they should not be related.[6] Another elderly lady, never spoken of as *vi'e hōnui* to me, nevertheless enjoyed great respect throughout the islander community and frequently bestowed little kindnesses in the manner of someone who would occupy such a position.

What is meant by giving for the Rapanui? The simple verb, to give *('avai)* is distinguished from one meaning to exchange or trade (*hō'o*). The same term *'avai* applies to giving something to both a family member and an outsider, though the intentions are different. When a kinsman gives another kinsman an object such as food or a service or the loan of an implement, it is implicit that what is happening is not so much an act of giving as one of sharing. Their common right to the object is symbolic of their common membership in a particular *hua'ai* or kin group. More often, people say merely that they are related *(hae-hae)* by virtue of one or more shared ancestors. People often use the Chilean term *familia* (family). If a Rapanui wishes to fully transfer ownership from one person to another, implying that ownership was not corporate in the first place, then he[7] must use a loan word from Spanish, *cambiare.* This term, *cambiare,* which means to exchange in Spanish *(cambiar),* means that one person gives something to another and that the ownership of the property involved in the transaction is transferred by the donor to the receiver, often in return

[6]See my discussion of incest as social control (McCall 1979: 180-86).

[7]The use of the masculine gender implies also the feminine, unless otherwise noted.

for something at the moment of the transaction. Rapanui *cambiare* their handicrafts to tourists for cash or trade. *Cambiare* is also the word Rapanui use to express the English, "to sell" or "to buy."[8]

Selling can occur between kinsmen. This applies especially to merchandise purchased in Chile intended for sale on the island. Such items as tinned goods, cigarettes, clothing, cosmetics, and the like are sold by islanders in small kiosks. Money is the medium of exchange, though a merchant will accept handicrafts if he deals with tourists. People also sell services in this manner.

Ana's first cousin, the son of her mother's sister Pablo, demanded cash payment (in American dollars) for installing electrical wiring in her newly completed house. Pablo explained to me that he did not owe this service to his cousin as she had never done anything for him nor was she ever likely to. He did not consider that his skill as an electrician, learned in Chile, was the property of Ana. She had no rights over it and so he wanted cash for his work. With other cousins, Pablo was more generous and did do their electrical work without an immediate charge. They were closer to him and had helped him in the past, he said.[9]

Aside from giving as sharing and selling for cash, the Rapanui also recognize another kind of transfer which can be between both kinsmen and nonkinsmen. One can *hō'o* (trade or exchange). The assumption of common ownership here is absent as is the mediation of cash. Instead of giving, a person chooses to trade an object or a service. People may not expect the return of such a prestation immediately but may allow it to be deferred for some time. No specific counter prestation may even be in the minds of those in the exchange at the time of its occurrence, but the giver will recall the event at a later time to affirm the obligation of the recipient to repay.[10]

The Rapanui recognize that if they present something and if someone accepts it, then the recipient has an obligation, no matter how far in the future, to requite it *(hakahoki).* Often such unsolicited prestations are brought to another's dwelling and left, without comment. The object does not bear the name of the giver, but its source identifies the donor. People know that a fish could only have come from a person known to have gone fishing on a particular day or a box of laundry powder could only have come from people known usually to have such for sale in their kiosks. The

[8]Mauss (1979:31) noted how the same lexical item referred to both buying and selling in many languages, including French.

[9]The cases quoted I have abstracted from my field notes. All names and other identifying characteristics of persons have been altered.

[10]A *tangata hōnui* goes about collecting associations through various prestations in goods and services which he might not call upon for some time.

item itself and its value as measured in monetary terms is not so important as the act of prestation itself. The initial prestation will be spoken of as *hō'o,* but subsequent reciprocity between these persons is *hakahoki.* After the initial opening of the relationship, people say that one is always reciprocating.

Such reciprocities go on between kinsmen constantly. If the prestation is face to face, often a Rapanui will wrap the gift in paper or cloth so that no commentary is necessary. The giver places the parcel in the hands of the recipient or simply leaves it unceremoniously on a table or a shelf. Great skill is used to do this so that the recipient notices the object given but does not remark upon it. The acceptance of the object, with perhaps a momentary nod of the head or dropping of eye contact, is the only acknowledgment.

Some gifts have an intrinsic value, such as a piece of cloth, cologne, or some similar non-island product. People are pleased if a prestation does have such a cash or utilitarian value. Between very close friends or intimate kinsmen, the cash or utilitarian value of a gift should not be important. People call gifts between kinsmen *hakaaroha.* The more intimate the relationship, the less emphasis people place upon the value of the item in a transaction. Until the last few years, some of my informants report, Rapanui would react in a similar way to gifts from non-islanders. That is, that any trinket given by an outsider to an islander had a special importance merely because it was an outsider who gave it. Even today, small favors and gifts from outsiders receive an enthusiastic welcome. People display such *hakaaroha* gifts from outsiders in their homes and may refer to them as tangible proof that a certain outsider is a friend of theirs.

Services, too, may be offered without demand or may be the result of agreement. Whenever a man is working on a project such as building a house or a boat or ploughing a field, some kinsman is likely to drift along without notice and simply begin to assist. Sometimes they exchange words of greeting, but the talk usually launches directly into some topic quite unrelated to the work at hand. Services extended over several days by someone are recompensed by providing food on the job. Some people call this food provided for work *umuanga, umu* being the word for the traditional cooking place--an earth oven--and *anga* being any kind of productive labor. Women whose husbands are working on some task at home always have enough food ready for the midday and evening meals to provide for any assisting visitors. Those present merely come to the table without formal invitation when the wife or other female kinsmen serves the food. To receive work from someone and not provide them with something to eat would be an insult. Though such casual help may or may not return to continue the work, there are cases where the terms of the

reciprocity have been worked out in advance. Young men, sometimes a group of four or five and usually acknowledging their kinship, agree to build their respective houses together. They each have their own materials, but they share their labor *(te anga).* In turn, or sometimes simultaneously, they all work on one another's houses. Most often, such collective labor involves brothers or first cousins, both of whom are known by the same term, *taina.*

The female equivalent is the making of shell necklaces in the family kitchen. Often sisters or first cousins, also *taina,* stop and chat for a short period and join in the task. Women may also clean fish or assist in some other way with food preparation cooperatively, but people do not deem contractual relations shifting from house to house appropriate to them. Women and men both suppose that adult, married females each do their own housekeeping. Women do not do men's work such as construction or farming and so do not need the contractual relations that men find so useful.

Ha'i (embrace) is the act of gift prestation to initiate, activate, or renew ties of kinship. Sometimes, a kin relationship becomes distant *(ko roa-roa 'a)* and so something is necessary to renew it, to bring it "closer." *Ha'i* may entail stopping by a person's house and joining in some work being done there. If the offer of work is accepted, that may be sufficient *ha'i.* Another approach is to turn up with a gift at some ceremonial occasion, such as a wedding, funeral, or, more recently, a birthday party. People regard as *ha'i* a donation of food or liquor to the festivities. If the object of one's attention accepts the gift, then he signals his willingness to enter into (or to renew) a relationship.

Many Rapanui believe that ties *(here)* should always be kept active with kin, no matter how distant. To do this, a person may *ha'i* on a given occasion without any specific request being made. For example, Simon used his brother as a go-between *(nave)* for a family with whom he wished to associate but whose kin ties with him had been dormant for some time. Simon's brother had married a girl from the Motu family and when that girl's mother died, Simon gave a gift of food through his brother to the Motu's for the funeral feast. Once Simon had done this, the Motus invited him to the funeral feast. Simon took this opportunity to further ingratiate himself with people there in whom he had an interest.

Food, Feelings, Sharing, and Friends

Food occupies a central and evocative place in Rapanui emotions. Rapanui believe that the *manava,* which they see as the gut or abdomen, is the location and origin of all emotions, very like the theory behind medieval courtly love in the European tradition or that in modem evolution-

ary theories of the visceral brain. To remember someone or some place is to "cry in one's gut." A person who is indifferent or demonstrates no emotion to another has a lump in his gut *(manava hatu).* Someone who is in love with someone else, usually heterosexually, has a dead stomach *(manava māte)* and may refuse to eat. Love for someone who is far away or for someone who has died long ago results in a deep pain in the stomach as though something had been tom or stabbed inside the abdomen. A broken heart for the Rapanui is a broken gut *(manava more).*

The most important expression of kinship is through sharing food. It demonstrates that one person cares *(aroha)*[11] for another. The expression of *aroha* in this way declares the kind of empathy and compassion that English renders as "love," but without the sexual connotation for which entirely different terminology applies. The greatest compliment that can be paid to a householder is to say that his home has much food *(ravakai)* to give to people. Distribution of food to people at (usually) ceremonial occasions, such as weddings and funerals, is done by a close kin of the host, called *motuha.* Distributing the food in measured quantities to each person present *(haka he'e)* is not enough; it should be done so that each person present receives a portion appropriate to his relationship to the host.

People may differ in their opinions of what is correct *(rite).* Allocating unintentionally a portion that is too small or inadequate is to give crumbs *(haka ēpe)* to someone. If an individual feels that he has been given a smaller amount purposely to create a feeling of disappointment, then he accuses the host of *haka kemo.* Such a slight to someone with whom one had a close relationship would connote a withdrawal of affection *(aroha)* and would be a signal (and a blunt one at that, if done publically) that the host no longer desired kin relations with the guest. *Rūo* is to leave a feast with a feeling of resentment against the host for such a slight. Persons who receive enough to eat, but who do not obtain enough surplus to take home with them from public or ceremonial feasts, may also feel *rūo.* In contrast to dining in the home on ordinary occasions, the important part of a public feast is the distribution of the food, not its eating. Within a few minutes of the distribution, all except close kin of the host begin to move off to their homes where they will eat the food or give it to others.

Persons who do not participate in the four or five feasts given each year to celebrate Catholic religious days or who do not give food on informal occasions in their homes are *ngu.* I have heard this epithet applied as a nickname to some persons who behave in this way. For example, Manolo never feeds relatives when they come to his house and never contrib-

[11]Rapanui *aroha* seems to be precisely cognate with the Trukese concept of *ttong* (Marshall 1977:656-57).

utes to any of the public feasts given on the island. When he and his family are eating a meal, if anyone knocks on the door, he quickly hides the food so that they will not have to be invited to eat. He does not do this for lack of food or money, but because he is stingy *(ngu). Ngu* carries with it the notion that a person is always reluctant about giving things or services, while *ohumu* can be only a temporary lapse of generosity to kin. A very stingy person who always fails to share with his kin is miserly *(paka ohio).* Such a person lacks *aroha* (affection) for all persons and is interested only in hoarding and retaining goods and services for himself. People avoid and make jokes about such misers.[12] A miser never gives feasts, nor is it likely that such a person would go to any such gatherings. To fail to give for the Rapanui is to fail to love. An extremely stingy and miserly person *(tangata ohumu hio-hio)* has closed nails *(mangungupura).*

Proof of *aroha* between kinsmen is the constant sharing of goods and labor amongst them. *Aroha* includes not only love but also a sense of identification with another person. Those who have *aroha* for another know what their kinsmen wish and ideally should be able to anticipate requests and desires. *Tangata hōnui* have *aroha* for persons to whom they are related. People who have *aroha* for each other have confidence or trust *(pe'i)* in one another and they support each other in disputes with others.

People see *aroha* as correlating with intimacy in kin relations. At its most restricted, within the nuclear family, people assume that a husband has *aroha* for his wife and vice versa and parents and their children have reciprocal *aroha.* Beyond this, a person should have *aroha* for anyone to whom he acknowledges that he is related *(hae-hae).* If *aroha* is not shown by reciprocal prestations, then some reason must be given for its withdrawal or absence. Such reasons are expressed by the Rapanui in concrete terms of failure to provide goods or a service at one or more particular and named occasions.

Expression of *aroha* beyond the immediate kin exists in friendship. *Hoa* (more archaic, *hokorua*) is the term for persons who are like family in intimacy. In the complicated and interwoven descent from those few fertile individuals in the last century, not many today can claim to be completely unrelated to a large number of other Rapanui. Nevertheless, people do recognize friendship as a special, nonkin relationship. Rapanui initiate, activate, or renew friendships through the prestation of gifts *(ha'i).* Some Rapanui aver that friendship requires more effort to achieve if there is no accepted kinship basis for the association, either through affinal or consanguinal ties. Gifts given as expressions of *aroha* for family

[12]I am preparing a paper on teasing, gossip, and nicknames to show how these can be analyzed using a unitary structure as an aspect of social control and the expression of values.

are not nearly as crucial as they are for friends. Friends are seen together in each other's company working together and sharing the same interests, sometimes business interests. Many people say that siblings and cousins are always there *(he taina ho'i taua),* so they must be close and have *aroha.* Friends have a special relationship; while it should not supplant kin ties, it ought to be like kinship in emotional and practical (i.e., exchange) terms. People say that friendships are optional; and for this reason, the energy required for maintaining them is greater. Nothing about them can be taken for granted, whereas kinship ought to exist simply as a fact. People do not acknowledge, except in conflict, that kinship and friendship both require tangible and continuous demonstrations of *aroha.*

One reason for forming a friendship, rather than declaring kinship, is that one's kinsmen could protest their being brought into a relationship of which they did not approve. The Rapanui are freer to form friendships than they are to recognize kinship ties, especially nonagnatic ones. Kinship involves the declaration of common rights in property and labor and may have implications beyond the individuals who declare themselves fast friends *(hoa here).*

Affines of similar age are often friends and recognize that their friendship began when their siblings married. Besides the *aroha,* one can feel easy with friends. Friends often joke and especially close ones may come to feel as close as kin, contributing even to life crisis ceremonies in each other's families. A Rapanui man of middle age may have only two or three persons whom he considers as good friends *(repahoa).* Women, on the other hand, often have many more close friends in addition to their kinsmen. Women visit much more frequently than do men. Older women with adult offspring particularly say they have a good deal more time on their hands than men for visiting, as most older men, but few women are involved full time in cash earning activities.

Affection, Respect, and Disappointment

The expression of *aroha* through reciprocity is not without its restraints. A system based purely upon reputed affection could be abused by the unscrupulous who might make excessive demands *(tingo).* Prevention of the abuse of *aroha* is contained in the notion of respect (*mō'a*).

Among collaterals, *mō'a* is a restraint or the generosity required by the expression of *aroha.* Relations between siblings are characterized by restraint. The ideal sibling relationship is one in which mutual respect is demonstrated and they do not step on each other *(ina ko eke tu'u taina).* To step upon a sibling means to demand too much or to compete openly and without the feelings of *aroha.* For example, Pāhi was an ancient fig-

ure who always came to his kinsmen's homes just as the meal was being served. He did this because he wished to eat all of the food of his family members, but he never worked to produce any himself. Today, if a kinsman comes too often just at meal time, he or she may be greeted by, "Oh, look, here comes Pahi;" a clear allusion to the old story that every adult knows. This gentle rebuke is usually sufficient to remind a kinsman of his lack of respect *(mō'a).*

I observed that whilst someone may come to visit a kinsman or a friend out of *aroha,* respect requires an approach to the dwelling only from the front door. Further it is customary to approach a person's house[13] making some sort of noise, such as whistling or humming, so as not to startle the occupants. Some persons send small children or dogs on ahead of them to announce their arrival at a house. If the person to be visited is not close, either as a friend or kinsman, then it is desirable to call out before approaching the house so as to obtain permission from the owner to approach.

Rapanui assert that respect should be a part of the relationship between spouses. This show of respect includes avoiding altercations in public places for public disputes not only show disrespect between those engaging in the conflict but also demonstrate a lack of respect to others present. Spouses should also refrain from gossiping about one another, for it is a sign of disrespect to impart confidential *(ponoko)* information about whom someone has trust *(pe'i).*

Mutual respect should also be embodied in the relationship between parents and children. Along with their special feelings of *aroha* for one another, children demonstrate respect to their parents by obeying their commands. Children reciprocate parental *aroha* by giving their labor and its products to their seniors. If respect predominates in a parent-child relationship then a child should not look his parent directly in the eye, an action called *hira-hira* and an insult. Parents in turn reciprocate that respect by not having disputes in front of their children or discussing certain topics, such as sexual behavior when they are in their presence. If any distinction occurs between the sexes, it is that a *poki* (child) ought to have affection for his female parent and respect especially for his male parent. Just as many Rapanui would deny this, saying that respect should be for both male and female parents, as should affection. If a child feels that his parent has failed to give him respect and/or affection, he may use this as an explanation for refusing to aid his parents when old.

[13]Most nuclear families or couples intending to have children occupy their own separate dwelling or are in the process of constructing their own house.

An old couple in their seventies had had many children, but as adults they refused to care for them. The old man was known in the community as a stingy person who always sold his goods and was never generous. His natural offspring charged that he fostered many children and made them work in his fields to make him rich. Many supported his natural and fostered offspring when they refused to bring the old couple food when they fell ill.

Labor *(te anga)* is represented by the Rapanui in visiting one's close friends and kin; that is, not selfishly hoarding all of one's time for productive activities for one's own benefit. Children who wish to express their respect and affection to their elders may do so by performing small tasks around the household or by co-opting for labor intensive projects such as building construction or farming. The old man in the previous case raised *(hangai)* a number of children in his time, but most of them accuse him of using their labor power for his own benefit. They remember the hard work, but observe that they were poorly fed by him. Food, as we see at the onset of this ethnographic section, is prime recompense for labor. If a person gives his labor out of *aroha,* but does not receive recompense, he feels disappointment.

Haka viku[14] describes the feeling a person has who has been denied something which that individual feels is his right. It occurs among small children who are being served food. The Rapanui say that someone *haka viku* is distressed because the person doing the distribution of the coveted items singles out a particular person for embarrassment. Siblings especially are prone to *haka viku* and regard unequal distributions as indicating whom the parent favors or, obversely, for whom the parent feels less *aroha. Haka viku* is also the feeling people have when they do not receive the portion of food they believe corresponds to them at public or ceremonial feasts.

A person who is *haka viku* is very quiet. He looks at the ground and refuses to meet the eye of the person whom he believes has slighted him. He will not speak or explain his complaint and just stands, waiting for the fault to be rectified. When an individual displays *haka viku,* others present often begin to tease him. This usually results in the *haka viku* person simply going off and remaining to one side of the main activities. I saw this *haka viku* behavior on a number of occasions and between all sorts of parents; that is, adoptive and natural, fathers to son and sons to mothers, etc. There did not appear to be anything in the parent-child relationship

[14]I employ *haka viku* in the English sentences as it figures in Rapanui expressions. *Haka viku,* without modification, is a verb describing action. An individual is *haka viku,* does *haka viku,* and acts *haka viku.* It is also an adjective for someone behaving in that recognized manner.

that determined *haka viku.* No children, or adults for that matter, were known to be especially prone to such behavior.

The major distinguishing characteristic of *haka viku* behavior is that the person demonstrating it absolutely refuses to accept the profferred, inadequate prestation. *Haka viku* is rejection of transaction and such a ban on interaction may continue for some time. Whilst interaction may resume, a victim may remember the incident for some time and bring it up again to justify refusal of some goods or service.[15] There was no one in the community who had not caused someone to *haka viku* and against whom no one held a grudge for having done it to them at one time or another.

Haka ika, to be like a victim, is the same, sulky kind of behavior as *haka viku*. A common *haka ika* by both males and females is if their spouse or close friend fails to pay sufficient attention to them and, instead, seems to court the attentions of another as expressed in visits and services performed. Though my informants would perhaps not see it this way, *haka ika* seems to be the response to faulty distribution of attention, whilst *haka viku* is faulty distribution of goods.

The only requital *(haka hoki)* for disappointment, for failure of *aroha* and/or *mō'a* is revenge, but that is another story.

Conclusions

The Rapanui have a clear concept of labor power or purposive and productive labor *(te anga).* And, they recognize when someone slights them, either in the prestation of goods *(haka viku)* or services and attentions *(haka ika)* for one represents the other (Mauss 1969:11). The receipt of goods implies that work is also to be received or gained, while the receipt of attention in the form of productive labor implies that should the need arise, goods will be given also. Goods, thus, have not become fetishistic; they are convertible to the labor required to produce them, though there are no exact equivalences between goods and labor (see Mauss 1969:43, 64). Performance is at the center of Rapanui associations and the Rapanui require a steady flow of both goods and labor for a relationship between kin or other associate to continue, as is the case in other societies (Mauss 1969:10-11).

[15]This is rather like Price's remarks (1978:342): "On the level of everyday friction and quarrels, the most important conceptualization of hostilities is known as "planting sweet potatoes" [reference omitted]. The relationship begins with a wrongdoing of some kind (insult, unwarranted denial of a request, etc.) by A against B. B makes no immediate "repayment," but waits--sometimes for years--until A is in a situation where he needs B's co-operation or assistance. The justification given by B for his own counteraction is that A 'planted sweet potatoes' long ago, and that they are only now ready to harvest, referring to the fact that sweet potato plants crop unexpectedly long after the original potatoes have been dug."

The fundamental difference between my observations and those of the archaeologist Edwin Ferdon, who also investigated exchange on Rapanui, lies in the desire for giving and receiving prestations: Ferdon's Rapanui were anxious that someone would transact with them, while the people amongst whom I lived feared that goods and services (labor) would be rejected if offered.[16] The areas with which I wish to contend with Ferdon lie in his typology of exchanges, which he gives as forced gift exchange, deferred exchange, and steal trading and, finally, the influence of cash upon the Rapanui.

The first category of "forced gift exchange" is clearly that kind of transaction reserved only for short-term visitors and his only concrete example of it is an instance between himself and an islander. It is the brusque version of the traditional *ha'i* I discuss above, or, as Gouldner (1973:251-52) identifies it, a "starting mechanism." Mauss (1969:25) designated the same initial prestation as a "solicitory gift." Whilst it is true that the initial reciprocity was specified in the form of some scarce item held by the outsider, it is just as true that future exchanges were to be forthcoming, if the initial prestation gained acceptance. In this regard, the *ha'i* involves not only immediate satisfaction of a want but has two other components. It is at once an "index of commitment" or a token, in Raymond Firth's words (1973:382). It shows that one person wishes to associate with another. But, occasionally, such *ha'i* were trivial in nature. When the value of the initial gift is under what is required in return, we may be certain that we are dealing with what Firth (and the Semites) termed an "earnest" (1973:381-2; Mauss 1969:47). Such a gift is a promise of a future, even larger prestation and can be used to excite the interest, particularly of outsiders, with the Rapanui. The Rapanui knew that Ferdon and

[16]There are three problems which complicate my contesting of Ferdon's earlier data (1958): Firstly, Ferdon does not specify the exact kin relationships in the cases he cites and so it is difficult for me to evaluate what his examples mean. It would be unjust for me to criticize too harshly the imprecision of his material, resulting as it did from casual observations, as he himself admits, made during his six-months' stay as an archaeologist on Rapanui in the mid-1950s. Secondly, Ferdon was on Rapanui a generation ago and the island at that time was an isolated sociality; the islanders were prevented from even short excursions under the watchful and paternalistic eye of the Chilean Naval Governor. What effect this isolation might have had upon the conduct of the Rapanui as it relates to Ferdon's material is difficult to decide, given the first problem of being unable to trace the cases. Finally, the time of Ferdon's observations was a very special one, during the visit of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition under the direction of Thor Heyerdahl. Informants told me about the excitement and intense activity that was characteristic of that brief time. The whole tenor of life was altered and enormous quantities of desirable goods and money flowed from a generous and sometimes gullible foreigner population who were eager to exchange ideas and goods with the Rapanui.

his associates had come to their island looking for rare objects to take away with them. The leader of the expedition, Thor Heyerdahl, had made that clear from the onset and the islanders had had over two centuries' worth of experience dealing with outsiders wanting to take away souvenirs for both scientific and personal use. The Rapanui realized that the archaeologists' goods were limited, so they hurried to trade for the specific item they wished before any other islander did so. The identity of the actors (outsiders) and the nature of the objects involved (scarce) transformed the indigenous *ha'i* into what Ferdon saw as "forced gift exchange."

"Deferred exchange" is Ferdon's second category and is cognate with my remarks about *ho'o* and *haka hoki* above. Again, the items involved in Ferdon's example are scarce ones, such as chocolate bars, cigarettes, and other objects originating from the outsiders. Ferdon continues to tell us how the Rapanui deal with scarce objects in unusual circumstances, but he gives us little information about how they carry out day-to-day actions with the persons whom they regard as kin or friends until he comes to his third form of Rapanui exchange which he calls "steal trading."

Without knowing more details, his description of this "technique" is very difficult to evaluate:

> Nothing observable in a man's home is secure from relatives. It is not *uncommon* for a native to enter a relative's home and, when his host is not looking, grab an item and run to the door. Upon reaching the door, however, he must stop and laughingly show the purloined object to his host, who all of my informants agree, can only laugh and let the man and the object go. (Ferdon 1958: 144-5, my emphasis)

I too saw such actions, but they were performed by drunks, from whom much bizarre behavior can be expected, or, on several occasions, as the license permitted to the few mentally defective Rapanui who move about the island. Their behavior could hardly be called common as Ferdon avers. I also observed on a number of occasions cousins and good friends jostling each other and taking items out of one another's pockets. Such teases are part of the proclaimed intimacy of many relationships, they are not a method for obtaining desired goods. To call it "steal trading" and to equate it with an "exchange technique" is missing the point of the action. What Ferdon calls "steal trading," the Rapanui would refer to simply as play or *kore*.[17]

[17]When actual theft does occur and a known minority of islanders do steal, it is not for play but taken very seriously. Theft for the Rapanui would be taking something from someone's house while that person was absent.

Finally, Ferdon discusses the Rapanui's use of cash money, averring that they find the use of money very new but recommending that the Chilean government, with patience, could teach them something about it. The historical facts are very different. Church collections in cash existed in the 1880s[18] and a decade later various currencies flowed freely on the island as this report by an early Chilean governor made clear:

> They [the Rapanui] are particularly fond of money, and by work, they obtain it from the whites established on the island or by selling their articles to sailors, with whom they also exchange for clothes and other objects. Recently on Easter there have been circulating between 600 and 700 pesos in silver coin from various countries, principally from Peru and Chile. There were besides some pounds sterling, valued because they fetch seven silver pesos for each one of them. (Toro Hurtado 1893:205-6, my translation)

This hardly sounds like a population unused to money. Again, Ferdon fails to appreciate the object involved in the exchange; the kind of money. To say that money "was simply paper to the Easter Islanders" is true today when it comes to the frequently devalued Chilean currency.[19] Unlike perhaps some Europeans, the Rapanui have no illusions about what money is. They see it as simply a convenient medium of exchange for obtaining the goods and services they require. It is a commodity among many for achieving these goals.

Marshall Sahlins apt aphorism, "If friends make gifts, gifts make friends," is not less true for the Rapanui than for any other known population (1965: 139). The circulation of goods and services is an integral part of the fundamental axiom of association as it exists for the Rapanui. "Gifts. . . . maintain an ongoing relationship," as Firth (1973:377) remarks. For persons to recognize that they are related, that they are kin, some sort of a genealogical tie must be found to unite them in a manner distinct from the association of friends. Due to the small size of the population, this is not difficult to achieve. Once *ha'i* occurs, then a concatenation of obligations follows that should be,

[18]The archives of the parish church on Rapanui contain records by French missionary priests of collections made from the islanders, suggesting that cash money in French francs did circulate. Donations of materials were noted separately.

[19]Since at least the 1950s, Chilean currency has been subject to frequent devaluations. In 1975, the situation became so serious that a new unit of currency was established, but devaluations have continued.

> .... arranged into chains of mutual services, a give and take extending over long periods of time and covering wide aspects of interest and activity. (Malinowski 1929:67)

It is true that people notice failure in a relationship as partite; that is, they can cite an instance of an attention reserved or an item withheld, but the model is like the partite droplets of a pointilist painting, for from the distance of time and continued association these separate instances and dots of visible association meld into a holistic pattern, "through a vast and complex network of undischargeable obligations" (Price 1978:344). This is the attitude of sharing to which Mac Marshall (1977) draws our attention. What he does not say is that there is a materialist as well as emotional basis to this axiom of association that people symbolize by sharing. The sharing is in a mutual pool of labor or in a mutual pool of goods produced by that mutual labor. Mauss (1969:Note 128) remarks that through exchange, the giver acquires "the right to control those to whom one gives."

In the context of kinship, sharing is a "within" or a together relationship enjoyed by persons who share a corporate identity based upon descent. In terms of Rapanui ideology, the giving of something in exchange *(haka hoki)* should not occur between kin, for this implies a "from-to" relationship (Reay 1959:93) and would belie the corporate character of the pooled resources. In this regard, Sahlins' concept of pooling (1972:188) implies power to enforce corporate ownership vested in a strong and recognized leader, while sharing is an individual decision, but enforceable collectively through the threat of excommunication, in congruence with a concept of corporate rights in communally produced and maintained property.

But, if all Rapanui are able to trace a relationship when they choose to do so, then only sharing should be possible. *Ha'i* as a partite concept should not exist, nor should reciprocity *(haka hoki)* as a calculated, at least initially, goal. It is usual in human societies for reciprocity to be unimportant between close kin, as Sahlins' diagram seeks to demonstrate. Yet, in practice, the Rapanui will sometimes treat quite close kin as others in exchange relations, denying effectively corporation.

I return to the problem of what anthropologists call cognatic kinship, for such a technique of actively using criteria of reciprocity and treating otherwise acknowledged kin as exchange partners whilst affirming that the exchanges at other times are nothing more than the sharing of resources appropriate to comembers of a family provides a rationale either for shedding unwanted kin or, when expedient, for counting a genealogically remote cousin as closer kin than one of lesser degree. It results in a curious syllogism:

Family share goods.
I will not share goods with you.
You will not share goods with me.
We are not family.

This attitude makes it easy for people to remove certain ancestors from their genealogies when it suits them simply by terminating exchange relations with the other descendants. Such behavior constitutes a revolt against the normatively ascriptive nature of kinship. It is also the Rapanui solution to the problem of structurally unbounded cognatic kin groups (see Hanson 1970). Marshall's Trukese material (1977:650) shows a similar attitude, wherein if nurturance and sharing between persons who have previously recognized their common kinship "be consistently ignored," then, too, is the relationship so discarded. Kinship is more a matter of performance than structure.

In order to transfer the emphasis from structure to performance, Sahlins' scheme of reciprocities must be recast as follows:

Structure	**Performance**
Generalized reciprocity	When reciprocity does not matter (sharing).
Balanced reciprocity	When reciprocity does matter (initiating relationships).
Negative reciprocity	When people deny reciprocity.

The-degrees-of-intimacy model proposed by Lebra (1975; compare Sahlins 1972:199) is entirely compatible with the above, for nearness and intimacy are attitudes, not structural principles. Reciprocity is not, as Sahlins would have it, a class of exchanges. Exchange is rather the context of or occasion for reciprocity, with the latter being a social value associated with exchange. The "pooling" that Sahlins brings into his discussion of reciprocity is a ceremonial relationship based upon the power and authority of a central figure. Pooling and sharing are on a continuum of power relations with pooling being a form of directed sharing through a central figure.

Sahlins' carefully-argued scheme is not so much incorrect as it does depict how reciprocity operates among individuals who regard themselves as part of a social group. But his scheme is incomplete as it does not tell us how people begin such relations, why they are maintained, or why

they are terminated. That is what I have tried to do here for Rapanui.[20] Furthermore, I suggest that such a perspective, as displayed above, would be readily applicable to any human society.

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School of Sociology
University of New South Wales
Kensington, Australia

TOM DE WOLF'S PACIFIC VENTURE:
The Life History of a Commercial Enterprise in Samoa*

by Doug Munro

It has been stated that the nineteenth-century history of Samoa is the history of the Hamburg shipping company of J. C. Godeffroy & Sohn and its commercial successor the Deutsch Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Südsee-Inseln zu Hamberg (DHPG). Although this statement exaggerates, the activities of the Godeffroy/DHPG establishment nevertheless had profound repercussions on the course of Samoan history. So extensive were its interests and so great its influence that it sometimes takes an effort to remember that a multiplicity of smaller retail and trading concerns were based in the port town of Apia. Among them were W. C. Cunningham, W. C. Turnbull, William Yandall, Pritchard & Sons, J. C. Williams, and Sergent & Co.

Their names are familiar enough and so too are the reasons for their high turnover. They depended largely on provisioning visiting whalers and suffered accordingly when this line of business ended in 1866 after a decade of decline. They were then too numerous in relation to local resources and provided each other with too intense a degree of competition for any to be successful. Nor were they sufficiently capitalized to diversify within Samoa or to expand their operations into Samoa's hinterland of outlying islands and island groups.[1] They fell by the wayside so frequently that their passing was barely noticed; not once is the collapse or withdrawal of any such British firm mentioned in any of the British Consular

*The following collections of documents were consulted on microfilm either at the Mitchell Library (Sydney) or the National Library of Australia (Canberra): Records of the Colonial Office, British Consul in Samoa, London Missionary Society, Royal Navy Australian Station, and Western Pacific High Commission. The Restieaux manuscripts and Thurston's Gilbert and Ellice Islands Journal were consulted on microfilm in the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History, Australian National University. I am grateful to Mr. J. E. Traue for permission to quote from materials held by the Alexander Turnbull Library.

[1]R. P. Gilson, *Samoa 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 181-87; Caroline Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses: Pacific Beach Communities of the Nineteenth Century* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1977), pp. 55-56, 87-88, and 163. For a description of Apia in 1884, see W. B. Churchward, *My Consulate in Samoa* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1887), pp. 19-23. The hinterland concept is developed in Alexander Spoehr, "Port Town and Hinterland in the Pacific Islands," Thomas G. Harding and Ben J. Wallace, eds., *Cultures of the Pacific: Selected Readings* (New York: Free Press, 1970), pp. 412-18.

Trade Reports to 1884.[2] In some cases, the proprietors' political adventures have received a measure of attention from later historians; but otherwise, very little is known about these smaller business ventures.[3] The loss or destruction of their papers provides one explanation for this state of affairs. So too does the fact that historians have focused their attention on other aspects of Samoan history--namely great power relations and international rivalries, the activities of the Godeffroy/DHPG establishment, and the Samoans' response to European encroachment.

The Apia branch of J. S. De Wolf & Co. was another of these smaller trading enterprises, though of a different order to Cunningham and the others. It was involved in copra trading outside Samoa, using Apia as its base and being a segment of an extraterritorial company rather than a locally-sponsored enterprise, it was far more heavily capitalized. Despite these ostensible advantages, success was elusive and De Wolf's Pacific branch became yet another European business undertaking in Samoa which tried and failed. Apparently no company papers or ship's logbooks survive to tell the tale,[4] but at least the De Wolf experience need not be consigned to oblivion. During the course of research into a larger topic, sufficient evidence was located to reconstruct the saga of Tom De Wolf's Pacific venture. What follows is believed to be the first such study of one of Apia's smaller commercial undertakings.

J. S. De Wolf & Co. was a Liverpool shipping and merchant firm founded in 1840 by two Canadian brothers, John Starr and James Ratchford De Wolf. A number of the firm's vessels were built in Canada and its main line of business was the Atlantic run. De Wolf also ran a packet service to Australia where its agents were Bingle, White & Co. of Newcastle and Sydney.[5] In the late 1870s, John De Wolf Jr., who became the firm's principal upon his father's death in 1874, decided to join the island trade. Prompted by ever-increasing world copra prices and the glowing ac-

[2]The annual Trade Reports of the British Consul in Samoa are published in Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers (Accounts and Papers).* The originals are located in the Records of the British Consul, Samoa (hereinafter cited as BCS) 3/2-4, Wellington, National Archives of New Zealand.

[3]But see the illuminating account of the Williams family's transition from missionary to trading and other secular activities in Niel Gunson, "John Williams and His Ship: The Bourgeois Aspirations of a Missionary Family," D. P. Crook ed., *Questioning the Past* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1972), pp. 73-95.

[4]Personal communications from The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London, 13 October 1979, and the Liverpool Record Office, 23 October 1979; Phyllis Mander-Jones, ed., *Manuscripts in the British Isles Relating to Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1972).

[5]E. C. Wright, *St. John's Ships and Their Builders* (Wolfville, Nova Scotia: E. C. Wright, 1976), p. 24; Captain E. A. Woods, "Liverpool Fleet List" (copy of manuscript kindly pro-

counts of the publicists of Pacific trade, he dispatched *The Venus,* a three-masted schooner of 191 tons register, to Samoa in April 1878.[6]

At that time, the commercial life of the Pacific basin was dominated by German interests which controlled an estimated 70 percent of its commerce.[7] Preeminent among them was the house of Godeffroys which had pioneered the Pacific copra trade. Godeffroys gained this commercial ascendancy almost from the moment of their arrival in Apia in 1857. The firm had massive overseas capital backing at its call and within a decade presided over Samoa's largest plantation system. Godeffroys also expanded into other islands and archipelagoes and by degrees established a far-flung network of permanent trading stations, each manned by a company agent who collected cargoes for company vessels to take to Apia for transshipment. By 1864, Godeffroys had established forty-six such trading stations outside Samoa; and in 1874, a traveller in the Pacific found an established Godeffroy agent wherever he set foot ashore.[8] Expansion continued unabated until the late 1870s; and by that time, Godeffroy's hinterland extended from Tahiti to the Marianas.[9]

Apia was developed as the main *entrepôt* for the produce of this growing trading network, and visitors to the port almost invariably commented on the extent of German shipping there.[10] As early as 1869, a French ad-

vided by M. K. Stammers, Merseyside County Museums, Liverpool); W. H. Shaw ed., *The Newcastle Directory and Almanac 1880/1881* (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 1978), pp. 13, 28, and 121 (for this and other information concerning Bingle, White & Co, I am indebted to H. J. Gibbney of the Australian National University).

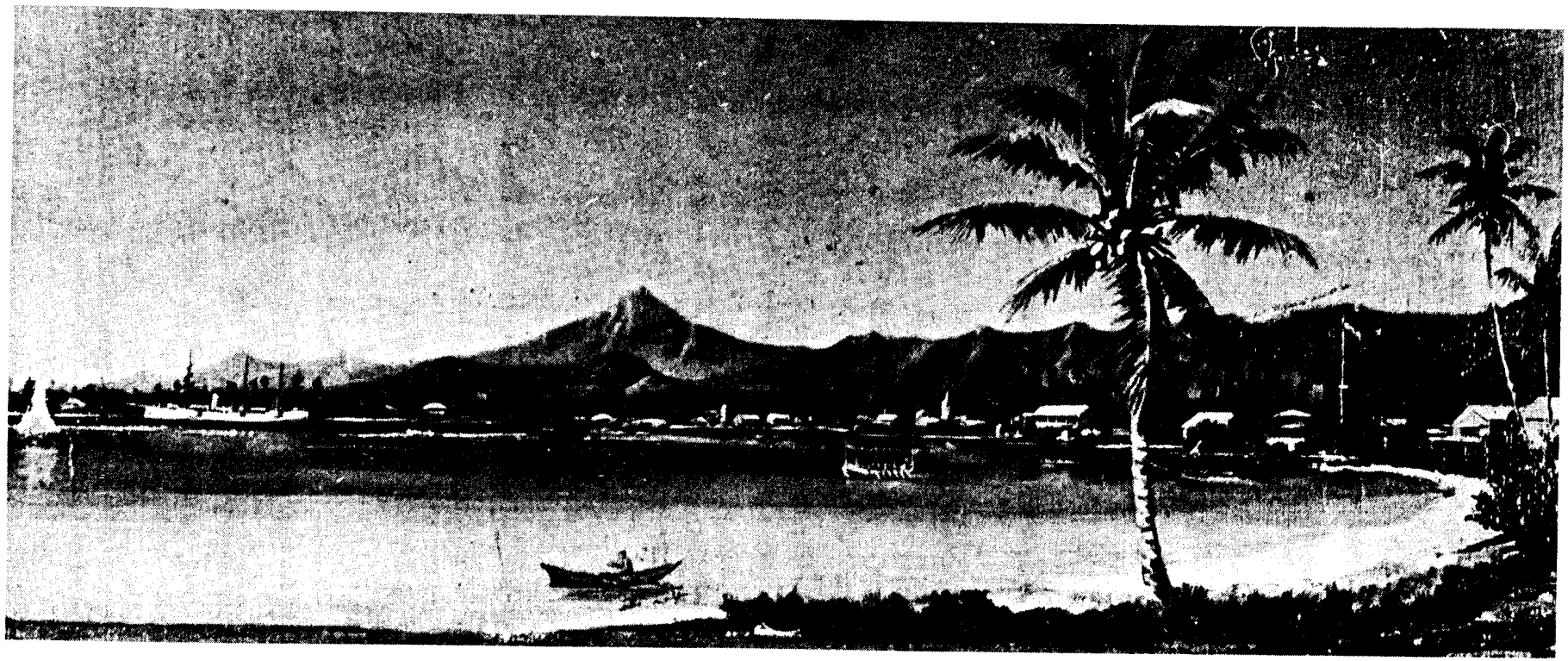
[6] *Liverpool Mercury,* 22 April 1878; *Samoa Times,* 28 September 1878. Unless otherwise indicated, all references from newspapers are taken for their Shipping Intelligence columns.

[7] Paul M. Kennedy, *The Samoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations, 1878-1900* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1974), p. 28.

[8] Peter J. Hempenstall, "A Survey of German Commerce in the Pacific, 1857-1914," B.A. (Hons.) thesis, University of Queensland, 1969, p. 38; S. G. Firth, "German Recruitment and Employment of Labourers in the Western Pacific Before the First World War," D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1973, p. 14.

[9] Hempenstall, chs. 1-3; Stewart Firth, "German Firms in the Western Pacific, 1857-1914," *The Journal of Pacific History* (hereinafter JPH), 8 (1973), 11-12; Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, *A Lady's Cruise in a French Man-of-War* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1885), pp. 80-81; H. Stonehewer Cooper, *Coral Lands* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1880), II:48-58; Kurt Schmack, *J. C. Godeffroy & Sohn, Kaufleute zu Hamburg: Leistung and Schicksal eines Welthandelshauses* (Hamburg: Verlag Broschek & Co, 1938), p. 140.

[10] *Report of Captain Wakeman to W. H. Webb on the Islands of the Samoa Group . . .* (New York: Slote & Jones, 1872), p. 12; James L. Young, Private Journal. entry for 7 September 1875, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (hereinafter cited as PMB) Microfilm 21; Cyprian Bridge, *Report on Tour of H.M.S.* Espiegle *to the Tongan and Samoan Islands . . . 1884* (print), Vol. 42, Royal Navy-Australian Station, Records of the Commander-in-Chief, Wellington, National Archives of New Zealand.



Apia Harbor around 1889 by A. G. Plate (Courtesy of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. ML Ref. ZML 575).

miral noted that among the commercial shipping in Apia Harbor there were "no French flags, like Tahiti, no stars and stripes, scarcely a Union Jack--everywhere there was the unmistakable flag of the North German Confederation."[11] From 1873, both the total annual tonnage of German shipping as well as the number of German vessels to call at Apia each year exceeded those of all other nationalities combined.[12]

The Venus eventually arrived at Apia on 5 January 1879 having "visited numerous islands of the South Pacific" en route from Liverpool.[13] During the course of that voyage, Captain Scott had constanty taken refuge in the bottle and had otherwise "rendered himself incapable of attending to his duty." De Wolf & Co.'s troubles had begun even before they established a presence in Samoa. Robert Swanson, the British Consul in Samoa, promptly reported the matter to the firm's head office by telegram and received an alarmed response from John De Wolf who instructed that the first mate of *The Venus* be put in command and that Scott was not to be paid off but held liable for any losses incurred through his mismanagement.[14]

However De Wolf's wishes were not received by Swanson in time to be acted upon. In fact, *The Venus* was preparing to depart from Apia Harbor at the very time its owner was drafting his instructions to Swanson. Lacking instructions, the consul decided not to interfere with Scott's command and this despite his reservations that Scott could not 'be trusted with the management of a speculation such as the one over which he now has control."[15] Nor did the captain of another De Wolf vessel, the iron barque *Enterprise* (Captain Hilton) which happened to call at Apia Harbor during that time on her passage from Tokyo to Valparaiso,[16] see fit to dismiss Scott and return *The Venus* to Sydney.

Instead, *The Venus* departed from Apia Harbor in February on an extended trading cruise with David Scott still in command.[17] During the course of that eight-month voyage, *The Venus* visited several island groups to the east and the northwest of Samoa, including such improbable places as Easter Island.[18] Scott continued to act "worse than foolishly,"

[11]Quoted in Hempenstall, p. 5.

[12]Sylvia Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa, 1845-1884* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934), pp 64-65.

[13]Samoa Times, 11 January 1879.

[14]J. S. De Wolf to Swanson, 12 February 1879, pp. 109-12; Bingle, White & Co to Swanson, 28 February 1879, pp. 119-20; T. De Wolf to Graves, 11 September 1879, p. 227, BCS 2/3.

[15]Swanson to J. S. De Wolf, 6 February 1879, pp. 283-84, BCS 5/2.

[16] *Samoa Times,* 18 January, 25 January 1879.

[17] *Samoa Times,* 8 February, 15 February 1879.

[18] *Sydney Morning Herald* (hereinafter cited as *SMH*), 10 November 1879.

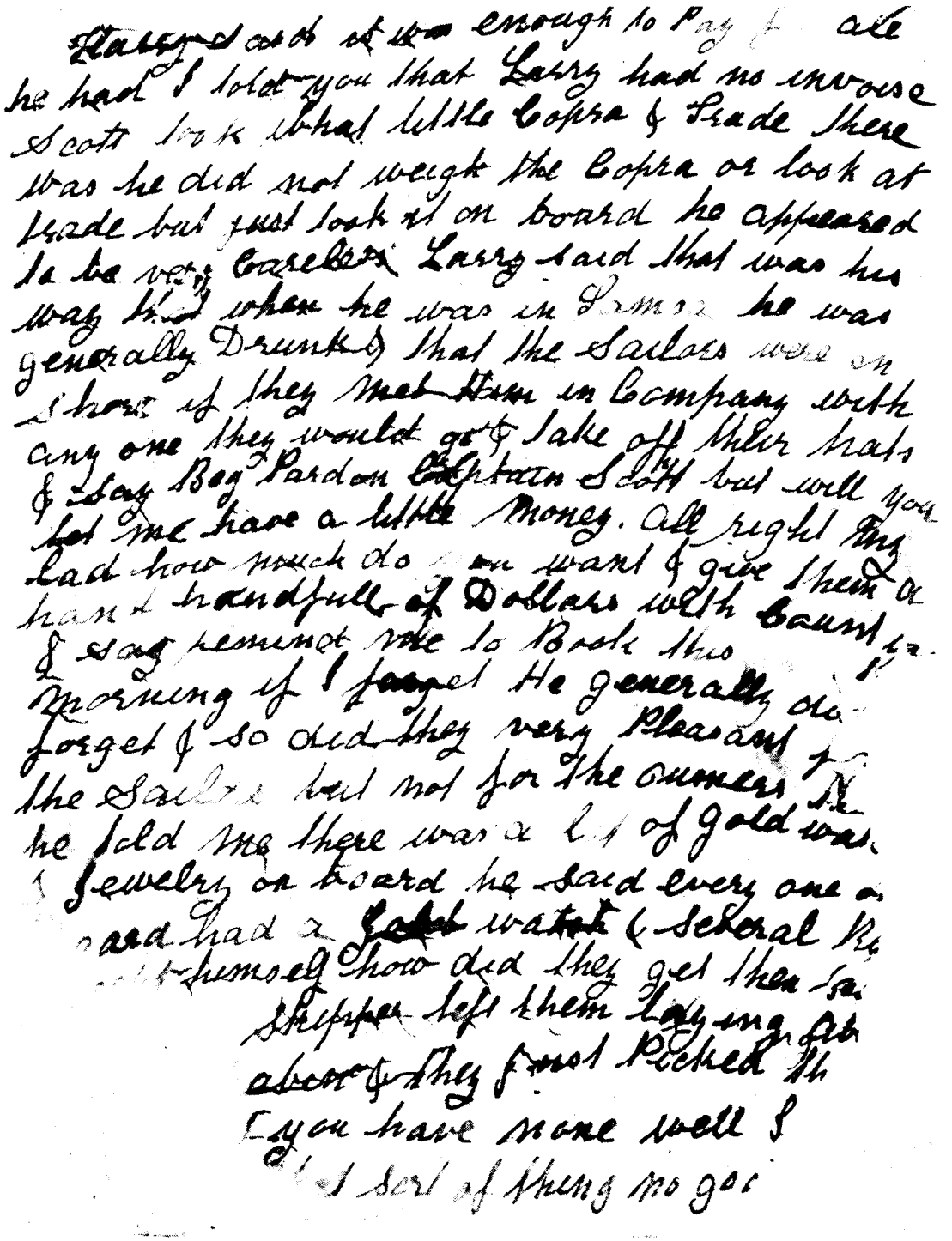
and a description of his malfunctionings and sloppy business practices is provided by Alfred Restieaux, Godeffroy's resident trader at Nanumea in northernmost Tuvalu. *The Venus* visited Nanumea in April.[19] Scott went ashore and was reluctantly supplied with two bottles of gin by Restieaux's frightened wife. By the time Restieaux returned, Scott was "lying on his side under a Tree dead drunk. . . . I tried to rouse him but all I could get out of him was oh get me a Lassie Oh get me a Lassie I must have a Lassie."[20]The following day, Restieaux saw Scott in action and heard more about his idiocyncracies from Larry Sutherland, a Shetland Islander whom Scott had just landed at Nanumea as De Wolfs agent:

> Scott took what little Copra & trade there was he did not weigh the Copra or look at [the] trade but just took it on board he appeared to be very careless Larry said that was his way that when he was in Samoa he was generally Drunk & that the sailors were on shore if they meet him in Company with any one they would go and take off their hats & say Beg Pardon Captain Scott but will you let me have a little money. All right my lad how much do you want & give them a handful of Dollars with[out] Counting & say remind me to book this in the morning if I forget He generally did forget & so did they very Pleasant for the Sailors but not for the owners. Then he told me there was a lot of gold watches & jewelry on board he said every one on board had a gold watch & several Rings except himself how did they get them said I the skipper left them laying about in the Cabin and they just picked them up[21]

[19]In May 1879 the *Matautu* returned to Apia from a trading voyage to the northwest and reported that *The Venus* had been in Tuvalu waters the previous month. See *Samoa Times,* 11 May 1879.

[20]Alfred Restieaux,"A Fragment Concerning Trading in the Gilbert and Ellices and the Search for Guano Islands," pp. 1-2, Restieaux Manuscripts, Part II: Pacific Islands, Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, Micro MS 14. Restieaux (1832-1911) spent the last thirty years of an eventful life in Tuvalu (formerly the Ellice Islands). For biographical details, written by a fellow trader who knew him well, see Julian Dana, *Gods Who Die: The Story of Samoa's Greatest Adventurer* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), ch. 8; G. E. L. W[estbrook], "Death of an Old Trader", *Samoanische Zeitung* 6 January 1912.

[21]Restieaux, p. 5. The right hand side of most pages of this manuscript have been eaten away by insects and often the last word or two of a line is missing. Where possible I have silently added these missing words when quoting from Restieaux's "Fragment." Otherwise, the quotes appear exactly as Restieaux wrote them.



A page from "A Fragment Concerning Trading in the Gilbert and Ellices ..." by Alfred Restieaux, the most accurate contemporary account of Tom De Wolf's Pacific venture (Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Restieaux manuscript, Micro Ms. 14).

The decision to land Sutherland at Nanumea was itself an unwise move. Restieaux thought Sutherland to be

> a very decent sort of Chap he knew nothing about trading of course . . . he lost what trade and Provisions he . . . [?] he had no money or trade . . . knew nothing about what he had brought ashore so he got a list of prices from me & Harry [another trader on the island] his clothing was good but everything else was Cheap Swiss Rubbish he of course got very little Copra.[22]

With Sutherland's arrival at Nanumea the number of trading stations on the small atoll rose to five,[23] thus aggravating an already impossible situation. Whereas a solitary trader could usually set his own prices for copra, competing traders soon found themselves being played off against each other by the islanders, or raising the buying price of copra from the native producer on their own accord in an attempt to undercut their rivals. At the very least their profits were reduced, and often they forced each other out of business. This is precisely what happened at Nunumea; the inevitable readjustment was soon to take place; and by 1881, only one trader remained. He was not Larry Sutherland. Scott was sacked a few months later when *The Venus* arrived at Sydney, but not before he had "lost thousands of Pounds for the owners."[24]

In response to Swanson's warnings about Scott, John De Wolf sent his younger brother Tom to Apia to retrieve the situation. Tom De Wolf finally arrived in Apia on 15 June 1879[25] where he set himself up in direct opposition to Goeffroys for a share in the Pacific copra trade. In addition

[22]Restieaux, "Fragment," p. 3.

[23]Namely Alfred Restieaux for the DHPG; Larry Sutherland for J. S. De Wolf & Co; Harry Johnstone for Henderson & Macfarlane; two agents of Tem Binoka, the high chief of Abemama, Gilbert Islands: and Tupou, the agent for T. W. Williams. See Alfred Restieaux, "Recollections of Harry Johnstone, trader in Nanumea," p, 11, Restieaux Manuscripts; H. E. Maude, "Baiteke and Binoka of Abemama: Arbiters of Change in the Gilbert Islands," J. W. Davidson and Deryck Starr, eds., *Pacific Islands Portraits* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970), p. 218; S. H. Davies, "Report of a Voyage in *John Williams* to Out-Stations of Samoan Mission in Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Groups during August, September, & October of 1880," p. 13, and letter dated 12 November 1880 appended to Report, South Sea Journal 179, Records of the London Missionary Society, London, School of Oriental and African Studies.

[24]Restieaux, "Fragment," p. 6.

[25]*Samoa Times,* 21 July 1879. T. A. De Wolf should not be confused with the Captain Wolf of the trading schooner *Vavau* who died as a result of a shooting accident shortly before De Wolf's arrival in Apia--*Samoa Times,* 15 February 1879, 2bc, 8 March 1879. Nor should De Wolf's ship *The Venus* be confused with the Venus, a cutter built in Auckland in 1877--Clifford W. Hawkins, *A Survey of the Commercial Sailing Craft Built in the Auckland Province* . . . (Auckland: C. W. Hawkins, 1960), p. 188.

to *The Venus,* De Wolfs Apia branch eventually operated two other vessels--the *Red Coat,* another three-masted schooner of 157 tons register which arrived "from Liverpool via the Cook Group" in July the following year[26] and also the ninety-five ton brigantine *Mana,* formerly a Hawaiian government labor vessel. The latter had piled up on the reef at Funafuti, one of the southern Tuvalu atolls, and was condemned. She was then sold by auction to a local trader.[27] "This vessel," proclaimed the *Samoa Times,* "is a good example of British pluck and enterprise. . . . Repurchased by an enterprising Liverpool firm, who we understand will shortly begin business operations in this and neighbouring Groups, she was re-sparred and refitted, and about three weeks ago entered this harbour as trim and staunch a vessel as one could put foot in."[28]

Tom De Wolfs activities eventually involved retail trading in Apia as well as copra trading among the island groups beyond Samoa. But it took De Wolf a long time to establish the retailing side of his affairs; and by then, his whole venture was on the point of collapse from losses incurred in the island copra trade. To summarize the sequence of events, Tom De Wolf arrived in Apia in July 1879, almost fifteen months after *The Venus* had first left for the Pacific. The following October, he departed for Sydney and remained there until the arrival of *The Venus,* when he could settle accounts with Scott.[29] Early in the new year, he returned to Apia accompanied by John Bingle, his agent in New South Wales; and in February 1880, the two men departed for Funafuti to bring the *Mana* back to Apia for repairs.[30]This having been done, Bingle returned to Sydney[31] and De Wolf remained in Apia where he commenced preparations for the arrival of the *Red Coat* which was carrying a large general cargo from Liverpool. Only a month before the *Red Coat* arrived in July 1880 (or a full year after his first stepping ashore at Apia), De Wolf set himself up in established premises at the Matafele side of town.[32] He took over the late retail store of D. S. Parker, the only American merchant in Apia who had just left Samoa in a huff.[33] The *Samoa Times* understood the *Red Coat's*

[26] *Samoa Times,* 10 July 1880.

[27] J. A. Bennett, "Immigration, 'Blackbirding', Labour Recruiting?: The Hawaiian Experience, 1877-1887," *JPH,* 11:1 (1976), 13 and 26; *Samoa Times,* 8 February 1879.

[28] *Samoa Times,* 22 May 1879. The movements of De Wolf's vessels in and out of Apia Harbor may also be traced in the "Register of British Ships Entering the Port of Apia, Samoa, 1878-1886" (hereinafter cited as Shipping Register), BCS 6/3(a).

[29] *Samoa Times,* 11 September 1879; *Fiji Times,* 27 September, 18 October 1879; *SMH,* 24 October 1879, 10 November 1879.

[30] *SMH,* 27 December 1879, *Samoa Times,* 7 February, 21 February, 8 May 1880.

[31] *Samoa Times,* 15 May 1880.

[32] De Wolf ran a standing advertisement for his retail store in the *Samoa Times* from August until November 1880.

cargo to be "well assorted and particularly suitable for the Island Trade."[34] Yet De Wolf made no headway to break into this sphere of activity. He wore his ships ragged in the attempt and is said to have lost $20,000 in the process.[35]

According to Louis Becke, the trader-cum-writer who was De Wolf's agent at Nanumanga in northern Tuvalu, the firm's Pacific branch collapsed in the face of opposition from the DHPG, "which robbed and swindled whites and natives alike."[36] The big German firm, however, "was generally above reproach in its commercial dealings with foreigners" and its German staff have been described as "orderly almost to the point of being dull."[37] They were ruthless enough when the need arose and had a lot to do with the downfall of serious competitors in Samoa, such as H. M. Ruge & Co. and the Apia branch of Hort Brothers of Tahiti.[38] At the same time, they were content enough to allow insignificant competition, such as De Wolf, to go unmolested, a policy the firm maintained until its property was expropriated with the outbreak of World War I.[39] Moreover, De Wolf was on good personal terms with the DHPG management and on one occasion was invited by August Godeffroy to join a party of friends for a short pleasure cruise on the company's steamer *Südsee*.[40] In other words, Apia's small independent commercial ventures were overshadowed by large, heavily-capitalized, diversified firms because the latter were better equipped to exploit economic opportunities and not because they overtly worked to eliminate their smaller rivals.

Becke was closer to the mark when he claimed elsewhere that: "Owing to bad management and the eccentric conduct of one of their captains, who later became insane, the firm suffered heavy losses."[41] Captain

[33] *Samoa Times*, 8 May 1880, 3b; Gilson, p. 336; *Thomas Trood, Island Reminiscences: A Graphic Detailed Romance of Life Spent in the South Sea Islands* (Sydney: McCarron, Stewart & Co, 1912), p. 52.

[34] *Samoa Times*, 10 July 1880.

[35] A. Grove Day, *Louis Becke* (Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1967), p. 152.

[36] Quoted in Day, p. 152.

[37] Gilson, p. 367.

[38] Trood, p. 70; Ralston, p. 87.

[39] R. W. Dalton, *Trade of Western Samoa and the Tongan Islands*, Cmd. 200 (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1919), pp. 22-23.

[40] *Samoa Times*, 30 October, 6 November 1880.

[41] Louis Becke, "The Loneliness of It," *'Neath Austral Skies* (London: John Milne, 1909), p. 61. It should be added that Becke's brief account of his association with De Wolf contains many factual inaccuracies. Nor does this published account of his eleven-month residence on Nanumanga always tally with the letters he wrote to his mother from the island. Lengthy extracts from these letters have been published in Day, pp. 30-35. The other contemporary account of De Wolfs activities (Restieaux, "Fragments"), is, by contrast, trustworthy.

Scott apart, De Wolf was indeed largely the maker of his own misfortunes. Quite inexperienced in island trading--unlike his larger rivals who knew what they were doing--he made fundamental errors that resulted in costly failures and setbacks. The general problem was that he spread his energies too thinly and in the process over-extended the working capacity of his vessels. Unable to consolidate his position in one area before moving to another, as Godeffroys had done, De Wolf then tried to do overnight what had taken the German firm twenty years to achieve. Before long, his three ships were trying to service a trading network extending over island groups as far apart as the Tuamotus, Tonga, and the Caroline Islands. In the attempt to force the pace, De Wolf found he could not keep his network of trading stations intact, and that is where the rot set in.

Tom De Wolf was thus faced with a dilemma. Clearly, three vessels were insufficient to service such a far-flung trading network, but neither could he confine his ships to a narrow geographic area if their holds were to be filled. Since there were few remaining commercial openings in Samoa and with the more valuable Tongan copra trade being so competitive, De Wolf was forced to opt for a dispersed and inefficient trading strategy. But the impermanence of his trading stations undermined his whole system. Unable to build up his trading operations from a few well-chosen stations, De Wolf's ships were forced to roam far and wide in search of speculative cargoes, a form of trading which had effectively died out two decades before.

In addition to being inexperienced and overextended--a dangerous combination--De Wolf arrived on the scene when competition among trading companies was fiercer than ever. The rise in world copra prices during the 1870s had attracted other firms to the area, notably Henderson & Macfarlane of Auckland, Wm. & A. McArthur & Son of London, and Hedemann, Ruge & Co. of Suva and Apia.[42] De Wolf was ill-prepared to counter their presence. Being a latecomer on the scene at a time of accelerating competition had two major consequences: in addition to the general lack of commercial opportunities, De Wolf was forced to engage unsuitable men because the best men in the island trade were already in the employ of his competitors. However, the steady decline in world copra prices beginning in 1880 had no bearing on De Wolfs fortunes because he

[42]L. Hallett, "A History of Henderson & Macfarlane: 1840-1902," p. 25, PMB 62; Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1967), pp. 78-81; Trood, p. 70: G. W. P[artsch], "Fifty Four Years Ago: How I Came to Samoa", *Samoa Herald,* 30 June 1933.

departed from the scene long before they had begun to descend to untenable levels.[43]

On 2 October 1880, all three De Wolf vessels were in Apia Harbor together for the first time, giving De Wolf the opportunity to assess his predicament and plan the next move. As early as mid-1880, he had contemplated winding up his affairs;[44] but by October, his luck seemed to be changing. To begin with, the *Mana* started earning money for probably the first time when she was chartered by the DHPG for three weeks to bring return cargoes of cotton from its plantation at Mulifanua. *The Venus* was also dispatched for Liverpool with "a full cargo of island produce."[45] It was then that De Wolf received certain commercial intelligence from a Frenchman named Gabriel Deseigneur which resulted in a last-ditch effort to retrieve his financial situation. On the strength of Deseigneur's testimony the *Red Coat* (Captain Foster) departed from Apia Harbor on a secret mission to the "North West."[46]

The speculative, ill-considered and *ad hoc* nature of De Wolf's operations are no better demonstrated than by reference to the *Red Coat's* 1880-81 cruise. Restieaux, who described De Wolf as one "of the smart People who come out to show Old Traders how to do Business," relates both the proceedings and the outcome of that voyage:

> She had been Cruising about the Gilbert Group looking for a rich Guano Island De Wolfe [sic] had heard of in Samoa they had a Frenchman on Board who knew all about it & was going to show them where it was Captain Forbes [Foster] said they sailed backwards and forwards right over where it was situated at last they had given it up Gabriel De Seigsuer [sic] the Frenchman knew no more about it than I did Perhaps not so much.[47]

In addition to chasing rainbows, the *Red Coat* also collected a cargo of copra but, said Restieaux, had "Paid a high price for it." The copra was also of poor quality, and Foster discovered that the price it would fetch at

[43]The European price of copra peaked at £22 per ton in 1879 and fluctuated during the early 1880s before slumping to £14.12s per ton in 1886. See Firth, "German Firms," pp. 15 and 16. De Wolf withdrew from the Pacific trade in 1880 before copra prices were causing concern. Moreover, he disposed of much of his copra in Sydney where the market price per ton at the end of 1880 ranged from £19 to £19.10s loose to £19.17s.6d in bags. See *Samoa Times* 8 January 1881, 2a.

[44]Becke to his mother, postscript of 24 August to letter dated 8 July 1880, Becke Papers, Sydney, Mitchell Library.

[4 5]*Samoa Times,* 6 November 1880.

[4 6]*Samoa Times,* 30 October 1880.

[47]Restieaux, "Fragment," p. 8.

Apia was less than its initial purchase price. Rather than sell out at such a loss, he chose to take it to Sydney.

The retail side of De Wolf's activities was no more successful. Part of the *Red Coat's* general cargo from Liverpool consisted of firearms and ammunition, and these De Wolf sold on credit to a group of Samoans from the Malietoa party for their wars. Shortly thereafter he became embroiled in a long and acrimonious dispute with J. Hicks Graves, the new British Consul, over the legality of the sale. Graves refused to witness the signatures of the Samoans involved in the arms deal on a bond or even to register the bond at the Consulate; and as a result, De Wolf never received the $7,777.90 owing to him for the munitions. For his part, he refused to surrender his (expired) license to sell firearms when Hicks Graves demanded this, a hollow victory in the circumstances.[48]

Midway through this altercation, matters were further complicated for De Wolf when news reached Graves concerning serious misconduct on the part of some of De Wolf's sailors in the Marshall Islands. In July 1880, two men from *The Venus* had grossly insulted the Acting German Consul at Jaluit, making an uninvited entrance into his private residence and blasting him with obscenities. He wrote an immediate letter of complaint to the Western Pacific High Commissioner in Fiji but sent it unsealed to Graves to deal with on the spot. De Wolf assured the Consul that he would make a personal explanation to the High Commissioner himself as he was due to call at Fiji in the near future; and then made sure to give the place a wide berth.[49]

But economic realities could not be brushed aside so readily. Due to loss of the company's papers it is impossible to cost De Wolf's Pacific venture. But available evidence points to heavy and sustained losses, and it is not difficult to see how $20,000 was lost. One recurring source of

[48]Graves to De Wolf, 10 July, 117 of 1880, p. 358; 30 July, 131 of 1880, p. 363; 16 August, 133 of 1880, p. 363; 11 December, 207 of 1880, p. 47; 13 December, 210 of 1880, p. 49; 10 January, 4 of 1881, p. 57, BCS 5/3; De Wolf to Graves, 9 December 1880, p. 517; 12 December 1880, pp. 518-20, BCS 2/3; 10 January 1881, BCS 2/4.

[49]Acting German Consul at Jaluit to Western Pacific High Commissioner, copy in Graves to De Wolf, 24 November, 198 of 1880, pp. 40-42; Graves to De Wolf, 9 December, 204 of 1880, p. 46; Graves to German Consul in Samoa, 9 December, 205 of 1880, p. 46, BCS 5/3; Graves to Western Pacific High Commissioner, 14 December 1880, 26 of 1881, Records of the Western Pacific High Commissioner, Inwards Correspondence-General; Francis X. Hezel, comp., *Foreign Ships in Micronesia: A Compendium of Shipping Contacts in the Caroline and Marshall Islands, 1521-1885* (Saipan: Office of Historic Preservation, 1979), p. 137. For a further incident arising from the 1880 voyage of *The Venus*, this time without repercussions for De Wolf, see John Prout, William Price and Frank Volleiro, letter to the editor, *Samoa Times*, 14 August 1880, 2c; "Missionaries V. Traders," *Samoa Times*, 20 November 1880, 2d; S. H. Davies, "Report of a Voyage in *John Williams* . . . 1880," pp. 21-22.

expenditure was repairs to his fleet. *The Venus,* which came close to being wrecked when leaving Apia Harbor in February 1879, had her sails tom to shreds on her return voyage from Sydney early in 1880, and later that year had to be overhauled.[50] The *Mana* fared even worse. In addition to the initial costs of resparring and refitting, the vessel suffered severely in a hurricane in the Cook Islands during its first (and only) trading voyage and required a complete overhau1.[51] Only the *Red Coat,* which entered the Pacific in sound condition and worked there for only a few months, evaded major repairs.

On the credit side are the cargoes of island produce collected by De Wolf's vessels. *The Venus,* for example, arrived in Sydney in late 1879 carrying 200 tons of copra, one ton of sharksfin, six hundred-weight of pearlshell, and two tons of "old copra." The price of copra at Sydney at that time was about £20 per ton, so the value of the cargo, including the sharksfin and pearlshell, may have approached, or even exceeded £10,000. Although the value of "the full cargo of island produce" taken to Liverpool by *The Venus* in November 1880 is unknown, the sixty tons of low grade copra taken to Sydney by the *Red Coat* in mid-1881 was valued at £1,080.[52]

But expenses and overheads far exceeded earnings. In addition to losses incurred through Scott's mismanagement and the nonpayment for the munitions, De Wolf paid the penalty of being in the wrong place at the wrong time. He came when Samoa was passing through its period of greatest political instability, with native wars breaking out in 1879 and again in 1880.[53] The upshot from a commercial point of view was a business recession, and the Commercial Columns of the *Samoa Times* were almost uniformly gloomy throughout 1880. On 23 October, readers were told of the "present utter stagnation of trade in our midst," and after that the newspaper ceased to run a Commercial Column, perhaps because its contents were having such a bad effect on local business morale.

Given the stagnant economic situation and the glut of consumer goods on the local market, it is hardly surprising that the valuable general cargoes imported by *The Venus* and the *Red Coat* failed to sell in Apia. This bleak commercial climate was, paradoxically, aggravated by the very men

[50] *Samoa Times,* 8 February 1879, 7 February 1880, 9 October 1880.

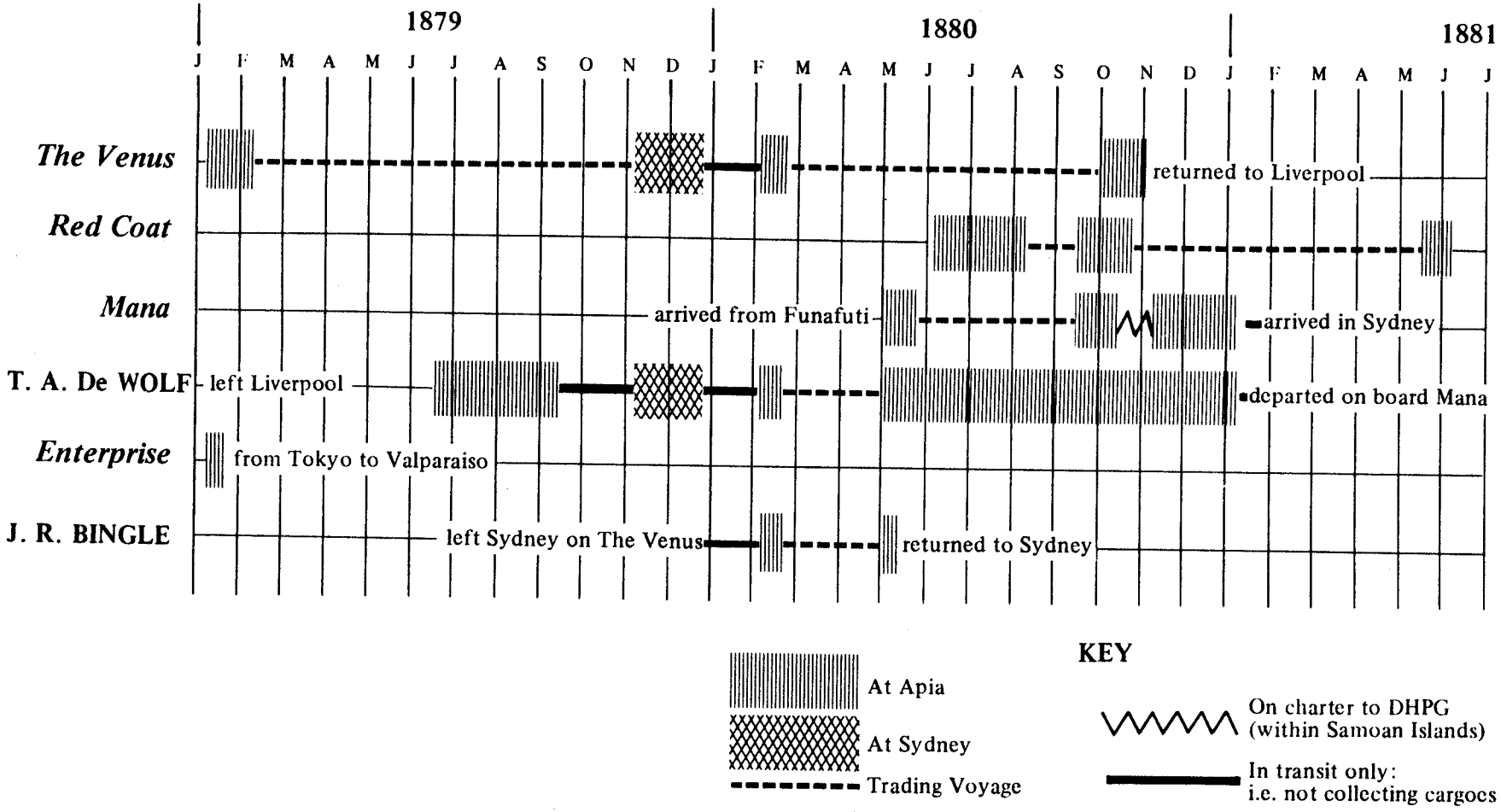
[51] *Samoa Times,* 22 May 1879, 25 September 1880, 9 October 1880. See also Roger Turpie, "Report of the Voyage of the L.M.S. Barque John Williams," *Samoa Times,* 7 August 1880, 2a.

[52] Shipping Register, p. 13, BCS 6/3(a); *Samoa Times,* 28 May 1881.

[53] Gilson, pp. 351-73; Kennedy, pp. 23-25. For a Samoan scholar's view see S. Muli'aumaseali'i, "The Quest for Sovereignty: Western Samoa, 1800-1962," LL.B. (Hons) thesis, University of Auckland, 1973, ch. 1.

J. S. De WOLF & CO.

Movement of ships and personnel connected with the firm's agency in Apia



whose interests lay in remedial action, and De Wolf had no more foresight than his fellow merchants and traders. At a time of intense business rivalry, he added, by his very presence, to the level of competition which helped force him and others out of business. And at a time when Samoan political instability was at its height, intensifying the local business recession, De Wolf helped insure its continuation by gun-running. His selective support for the British Consul is another indication of this short-sighted, self-centered attitude. Always ready to impose upon Graves when this suited his purpose,[54] De Wolf was equally capable of withholding support and openly defying the Consul--what Graves' successor described as:

> the gross personal insults occasionally heaped upon . . . [the British Consul] by some wrong-headed ruffian or other, just fresh from a spree, who may choose to thrust his unnecessary presence on the office, for the ventilation of what he invariably proclaims to be his "blanked" rights as a Britisher.[55]

There were inherent defects in consular power in Samoa--whether British, German or American--without it being further eroded by refractory nationals.

Faced with failure on all fronts, De Wolf had little option but to wind up his affairs before further losses were sustained; and in December 1880, he engaged an agent to auction off the remaining merchandise imported by *The Venus* and *Red Coat.* No reserve was put on many of the lines.[56] In the event, forty tons of merchandise remained unsold and this was placed in the hold of the *Mana* where it rubbed shoulders with twenty tons of copra. Early the following year, De Wolf left Apia forever, travelling on board the *Mana* to Sydney. In a perverse sort of way, the inadequacy of the whole De Wolf enterprise and the dominance of German interests were symbolized by the final departure of the *Mana.* Unable to effect an egress from Apia Harbor in the light and baffling winds that January morning, the brigantine had to be taken in tow by the German warship *Hyäne*.[57] But Tom De Wolf's Pacific venture did not finally draw to a close until the *Red Coat,* long overdue from its search for the guano island

[54]De Wolf to Graves, 11 September 1879, BCS 2/3; Graves to De Wolf, 24 September, 168 of 1880, p. 18, BCS 5/3.

[55]Churchward, p. 298.

[56]*Samoa Times,* 18 December 1880, 3c.

[57]*Samoa Times,* 15 January 1881; *SMH,* 3 February 1881. See also "The Departure of the Mana," *Samoa Times,* 15 January 1881, 2c. There is no record of the *Mana* ever leaving Sydney. See Maritime Services Board, "Register of Arrival and Departure of Vessels, October 1867-January 1882," Sydney, New South Wales Archives, 4/7738. Presumably the *Mana* was in such poor condition upon arriving in Sydney that she was condemned.

with Gabriel Deseigneur, returned to Apia, then departed for Sydney with the cargo of low-grade copra which couldn't fetch the right price.[58]

Although intended as a long-term proposition, the Pacific branch of J. S. De Wolf & Co. was a comprehensive and short-lived disaster. Eventual failure was the norm among European commercial ventures in the Pacific so the De Wolf experience is by no means atypical. There were exceptions, of course. Eduard Hernsheim, for example, is described by his biographer as being "notable as one of the few speculative traders of any period in the Pacific whose commercial adventures paid off as he hoped when he first ventured there."[59] It might also be said that Hemsheim's enterprises were cut off at a happy juncture by the outbreak of the First World War and the expropriation of German property in the Pacific, otherwise he would have had to contend with the ruinous fall in the European price of copra beginning in the 1920s.

But the experience of most others involved in the island trade attests that the Pacific was a place where fortunes were lost or never realized, rather than made. When C. P. Holcomb was killed in 1885, he only had "a small island with a thatched hut and little more" to show for eleven years trading in the western Carolines.[60] Thomas Woodhouse traded in the [Solomon] islands for thirty years, but was penniless and living on charity at the time of his death" in 1906.[61] Restieaux too ended his life in similarly reduced circumstances. During the 1880s, he fell heavily in debt to the DHPG who simply abandoned him when they pulled out of Tuvalu early the following decade. He then took up residence on the southern Tuvalu atoll of Nukufetau where he ended his days "a broken, miserable, and querulous old man."[62]

Even the DHPG was hard pressed to survive during the lean years of the 1880s and 1890s when copra prices in Europe were spiralling ever downwards. A combination of economic and physical restrictions forced the company to rationalize its overall strategy by selling out or abandon-

[5 8]*Samoa Times,* 4 June 1881; *SMH,* 1 July 1881.

[59]Stewart Firth, "Captain Hemsheim: Pacific Venturer, Merchant Prince," Deryck Scarr, ed., *More Pacific Islands Portraits* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979), p. 115.

[60]Quoted in Francis X. Hezel, "A Yankee Trader in Yap: Crayton Philo Holcomb," *JPH,* 10:1 (1975), p. 18.

[61]K. B. Jackson, *"Tie Hokara, Tie Vaka*--Black Man, White Man: A Study of the New Georgia Group to 1925," Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1978, p. 137.

[62]E. H. M. Davis, *Papers Respecting the Declaration of a British Protectorate over the Gilbert Islands* . . . , Foreign Office confidential Print 6269 (London 1892), p. 31; John B. Thurston, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Journal, 1893, p. 8, Suva, National Archives of Fiji; Arthur Mahaffey, "Report . . . on the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorates, 1909," p. 26, CO 225/86 (Australian Joint Copying Project 2879).

ing most of its interests outside Samoa and concentrating instead on consolidating its commercial predominance within the Samoan Islands. To that end, the DHPG devoted its energies to expanding its plantation system but also maintained an interest in trading, becoming the largest buyer of Samoan produced copra. However, little immediate progress was possible in the face of falling European copra prices and the DHPG unsuccessfully tried to sell out to British interests in 1889 and again in 1894-95. It was only with the return of viable copra prices in 1898 that DHPG shareholders were paid their first dividend in fourteen years. After that "profits on the company's Samoan plantations quadrupled . . . even though output hardly increased."[63]

But the DHPG's changed fortunes were not simply a function of better European copra prices. The company had sole right to import cheap plantation laborers from German New Guinea whereas its numerous competitors were forced to rely on scarce and expensive Chinese coolie labor. Moreover, German annexation of the Samoan Islands west of Tutuila in 1900 at last insured that the plantations were protected from Samoan raids.[64] Lastly, the company reaped the benefits that accrued from being agents of the major shipping lines in the Australia/New Zealand trade, and also the Union Steam Ship Company which ran the only shipping service to Samoa. In addition to collecting various commissions, the DHPG was charged lower rates of freight, sometimes to the order of 35 percent.[65]

But the De Wolf venture enjoyed none of these advantages and was poorly managed and badly organized into the bargain. In addition, De Wolfs of Apia was plagued by unsuitable seagoing employees; and to make matters worse, its manager lent a ready ear to rumours concerning nonexistent guano islands. Although an extraterritorial company with overseas capital backing, De Wolf was neither large enough or diversified enough to absorb losses and ride out hard times. Nor was De Wolfs a privileged company, like the DHPG was in Samoa after 1900, enjoying officially-sanctioned protection from serious competition. Instead, it had to cope with prevailing market forces in a period of intense competition that coincided with a business recession in Apia and an unprecedented level of political turbulence within Samoa which De Wolf himself helped

[63]Firth, "German Firms," p. 19. See also Kennedy, pp. 106-07, 147n, and pp. 297-98; Firth, "German Recruitment", p. 83; John A. Moses, "The Coolie Labour Question and German Colonial Policy in Samoa, 1900-1914," *JPH*, 8 (1973), p. 101n; Scarr, *Fragments of Empire*, p. 73.

[64]Kennedy, pp. 274-75; Stewart Firth, "Governors versus Settlers: The Dispute Over Chinese Labour in German Samoa," *New Zealand Journal of History*, 11:2 (1977), 155-79; Firth, "German Firms," pp. 27-28.

[65]Dalton, pp. 22-23.

to fuel by gun-running. For reasons such as these, Samoa was a graveyard of expatriate commercial ambitions, especially after 1880. This pattern of failure was summed up retrospectively by Alfred Retieaux's friend George Westbrook, himself a failed trader and storekeeper who lived almost fifty years in Apia: "The missionaries like to talk about traders exploiting the natives. Very few old-timers in the Pacific have made more than a bare living and die penniless. . . . All the indepenent trading firms, and captains sailing their own ships through the group have lost out in the end."[66]

Unlike Westbrook, Tom De Wolf turned his back on Samoa and later became a London stockbroker.[67] Louis Becke's book *Pacific Tales,* published in 1897, was affectionately dedicated to his former employer. Meanwhile, the firm they had both once represented was in the process of gradually running down its shipping interests and concentrated entirely on shipbroking after 1914 when its last ship went missing. This process of contraction continued until 1933 when the firm of De Wolf and Co. finally wound up its affairs in the face of the world depression.[68] The parent firm fell prey to the same wider economic imperatives which had helped destroy its Pacific branch half a century before.

School of Social and Economic Development
University of the South Pacific

[66]Westbrook to Rowe, 25 December 1934, Westbrook Papers (19), Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS Papers 61.

[67]Day, p. 45.

[68]I am grateful to Naomi Evetts of the Liverpool Records Office for providing this information.

A NOTE ON THE DE WOLF FAMILY OF NOVA SCOTIA

by Esther Clark Wright

In the seventeenth century, two or three members of the De Wolf family came from the Low Countries to the colony of New Netherlands on the east coast of North America. When the English captured New Amsterdam, the capital, in 1664 and renamed it New York, all but one of the family apparently returned to Europe. Balthasar De Wolf remained and moved northward to Connecticut where he carried on, among other enterprises, the salt manufacturing traditionally associated with the family.

In the eighteenth century, three of Balthasar's descendants: Simeon from Lyme, Nathan from Saybrook, and Jehiel from Killingworth, followed the Connecticut families who had moved to Nova Scotia in 1760 to take over the lands from which the Acadians had been removed in 1755. The three De Wolf families, assigned 500 acres each at Grand Pre in the township of Horton on the north side of Cornwallis, kept only the best of these Grand Pre lands and moved westward along with several other families to a little creek which joined Cornwallis River near its mouth. Mud Creek, as it had been called since the time of the Micmac Indians, provided at high tide a channel for vessels to nose their way into a tiny harbor and land their cargoes of rum, molasses, oranges, and nuts from the West Indies and to load potatoes which the farmers hauled in carts from the nearby farms.

Mud Creek became a thriving village with prosperous farms, trade with the West Indies, shipbuilding along the creek, and stores and small manufactories. When Nathan De Wolf's second son Elisha married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Ratchford in 1779, he built a commodious house a mile or more west of Mud Creek. After he had entertained the Duke of Kent (later the father of Queen Victoria) on the occasion of the Duke's journey from Halifax to Annapolis in 1794, the house was known as Kent Lodge. The house still stands and new owners have had it restored to its eighteenth-century character.

It was two of Elisha's granddaughters who protested that they found it embarrassing at boarding school to say that they came from Mud Creek and demanded a more dignified name for the village. Whether it was Judge Elisha himself or his son Elisha, the postmaster, who suggested the name Wolfville is not known, but it was the postmaster who took the matter up with the Postmaster General of Nova Scotia and had the name Wolfville recognized in 1830. A boys' school had been started at the village; and in 1838, the Baptist Association founded Acadia College, now an independent university of 3,000 students.

Judge Elisha's eldest son, William, remained a farmer, but two of William's sons, John Starr and James Ratchford, entered into the shipping business, probably in Halifax under the aegis of their uncle Thomas Andrew Strange De Wolf and ultimately became large shipowners in Liverpool. Both married in Liverpool. James Ratchford De Wolf was the first Mayor of Birkenhead. His family apparently did not wish to carry on the shipping business, for his will, which I happened on last week, directed that all his ships should be sold. John Starr De Wolf founded the firm of J. S. De Wolf and Company, and it was his son Thomas Andrew De Wolf whose Pacific ventures are related. Thus it was that the grandson of a Wolfville farmer was associated with far away islands in the Pacific.

Tom De Wolf was only one of many Wolfville grandsons to venture into distant places. It is one of the interesting facets of life in this pleasant town on the hillside overlooking the Cornwallis River and Minas Basin, that sons and grandsons of Wolfville families are still venturing to far distant places and into varied enterprises. Their return to the home of their fathers keeps us in touch with the world beyond.

Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS TO PACIFIC ISLANDERS

by Daniel T. Hughes

In recent years we have seen a number of articles and papers discussing the role of anthropologists in the Pacific and elsewhere. These analyses vary in quality considerably with some being stronger in emotional than in intellectual content. An example of this style of writing is Gale's review of anthropological work in Micronesia (1973). Gale's main thesis is that all anthropologists who have worked in Micronesia since World War II have been concerned mainly with keeping the Micronesians in their place. It could not have been otherwise, he assures us (1973:4), since all those anthropologists were guilty of working for the American administration or at least of being Americans working in an American controlled territory. Starting with this premise, Gale, not surprisingly, continues in the vein of a petulant child who demands attention under threat of doing or saying even more shocking things. Other critiques of the anthropologists' role in the Pacific have been more mature and thoughtful analyses. Hau'ofa's work (1975) is representative of this genre of writing. Rather than comment on his article now, I shall refer to it in the course of this paper when borrowing some of his main ideas.

Like other anthropologists, I have reflected on the criticisms of our profession and have tried to examine my own research interests in the light of the criticisms. A few years ago I was corresponding with several other anthropologists and a political scientist in an attempt to formulate a proposal for a research project in which we would simultaneously study similar aspects of political change in various districts of Micronesia. In the summer of 1975, I spent two months visiting all the districts of Micronesia conducting a pilot study for this project with a grant from The Ohio State University. I was especially interested in obtaining the reactions of Micronesians, and I discussed this project and the question of the responsibilities of anthropologists with people in various walks of life in each district. Some Micronesians were politely favorable to the project but offered few comments. Others, particularly some whom I had known previously, discussed at length the need for Micronesian collaboration in this project and in social science research in general in Micronesia.

The suggestons from my Micronesian friends led me to organize an informal session in February 1976 at the annual meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) in Charleston, South Carolina. There were no formal papers at that session. I merely stated some of the problems concerning our responsibilities to Pacific islanders as reflect-

ed in many comments I had heard the previous summer, and then I opened the floor to discussion by the twenty-five or so anthropologists attending the session. There was strong interest and a great deal of discussion on the subject. Many ideas presented in this paper derive from that session in Charleston as well as from the comments of a number of Micronesians.

The point stressed most consistently by the Micronesians as well as by a number of anthropologists at Charleston is that there is a definite need for anthropologists to deal with people they study more as collaborators in their work and less simply as subjects of study. In this paper I shall discuss some possibilities and some problems in such collaboration in the various phases of anthropological research: selecting and planning a research project; gathering data in fieldwork; and reporting the results of a research project.

Selecting Topic and Planning Research Project

If one believes, as I do, that the systematic study of "man and his works" is a worthwhile human endeavor, then it follows that anthropologists should select topics for research that will advance our general understanding of human society, whether the research is intended to test particular hypotheses or to supply descriptions of societies on which we have little or no reliable information. However, there are always other considerations influencing the selection of a research topic, not the least of which is money. The subjects for which research foundations are disposed to finance research are the subjects that will be most researched. Another important factor in selecting a research topic is the personal interest of the researcher. Ogan is correct in observing that all too often anthropologists have been interested in studying "the *most profoundly exotic* phenomena available" (1975:5).

In selecting topics for research, we can and should put greater emphasis on the needs and desires of the people being studied. I would agree with Jorgensen and Lee that anthropologists should analyze that nature of imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism through which so many peoples in developing nations have been and continue to be exploited by the metropolitan nations (1974:9). However, perhaps the best approach to take in selecting topics for research is to consult the people we intend to study.

One problem an anthropologist faces in trying to consult with the people to be studied is precisely who should be considered as legitimately representing the people. If the national government is a dictatorship whose legitimacy is questioned by many of the people of that nation, then

the representativeness of the national government itself is suspect, But in many areas of the Pacific, the legitimacy of the government is well established on both the national and the local levels. We can consult with government officials as well as with traditional leaders and with officials of social and religious organizations concerning the research needs of that area. Another problem in this type of consultation is that people who are not social scientists will usually not feel competent to discuss the kind of research that would be helpful to them. They will, however, feel confident in discussing their hopes and plans for economic, social, and educational development. Perhaps the dialogue should begin here and possible topics for research should emerge from such discussions.

Regardless of how the research topics is selected, the anthropologist should obtain permission from indigenous authorities to conduct the research project. Obviously, any individual, any village, any island, or any nation has the right to refuse to be studied. The anthropologist should submit a research proposal to authorities at various levels to obtain approval to conduct the research. Indigenous authorities have the right to exclude some or all research projects. They also have the right to impose certain restrictions such as requiring the anthropologist to submit research plans, to divulge all sources of funding and sponsorship, and to submit research reports. Some restrictions on research, however, would not be legitimate. Outright censorship of publications is such a restriction. Unless there are some truly extraordinary circumstances to justify such a restriction, censorship of publications should be no more tolerable to the social scientist whether it is imposed by the government of an island state in the Pacific or by the American government.

One difficulty that indigenous authorities have in reviewing proposals for research projects is finding people who have sufficient background and sufficient time to evaluate the proposals. In cases where island authorities do want to screen anthropological research proposals before approving research projects and where they do not have the personnel to perform this task, perhaps some professional organizations like the ASAO could be useful by providing panels of respected anthropologists to give professional evaluations of the proposals. This is not to say that such an evaluation should be the sole criterion for accepting or rejecting any research project. But evaluations of this sort could be useful to indigenous authorities in making their decision.

We should not see the responsibilities of indigenous authorities in reviewing anthropological research projects merely as negative, i.e., as rejecting those projects they find unsuitable for whatever reason. If it is true, and I believe that it is, that some social science research can be ueful to governmental officials in planning developmental programs (in the Pa-

cific or anywhere else), then indigenous authorities should actively encourage such research. This encouragement can take a variety of forms such as formal letters of approval and perhaps a promise of logistical support for the project. This kind of positive support from local authorities could well influence funding agencies in the US and other metropolitan nations to finance particular projects. It might also encourage more senior anthropologists to return to areas where they have done research previously and to do further research geared to assist developmental programs.

I am not saying that indigenous authorities should actively support any anthropologist who wants to do any kind of research in their area. But I am suggesting that indigenous authorities and other local leaders often know some anthropologists to be men of integrity who have acquired valuable knowledge of their society and who have maintained a continued interest in the people of the society. It is very fitting that such anthropologists (or other social scientists) receive active encouragement to conduct research concerning problems of development. In a symposium on the responsibilities of scholars concerning the struggles of indigenous peoples, Harold Cardinal, President of the Indian Association of Alberta, claimed that anthropologists could assist indigenous people acting as technicians interpreting social science data for indigenous leaders (Jorgensen and Lee 1973:14). Cardinal noted that the reason why many anthropologists are not more involved with indigenous movements is because they are human beings often entangled in academic, bureaucratic restrictions and in family obligations. While Cardinal was referring specifically to anthropologists working with indigenous resistance movements, his point is equally valid for anthropologists working for developmental movements.

Conducting Research

Anthropologists have been criticized recently for growing rich from their studies of indigenous peoples and of giving little or nothing in return. I become impatient with this criticism because it is so wide of the mark. I have known only one anthropologist who could be classified as wealthy, and his wealth came from family inheritance, not from his work in anthropology. Most anthropologists are employed in academia and their salaries are no higher than academicians in other fields. Nor do many anthropologists make money from their writings. For the most part the only books that anthropologists receive substantial royalties from are popular textbooks.

All of this does not excuse the anthropologist from paying a fair price for goods and services he receives while doing fieldwork. But I do agree

with Ogan (1975:5) that in the vast majority of cases anthropologists do make a fair exchange for what they receive in the field and that they could not conduct their research if they did not do so. Ogan also makes the point that the exchange between the anthropologist and the people he studies involves so many and such varied types of items that on scale can really measure the exchange.

To my mind, a much more significant question than how much the anthropologist should pay for goods and services is the extent to which indigenous people can and should be collaborators in the research project. Mason speaks for many anthropologists in saying that it is imperative that we expand such collaboration (1973:20). I'm convinced that the major obstacle to effective collaboration of this kind is financial. Most islanders who could truly collaborate with anthropologists and other social scientists in research projects are already employed (often by the territorial or national governments) at good salaries. There is no possibility of their giving up these positions to collaborate in a research project. They can collaborate extensively in research only if we can get funding for them to do so from the same funding agencies that finance the project or if the administration for which they work will give them released time with pay. Only a great deal of persuasion will succeed in obtaining funds from either of these sources.

Hau'ofa makes the point that full collaboration of indigenous people in anthropological studies comes only when some indigenous people have become fully professional anthropologists themselves (1975:287). He maintains that in addition to the advantage of being able to conduct continuous research the indigenous anthropologist can provide insights into a culture which the foreign anthropologist could never attain. I think Hau'ofa is correct in stressing the desirability of training indigenous persons to be professional anthropologists and the potential contributions of such professionals. In a recent article, Honigmann criticizes the trend to overemphasize objective methods in anthropological research and defends the validity of a personal approach in cultural anthropological research (1976:244).

> In addition to employing sensitivity and other creative faculties, every person using the personal approach brings to bear on his/her work a unique biographical background and configuration of personal interests, concepts, theories, techniques, and standards and a style of preventing the results. The assumption is that each unique configuration of interests and values can yield interesting results in its own right; therefore it need not--indeed cannot--be standardized, nor should it be suppressed in the interests of replicability.

Honigmann and those of us who share his view of the validity of a personal approach would have to agree with Hau'ofa that some insights into a culture simply cannot come from a foreigner, but must come from someone raised in the culture. Hau'ofa makes a final point on this issue which is worth repeating. If indigenous anthropologists are to make unique contributions to the analysis of their own societies, we must make sure that "any special 'feel' for or subjective insights they may have into their own communities and people" are not suppressed by the rigorous empiricist tradition in formal Western education (1975:289).

Reporting Research Findings

From the perspective of administrative officials, students, and others who might use our reports, one problem with much of the professional publications of anthropologists is the esoteric language in which it is couched. The fact that our discipline is not alone in this offense does not excuse us from the obligation of striving to make our reports more intelligible to nonprofessionals. We can be of little use to others if in our professional publications we speak only to each other.

The length of time that it usually takes to get anthropological reports published is another hindrance to their being used effectively. It is not at all unusual for a number of years to elapse between the completion of an anthropological research project and the publication of even the first report on the project. In fairness to myself and my colleagues, I would like to note that when an anthropologist returns from fieldwork he normally rather quickly goes back to a routine of teaching, counselling, and administrative work which leaves him little or no time to analyze the data from his study. Once he has found time to prepare a manuscript reporting on his project, there are long delays while it is reviewed for possible publication. Finally, even after the manuscript has been accepted for publication in a journal or in book form, it may stil take the publisher a year to actually have it published. If we anthropologists want our studies to be of greater use to those planning developmental projects and to others, then we must drastically reduce the time we take to make our findings available to them. I would suggest that we might make oral reports on our research to local officials and to other interested individuals while we are still in the field and that we might supply at least preliminary written reports shortly after we return from the field even if this means giving only partial analysis of the data. Something else that will help in this regard is to include in our research plans, whenever possible, a period immediately following fieldwork during which we spend full time analyzing the data and preparing our reports. This arrangement presupposes addi-

tional financial support from the funding agency that financed the project or from our universities.

Another criticism that Hau'ofa makes of anthropologists who have worked in the Pacific, especially those who have worked in Melanesia, is that their writings have given a distorted and negative image of the people they have studied (1975:285). Ogan is probably correct in responding to this criticism by saying that an historical perspective is important in evaluating anthropological reports and that because a particular ethnographic description is not valid today, it does not necessarily follow that it was inaccurate at the time it was written (1975:3). He is also correct in observing that anthropologists have sometimes given a distorted picture of a society because of their interest in the exotic rather than the typical elements of a culture. We anthropologists can present a more balanced picture of Pacific societies, and one that will be more useful to those in charge of developmental programs, if we focus our studies more on the contemporary culture and on contemporary problems of these societies. Actually my impression is that this is precisely what an increasing number of anthropologists are doing in the Pacific.

There is one further observation that I would like to make on the question of the anthropologist portraying a society accurately in his reports. Obviously the anthropologist must strive to be as objective and as balanced as possible in his research. But we should remember what Redfield told us many years ago (1953:157). It is neither possible nor desirable for anthropologists to be so objective and so balanced that they lose their own humanity in the process. We do not need perfectly balanced ethnographies as much as we need a well balanced profession in which anthropologists correct the mistakes and distortions in each others' works. Obviously, if we find that in the past anthropologists have overlooked key elements in a particular culture, we should in our own studies focus on these elements to present a more balanced picture of that culture. But we should certainly do so in the same spirit of kindness and cooperation with which we would have future anthropologists correct the inevitable distortions of our own writings.

The last problem I want to discuss concerning the responsibilities of anthropologists in reporting their research findings is the obligation of the anthropologist to report honestly findings that are critical of the political administration of the area in which he is working. Mason notes that this responsibility can be a serious problem when it brings the anthropologist to the point of criticizing the colonial administration of his own government (1973:20). I would maintain that it is sometimes equally or even more difficult for an anthropologist to criticize an indigenous political administration, when the conclusion of his research points in that direction.

At the risk of oversimplifying a very complex question, I would say that when his research findings justify it, an anthropologist should be as willing to criticize an indigenous administration as he is to criticize a colonial administration. I don't see how we can expect to maintain the trust of the people we are studying, if we are not willing to do so.

Conclusion

Some criticisms of anthropological work in the Pacific are completely irresponsible and should be labeled for what they really are--blatant nonsense. Others are sincere, mature attempts to examine the past performance of anthropologists and to identify the shortcomings of that performance. These latter criticisms can well serve as the basis for a reexamination of the responsibilities of the anthropologist to the people he studies. From insightful critiques like that of Hau'ofa as well as from the comments of many Micronesians with whom I have discussed this issue, I am convinced that anthropologists must devise ways of dealing with the people they study in the Pacific (and elsewhere) more as collaborators and less as mere subjects of study. In this paper I have presented some possibilities and some problems of such collaboration in the various states of anthropological research; selecting and planning a research project; gathering data in fieldwork; and reporting the results of a research project.

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Department of Anthropology
Ohio State University

EDITORS FORUM

NEW LIGHT AND FURTHER THOUGHTS ON THE GROUNDING OF THE CARAVEL *SAN LESMES*

by Robert Langdon

In 1975 when I published my book *The Lost Caravel* (Pacific Publications, Sydney), I had no specific details on one question of great interest to me personally, although it did not seem of much importance in the context of the book itself. The question was: how, precisely, were the two ancient iron cannons, which form the basis of the theory advanced in the book, recovered from the reef at Amanu Atoll in the Tuamotu Archipelago? The two cannons have been on display at the entrance to the Musée, de la Découverte at Point Venus, Tahiti, since their recovery in early 1969. It was there that I first saw them, measured them and photographed them in July of that year. Later, a specialist in old ordnance informed me that they were of a type that went out of use in Europe about 1550.

During the last two or three years, inscribed plaques have been placed on the mounts of each cannon stating in both French and English that the cannons were "lost on the reef of Amanu in 1526 by J. S. Elcano, pilot of Magellan and first circumnavigator of the globe." The inscriptions are not entirely accurate; or, at least, they are accurate only in a figurative sense. Elcano was not the captain of the ship from which the cannons were lost, nor the commander of the expedition to which the ship belonged--only its second-in-command. But he was, undoubtedly, the key figure in the expedition, and he did have the honor of being the first man to sail round the world. So in these days when Tahiti relies for much of its revenue on tourist dollars, there is, perhaps, a justifiable excuse for stressing the cannons' link with such a celebrated personage as Elcano.

The facts of history are these. Elcano, a Basque, was the man who brought Magellan's ship *Victoria* home to Spain in 1522 after Magellan himself had been killed in the Philippines. On board the *Victoria* was a cargo of spices that Elcano had acquired in the East Indies. The value of the cargo was so great that it inspired the Spanish monarch to send out a new expedition for further cargoes, and Elcano was invited to play a prominent role in it. However, because the king apparently feared that Elcano might take unscrupulous advantage of him if placed in command, the expedition's top post was given to a landsman, Garcia Jofre de Loaisa.

The Loaisa expedition consisted of seven ships. Of these, four passed into the Pacific from the Strait of Magellan on 26 May 1526 bound for the East Indies. Six days later, they were separated in a storm and one

ship, the caravel *San Lesmes,* was never seen again by European eyes. At the time, the caravel probably had from fifty to seventy men on board. Many of them were almost certainly Basques--like Elcano, who had recruited them.

In 1929, just over four centuries after the caravel was last seen, François Hervé, the French administrator of the Tuamotu Archipelago, found four ancient iron cannons, heavily encrusted in coral, on the eastern reef of Amanu Atoll, some 500 miles east of Tahiti. One of the cannons was recovered at the time, taken to Tahiti and presented to the local museum. But some time later--probably during the turmoil of World War II--it disappeared without anyone having given much thought to what its provenance might have been. The two cannons now at Point Venus were recovered after I came across several brief reports on Hervé's discoveries and wrote about them in the *Pacific Islands Monthly* for January 1968 in an article entitled "Were Europeans living in the Eastern Pacific in the 16th century?" Details of some of the events leading up to the recovery of those cannons were sent to me in May 1970 by Captain Hervé Le Goaziou, a French naval officer who was stationed at Hao Atoll, Amanu's nearest neighbor, when the recovery operation took place. These details were published in *The Lost Caravel* (p. 19). However, all I then knew about the recovery operation itself was that the cannon had been "easily" retrieved by a friend of Le Goaziou, Captain (Claude) Maureau.

The gaps in my knowledge have since been filled in by Maureau himself, now a senior executive with a French aeronautical company. Having heard from Le Goaziou that I was interested in the cannons he took the trouble to seek me out during a recent visit to Canberra, and he told me of his role in the Amanu affair. He also gave me the photographs of the recovery operation reproduced on these pages. Two of the photographs, as is explained below, seem to me to constitute important new evidence in relation to the prehistory of Polynesia.

Maureau said that in 1968-69 he was the commander and senior flying officer of the French aero-naval base at Hao. He became interested in the possibility of making some interesting archaeological discoveries at Amanu when Le Goaziou showed him my article in the *Pacific Islands Monthly* referring to Hervé's discoveries in 1929. As there were several helicopters at the base, Maureau undertook to use one to make a systematic reconnaissance of Amanu's eastern reef in search of the three cannons that Hervé was presumed to have left there. The reconnaissance resulted in the sighting of two cannons near the atoll's northern tip. They were lying in shallow water about fifteen meters from the outer edge of the reef. But there was no sign of the third cannon, and what became of it after Hervé discovered it is still a mystery.

About three weeks after the two cannons were located, Maureau led a small salvage team to the site. It was low tide at the time, the water being about shin-deep, whereas it would have been about waist-deep at high tide. Three helicopters were used in the operation. One landed the salvage team on the reef; the others hovered overhead while the men broke the cannons from the coral with a hammer and placed rope nets under them so that they could be hauled aloft--one to each helicopter. The third helicopter then came down and plucked the men from the reef; and the men and their booty were whisked back to Hao after a mission lasting no more than ten minutes. Later, a team of divers plunged to a depth of about twenty meters along the outer edge of Amanu's reef in search of other, related wreckage. A search was also made of nearby *motu.* The searchers, however, found nothing.

The recovery of the two cannons, the dating of them to the early sixteenth century, and the nondiscovery at Amanu of any other relics of the same era provided me with the starting point for the theory advanced in *The Lost Caravel.* This is that the crew of the ship that left the four cannons seen by Hervé on the Amanu reef played a significant, but previously unsuspected role in Polynesian prehistory. It was argued that the cannons had undoubtedly belonged to the Spanish caravel *San Lesmes* as no other ship was known or was likely to have been lost in the eastern Pacific before such cannons went out of use in Europe about 1550. Also, as nothing other than the cannons themselves and a few stones--probably primitive cannonballs--had been found on the reef, this indicated that the *San Lesmes* had not been wrecked there. On the contrary, it suggested that the caravel had merely run aground, presumably in darkness; and that the crew had succeeded in extricating their ship from the reef by pushing their four heavy cannons overboard. There was thus an important problem to be elucidated: what had become of the caravel herself and the fifty to seventy men of her crew?

Using evidence of various kinds, I deduced that, from the scene of their mishap, the Spaniards had made their way to Hao Atoll, probably to see if their hull needed repairs; then to Ana‘a Atoll, some 250 miles westward, where some of the men left the ship; and, finally, to Ra‘iatea, in the Society Group. There, apparently because their ship had become unseaworthy, they established a base and set to work to build another in which to continue their voyage to the East Indies. Meanwhile, they took wives from among the local Polynesian population and began raising families of part-Polynesian children. When, after a long delay, their new ship was ready for sea, the men decided that there was no longer any point in proceeding to the East Indies as their companion vessels would long since have left to return to Spain. Many of the Spaniards therefore agreed to set

out for Spain themselves by what seemed the most practicable route. This was to sail southwestward to the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, proceed along it until the Cape itself was reached, and then turn northward into the Atlantic. However, some of the men were apparently opposed to this idea, and when the new ship set sail, they remained behind on Ra'iatea.

The men who decided to stay put on Ra'iatea established chiefly Hispano-Polynesian dynasties whose influence eventually spread throughout the Society Islands and lasted down to Captain Cook's time. The same happened in the case of the men who had left the *San Lesmes* at Ana'a--their influence became widely spread in the Tuamotu Archipelago. Meanwhile, some people on Ra'iatea of Spanish or part-Spanish origin somehow reached Raivavae, in the Austral Group, whence Spanish genes and some notions of European culture were eventually carried to Easter Island. As for the Spaniards who set out with their Polynesian wives and part-Spanish families to try to return to Spain, they travelled only as far as New Zealand. There, for some reason, they abandoned their voyage and settled at Kawhia on the west coast of the North Island. Their arrival and subsequent activities, I suggested, were amply attested in the numerous traditions and genealogies relating to the Maori 'canoe' *Tainui.* In short, *The Lost Caravel* argued that the arrival of the *San Lesmes* in Tuamotuan waters had had far-reaching consequences in Polynesian prehistory: that her crew had left their mark, both genetically and culturally, on a number of Polynesian islands extending from Easter Island in the east to New Zealand in the west. *The Lost Caravel* also included a chapter on other Spanish ships that were lost in other parts of the Pacific in the sixteenth century, and it brought forward some evidence to suggest that those ships had left castaways on other islands with consequences similar to those postulated in the case of the *San Lesmes.*

I believe that the thesis advanced in *The Lost Caravel* can scarcely be said to be inherently improbable. The ships that I wrote of were real ships, manned in their time by real men; and given the tenacity with which human beings cling to life, it is highly unlikely, *a priori,* that all of their crews could have been swallowed up by the sea, leaving no trace. Yet, except in the case of Hawai'i, no writer before me had ever given any serious thought to the idea that sixteenth century Spanish castaways could have played any part whatever in Polynesian prehistory. So it was inevitable that, regardless of the evidence advanced to support it, my thesis would raise the hackles of anyone who was especially wedded to the notion that the pre-Cook inhabitants of Polynesia were simply Polynesians, uncontaminated for centuries by genes or ideas from the outside world.

The first inkling I had of the wrath or displeasure my book would cause in some quarters came fifteen months before it was published, and long before I had even finished writing it. In March 1974, a well-known Honolulu man published a scathing attack on the book in the local press, based on what he had read of it in a publisher's prepublication blurb. My thesis was "so ludicrous," he said, that it would not be worthy of rebuttal were it not that "bizarre theories" seemed to have a way of winning speedy acceptance. The first postpublication review of the book was quite different. Its author, Olaf Ruhen, a well-known South Seas writer, said among other things:

> I was convinced while this book was only a rumour that it could not have respectable standing. That conviction I now retract, absolutely and ashamedly. I accept many of its arguments, though not all, against my former belief.

A fortnight later, Peter Corris, who had taken a Ph.D. degree in Pacific History at the Australian National University, claimed in *The Australian* that *The Lost Caravel* had an appeal like Erich von Daniken's *Chariots of the Gods:*

> A startling proposition is advanced, and, a wealth of apparently convincing but ultimately questionable evidence is advanced to support it . . . Langdon shares with Von Daniken a curious unwillingness to credit ancient and preliterate societies with their apparent cultural achievements . . .

The reviews by Ruhen and Corris were followed by nearly three dozen others. As time went on, I found that their authors could be grouped into three clearly defined categories. There were those who accepted all, many, or some of my theories. There were those who praised the book but refrained from committing themselves on the merits of its theories. And there were those who vehemently opposed virtually everything I said, claiming that I was obsessed with Spaniards, or that I was a racist who refused to give the Polynesians their proper due, or that my theories were simply too fantastic, or that I attributed far too much to small bodies of castaways. Among the reviewers in the first category were some, such as Oscar Spate and Hugh Laracy, who thought that the evidence I had marshalled to support my case was not uniformly strong, but that all was worthy of serious consideration. Spate, for example, wrote:

> There can be no question of simply writing the book off as too farfetched. Langdon amasses an enormous amount of evidence from diverse fields: accounts of voyages, genetics and linguistics, boat types and Oceanic myths. He has done his homework meticulously.

Laracy, for his part, said that my book was an attempt to account for "an accumulation of anomalies for which there does not appear to be an alternative explanation . . . It is now up to other scholars to disprove Langdon's conclusions if they do not like them."

Since the brouhaha over *The Lost Caravel* died down, several books have appeared on the prehistory of Polynesia whose authors might reasonably have been expected to take up the main problem discussed in my book, namely the archaeologically-attested arrival in Tuamotuan waters of a shipload of sixteenth century Spaniards. The books are: Peter Bellwood's *The Polynesians* (London, 1978); his much more ambitious, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific* (Auckland, 1978); M. P. K. Sorrenson's *Maori Origins and Migrations* (Auckland, 1979); and a volume edited by Jesse D. Jennings, *The Prehistory of Polynesia* (Canberra, 1980), with contributions by a dozen or so different authors. Of these books, only *The Polynesians* so much as mentions the problem of the *San Lesmes* and then only to dismiss it with the statement (p. 26) that my theory on the wide-ranging influence of her crew is "intriguing but insupportable."

Of course, Bellwood, Sorrenson, Jennings *et al.* are free to think whatever they like about the prehistory of Polynesia. But I doubt whether everyone would agree that they have adequately dealt with the Spanish problem by summarily dismissing it, ignoring it, or pretending it does not exist. The fifty to seventy Spaniards who manned the *San Lesmes* were not figments of my imagination. They were real-life sailors capable of pushing several cannons overboard weighing up to 1,300 pounds each. Those sailors were, indeed, among the hardiest and most skilful seamen of their time, having already battled more than half-way round the world when they reached Tuamotuan waters. Moreover, as the photographs now available clearly show, the spot where their caravel ran aground was by no means a forbidding one, especially when it is borne in mind that, at the time, it would have been mid-winter, the calmest and pleasantest time of the year . . .

Therefore, if Polynesia's prehistorians wish to retain their credibility, they must face up to the question of what became of the *San Lesmes* and her crew. It is not sufficient to wish, as Bellwood did in a review, that the Polynesians can somehow be "rescued from the ignominious fate of becoming cultural orphans of 16th century Spain." Nor is it sufficient to claim, without giving any reasons, that there is "every reason to believe" that the caravel's entire crew was eaten by Tuamotuan cannibals--a claim made by Bengt Danielsson in a recent book. *(Le Mémorial Polynésien, 1521-1833,* edited by Philippe Mazellier, Pape'ete: Hibiscus Editions, 1978) Wishes or unsubstantiated assertions are not enough. If the prehistorians can now demonstrate or produce plausible evidence to suggest

that all members of the *San Lesmes*' crew either died or were killed before doing any of the things that I have attributed to them, then we can all revert to the long-held notion that the inhabitants of eastern Polynesia lived in a sort of genetic and cultural vacuum until the arrival of Europeans just over two centuries ago. If, on the other hand, no such evidence is forthcoming, then--like it or not--those interested in Polynesian prehistory will have to come to terms with the kind of scenario that I have envisaged.

Research School of Pacific Studies
Australian National University,
Canberra

Fig. 1. An aerial view of the two cannons just before their recovery.

Fig. 2. Members of the salvage team try to move one of the cannons after Captain Maureau (with hammer) had freed it from the coral. The coral heads in the background indicate the shallowness of the northern part of the Amanu's lagoon.

Fig. 3. A rope net is placed under one of the cannons so that a helicopter may hoist it aloft. The line of surf marks the outer edge of the reef.

Fig. 4. One of the three helicopters flies off from Amanu at the end of its mission.

Samuel H. Elbert and Mary Kawena Pukui, *Hawaiian Grammar,* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979. Pp. xviii, 193, bibliography, index. $12.00.

The field of Polynesian linguistics seems to have known two types of students so far: on the one hand, theoreticians with little practical knowledge of the languages, who thus come up with basically valuable anlyses that are supported by more or less wobbly data;[1] on the other hand, a whole series of amateurs, philologists and missionaries who, with generally a good command of the language of their interest, have usually shied away from theoretical issues. Samuel Elbert and Mary Pukui's new *Hawaiian Grammar,* the result of what seems to have been a long period of maturation, makes a great leap toward the bridging of linguistics with accurate data, and yet falls just short on the theoretical side.

Why should we conjure here "theory" and "modern linguistics"? The grammar, Elbert writes in the preface, "is not couched in the most recent linguistic terminology, partly because the authors belong to a different generation, and partly because it is hoped that this volume will be of value to all students and teachers of the Hawaiian language, whether or not they are trained in contemporary linguistics" (p. xiii). It is indeed a fact that modem linguistics sometimes presents itself as a jargon of hopelessly technical terms; as Ross Clark pointed out, "the theoretical grammarians have often allowed an excess of algebraic formalism (at times exacerbated by constipated typography) to obscure the statement of relatively simple facts."[2] Yet Elbert's statement reveals two fallacies: that modern linguistics necessarily involves (or consists in) a complex terminology intelligible only to the initiated, and that description and theory are two things not to be blended. "Contemporary linguistics" is far from being limited to transformational grammar, nor is it confined to primarily theory-oriented models of description. Many recent grammars have indeed proved that both concepts and terminology can be drawn from the latest theory of grammar in order to present material to be used for the most practical of purposes by the most untrained of users. Since a language has to be described by a model independent of any other language, as Elbert points out rightly (p. 44), new terminology necessarily has to be introduced. Why should generative or post-generative grammatical terminology not be used, being

[1]For instance, see Sandra Chung, *Case-Marking and Grammatical Relations in Polynesian* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

[2]Ross Clark's review of Hubert Coppenrath's *Grammaire approfondie de la langue tahitienne* and Paul Prévost's *Nā roto tātou i te reo Tahiti: Manuel de tahitien moderne, Journal of the Polynesian Society* 86 (1977), 540-44.

fairly standardized, generally economical and never obscure enough as to lose nonlinguists if appropriately clarified? For instance, the terms "primary" and "secondary stress" could well have been introduced for clarity in the discussion of stress groups (p. 16) without scaring anyone away from the book.

This question of grammatical terminology is really part of a much wider problem, that of descriptive models. For the description of a language, a great deal of inspiration can be found both from hard-core MIT linguistics as well as from the most virulent opponents of the latter. From transformationalists, the grammar could have benefitted by a clearer and slicker account of relativization (pp. 169-71), which appears as a clearly-definable process in Hawaiian, with an equideletion rule present; perhaps some evidence could have been added where adjectives seem to be treated as, relative clauses having undergone a relative-deletion transformation (p. 49). Relational grammarians would have perhaps reanalyzed passives and imperatives (p. 83) for Hawaiian to fit more smoothly in already-established diachronic patterns for Polynesian, in particular Maori,[3] and to avoid the awkward concept of "passive/imperative" (one can be posited as an intrinsic property of the other for defined contexts). The reader is also left in the dark as to whether *ʻaʻole* (p. 59) can be considered as a negative verb as in some other Polynesian languages,[4] which would indeed be useful knowledge, even from a practical point of view; a positive answer to this, incidentally, is evidenced by the position of *hoʻi* in negative sentences (p. 103).

"Softer" linguistics would have come in handy in many instances: a discussion of the phonological patterning of loan-words (p. 28) could have been interesting and useful;[5] variation theory could have been exploited in many cases where the data are not sufficient for the reader to infer precise generalizations as to style, semantic implications, etc. In short, all the above remarks point to one often-forgotten fact: that modem linguistic theories deal with facts of language, and that their immediate application is language description; their aims are simplicity, accuracy, and universality, which are the underlying aims of any descriptive grammar. Such theories should certainly be taken full advantage of.

Taking advantage of them certainly does not mean following their mistakes. It is indeed a common criticism of the transformational ap-

[3]Ross Clark, "Passive and Surface-subject in Maori," LSA Winter meeting, San Diego, 1973.

[4]Sandra Chung, "Negatives as Verbs in Polynesian," Honor's Thesis Harvard University 1970.

[5]Albert Schutz, "Phonological Patterning of English Loan-words in Tongan," in S. A. Wurm and D. C. Laycock, eds., *Pacific Linguistic Studies in Honour of A. Capell* (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 1970), pp. 409-28.

proach that it disregards what traditionally was called "exceptions" to the rules for the sake of the simplicity of the grammar. In other instances this principle of grammatical "economy" will make linguists posit rather unorthodox conjectures for a particular language. We cannot but smilingly agree with the authors' comment on the hypothesis proposed for Samoan to posit underlying verbal forms ending in consonants to account for suffix diversity. With subtle irony, they mention that "in general this solution is more 'economical' (high praise to many linguists)" (p. 88). Indeed, the authors point out that certain roots can be found with different suffixes, a fact that thus immediately invalidates any such proposal. For instance, *ho'owa'a + hia* and *ho'owa'a + lia* are both grammatical (p. 85). Rightly, Elbert and Pukui conjecture that perhaps *-hia* and *-'ia* are driving out the rarer *-lia, -mia,* and *-nia* (p. 85).

Insights into this problem can be gleaned from another Polynesian language, Tongan. According to a fairly widely accepted theory, Tongan with Niuean is the forerunner of a drift from passivity to ergativity;[6] Hawaiian, along with other eastern Polynesian languages, is at the other extreme. Passive suffixes in Tongan have been totally reanalyzed, having lost their passivizing function, while the passive constructions became unmarked, thus yielding an ergative system. What the suffixes have been reanalyzed into is not very clear yet, but, synchronically speaking, they do have a semantic rather than syntactic function. A hierarchy of suffix productivity is obvious: suffix *'i* is most productive, followed by *'ia,* while other suffixes are adhering to the root-morpheme they are attached to for the generation of a richer lexicon, to thus create new verbs with a meaning derived from the root, but differing from it by a "shade of meaning" which seems not always to be predictable. For instance, the root *vete* "to loosen" can be suffixed into *vete + ki* "to divorce," or into *vete + 'i* "to undo" with, arguably, predictable perfective meaning.[7] Furthermore, one can encounter *vete + kina, vete + kia* and *vete + ngia;* how their respective discourse functions differ still has to be investigated. *Vela* "hot" suffixes to form *vele + hia* "damaged by heat" (with diachronically regular vowel mutation), while its partially reduplicated form *vevela* takes *'ia,* a more productive suffix, instead of the expected *-hia.* Verbal compounds and borrowings also take *'ia* rather than another suffix: *kutu + fisi + 'ia* "to be infested with Fijian lice (i.e. fleas);" *toketā + 'ia* "full of doctors." A similar

[6]Kenneth Hale's review of Patrick Hohepa's *Generative Grammar of Maori, Journal of the Polynesian Society* 77 (1968), 83-99; and Patrick Hohepa "The Accusative-to-Ergative Drift in Polynesian Languages," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 78 (1969), 295-329.

[7]See Claude Tchekhoff, "Verbal Aspect in an Ergative Construction; an Example in Tongan," *Oceanic Linguistics* 12 (1973), 607-20; and, on a similar process in Samoan, George Milner, "It is Aspect (not voice) which is marked in Samoan," *Oceanic Linguistics* 12 (1973), 621-39.

phenomenon is found to be at work with nominalizing suffixes *-'anga.* The predictable ***hū*** + *fanga* "refuge," from ***hū*** "to enter," is in competition with *hu* + *'anga* "entrance," and can itself be double-suffixed into ***hū*** + *fanga* + *'anga* "sanctuary." The suffix *'anga* is doubtless gaining control of the process.

What does this Tongan data tell us about Hawaiian? It points out that the reanalysis of both passive-type and nominalizing suffixes from a morphosyntactic to a semantic-discourse function, already quite advanced in Tongan, is also starting at the tail-end of the drift sequence in Hawaiian. We therefore have here change in process, and it would be interesting to know whether dialectal or idiosyncratic variation exists in Hawaiian. Also, it proves that, at the stage where Tongan is, a "generative-type" approach would be lost, and indeed has been so far, when confronted with such data. Yet this conclusion of Elbert and Puku'i's does not exclude the proposal to posit underlying verbal forms with consonants in final position to generalize the suffixes into *-ia* and *-(a)nga/-(a)na.* What has to be crucially stressed in both analyses is that they are talking about two different sets of data. The position held in *Hawaiian Grammar* and further developed above is one of synchronic description, while the "generative" position, with no doubt, analyzes a protoform of the languages where reanalysis has not yet taken place, and thus is purely diachronic. We may add finally that this same process seems to be present in various other Polynesian languages, including Rarotongan and hence probably Maori.[8]

The second conclusion from these data is that the problem cannot be tackled with any seriousness within the morphology of the language, since its implications are not only phonological and syntactic, but also affect the semantics of the language. Although Hawaiian is morphologically a well-developed language compared to other languages in the family (see for instance the richness of variatin in *hō-type* prefixes), it is also evident that a morphologically-based analysis has to be transcended, even if the approach is "data-oriented and structural" (p. xiii). It is also a pity that "less concentration was put on the structure of complex sentences" (p. xiii) where "complex sentences" just begin with simple subordination.

But let us be fair: despite the disappointments expressed above, Elbert and Pukui's work is a little jewel. Scholarship, knowledge of the language, light-heartedness, readability, completeness and the richness of the data all make the grammar a joy to read as well as to consult. One cannot but take delight in the excellent review of early works on Hawaiian (ch. 1), in the sketch of dialectal variations (pp. 23-7), in the treatment of possessive

[8]From data in Stephen Savage, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language of Rarotonga* (Wellington: Department of Island Territories, 1962).

classes (pp. 136-45) and of verb classes, both based on Wilson's work,[9] which promises to be expanded in a forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation, and in usage notes, like the list of interjections (ch. 12). This grammar makes us students and speakers of other Polynesian languages envious of Hawaiian; there is no doubt that *Hawaiian Grammar* is the best grammar of any Polynesian language, and certainly an excellent expansion of the grammar notes in the successive editions of the authors' dictionary (1957, 1965, 1971), on which the grammar is based.

The book is divided into twelve chapters, each with well-defined scope, and carefully-planned cross-references. One cannot help thinking of the frustrations involved in using Churchward's *Tongan Grammar*[10] with its overabundance of useless crossreferences. Another major drawback of Churchward's grammar is the lack of an index; Elbert and Pukui have appendixed a glossary, a list of references (of bibliographic value) and an index. A note of reservation on these: let the reader waste no time looking for the unpublished papers by Apoliona, DuPont, K. Lee, M. Lee and Makanani, mentioned to be "in the office of the Department of Indo-Pacific Languages, University of Hawaii;" the secretary there has never heard of them. Furthermore, considering that Elbert was a major contributor to the subdividing of the Polynesian family,[11] his rather flaky definitions of terms such as Proto-Central-Polynesian, Proto-Eastern-Polynesian and Proto-Polynesian in the glossary (p. 182) are rather surprising.

We have here perhaps the finest work, although not the most "linguistic" of two of the most accomplished Polynesianists. I do not only recommend it, but it is an absolute must for all students of the Polynesian area. Pukui and Elbert's *Grammar* is the modern progenitor of a grammatical tradition that started with missionary-linguists, but with every possible prescriptive principle removed, and orthography-phonology confusions absent;[12] and, with the position on theoretical issues modified as suggested above, it should be a model for the much-needed description of many other Polynesian languages.

Nicholas Besnier
Peace Corps Director, Tuvalu

[9]William Wilson, "The O- and A-Possessive Markers in Hawaiian," M.A. Thesis University of Hawaii 1976.

[10]C. M. Churchward, *Tongan Grammar* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953).

[11]Samuel Elbert, "Internal Relationships of Polynesian Languages and Dialects," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 9 (1953), 147-73.

[12]Except perhaps for the definition: "Sentences are sequences bordered by periods, question marks, or exclamation points" (p. 39).

Alex Mamak and Ahmed Ali, eds. *Race Class and Rebellion in the South Pacific.* Winchester, Mass.: Allen & Unwin, Inc., 1979. Pp. 144, bibliography, index. $18.95 (paper $7.95).

Alex Mamak. *Colour, Culture, and Conflict: A Study of Pluralism in Fiji.* New York and Rushcutters Bay, Australia: Pergamon Press, Ltd., 1978. Pp. xi, 203, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. $20.00.

The island states of the South Pacific share certain common characteristics after emerging from prolonged periods of colonization by various European powers. They are poor and overpopulated; the traditional economies, at one time self-sufficient, were destroyed. Dependent on primary-producing monocrop economic systems that are subjected to wide fluctuations in prices on the world market, the islands are now pawns to multinational corporations which virtually dictate their economic life. Food production is inadequate for local needs; meat and even fresh fruits and vegetables are imported from the bountiful store of their imperial masters. Malnutrition is widespread; a Coca-Cola and Cheesties culture has been implanted as a regular part of the islander's diet. High unemployment and low wages compounded by high material expectations impel large numbers of islanders to migrate to New Zealand and Australia in search of the good life and bright lights. The migrants live in ghettos, suffer discrimination, and are harassed by immigration authorities. Out-migration is matched internally by a steady flow of rural residents to urban areas looking for jobs and adding to the strain on public services available in the towns. Culturally, European colonization has imprinted preferences for forms of music, clothing, diet, and education which, locally, are a poor imitation of their counterparts in the imperial countries. These cultural crumbs from the table, crudely absorbed and readily assimilated by islanders, are the local measure of the mastery of the modem Western world. The Protestant work ethic is part of the package. It requires a routine of mechanical behavior that ascribes "laziness" and "inferiority" to uncooperative islanders. "You are poor because you are lazy;" this goes in tandem with "you are lazy because you are black or brown." All of this is part of an ideological system that justified external intrusion and witnessed the loss of land and domination of society for the islander's "own good." They needed to be saved from themselves. Self-contempt and cultural alienation attended colonial penetration. These attitudes are part of a colonial legacy that continues to haunt the islander's self-image, and self-respect. Finally, the island states have inherited a new stratification system with gross inequality in the distribution of property and prestige. Because the pyramid is steep, few ascend the social ladder beyond degr-

ading manual levels, for example, as sales clerks and hotel servants. Many others are even without this "benefit." Drinking, the last refuge, leaves large numbers of young and old incurably alcoholic, delinquent, un-Christian, and parasitic. This is, in brief, a picture of the colonial legacy: economic dependency; cultural alienation; social inequality; psychological self-contempt; and political servility. There seems to be no way out; statistical data published regularly points to the population explosion outstripping gains in per capita income. Aid packages are partly oriented to pay the interest on accumulated external debt and to subsidize annual budgetary deficits. They are rarely designed with any urgency to acknowledge the existing realities; indeed, they tend to exacerbate the problems of underdevelopment.

These are not distortions or exaggerations; they are daily testimonies which most islanders experience. It is not a legacy of pride--either to the colonizer or colonized. However, the colonized must live with it. The situation offers little optimism if current economic strategies and external relationships are maintained.

For us, the relevant question to ask is this: how did this state of affairs eventuate? More specifically, did the indigenous peoples of Melanesia, Polynesia, and Australasia willingly cooperate with the alien intruders in the rape of their societies? Did they resist? How much blame must they carry themselves? And what are they doing about it now? The book *Race Class and Rebellion in the South Pacific* by Alex Mamak and Ahmed Ali addresses itself to the issue of "resistance, destruction, dispossession, and discrimination" (p. 133) in the South Pacific. The authors claim that very little scholarship has been devoted to rebellion and social movements in the region; they wish to correct the traditional view that the islanders were passive or conservative agents in their own undoing (p. 133). They regard their work as a departure from other studies which have emphasized assimilation and culturation, and much of the current ongoing research which focuses on "nation-building;" "modernization," and "micronationalism." Ali and Mamak have undertaken in this volume to highlight "the shameful record of colonial treatment" (p. 133) of the islanders by presenting five case histories of rebellions launched by oppressed peoples against their oppressors. In some ways, this book, by focusing on insurrectionary movements, may indirectly be skirting the last alternative available to the indigenous islanders to change the course of events in their lives and those of their children.

Race Class and Rebellion in the South Pacific is written by six authors each contributing to the case histories. The five cases deal with conflict between white and nonwhite peoples but have sought to do so within an interpretive framework that utilizes three variables simultaneously: race,

ethnicity, and class. In the area of theory, the authors regard their work as original and useful. They state that "to date, no attempt has been made to give equal emphasis to all three concepts." (p. 14). The case histories of rebellion are: (1) The Aborigine Gurindji strike action at Wattie Creek by anthropologist Hannah Middleton; (2) The Maori Parihaka rebellion in New Zealand by historian Daniel Lyons; (3) The Maasina Rule in the Solomon Islands by historian Hugh Laracy; (4) An Indian industrial strike in Fiji by Ahmed Ali, and (5) The strike by the Bougainville mine workers in 1975 by anthropologist Alex Mamak and geographer Richard Beford. Each of the authors presented his case history by following a common organizing framework outlining the setting and historical background. This is followed by analysis of the rebellion utilizing the analytic variables (race, class, and ethnicity) developed by Ali and Mamak in the introductory chapter. The concluding chapter attempts to pull the insights generated by the case discussion into some sort of coherent whole.

Substantively, *Race Class and Rebellion in the South Pacific* does not live up to expectations. Partly, this is because too much is attempted in four short chapters. To be sure, each author handled his materials very adeptly. However, the idea of resistance is not traced from the point of contact and colonization; the case histories suggest sporadic encounters between oppressor and oppressed. They do not describe the instruments or methods of colonization, the disruption, the dispossession, the exploitation, the transformation that occurred at the outset, or the means by which subjugation has been modernized and perpetuated. Indeed, most of the cases examined dealt with challenges that transpired in the recent past when the colonial acts of ethnogenocide, exploiter-exploited relationships, and land seizures had already consolidated.

The problem is not insignificant. Although Ali and Mamak have done well to identify this significant lacunae in the literature, the case histories have been at best suggestive of the wealth of similar if not more significant events that await exploration. Further, much of the existing literature on contact is about European exploration and activity told by European scholars. A history of colonization told from the point of view of indigenous interests and experience may serve well to redeem the image of the islander as a compliant, unwitting, and cooperative creature who invited without opposition his own servitude and destruction. The time of a new defiant history is presently underway in other parts of the Third World especially in the Caribbean and Afro-America where scholarly resources are devoted to a reinterpretation of slavery, in particular slave rebellions and insurrections. Given the deplorable condition of the current state of affairs in the islands, such a new history may contribute significantly to restoring the dignity of the islander. Chances are that such a

new history may even rekindle struggles that will challenge the new forms of economic and political bondage that perpetuate the condition of selfdom in the South Pacific.

In the area of theory, *Race Class and Rebellion in the South Pacific* must be regarded as a contribution in the right direction. Its emphasis on the "class" factor in addition to the traditional variables, "race" and "ethnicity," however, is not as brave as it could have been. An extensive literature on dependency theory and class formation is now available to enrich this angle of the book. Ali and Mamak are correct in pointing to the increasingly salient role that class differentiation is playing in social and economic relations in the islands given the increase in wage employment, localization, urbanization etc. What the case histories fail to do adequately is to link the economic and class factors to an interpretation of the structural dependency with the outside capitalist world in which the multinational corporations that dominate the Pacific island economies play a preeminent role. The conditions described at the outset of this review can hardly be accounted for otherwise. Neither can a program of redemption appropriate to the situation be designed without such a far-reaching analysis. Finally, the term "race class" is not a contribution. If the authors wished to acknowledge the continuing role of race and ethnicity in explaining the problems of exploitation, discrimination, inequality, etc., then that can be easily and lucidly done without adding such an awkward term to the cluttered terminological jungle that already exists in the social sciences. Overall, then, *Race Class and Rebellion in the South Pacific* is a worthy contribution to a new direction in theory and substance that scholarship on the South Pacific urgently needs to take.

The second book in this review overlaps with the first in the theoretical area of pluralism. *Colour, Culture, and Conflict: A Study of Pluralism in Fiji* by Alex Mamak utilizes a variant of the cultural pluralism model, originally set forth by J. S. Fumivall and elaborated upon by M. G. Smith, to examine the problem of integration in Fiji. In *Race Class and Rebellion in the South Pacific* the editors were critical of the various pluralism models because of their preoccupation with racial and ethnic categories to the exclusion of the class variable in the study of multi-ethnic settings. Mamak *in Colour, Culture, and Conflict* foreshadowed some of the fundamental elements in the analytic framework that was subsequently applied to *Race Class and Rebellion in the South Pacific.* The author rejects any analysis that is exclusively focused on the race variable; he points to the new differentiations, especially class cleavages, that have been created as a consequence of increased urban-rural migration, industrialization, and overlapping membership in voluntary associations.

Colour, Culture, and Conflict was originally submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the anthropology department at the University of Hawaii.

It is an empirical study of racial conflict in Fiji, the research location was Suva and the methodology substantially depended on survey sampling and participant observation. Its main proposition is that racial divisions among Indians, Fijians, and Europeans are not cast in rigid impermeable compartments, but are modified by shared activities at the workplace by contacts in neighborhood residential settlements, and by common membership in voluntary associations such as trade unions. In particular, the point is stressed that urbanization has increased interethnic contact and cooperation leading to restraints in the expression of racist and communalist sentiments. Mamak's contribution is probably most significant in pointing to the internal differentiation within the Indian and Fijian communities which render monolithic interracial confrontation unlikely. Further, the intense tension that tends to be generated by bipolar conflicts is modified by the existence of a third group, the Europeans. In the end, argues Mamak, all these interracial criss-crossing overlapping relationships herald an optimistic era of interracial relations based on noncommunal factors. Indeed, the suggestion is inescapable that in due course Fiji will witness a new melting pot of races in which ethnic interests are eclipsed and superceded by other criteria in social organization. If this theory of integration proves correct operationally in Fiji, then, at last, a proven formula of redemption would have been invented available to be applied to the numerous communally-divided societies that clutter the international scene with interminable brutal and bloody internecine crises. If Mamak's theory of social change does solve Fiji's nervous interracial problems, then we need not look away with hopeless frustration from Cyprus, Guyana, Northern Ireland, Surinam, Malaysia, Nigeria, Lebanon, etc.

Research for *Colour, Culture, and Conflict* was conducted in the early 1970s; the book was published in 1978. In the intervening period significant events would explode on the Fiji scene nullifying Mamak's optimism and discrediting this theory of social change. In September 1975, Mr. Sakiasi Butadroka introduced in the Fiji Parliament a motion that demanded the immediate expulsion of Indians from Fiji. The motion was debated for an entire month and reported extensively over the local mass media. Indian fears of "Uganda again" climbed to intense heights; reassurances by Prime Minister Ratu Mara that they would not be expelled could not eliminate the widely-shared belief among Indians that Butadroka's proposal received tacit endorsement by the vast majority of Fijians. Indian-Fijian distrust is deeply embedded in the country's history and social structure. The veneer of interethnic cooperation that Mamak so carefully documented but magnified into a portrait of qualitative changes in race relations was rudely torpedoed in this period of crisis.

Plural societies are particularly vulnerable to instability precipitated by ethnic chauvinists seeking their own aspirations. Slow, incremental

acts of bridge-building across ethnic boundaries are put to severe test and frequently completely shattered when the irrational sentiments that communal loyalties tend to evoke are activated during crisis situations. It does not take much to trigger interethnic conflagration in plural societies. The Fiji case is replete with examples of communal conflicts that bordered on violence. Mamak's study would not have fallen into the trap of easy optimism if it had been comparative taking cases from Malaysia, Guyana, or Cyprus for analysis and insight. Evidence that a live volcano resides under the skin of Fiji's social organization is not difficult to find. When the September 1977 general elections occurred, the 25 percent support from Indian electors for the Fijian-dominated Alliance Party evaporated to 14 percent. In addition, the land issue was inflamed again and again in 1975 through 1977 as Indians accused Fijians of economic jealousy in limiting the availability of land to Indian tenants, and Fijians in turn pointed to Indian greed and increased economic power in Fiji. The land issue spilled over into violence when in one notable case a number of Butadroka's folloers using bulldozers pulled down several Indian dwellings without government intervention. Indians do not feel at home in Fiji. Every year many migrate seeking permanent homes in Canada, the US, and Australia. Unfortunately, the slow interracial harmony that was beginning to develop around shared interests and increased overlapping memberships in voluntary associations that Mamak surveyed was practically undone between 1975 and 1978. Perhaps it can be rebuilt slowly again. However, the fragility of this area of cooperative behavior will undoubtedly be buffetted again by future crises. This had been the experience elsewhere. The interlude between crises can easily delude the analyst to place his bets on a new optimistic era of racial harmony. What is partly established by the recent events in Fiji is that communal and racial cleavages can be softened around their raw edges by periods of peace and quiet when the forces of urbanization and industrialization slowly weave aspects of ethnic behavior together. However, the problem is much more fundamental; the ethnic boundaries are not easily susceptible to erosion. Even in the United States where the melting pot theory first evolved, the persistence of primordial cleavages has baffled the analysts. A democratic setting provides an environment particularly vulnerable to intercommunal strife because of the competition for votes and office.

In the area of theory, Mamak's contribution on the concepts pluralization and pluralization is partly useful because of the resurgence of ethnonationalism in Fiji and other multiethnic societies. The author relies heavily on Leo Depres' formulation of the reticulated plural society model applied to Guyana in the book *Nationalist Politics and Cultural Pluralism in Guyana.* Depres' model was rejected because it was geared to fit a racially polarized conflict situation. Mamak incorporated, as a pivotal

variable, the emergent social differentiations and their ethnically overlapping memberships in his own adapted pluralism model, exaggerating the role of integrative forces thereby. If Depres' analysis of Guyanese society overemphasized sectional forces, Mamak's underrated them. In the end, Depres' model fared well as a predictive instrument in the light of events that transpired in Guyana, while Mamak's integrative optimism has suffered enormous setbacks. On balance, however, *Colour, Culture, and Conflict* is an insightful and systematic empirical work and a welcome addition to the literature on racially-divided societies around the world.

Ralph R. Premdas
Institute for the Study of Social Change
University of California, Berkeley

REVIEWS

Dennis M. Ogawa. *Kodomo no tame ni--For the Sake of the Children: The Japanese American Experience in Hawaii.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978. Pp. xxiv, 615, bibliography. $15.00.

Although this book is about history, it is a different kind of history book, for it includes reading selections of a kind not usually found in objective histories. It also has a message for Hawai'i, and by extension, for all multiethnic societies. Assembling a surprising variety of primary sources and readings, the book depicts the experience of the Japanese Americans in Hawai'i from the first legendary arrival of shipwrecked sailors to the present. The term experience is a key one. The author has not been content to end with an already striking assortment of readings--editorials from contemporary newspapers, snatches of biography, excerpts of congressional hearings, arguments from controversial pamphlets--he has also offered selections from imaginative literature. Ogawa has found in these selections a way of filling in the element missing from other historical sources: the personal, human context, the everyday flavor of life, the unreasearchable element in history. We can learn about Japanese values such as filial

piety, family obligation, and avoidance of shame from numerous discursive sources. We know the experience in reading a story about a young *nisei* (second generation) who is forbidden by his parents to play with a certain friend, and who cannot understand why but must obey.

To organize these diverse materials, Ogawa has combined two methods of arrangement: thematic and chronological. Each chapter begins with an overview introducing the historical background of the readings to follow and thematic terms such as "Like Waves They Came," "A Generation on Trial," and so forth. While the combination leads to a few problems in assembling the final product, Ogawa's overall goal remains clear. For example, why is the newspaper selection "Will the Island-Born Citizens of Japanese Ancestry Control Hawaii?" placed in the chapter "A Question of Loyalty" rather than in the chapter "Shall the Japs Dominate Hawaii?" Why is the selection "1921 Campaign," which deals with the Reverend Okumura's attempt to get the Japanese to "Americanize," in a chapter about resisting exploitation and discrimination rather than in the previous chapter, "Eiju Dochyaku," which deals with making Hawai'i a permanent home? These questions arise precisely because of the arrangement. Certain contemporary sources that are valuable in portraying the experience of the Japanese do not fit easily into the chronological-thematic pieces that Ogawa offers. But even when the pieces do not fit together, they are successful in covering the extreme variety of factors that influence or are influenced by the progress of interracial relations: cultural values, family organization, labor struggles, religion, intergenerational conflict, language adaptation, and a wealth of others.

Many of the ironies and complexities of ethnic relations--the eddies, turns, and rapids of ethnic progress--are conveyed in the assembled documents. The first Japanese desired racial separation and therefore played into the hands of the plantation elite by making the "divide and rule" labor policy easier. When the Japanese began to respond to prejudice and exploitation, they exhibited prejudice among themselves, particularly the *Naichi* (those from the main islands of Japan) toward the Okinawans. Cultural traits were cried up as good, only to be viewed as undesirable later on. Early expressions of cultural identity through Buddhism, for example, were tempered by the religious themselves as they became viewed as handicaps in the process of assimilation. Bishop Imamura, a Buddhist, pushed the local Japanese to Americanize. The greatest irony is that the war, which made the position of the Japanese more precarious than it had ever been, became the genesis of the greatest gain in economic and political standing.

The selections are also successful in carrying intact, as only contemporary sources can, the flavor of the issues as they were seen, felt, and debated at the time. The meandering opinions of an 1897 almanac writer

capture the mix of local economic, political, and racial fears and end with a plea for closer ties with the US "for the sake of American capital and civilization."

Rather "for the sake of the children" is the message of Ogawa's book. *Kodomo no tame ni* means "for the sake of the children," a theme embedded in several different dimensions in the history that Ogawa presents. First, the book is for the children of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i. As the progeny of a people and culture that have assimilated and been assimilated by the islands and America itself, these generations need a book like this one to remember their own ethnic past, a past rich by any humanistic standards, but a past that was sometimes the price of acceptance in the present. Roughly, the first half of the book illustrates the struggle of the Japanese plantation laborers to survive, to maintain identity, to form a community in the real sense. Their descendants of the third and fourth generations should know their heritage.

Second, the motto answers a question about the deprivations of the early Japanese laborers. "Why did you do it? What made it worth doing?" "For the sake of the children," answered one. The Japanese came to Hawai'i seeking a way out of the poverty or the shame or lack of opportunity they confronted in late nineteenth-century Japan. They found more poverty, long hours of labor, harsh treatment, and no way out for many of them. Here, however, they also lacked the social system and consensus of values that gave such suffering meaning in their homeland. Confronted by many of the problems they thought they had fled and lacking the support system of Japanese culture, many of the *isei*, or first generation, held on in the hope that things would be better for their children. And they were right.

If the first two meanings of "for the sake of the children" are for the Japanese themselves, the third one is for everyone who lives in the multicultural environment of the islands, and for pluralistic societies everywhere. One need not look far to find societies in which things did not get better for succeeding generations of ethnic minorities. Recently, Vietnamese of Chinese ancestry were expelled by the government. What is the difference between the success of the Japanese American in Hawai'i and the Chinese in Vietnam? Through what process does one culture gain a birthright in another so that it can first ask merely to be paid enough to live, then to be represented politically, then finally to share in the governing? The book contains an answer. Ogawa admits to taking the optimistic view of things, downplaying the forces that continually keep the right thing from happening, and ignoring those who want merely to feed their bitterness about how thoroughly the Japanese have moved into positions of power. The fact is that the Japanese Americans made it in Hawai'i.

They made it through their own effort, but also because there were people who were willing to let them make it when they thought conditions were right, who were willing to say "yes" at a few crucial points when "no" was being said over and over again by those who opposed this kind of social progress.

Some people were willing to interpret anything to the discredit of the Japanese Americans. To John F. Stokes, who testified in the congressional hearings on statehood, the very subservience and solicitousness of the Japanese was part of a subtle scheme to gain power while seeming to serve. Such bewildering strategies of prejudice as his will always exist in heterogenous societies. But the results in Hawai'i prove that such strategies do not have to dictate the outcome.

What has, and what will make the difference? For Ogawa, it is a matter of "ethnic optimism," involving value judgments and a commitment to mutual obligation and to posterity itself. The key to future island racial harmony is found for Ogawa in finding "points of commonality" among the races--behavior that is mutually rewarding but which does not require the denial of one's identity or culture. Such behavior is depicted in the strategy of children of outsiders who try to adapt to the local school environment. Ogawa believes that future relations among island groups are in our control. I hope he is right. If there is a flaw in his optimism, it is his downplaying of the negative effects that other factors--growing ethnic alienation and militancy, economic trends, international relations--can have on the delicate processes of cultural harmony. Perhaps we will be free enough of such factors to control our future. Whether we are or not, I applaud him for writing a book that shows past success and which puts the burden of the future squarely where it belongs--on us.

David B. Paxman
Brigham Young University--Hawaii Campus

Noel Rutherford, ed. *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1977. Pp. 297, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $36.00.

In spite of all the work of Pacific historians since the 1960s, there are still few published histories of islands or island groups. This is because these historians, while generally claiming to be "island oriented," have tended to concentrate on certain themes, institutions, and aspects of island history. Fortunately, the Tongan Islands can now claim to be among the exceptions to this generalization. *Friendly Islands* is an excellent complement to two recent studies: Sione Lātūkefu's *Church and State in Tonga* and Rutherford's own *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga.* Together these three books provide as good an introduction to the study of any one Pacific island as one is likely to get for a long time yet.

Nevertheless, it is still symptomatic of the state of Pacific islands history that no one practitioner has felt confident enough to write a history of Tonga by himself or herself. Hence, *Friendly Islands* consists of thirteen essays or chapters, each written by an acknowledged authority, arranged in rough chronological order from prehistoric times to the present day. Rutherford has taken pains to avoid organizing a straight "European" history. For example, the book begins with a Tongan creation myth, and Jens Poulsen's excellent survey of Tongan archaeology is balanced by some Tongan views of their prehistory as handed down in oral tradition. But such neat juxtaposition is not possible for most of the remaining chapters. So enter the academic experts who give fine examples of their scholarship but, at the same time, illustrate the extent to which modern Pacific history is still very much topic oriented. In this case, the span of Tongan history since the seventeenth century is, for the most part, compartmentalized, basically according to the changing nature of European presence in Tonga. After the prehistory chapters, there is one on European explorers (Robert Langdon), one on early European visitors (Niel Gunson), two on missionaries (Sione Lātūkefu and Hugh Laracy), another on Tupou I and Shirley Baker (Rutherford) and so on.

Given the nature of current research on Tonga, it would be difficult to write a respectable history of these islands in any very different way. Nevertheless, this topic approach can have its limitations. The various, highly specialized interests of academics can lead to "tunnel vision" which encourages an (unconscious) ethnocentrism--in approach if not in actual content--*and* becomes an obstacle to a more synthetic view of the history of an island. This is not to suggest that these authors have just concentrated on various European initiatives, indeed most have bent over backwards to place their characters firmly in a Tongan milieu. And in any

case, each author was presumably writing to a fairly circumscribed editorial brief. But the underlying philosophical difficulties remain. For example, was it necessary to have two quite separate chapters--one on the Wesleyans, another on the Catholics--for the missionary section?

In another way too, this book illustrates a feature of modern Pacific islands history: namely, that it has its main interest in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, an interest which is (to its credit) unashamedly Romantic, dealing with whalers and whores, coconuts and kings, Bibles and booze. The twentieth century Pacific has not attracted many historians, and somehow *Friendly Islands* loses momentum in the years after 1900 (and little more than one-third of the book is devoted to them).

On the whole, Rutherford's attempt to collate the results of recent research on Tonga must be applauded. The book brings together a wide range of material in a scholarly though very readable way. Those teaching Pacific history to undergraduates will find this book extremely useful. If only there were similar studies of Tahiti, Fiji, Samoa, and almost all of the other islands and island groups in the Pacific.

K. R. Howe
Department of History
Massey University, New Zealand

George S. Kanahele, ed. *Hawaiian Music and Musicians.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979. Pp. xxx, 543, illustrations, discography, bibliography, index. $25.00.

Hawaiian Music and Musicians is a big book. As a work sponsored by the Hawaiian Music Foundation and published by the University Press, it exhibits impressive credentials. Its editor, George Kanahele, is a competent scholar and the contributors are, as far as this reviewer can say, known and accepted in circles which deal in Hawaiiana. The book represents a major contribution on the subject and is certainly the most complete attempt to date on Hawaiian music.

Almost every aspect of island music is given attention: over forty composers, performers and musical personalities are included; Hawaiian musical instruments, primitive and modern, are described; nearly fifty individual songs and compositions are considered; and, contests, plays, awards

and organizations are mentioned. In addition, major entries on stylistic, elements--falsetto singing, slack key, “pidgin english,” and *hapa haole* (partly in English) songs--are written in. Captain Henry Berger, organizer and leader of the Royal Hawaiian Band and a major influence in the music of the islands, is given major coverage as are topics such as the *himeni,* the media, the *hula* and the traditional Hawaiian orchestra. An area hitherto largely neglected appears for the first time, that of island music abroad--the development of this genre in Canada, England, Japan, Scandinavia, and Southeast Asia.

A subject of wonder may be how the folk music of a smallish island group in the midst of a large ocean presumes such importance. It is much the same as country lore of the American West in that it exceeds in popularity its historical and geographical significance. Music in Hawai‘i, whether ancient or modern, has always been one of the most visible elements of the culture. The sailors of Captain James Cook and also the earliest of Christian missionaries to arrive heard the native chant as almost their first experience. Today’s visitors are assaulted by “Hawaiian music” from the moment they board their aircraft bound for Honolulu.

As the prediscovery culture was nonliterate, music and chant held a special place in the scheme of things in that it was the vehicle by which the lore of one generation was transmitted to the next. Many of the chants even contained instructions for the accomplishment of specific tasks though sometimes they were hidden in second meanings. Further, the chant was part of the religious observance performed in connection with every task and as such guaranteed serious intent and full attention to quality in the execution of the work.

The prominence of place for chant and music in the primitive culture combined with the importance of the hymnody of the missionaries who arrived from New England in 1820 to form a very effective bridge between the old and the new for the islanders. Reading, writing, and music were the elements of the culture brought by the missionaries which found the most ready acceptance among the Hawaiians. Religious and economic aspects of the American culture were more slow to take effect. In present day Hawai‘i, the music of the Hawaiians has again become a vehicle through which they have begun to rediscover and reassert themselves. While the music of Waikiki continues to entertain the tourist, a movement has begun for the search among ancient ways for cultural elements which have value and use today. Considering music’s place in both the old and new views in the islands, it seems appropriate that island music be the subject of a big book.

One of the more significant entries is that giving the history and an analysis of Hawaiian music. This section is well researched and organized though the periodization seems somewhat contrived. The description of

the primitive styles--the *hula* and the *oli*--is well done as is that of the music of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There seems to be some reluctance to find parallels between New England hymnody and the earlier of Hawaiian tunes in the western tradition. In the opinion of this reviewer, such parallels do exist in melodic intervals used in sequences, harmonic progressions and voice placements in the supporting harmonic structure. Many melodies in the Hawaiian repertoire are directly borrowed from the seventeenth century hymnals. There is a similar hesitancy in identifying the influences of the immigrant music of the Mexican cowboys and the Portuguese laborers. Perhaps the reviewer, though not uninformed, is simplistic while the scholar becomes increasingly tentative.

It would be difficult to overestimate the impress of Henry Berger on the music of the islands. Much of the bandmaster's quaint "line-a-day" journal has been available in the State Archives but new material is made available in this entry. Berger's influences include the notation of many Hawaiian melodies, the training of many who would become composers of Hawaiian music, the introduction of the melodic style of German Romanticism in music to the Hawaiian tradition and an almost unbelievable popularization of music generally throughout the kingdom.

American music's impact in Hawai'i seems to have been the greatest in the first three decades of the twentieth century. A whole generation of music in the islands reflects the melodic and rhythmic patterns of American Jazz of that period. This entry is supported by good research and excellent analysis and is well written. Also covered well and at length is the section on the internationalization of Hawaiian music--how it has fared abroad. A thorough job of research is represented here and, perhaps for the first time, public attention in Hawai'i is directed at those who have carried the island spirit away with them.

Another very significant contribution is the discography which is appended. It is undoubtedly one of the most complete in print and, in its turn, represents an awesome piece of work. It may not be too trite to say that this section alone is nearly worth the price of purchase. Space will not permit review of all of the major entries but it is sufficient to say that all of them represent authoritative treatment and extensive research.

A popular, illustrated history of Hawaiian music is a very appealing notion and, from the title, one could believe he has one in hand. It turns out, as explained in the introduction, that an encyclopedia of Hawaiian music was intended but that the task was beyond possibility. It remains encyclopedic only in the alphabetical arrangement of topics. Such a contribution is certainly valuable and much of the material, both print and photographic appears for the first time. The mere bulk of material accumulated and its diversity is enough to give the scholar pause. Of course,

three separate works might have been undertaken. The internationalization of Hawaiian music, obviously a favorite pursuit of the editor, would have made an interesting and scholarly paper. A popular history of Hawaiian music, as has been mentioned, has a strong appeal and such a book would be welcome. Illustrated, journalistic stories of the music of the islands have already been approached by Tony Todaro and Kieth Haugen.

The title suggeston of a history leads to a misapprehension which, though dispelled early on, remains to remind one of what might have been. *Hawaiian Music and Musicians* is a big book and a valuable contribution but it is not literally a history nor is it an encyclopedia. It is rather a kind of source book for the general reader and the afficianado of Hawaiian music and Hawaiiana.

Joseph H. Spurrier
Behavioral and Social Sciences Division
Brigham Young University--Hawaii Campus

Tangata Simiona, ed. *E* Au *Tua Ta'ito* ***Nō*** *Te* ***Kūki*** *'Airani [Legends from the Cook Islands].* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1979. Pp. viii, 88, illustrations.

This small booklet presents for the first time a panorama of some significant myths, stories, and legends surviving in Cook Islanders' traditions. It is a collection based on accounts from various well versed Cook Islanders and their textual evidence relating to myths and legends has been amply strengthened wherever possible by location names that have survived to the present. Although the stories are aimed at the Form III secondary level in Cook Islanders' education, the editor emphasizes an underlying purpose of increasing the availability of books in the local language for local participation and permanent preservation.

The eleven legends basically written in the Rarotongan language, begin with Maru'aka'ita, a short legend from the island of Mauke set in the pre-Christian era. Maru'aka'ita was a successful fisherman who took for granted the kindness and love of his sister. The one sided relationship ended at the death of the fisherman as a direct result of his own meanness. Other stories present an insight into the way of life in the various islands of the Cook group. *Te Vaka Ko Takitumu,* the story of the Takitumu ca-

noe in Rarotonga; *Te Vaka O Ru*, Ru's historical journey to Aitutaki island; and other legends present a conflicting society based on survival, love, peace, and war.

Throughout the book one encounters the editor's extraordinary love of folklore and the respect and sympathy for the traditional beliefs and customs of Cook Islanders. Although there is some evidence of dialectual difficulties due to the intermixing of the Cook Islands languages by the various story tellers, the simplicity of specific experiences from most of the islands overcome any major misconceptions. John Brown's seemingly oversimple illustrations add character to the book and echo a common distaste for unessentials.

Jon Jonassen
Polynesian Cultural Center

Jean-Marie Tjibaou. *Kanaké, The Melanesian Way*. Translated by Christopher Plant. Pape'ete: Les Editions du Pacifique, 1978. Suva: The Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1978. Pp. 120, illustrations and maps.

The First Festival of Melanesian Arts or "Melanesia 2000" took place in Nouméa during September 1975. It was meant to be a meeting place, a cultural forum for the Melanesian people who had hitherto been widely spread amongst the French colonial possessions in New Caledonia *(la Grande Terre)*, the Isle of Pines, and the Belep and Loyalty Islands. Jean-Marie Tjibaou's volume *Kanaké The Melanesian Way* was the belated upshot of these proceedings. It is a book which deals in general terms about the past and present life of the Melanesian people, seeks a reconciliation between European and Melanesian modes of existence and, above all, attempts to plot the way ahead for the Melanesians. In Tjibaou's words *Kanaké* will "present to the public a number of images and ideas which are glimpses of Kanake and his universe." Further, it aims to "resume the dialogue to rebuild to tell the world that we are not survivors of prehistory, still less archaeological fossils, but men of flesh and blood."

The study falls rather unevenly into two conceptually distinct parts. The first, consisting of Chapters One and Two, is polemical and terse. Tjibaou asks: "What will the Kanakas be in the year 2000?" To answer

this, he renders a highly colored account of the so-called "hazards of modernization" which confront the 55,600 Melanesians living in New Caledonia today: industrialization with its attendant relations of production, urbanization, and the increasing destruction of tribal life and social infrastructure. With the teachings of Third World theorists firmly in mind, Tjibaou represents the Melanesian on the urban labor market as exploited, manipulated, and undereducated. Of course, the author is mostly correct in these observations. He notes: "Of the 25% of the Kanaka people who comprise the working population of New Caledonia, 65% are employed as labourers or house-servants, needing no technical qualifications as established by the Labour Office." He is also on firm ground in pointing out the dysfunction of historical and ethical belief between Europeans and Melanesians over concepts such as labor, time, and relaxation. There are few aspects of cultural interaction which escape comment, least of all the alarming increase in alcoholism among many male Melanesians, the related attacks on family life, and the attempts by several associations such as the "Feminine Association for a Smiling Melanesian Village" to offset such problems.

Although Tjibaou's general conclusions have been spelt out more eloquently in the classic texts of colonial rule, he presents us with a timely update on the constant contradiction to the Melanesians "experienced between the collective life of the tribe and the individual society of the European, split between two value systems having their roots in two different worlds."

By way of examining this method, many cross-cultural analogies spring to mind. The plight of the Melanesian is not dissimilar to that of the Australian aborigine who, in his own country, still enjoys little or no social or political recognition and is generally ushered away from the mainstream of white Australian society. If the aborigine does drift toward urban Australia he usually finds himself unskilled work, low wages, and dismal accommodation. And we could expand upon many like examples because such encapsulation, whether race, religion or class biased, is known in all human societies to varying degrees.

The point is, however, that Tjibaou's work is of this genre which eulogizes the description and descriptive method but ignores the demand for action. If the author had presented his facts about the Melanesian plight with a plan for the future Melanesia 2000, then the book would have met its maximum claims. Reminiscent of the indecisive and vacillating attitude of the Australian government toward the aborigines in the 1950s and 1960s, Tjibaou never confronts the thorny issue he has raised. Should native peoples seek assimilation with their colonial rulers or should a retreat to the isolation of village custom be sounded? Naturally there are numer-

ous courses of action between these extremes, but Tjibaou shrinks from the task at a fundamental level.

The second part of the book and the real value of the study begins with Chapter Three, entitled "The Conical House and the Pines." Here the philosophy behind Melanesia 2000 is laid bare: to "enable the Kanaka to confront himself so that he may today rediscover and redefine his identity." Myths and legends narrated at the Nouméa festival are retold with color and interest. The Patyi myth from Koné and the legend from Ponérihouen--both remarkably similar--tell of the creation of the Melanesian universe. The tradition of the first born of the clan and the role of spirits and totems and the concept of space are carefully related. Prominent mention is made of the ceremonial recitation of tribal genealogy as an occasion which estabishes the relationship between the individual and the universe itself.

Chapters Four and Five deal with the Melanesian sense of time and social hierarchy, the cultivation of yams and the marriage ceremony or *pilou* as it is observed in traditional village life. Considerations of taboo and guilt, ill-fortune, and sorcery are also described as phenomena very much a part of contemporary Melanesian life, even in modern Nouméa. Undoubtedly these chapters will interest cultural anthropologists and the general student both by the literary and photographic displays.

The brief concluding chapter attempts to capture the theme of cultural awareness in the hope that identity of customs, myths, and legends between the 319 discernible Melanesian tribes of New Caledonia will forge a common approach to an uncertain future.

But, the questions left begging in Tjibaou's study must be: Is cultural awareness enough? Will events such as Melanesia 2000 and *Kanaké. The Melanesian Way* generate a united Melanesian response? In the French possession, at least, the answer is so far a disappointing "No." Without effective political and social organization and leadership, without plans and goals, awareness of common bonds and customs will lay a dormant force. Tjibaou's study is, however, a good tool for the future: it does demonstrate a rich cultural thread running amongst apparently divergent clans and tribes.

Brian Babington
Department of Government
University of Sydney

William H. Alkire. *Coral Islanders.* Arlington Heights, Illinois: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1978. Pp. x, 164, bibliography, glossary, index. $10.00. Paper $4.95.

Coral Islanders is the latest in the excellent series of books edited by Walter Goldsmidt entitled, "Worlds of Man: Studies in Cultural Ecology." Each book in the series focuses on a given geographic location for the purpose of better understanding the ways in which its peoples interact with their environment; the complexities of human adaptation, cultural evolution, cultural dynamics, and environmental modification are the principle themes. The main focus of Alkire's book is on those features of traditional subsistence economies that reflect a successful adaptation to the realities of the environment.

The book is divided into seven chapters: Chapter One, "Coral Islands," sets the stage by discussing the origin as well as physical and biologic components of atoll ecosystems. Darwin's "subsidence theory" and present-day knowledge regarding plate tectonics are used to explain atoll origins and their various stages of reef development. Such "limiting factors" as simple calcareous soils, lack of fresh water streams, and vulnerability to typhoons and hurricanes are emphasized in the discussion of atoll ecosystems. Humans enter these atoll ecosystems in Chapter Two, "Settlement, Survival, and Growth." Dates and migration patterns of Pacific peoples, along with their accompanying housing styles, canoe types, horticultural tools and method are interwoven into a discussion which end with information regarding present-day population densities and distributions in Oceania.

Chapter Three, "Daily Activities," serves two purposes: First, to exemplify daily activities of traditional islanders by focusing on Woleai atoll in the central Carolines over a period of a year; and more importantly, to introduce and define the differences between "Coral Isolates" (atolls and islands that are so isolated from other islands and archipelagoes that their residents are restricted to the limited ecosystem of the single island or atoll, its surrounding reefs, and ocean), "Coral Clusters" (coral islands and atolls lying in close proximity to one another where the adaptation of the residents is not to a single island alone, but to the larger ecosystem of the coral island cluster), and "Coral Complexes" (coral islands that are part of a complex and extensive chain, occasionally either interspersed with volcanic islands or in proximity to high islands, thus providing greater resource diversity and possibilities for its human occupants).

In the next three chapters each of these types are discussed in turn: Chapter Four--"Coral Isolates;" Chapter Five--"Coral Clusters;" and Chapter Six--"Coral Complexes." Alkire hopes to demonstrate that as the

basic environmental system grows larger the cultural alternatives also multiply. And, . . . "as the population increases to the limits of the carrying capacity of the system, however defined, the society often is faced with decreasing options so that, at certain critical points, the ultimate cultural choice within the complex may vary little in its basics from the osolate."

"Emerging Structures," the seventh and final chapter, brings out the effects of modern transportation and communication systems on lessening the importance of isolation as an adaptive variable for coral island areas of the Pacific. Alkire concludes that island societies are running in the opposite direction of what is really needed in today's world of resource shortages--and that is self reliance. Islanders are becoming less subsistence based and thus more interconnected and dependent on outside sources for now vital and scarce resources, e.g., gasoline to propel their outboard motors and automobiles. Unless there is a revitalization in subsistence horticulture and maritime exploitation, Alkire sees the possibility of further decline in the standard of living for many coral islanders.

Although Alkire should be credited for seeking to discover the social consequences of living on island ecosystems, his conclusions merely seem to restate the findings of past Pacific researchers: very little new is offered, and the book is simply too encyclopedic and lacks in-depth cultural ecological analysis. Minor flaws further take away from the book's potential: the diagrams representing coral isolates, coral clusters, and coral complexes are of questionable value as they are presently drawn; the tables are graphically very poor; and the book's photographs are poorly chosen in terms of subject matter. In sum, *Coral Islanders* falls short of the overall high quality of the series in which it appears.

Gary A. Klee
Environmental Studies Department
San Jose State University

Sidney M. Mead ed. *Exploring the Visual Art of Oceania.* Honolulu; the University Press of Hawaii, 1979. Pp. xviii, 455, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $25.00.

Since the days of Linton and Wingert's *Arts of the South Seas* (1946), which was a superb summary of our knowledge of Pacific art at that time, survey books on Oceanic art have been more notable for their dimensions, weight, and dramatic illustrations than for their factual content. *Exploring the Visual Art of Oceania* presents a welcome contrast to this thirty-four-year-old tradition. The volume grew out of a symposium held at McMaster University in 1974, which drew together some of the greatest living experts on the arts of the Pacific. The participants included anthropologists, archaeologists, art historians, historians, museum people, and prominent Pacific islanders. It is precisely this mixture of scholarly expertise which accounts for the variety of approaches found in the book.

The volume embraces a wise selection of topics from Australia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. The first four articles deal with archaeology and its possible relevance to Oceanic art styles of approximately the European contact period (Green, Maynard, Newton, Specht). Although necessarily speculative, these studies are essential if we are to understand the sources of the later styles. The remainder of the twenty-two papers covers recent field studies among traditional groups (Corbin, Dark, Kaufmann, Mead, Schwimmer, Steager); functional and stylistic analyses of museum collections (Badner, Bodrogi, Gathercole, Gerbrands, Kaeppler, Rose, Teilhet); culture change and its effects on the arts (Counts, Gathercole, Graburn, Kooijman, Lewis, Smidt); and esthetic and methodological approaches (Carlson, Forge, Guiart).

All of the articles are important to anyone interested in Pacific arts; however, some of the reports are of particular interest because they help fill in a few of the great lacunae in the literature. The extraordinary bark cloth masks and constructions of the Baining of New Britain have appeared in almost every text on Oceanic art with little if any explanation. Although the mask forms have evolved since the turn of the century, they are still part of a longstanding tradition which is fully explained in George Corbin's article. The beautiful sculptures of the Solomon Islands have suffered a similar lack of information in the literature and it is refreshing to read how Deborah Waite has unified a plethora of scattered bits of data into a very coherent explanation of the styles and symbolism. Articles which have changed our basic notions concerning Polynesian arts have been very rare since the days of Peter Buck. So it comes as quite a surprise to find that Roger Rose has proven that "Tahitian" fly whisks came from the Austral Islands.

The book does have several shortcomings which need to be mentioned. The jacket claims that it “will be useful as a text for Pacific Art courses”, yet this is clearly not the case. While it certainly will provide supplementary readings for such courses, it has neither the scope, nor overall unified approach which would be necessary for a text.

The reproductions in the book are poor, and none are in color. Often line drawings are substituted for photos. All of this tends to present Pacific art not as Art, but as ethnographic objects. This contradiction of the title of the book must have been dictated by budgetary considerations but for the art of the Pacific to be fully understood, its visual impact should be faithfully reproduced.

Thirdly, Oceania does not end with the western shores of Irian Jaya. Many groups which comprise non-Indianized Indonesia are part of an Oceanic pattern of culture. The absence of the Lesser Sunda Islands, the Toraja, almost all of Borneo, the Batak of Sumatra, Nias, and Enggano among many others, is an archaism in both the conference and the book which cannot be justified in view of current archaeological, linguistic, and artistic data.

Despite these objections, what the book does, it does admirably well. It presents much new information and insights which are now basic to an understanding of Pacific art. It is an apt memorial to the late Mino Badner and one can only hope that this volume will inspire more research into Oceanic arts which could lead to the publication of more volumes like this one.

Jerome A. Feldman
Art Department
Hawaii Loa College

John A. Andrew, III. *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800-1830.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1977. Pp. iii, 232, bibliography, appendix, index. $14.50.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), one of the major proponents abroad of nineteenth century American culture, has only recently received scholarly attention. In his *Protestant America and the Pagan World* (1969), Clinton Phillips wrote individual histories of many of the missions that the ABCFM sponsored throughout the world. John Andrew's *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth* is more focused than Phillips' study. In it, Andrew explores the complex set of events which led to the Board's formation, and the importance of the ABCFM to its American supporters. Then, by studying the early years of the Sandwich Island Mission (1819-1830), Andrew assesses the significance of this particular mission and its impact on Hawaiian culture.

Andrew locates the origin of the missionary movement, the so-called Christian Crusade, not in the spirit of disinterested benevolence espoused by Samuel Hopkins, and acknowledged by previous historians as its impetus, but in the social stress and economic fluctuation experienced by early nineteenth century New Englanders. Improvements in transportation, a rise in political and religious factiousness, and emigration to cheaper and more fertile western lands undermined the Congregational Church's stature in New England. Andrew argues that the Church hoped to reassert its authority through the etablishment of the ABCFM. The Boards purposes were twofold: first, to Christianize "pagans" abroad, and second, by creating Zion in the Pacific, to suggest an effective alternative to domestic social disorder.

Although the ABCFM was designed to recoup the Church's stature, Andrew does not consider this simply an attempt to turn back the clock He argues persuasively, for instance, that the ABCFM only achieved financial stability by incorporating organizational techniques spawned by the economic revolution that had altered New England society. He also suggests that the missionaries joined the Christian Crusade for idealistic reasons as well as from a sense of "status anxiety." Andrew refrains, however, from giving specific form to these ideals, a curious omission considering the intellectual nature of New England Congregationalism. For instance, one cannot begin to understand the motivations of Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston for becoming the pioneer missionaries to Hawai‘i without considering the intellectual framework in which they operated. Despite this lapse, Andrew's analysis of the missionary background is important to scholars who wish to understand those who brought Chris-

tianity to the Pacific, and, in this respect, complements Neil Gunson's recent study of the London Missionary Society, *Messengers of Grace* (1978).

Andrew's book is a compelling analysis of the American Protestant missionary movement, but problems arise when he chronicles the initial success and impact of the Sandwich Island Mission. His thesis that these missionaries sought to model Hawai'i in the image of New England is not original; nearly all previous studies of the Mission reach the same conclusion. Standard, too, is his description of the growth of the mission's strength, and of the missionaries' interference in Hawaiian politics and life. Andrew is the first historian to assess the excommunication of Dr. Thomas and Lucia Holman from the mission, and argues that this event indicates the missionaries' intolerance. Certainly the mission's actions are intolerant if judged by twentieth century mores, but these standards cannot fully explain nineteenth century motivations. A more important criticism of *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth* is that Andrew, by terminating his study in 1830, avoids discussing the crucial conflict that arose between Catholic and congregational missionaries after that date. This debate had important consequences for Hawaiian society, but most particularly for the Protestant mission. The quarrel between the two religions was resolved by French gunboat diplomacy in the late 1830s, and in the resultant La Place Manifesto, freedom of religious worship was insured. This effectively undermined Calvinist theocracy; the Protestant's dream of establishing a Christian Commonwealth in Hawai'i proved untenable. These limitations imposed on the American Protestant missionary crusade in Hawai'i should have been noted to allow a more complete understanding of the movement's potential. Without this extended analysis, we are left with an incomplete picture of the Christian Crusade. In spite of these problems, John Andrew's book is an able and provocative study of the sources of the ABCFM.

Char Miller
History Department
The Johns Hopkins University

Mac Marshall. *Weekend Warriors: Alcohol in a Micronesian Culture.* Palo Alto, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1979. Paper. Pp. xiv, 170, illustrations, maps. $4.95, paper.

Of all forms of drug abuse, abuse of alcohol causes the largest array of social and personal problems in the United States. Pacific islanders were ignorant of this drug until Westerners invaded their world. Therefore, the study of modern alcohol use in these islands is not merely of academic interest, but may provide a needed corrective to ethnocentric notions of what constitutes an "alcohol problem" in any society.

Mac Marshall has already made major contributions to the anthropological study of alcohol use, notably as editor of an invaluable anthology, *Beliefs, Behavior, and Alcoholic Beverages* (University of Michigan Press, 1979). In the book under review, he provides the first monograph treatment of drinking in a modern Pacific community, the village of Peniyesene on Moen Island, Truk. Combining abundant descriptive material with serious consideration of relevant theoretical and comparative literature, *Weekend Warriors* sets a high standard to challenge subsequent researchers.

Peniyesene is fairly described as a "bedroom suburb" of Moen, the District Center. Although most of the population belongs to established village matrilineages, life in 1976 reflected the changes which had affected all of Micronesia in the preceding thirty years. A class structure based on a money economy was emerging, while most residents had lost interest in village politics, expecting instead that the larger island government would fill the vacuum. These changes are especially significant for the kind of drinking behavior Marshall describes in colorful detail.

The "weekend warriors" of the title are young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty whose drinking produces behavior which would be intolerable under conditions of sobriety. Their fighting with fists, feet--"kung fu" movies provide role models for Trukese youth--rocks, knives, firearms and, on one occasion, a can of Mace (!) creates an unwelcome atmosphere of lawlessness. Drunks may also express aggression through insult, destruction of their own or others' property, or attempted suicide. The eleven case-studies in Chapter 4 provide a vivid picture of characteristic 'belligerent carousing" (p. 129) that is an almost daily occurrence in Peniyesene. This reader, for one, was struck by Marshall's tolerance of such a field situation.

However, Marshall is at pains to explain that on Truk, as elsewhere, drunken behavior has its own limits: ". . . when Trukese drunks go crazy, they only go so crazy, and they only go crazy in culturally approved ways" (p. 117). Children, the elderly and, apparently, anthropologists need not fear a drunken attack. Women do not drink, and boisterous

drinking is generally abandoned by the time men reach their mid-thirties (p. 66). What, then, is the dynamic creating a situation which both Trukese and outsiders regard as a serious social problem?

The book carefully traces the history of alcohol following its nineteenth century introduction to Truk, a part of the Pacific remarkable for lacking such traditional drug substances as kava or betel. In this discussion, Marshall begins to develop a major element in his argument: the relation of riotous drinking to traditional patterns of masculine belligerence. Thus, he notes that German pacification of the area was followed by a heavy upsurge in drinking until the Japanese, as the governing power under a League of Nations mandate, established prohibition (p. 40). At the same time, the Japanese, like other nonmissionary aliens, provided many examples of heavy drinking, tolerated as "time-out" behavior in which offensive actions could be expected but overlooked.

Indeed, Marshall demonstrates that on Truk, as widely reported in other anthropological accounts of drinking, people believe that any ingestion of alcohol in any amount produces drunkenness, and thus relieves the individual of responsibility for words or action (p. 53 and elsewhere). Therefore, one is not dealing simply with drug abuse in the sense of excessive consumption of ethanol (as may be the case among white American alcoholics), but a phenomenon which is much more complex.

To unravel this complexity, Marshall attempts in Chapter 6 to apply four influential theories about alcohol consumption to his data. These are: drinking reduces anxiety (whether over precarious subsistence or acculturative stress); drinking is associated with the loosening of traditional social organization; drinking is associated with frustrated dependency needs; drinking is associated with a concern for individual strength and power. Unsurprisingly, there seems to be a "germ of truth" (p. 111) in all these theories to help understand Trukese drinking, but "there is no single, simple answer" (p. 123) to questions about "weekend warrior" behavior. Marshall particularly stresses the continuity between the plight of modem Trukese youth, faced with such new problems as class stratification, and traditional notions that young men are irresponsible, and that one should not normally express aggression. Lacking the traditional outlet of warfare, young men in Peniyesene use drinking as an excuse--ultimately accepted by the entire community--in order to relieve the tensions inherent in *both* basic Trukese culture patterns and the emerging lifestyle of a "bedroom suburb."

Often anthropologists and others, understandably appalled by the effects of ruthless imperialist expansion on traditional societies, write as if the modem scene is simply a product of colonialism. At worst, this stance denies vitality and persistence to indigenous cultures. I believe Marshall's

emphasis on continuity in the face of change is a valuable counter point to such Eurocentrism. However, I feel he may have given insufficient weight to the impact of colonialism on Trukese women with regard to differential drinking. Marshall explains this difference in terms of 'basic cultural opposition" between the sexes (p. 127). But surely the colonial situation has also affected the sexes very differently, whether in terms of exposure to models of drinking behavior, or in terms of individual stress produced by the shift to a monetary economy. Imperialism typically *forces* women to be preservers of tradition, and may exaggerate separation of the sexes where a closer complementarity once prevailed.

This criticism notwithstanding, I think *Weekend Warriors* is a book to be highly recommended to a wide variety of readers. Not least interesting is the "Postscript" in which Marshall points up the implications of his study for those concerned with alcohol treatment programs. Written in a lively style and attractively produced, the book is likely to appeal to students, and I will be using it in my own classes this year.

Eugene Ogan
Department of Anthropology
University of Minnesota

Ross H. Gast, *Contentious Consul: A Biography of John Coffin Jones, First United States Consular Agent at Hawaii.* Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1976. Pp. 201, index. $10.00.

The second decade of the nineteenth century was a turning pont in Hawaiian history. In the Spring of 1820, the first company of American Protestant missionaries arrived and set out to transform the islanders' religion, social structure, and culture. Of equal importance to the future development of Hawai'i, was the discovery in the same year of the north Pacific whaling grounds; henceforth Honolulu and Lahaina harbors were crowded every autumn and spring with whaling vessels seeking provisions--and whaling crews seeking recreation. The US government recognized the increasing importance of the islands to America: in 1821 John Coffin Jones was appointed US Commercial Agent in Hawai'i. With the introduction of these three forces--the mission, the sailors, and Jones-Hawaiian life was inexorably changed.

Ross H. Gast's *Contentious Consul* is the first full-length study of Jones and his role in Hawai'i. The biography is appropriately titled, for Jones was nothing if not contentious. He infuriated the American missionaries by keeping several mistresses and by challenging the mission's religious creed. He was no more considerate of the Hawaiians while he flagrantly disobeyed their laws. Even the merchants for whom he supposedly worked were angered by his behavior; more than once Jones was the defendant in a civil law suit.

Jones, of course, was not without his positive accomplishments. As Gast points out, the Consul defended the rights of discharged sailors who had been cheated by their masters, and he was instrumental in the development of American trade with the Spanish Main (California). In addition, his reports to the US State Department on Russian activities in the Pacific Northwest may have influenced John Q. Adams' draft of the Monroe Doctrine pertaining to that region. And if Jones performed his official duties with some irregularities, Gast asserts that the State Department was partly to blame for this situation; the US Government did not take the Island Kingdom seriously and thus only occasionally communicated with its representative there.

Despite these insights into Jones' career, Gast missed an opportunity to make a significant contribution to our understanding of the New England mind in Hawai'i. In his introduction, he tantalizingly suggests that one theme of the biography would be the contrast between Jones and his major mission opponent, Hiram Bingham. These men differed in social status, religion, and personality, and their lives reflected issues that polarized New England in the early nineteenth century; this debate had some of its clearest expression in the Sandwich Islands precisely because these two men resided there. Regrettably, Gast fails to probe this issue in any meaningful way.

The author also errs in interpretation. Gast argues, for example, that Jones' "greatest service to Hawaii . . . was his stubborn opposition to religious oppression . . . which contributed significantly" to the creation of an open religious community (p. 10). By Gast's own admission, however, Jones' interest in religious freedom "for the most part" was dictated by self interest; any positive result arising from his opposition was therefore incidental. Moreover, from what we learn of Jones' character, it is clear that he would have acted differently had he been in a position to profit from the Congregational mission's dominance.

Finally, there is a major stylistic problem with the book. Although Gast has methodically recorded the facts of Jones' life, he has not captured its verve; indeed, the attempt to include every scrap of available biographical evidence often obscures the main character completely.

Contributing to this problem is the conspicuous lack of a clear story line. There will be some rewards for those who plow through *The Contentious Consul,* but these will not be readily garnered.

Char Miller
History Department
The Johns Hopkins University

Dorothy B. Barrère, Mary Kawena Pukui, and Marion Kelly. *Hula: Historical Perspectives.* Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Pacific Anthropological Records No. 30, 1980. Pp. vii, 157, index, bibliography, maps, charts, photos. $10.00.

This useful and readable work is a three-part discussion on the Hawaiian hula. It emphasizes the historical and literary traditions of the hula and comments extensively on current efforts to revive the traditional mode of the ancient dances.

Part I by Dorothy Barrère focuses on the historical legacy of the hula. Barrère makes several important conclusions. First, the belief that the hula was performed only by men in ancient times is not confirmed by any documentary evidence. The observations of Captain James Cook in 1778 on the hula noted that females were performing in the same manner as their male counterparts. Second, though religious rites associated with the hula were carried on in specialized circumstances, there is not evidence that the hula itself was performed as a religious rite, but rather served "in enhancement" of ritual. Early nineteenth-century accounts emphasized the hula as entertainment. Barrère explains that the changes brought by the missionaries precipitated a transitional period of new religious experiences and viewpoints for many Hawaiian chiefs. The hula then declines under the pressures exerted by the *Kuhina Nui* Ka'ahumanu whose injunctions imposed severe penalties on the public performance of the hula. Soon, however, it became apparent that the hula could not be successfully supressed. The government by the late 1830s chose to regulate public performances of the hula by issuing restrictive licenses. By 1875, the hula underwent a popular revival under the patronage of King David **Kalākaua,** a revival which continued into the twentieth century.

Part II by Mary Kawena Pukui consists of three of her previous unpublished essays. The first, "The Hula, Hawaii's Own Dance" (1942) recounts the rules and regimen of the various hula *hālau* (teaching schools). The second "Ancient Hulas of Kaua'i" (1936) is a personal memoir of her experiences and relationships in a hula *hālau* during her early youth. Included in this particular essay are several hula *mele* of interest. The last essay "The Hula" (1943) is an account of ritual preparation of ancient hula performances.

Part III on "*Hālau* Hula and Adjacent Sites at Kē'ē, Kaua'i" by Marion Kelly is an analysis of the historical, literary and archaeological significance of the hula terraces and platforms of the most extensive recorded hula site in traditional history. The terrace sites are noted because of their association with the legendary chief of Kaua'i, Lohi'au, hero of the Pele and Hi'iaka legends. Kelly uses both documentary sources and recorded interviews in her discussion. She concludes on a very appropriate subject--the current use of the historic site for the preservation of the ancient hula modes by the modem *hālau*.

This monograph is an important contribution to Hawaiian ethnography. It is both informative and appealing in its arguments. Scholars, students and hula devotees alike will find this work interesting, sensitive, and without dogmatic pretentions.

William E. H. Tagupa
Liberal Arts Division
Kauai Community College--University of Hawaii

Roger Gale. *The Americanization of Micronesia: A Study of The Consolidation of United States Rule in the Pacific.* Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1979. Pp. 334. $13.00.

"To the victor belong the spoils," so goes the old adage. When Japan took all German lands above the equator in World War I, she regarded Micronesia her own in spite of the Class C Mandate which was established by the League of Nations and which was the basis for US recognition of her claim. When the United States took the same islands from Japan thirty years later, she followed policies of benign neglect of the people and secrecy, the fact of the United Nations Trusteeship notwithstanding. There

is a remarkable similarity here. The Japanese rapidly began "Nipponizing" the islands, treating them simply as an extension of the homelands. By the time World War II broke out, there were more Japanese, Koreans, and Okinawans in the islands than Micronesians themselves. While the United States has not followed similar population and immigration policies in Micronesia, it has nonetheless regarded the islands as an "American place." For years travel was restricted, CIA secret training activities were carried out at Saipan, and most-favored-nation clauses were invoked for trade purposes.

Author Gale outlines the series of events and their post-war sequence which led to the establishment of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. These events are often forgotten these days in the flurry of activity and political realignment talks which today dominate the stage for Micronesia-watchers. Gale says in this book that US strategic interests in the area have always held sway in American policy considerations towards island development, and in fact he suggests that deliberate designs for dependency have been implemented. In his own words:

> It is the main theme of this book that the systematic transformation of global political power, and in terminology in the post colonial era, combined with a continued bureaucratic inarticulateness with the United States, has led to a situation in which it is presently impossible, using the traditional tools of political science, to categorize Micronesia simply as either an integral part of the United States, or as an entity with a defined international personality.

"We have," as University of Guam political scientist Robert Rogers points out, "a federation within a federation. This is a new political animal for which there is no precedent." (Referring to the newly-created Federated States of Micronesia.)

Gale traces for us the story of the US involvement in the Trust Territory as far back as the special wartime training programs for postwar island administrators at the Stanford School of Naval Administration. He follows through with the US Commercial Company which, in effect, ran the island economy immediately after the war, to the comprehensive investigation of Micronesian anthropology (CIMA), the largest and most comprehensive social examination of people ever made up until that time.

He also critically analyzes the now-infamous "Solomon Report" on Micronesia which was commissioned in the mid-1960s to examine political alternatives and futures for the islands; the Peace Corps presence; and the entire US strategic significance of the area.

This is the best and most comprehensive serious work to appear on American Micronesia since Norman Meller's *The Congress of Micronesia.*

Together with David Nevin's *The American Touch in Micronesia,* it will provide the reader with a wide background knowledge and analysis of American performance in the islands and its effects since the war.

I appreciate it also--and especially--because it implies the reasons for the Micronesians' current problems with their own identity: their islands are a political misfit without precedent. Since no one is sure what they are politically, it follows as no surprise that the Micronesians might not be sure of themselves. And the implications of all this will stretch far, far into the future.

Dirk Anthony Ballendorf
Director, Micronesian Area Research Center
University of Guam

Robert Schoofs, *Pioneers of the Faith: History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii (1827-1940).* Honolulu: Louis Boeynaems, 1978. Paper. Pp. 359, bibliography, index, appendix. $8.00.

A comprehensive history of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Hawai'i, chronicling the formidable achievement of the French, Belgian, and to a lesser degree the Irish clergy, and a documentary account of the native Hawaiian contribution to the rise and growth of Catholicism in the Hawaiian Islands have been compressed into Louis Boeynaem's edition of Robert Schoofs's manuscript, *Pioneers of the Faith.* More encyclopedic than narrative, more faith-promoting than scholarly, *Pioneers of the Faith* eclipses Reginald Yzendoorn's *History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii,* published in 1927.

Pioneers of the Faith focuses first on the early attempts of French and Belgian priests to establish a Catholic base in Honolulu. From this point, the remaining five books and forty-three chapters are divided into detailed reports of missionary activity, chapel construction, and administration and maintenance of schools and missions, with each book exploring each island, the chapters within each book concentrating on separate island districts. On the one hand, this format lends itself to a convenient island by island depiction of the growth of Catholicism. On the other hand, the entire panorama of the development of the faith decade by decade had to be sacrificed for the six separate island tableaux.

Each tableau has its strengths and weaknesses, but no one will dispute the fact that the tales about the early rise of Catholicism, particularly in Honolulu, are far more appealing than sketches of routine clergy life after footholds have been secured on each island. In other words, the history of Fathers Bachelot, Walsh, and Short and their contributions to the spread of the faith in spite of legal, cultural and social obstacles of the 1840s are much more engrossing than lists of building supplies for chapels and statistics concerning school attendance and baptisms. Other valuable sections of the book include a balanced and comprehensive treatment of Catholic advances on Maui and the short, but poignant description of Father Walsh's work on Lana'i and Ni'ihau. Men of similar zeal appear in the portraits of Bogaert, Heurtel, Ropert, Maiget, De Veuster, Alencastre, and Rouchouze.

Perhaps the most salient success of *Pioneers of the Faith* is the fulfillment of Boeynaems's promise that his book will acknowledge "every church or chapel where the Sacred Hearts priests and brothers worked, until the Mission was taken over by the Diocese." For that achievement alone, *Pioneers of the Faith* must stand as the definitive reference-narrative of the Hawaiian Catholic experience.

It must said, however, that in a sense, the reference-narrative genre of Boeynaems's book, along with its vascillation between impartial history and a faith-promoting chronicle leads to its major stylistic flaw. By reference-narrative, I mean that frequently the book interrupts itself in mid-narrative to provide short biographies of devoted priests who served in their respective areas. After each profusion of biographical information, the narrative resumes with the reader left to search alone for the narrative thread. If found, the narrative thread soon disappears behind long accounts of a bishop's chapel design or the rigors of establishing a mission school. One has only to read a few pages to be delighted with anecdotes of missionary life, then encounter frustration in the form of elaborate sections of unsifted data one normally finds in an appendix. An example of this deficiency is found between pages 176 and 186, culminating in Boeynaems's admission at one point: "we are running ahead of our story." To return to his story, the author jumps back nearly five decades. Often the reader experiences false starts and dead ends.

Another strain on the reader is Boeynaems's indecision about the stance a professional historian should assume, evidenced by his flattering treatments of many of the major and minor promoters of Catholicism. Providing a few distinguishing characteristics for each priest or bishop, Boeynaems portrays nearly every historical figure in the same frame. According to the author, every priest who labored in Hawai'i had unlimited generosity to Hawaiians, was loved by all the faithful, devoted to simple

living, was reliable, progressive, valiant, durable and guileless. Even if there was no backbiting, jealousy, greed, or sloth that lurk in every organization, Boeynaems's portrayals, intended to make each subject appear divine, leave the skeptical reader unconvinced and the trusting reader skeptical.

In spite of these and other unfortunate blunders ranging in seriousness from numerous typos and hasty features of Hawaiian laymen, Boeynaems's edition of Robert Schoofs's *Pioneers of the Faith* should stand as a landmark in Catholic Hawaiian letters, more for its substance than its uneven tone, balance and style.

Ned Williams
Brigham Young University--Hawaii Campus

Colin Newbury. *Tahiti Nui; Change and Survival in French Polynesia.* 1767-1945. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980. Pp. xvi, 380, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. $25.00.

Among the more important, themes in Pacific history is evolutionary and transitional changes in island societies. *Tahiti Nui* (Greater Tahiti) is a long-range treatment of economic development in French Polynesia in juxtaposition with concurrent political, social, and cultural changes. Fundamentally, Professor Newbury is concerned with the economic interchanges, particularly in the local market economy, which have characterized European contact with Tahiti and dependencies together with the social and political legacies resulting from such interchange.

The salutary chapters focus on the barter trade arising between European vessels and the Tahitians. The dynamics of primitive commercial transactions produced a particularly curious form of inflation, compelling Europeans to match the increased demands of more enterprising island entrepreneurs. Prostitution as a factor in local market economies is mentioned, though the point is not developed further on this important but elusive economic phenomenon. Within the context of economic developments was the exchange of ideas and new founded speculation concerning Tahiti's place in the world order. Indeed, contact with the technologies of the Europeans must have precipitated some philosphical rethinking on the nature of the outside world. Newbury concludes that

though this may have been the case, the short-term gains from such profitable transactions may have overshadowed any metaphysical contemplation undertaken by the Tahitians themselves.

Conflict over land claims emerged as the dominant issue amidst the confusion of internecine warfare, rapid depopulation, and high tribute. It was perceived by low ranking chiefs and some commoners as an opportune moment to assert real or fictitious claims over important resource tracts burdened by such disruptive circumstances. Intervention in island affairs by members of the London Missionary Society and the "conversion" to Christianity by Pōmare, the paramount chief of Tahiti created new circumstances for the islands. Pōmare assumed a position as a "new reference point" for political and economic brokerage between the Europeans and the Tahitians. The LMS, on the other hand, attempted in earnest to establish a "missionary kingdom." This objective, in Newbury's opinion, was not realized until after 1821 when chiefly rivalry had subsided and the pliant Pōmare IV had assumed rule over Tahiti, The symbiotic relationship between the missionaries and the nobility sought to regulate human behavior and lend authority to mission institutions. Small scale plantations were initiated to supplement the meager incomes of the missionaries themselves and served to instruct the Tahitians in the nobility of the work ethic and the advantages of developing a cash economy. The missionaries, moreover, were eager to develop a stable class of peasants in order to neutralize the sometimes overbearing chiefly monopoly over commerce. In spite of such well-meaning efforts, the missionaries failed to resolve fundamental problems of public and social order which eluded their control. When European concepts of property and legal redress for debt were added to the existing production and exchange systems, the authority of the chiefs was severely undermined and overextended into poorly understood areas of more complex commercial transactions.

The establishment of the French protectorate and the resulting wars of resistance troubled the initial colonial administrations. Problems raised by Mormon missionary penetration in the Tuamotus convinced the French authorities that this small but determined sect was merely an American advance guard into areas of French influence. Problems with the communal land tenure system greatly troubled the fragile and often vague jurisdictional limits of the local system and frustrated the eager concern for a more systematic means of land registration and transfer of real property interests. The emergence of a more refined and sophisticated entrepreneurial class, often resulting from the intermarriage between ambitious foreigners and the landed nobility, created a new source of informal influence over island affairs. New means of capitalization, the search for cheap and reliable labor sources, and the search for staple-

based economies marked this new era of merchant and brokerage domination of island commerce. The formation of the *Société Commerciale de l'Océanie* and the *Compagnie Française des Phosphates de l'Océanie* precipitated a new form of rivalry between the less prosperous colonial administration and the more aggressive Euro-Polynesian constituencies. While material prosperity and an administrative redefinition of Tahiti's legal status were linked to such social and economic changes, the Tahitians themselves were urged, if not compelled, to forfeit communal life and social organization to more individualized and fixed identities as part of the assimilation policies of government and business. Though assimilation did not result in any wholesale redistribution of power or substantive and widespread incorporation of the Tahitians into introduced administrative institutions, substantial modification of such new institutions were made to suit local needs or otherwise were discarded as unworkable. Twentieth century Tahiti then became more of a local *métropole* with Pape'ete as a roadstead for shipping and a municipality of heterogeneous cultures. Economic challenges, made by the middle-tier entrepreneurial Chinese to the European dominated economy were significant but short-lived. As government newspapers appeared and as education broadened, assimilation became a new rubric for directions in island society.

Tahiti Nui is more than an expansion of the author's doctoral dissertation. It is a serious consideration of new ideas which may be useful in explaining evolutionary development in tropical commerce. Newbury suggests that the enterprises of European trading firms elsewhere in the Pacific and West Africa offer parallel conditions and similarities for further study on the theme of local market economies as a link to political power. Though this work is neither elementary nor cursory reading, it does make Tahiti and dependencies an understandable case study of transitional developments in an island society.

William E. H. Tagupa
University of Hawaii
Kauai Community College

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