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PACIFIC STUDIES

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SECRET SHARERS: INDIGENOUS BEACHCOMBERS IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

David A. Chappell
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

> . . . the secret sharer of my cabin and of my thoughts, as though he were my second self, had lowered himself into the water . . . a free man, a proud swimmer striking out for a new destiny.
>
> --Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Sharer*

The acculturative role of beachcombers in the early history of European contact with the Pacific Islands has been recognized at least since H. E. Maude's 1968 essay.[1] In the late eighteenth century, as outsider-indigenous maritime relations intensified and convicts began to escape from the British penal colony in Australia, increasing numbers of ship deserters and castaways arrived on island beaches. To survive, they had to adapt and make themselves useful to their hosts, usually by acting as cultural mediators between ship and shore. Yet because foreign vessels often depended on recruiting native seamen to replace lost crew, Pacific Islander sailors-turned-beachcombers also participated in this acculturation process. In fact, Maude suggested that European ships probably stranded more natives on strange beaches than white expatriates, who were simply better documented. "This widespread inter-group mixing together of island peoples in early post-contact times is a factor of considerable importance to the anthropologist," he wrote, "but the problems arising from intra-regional cross-cultural contact are not necessarily identical and require separate discussion."[2] That separate treatment, if justified, is long overdue.

Before Europeans entered the Pacific, there had been considerable

interisland canoe contact.[3] Indeed, many island communities had become, in Maude's words, "highly receptive to the assimilation of immigrants."[4] That long-standing tradition of intraregional contact would persist alongside indigenous encounters with Western-style vessels and crews.[5] But Maude considered European beachcombers to be a new kind of immigrant group, one that would help to initiate cultural transformations of a different order--without having the power to *force* such changes onto their hosts.[6] The question remains, then, to what extent did "indigenous beachcombers" participate in this process?[7] Maude assumed that maritime travelers from the same region would have cross-cultural encounters that were inherently distinguishable from those of their European counterparts. Similar reasoning was once used to support the strategy of sending Polynesian missionaries into Melanesia to convert "fellow" Islanders, despite a 50 percent death rate and notable cultural chauvinism.[8]

Beachcombers as Transculturists

To test Maude's hypothesis that beachcombing by Pacific Islanders was likely to be different from that of Europeans, let us consider some generalizations about the latter. Thomas Bargatzky has emphasized the contributions that European beachcombers made to Islander nautical and military technology, though he acknowledges other innovations such as religious syncretism and liquor distilling.[9] Ian Campbell has stressed "the ability to work wood and metal, the ability to use and maintain muskets and small cannon, and the ability to entertain with stories of the world beyond the Pacific." He suggests five rules for success: cooperative conformity, respect for chiefs, earning popularity by being entertaining and generous, guarding one's monopoly over key skills, and restraining acquisitiveness in order to avoid jealousy.[10]

This deliberate effort to "merge" with the host society made beachcombers, in Campbell's view, "not a vanguard of colonization, [but] its antithesis."[11]He dates the heyday of beachcombing from 1780 to about 1840, during which time beachcombers evolved from being rare "pets" of chiefs into commercial middlemen with significant leverage. If such "transculturists" parlayed their relative linguistic and technological advantages into high-ranking marriages, they might even achieve more status than they would have enjoyed in their own society. Because they crossed the beach alone,[12] however, they were generally unable to compete with the overseas connections of subsequent foreign residents, such as traders, missionaries, planters, and consuls. Hence, the 1840 cutoff,

by which time the growth of foreign beach *communities* was changing the dynamics of acculturation.[13] In addition, Pacific Islanders gradually acquired the knowledge needed to replace beachcombers, whose role as "cultural brokers" was thus doubly transitional.[14]

Given the cultural diversity of the Pacific Islands, an indigenous beachcomber was in reality hardly less expatriate on a strange shore than castaway James O'Connell, who danced an amusing jig on the beach of Pohnpei to win acceptance.[15] Moreover, so-called *kanaka*[16] sailors who worked on foreign vessels passed through liminal initiations[17] into the same kinds of esoteric knowledge that their European shipmates might offer island hosts.[18] Aboard ship, *kanakas* received not only a new collective categorization but also new personal names, new clothing, familiarity with European customs, and training with foreign tools, including weapons. They traveled to exotic lands, made new friends and enemies in the cramped forecastle, learned Western-style nautical skills, and even underwent rituals like the shaving and dunking all neophytes endured who crossed the equator for the first time.[19] Henry Opukahaia, whose later conversion to Christianity and death in New England inspired the first missionaries to come to Hawai'i, went through the rite of Neptune at night, so he was able to put the sea king's trumpet *beside* his mouth and avoid swallowing the brine that made a fellow initiate sick.[20]

Instruction in shipboard trade pidgin was an essential part of this personal transformation. "Jo Bob" of Rarotonga not only learned pidgin but taught it, in his own fashion, to a Black Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands while on night watch.[21] Such linguistic knowledge could earn *kanakas* a role in island societies, notably in trade transactions with ships. Skill with new weapons was also "marketable." Hitihiti of Borabora, while traveling with James Cook and later with the *Bounty* mutineers, learned enough about firearms to become a war leader for Pomare I of Tahiti.[22] Some *kanaka* mariners who left ship perpetuated their liminality by piloting ships into port. Others never readjusted to life on the beach and shipped out again at the first opportunity.[23] In short, their experiences aboard European vessels changed such men far more than traditional canoe voyaging would have. Consequently, *kanakas* who found themselves on unfamiliar islands might well earn their keep in innovative ways that were quite similar to those employed by white beachcombers: mediating with foreign ships and offering informed advice to ambitious chiefs.[24]

Maude's speculation about large numbers of indigenous beachcombers is quite plausible. The rate of desertion from European or American

ships was high in the Pacific, perhaps as much as 20 percent on whaling ships, so that sea captains increasingly depended on *kanaka* recruits by the nineteenth century.[25] In 1846, during the peak of Pacific whaling, Interior Minister Keoni Ana of the Kingdom of Hawai'i estimated that as many as three thousand Hawaiians might be working on foreign ships. He estimated that four hundred Hawaiian beachcombers were in Tahiti, compared to five hundred recruits working on contract for fur companies in Northwest America. Conversely, there were perhaps two hundred Tahitians in Hawai'i, one-fifth of all foreigners in the kingdom.[26] Such rare documentation, however approximate, suggests the scale of the phenomenon to which Maude alluded.

As seasonal whaling routes and trans-Pacific trade with China and Australia intensified interaction between foreign ships and Islanders, few indigenous societies lacked either outbound seamen or incoming beachcombers. Even the isolated island of Rotuma developed a "shipping out" ethic; it was common there for young men to ridicule anyone who had not been *forau* (overseas).[27] Nevertheless, Euroamerican shipping circuits tended to favor certain strategic island groups whose location, hospitality, or resources made them appealing ports of call, such as Hawai'i, the Society Islands (and the Marquesas), Aotearoa (New Zealand), the Loyalty Islands, and the Gilbert-eastern Caroline archipelagoes. Consequently, most seamen were recruited from those loci, which in turn produced and received proportionately more beachcombers.

Kanaka sailors often spent time on other islands, because of the temporary, regional nature of their employment. In fact, Euroamerican vessels might leave them on any generic island before leaving the Pacific.[28] In Hawai'i, which was already experiencing drastic depopulation from disease, this practice posed such a threat that in 1841 the government began requiring ship captains to post bonds to encourage the safe return of native recruits.[29] Yet other island groups usually lacked such regulatory power. Whether by choice or by accident, then, many indigenous sailors became beachcombers and had to use their wits to survive in unfamiliar situations. Those *kanakas* who did return home again, after ship work and exposure to other seaports, could play an acculturative role just as important as that of beachcombers, adding another variable to cross-cultural encounters. Maude might say, with obvious merit, that such returnees constituted a separate category of transculturists worthy of yet another essay.

Unfortunately, the limited data make it difficult to separate very discretely the cross-cultural impact of returnees on their home islands from

that of indigenous beachcombers. What little historical evidence is available tends to be rather Eurocentric, anecdotal, and fragmentary. Nevertheless, this essay will attempt to survey the nature of indigenous beachcombing in the Pacific, in hopes that future research can enrich the data on this neglected topic.

Political and Military Roles

Ambitious chiefs in places like Hawai‘i, Tahiti, or Tonga gained advantages from trade with foreign ships, and beachcombers were potential channels to this new *mana* (power). In the late 1780s, Kamehameha I used ship contacts to acquire the firearms, Western-style vessels, and beachcombers that helped him to unite the Hawaiian Islands into a kingdom. In fact, he deliberately encouraged young men to serve on foreign ships in order to train personnel for his new navy,[30] thereby placing more Hawaiians in Bargatzky's role of nautical innovators. Kamehameha also recruited Hawaiians who had been overseas, such as Ka‘iana (Northwest America and China), Kalehua (Northwest America and Boston), and Kualelo (England), into his retinue as military commanders or interpreters. Ka‘iana, who was from Kaua‘i, not Kamehameha's own island, came ashore from an English fur-trading ship in 1788 with four swivel cannons, six muskets, three barrels of gunpowder, and five double canoes loaded with metal tools and iron bars[31]--before Kamehameha acquired his first European beachcomber.[32]

Into this context of calculated recruitment arrived three Boraborans in 1796, from an American ship. They joined Kamehameha and recommended that after conquering Kaua‘i, he should invade and annex their home island, a prospect he apparently contemplated until his attacks on Kaua‘i aborted.[33] Boraborans had a reputation in the Society Islands for raids and conquest, but these three beachcombers may simply have wanted to get home again on more favorable terms than they left behind. Several Tahitians arrived in Hawai‘i in the early 1800s, some of whom entered chiefly circles; Chief Ke‘eaumoku, for example, had a Tahitian steward.[34] In 1819, a Marquesan called Thomas Patu arrived in Hawai‘i aboard an American ship and was taken into Kamehameha II's royal bodyguard. Tahunaliho, as Patu was renamed, became a petlike favorite with the king, particularly because of his tattoos, but he also suffered abuse when the young monarch drank too much. Patu could not get permission to leave, so he had to escape at night, helped by friendly watchmen, and catch a ship to Canton and New England.[35]

Indigenous beachcombers might therefore be sought after for both

their experience aboard European ships and, as Maude implied, their *mana* from other islands. These two attributes are suggested by John Turnbull's statement that Pomare I of Tahiti employed Hawaiians as royal attendants for "their superior skill and warlike disposition."[36] In 1792, Pomare tried to entice Kualelo, who was returning from England to Hawai'i with George Vancouver, to desert and become a warrior and gunsmith in his entourage. Vancouver had to threaten force to recover the young Hawaiian, who had been offered better prospects than he expected at home.[37]

This weighing of options was also notable in the case of "Jem" the Tahitian, who had visited Australia but chose to live out his days among the Maori in Aotearoa. Having gone to Sydney aboard an English trade-ship at the age of eleven, he enjoyed a comfortable life as a house servant and learned to read. But he yearned for higher status, so he worked his passage to New Zealand's Bay of Islands. Jem's knowledge of firearms and foreign ways earned him a position as war leader and ship mediator for a North Cape chief, whose daughter he married. When Samuel Marsden visited New Zealand in 1814, he found Jem, whom he had known in Sydney, wearing a Maori mat and feathers and wielding his musket in local wars. Jem accompanied Marsden's missionary ship, the *Active,* along the coast and served as a translator and food provisioner, in return for gifts for himself and his father-in-law. He was still working as a ship mediator at Bay of Islands thirteen years later.[38]

Indigenous beachcombers sometimes competed for status against Europeans on the same beach. A Tahitian called Harraweia arrived at Tahuata in the Marquesas aboard the London Missionary Society ship *Duff* in 1797, but instead of helping the English missionary, he stirred up opposition against him. The following year, a Hawaiian called Sam, or Tama, disembarked from an American ship at Tahuata. His captain, too, expected him to help the local English missionary, who was in turn supposed to teach Tama to read and write. Tama spoke pidgin English, so he could mediate with passing ships for the local chief. He could also throw a spear farther than any warrior on the island and entertained his hosts, in typical beachcomber fashion, with tales of the outer world, particularly Hawai'i.

But Tama also brought ashore more tangible cargo: a chest of clothes from Boston, including a military uniform and a musket with ammunition. With the latter, he won a position as *toa,* or war leader, for the chief, forged an alliance between warring groups, and led bloody expeditions against the island of Hiva Oa. At times Tama commanded thirty double canoes carrying nearly one thousand warriors. He helped an

English sailor jump ship to join him on the beach but did little to help the missionary. In fact, he told his hosts that he had seen with his own eyes that white men worshiped no god in their own country. But Hawaiians did, he said, so his followers should bring him pigs to offer to his deity. Tama lost his prestige when wounded by a stone in battle; his alliance collapsed, his influence with tradeships waned, and he died on Hiva Oa after trying to strangle himself in despair.[39]

Examples of tension between indigenous and expatriate beachcombers can also be found on other islands. Finau ʻUlukalala II of Tonga employed Hawaiian as well as European beachcombers in his wars of the early 1800s. Tuitui, who had sailed on an American ship from Hawaiʻi to Manila, knew a little English, so in 1806 he lured the captain and half the crew of the *Port au Prince* ashore in the Haʻapai Islands. Finau's warriors massacred the crew and, after stripping the ship, burned it, sparing the Hawaiian sailors aboard. William Mariner, however, saved his own life by saying *"aloha"* to Tuitui during the fight. Mariner and other beachcombers helped Finau to attack Tongatapu, but Tuitui, to whom Finau accorded life-and-death authority, warned the chief to destroy all Mariner's writing materials and to intercept any written messages that the white man might try to send, lest their "magic" cause harm.[40] Indigenous beachcombers did not always get the upper hand in this competition for influence. In 1843, Maoris on Pohnpei fought with white rivals over local women; two men died on each side before the Maori escaped to an islet.[41]

Participation by indigenous beachcombers in local power struggles seems to have been at least as widespread and enduring as that by Euroamerican transculturists, perhaps even more so. Part-Hawaiian George Manini, who led several trading voyages for the Hawaiian Kingdom, married a chiefs daughter on Wallis Island in 1830. To control the local trade in bêche-de-mer and tortoiseshell, he used Hawaiian seamen to build and man a fort. Manini appointed his father-in-law "king," then prostituted local women to his henchmen and passing ships and exacted heavy labor duties from the local men. Finally, in 1832, the Wallisians assassinated Manini and massacred the other Hawaiians.[42] Maoris, too, apparently earned a reputation among other Islanders for their aggressiveness. Not only did their facial tattooing and cannibalism give them an intimidating image, but their warlike *haka* chant, which they performed almost everywhere they voyaged as sailors on European vessels, impressed ambitious chiefs.[43] Tongan leaders actively sought Maoris as warriors; one lured a Maori to desert from an English whaleship in 1836, only to return him when the captain offered a reward of axes,

knives, fishhooks, and cloth--a rather direct measure of beachcomber worth.[44]

Indigenous transculturists might find themselves embroiled in anti-colonial struggles as well. Tattooed "Marquesan Jack" fought gallantly for Pomare IV against the French invasion of Tahiti in the 1840s.[45] As late as 1887, King Kalakaua of Hawai'i sent the *Kaimiloa* to Samoa in hopes of forming a Polynesian confederation to head off further European colonial annexations, but not even a treaty signed by High Chief Malietoa Laupepa could overcome the intimidation of a German warship that supported Malietoa's rivals. Nevertheless, before the *Kaimiloa* left Samoa, two Hawaiian crewmen deserted on Tutuila. Enticed by a resident Hawaiian shopkeeper, the two, Aniani and Mahelona, brought ashore rifles and cannons from the *Kaimiloa* and used them skillfully to help defend the village of Aunu'u from enemy attackers. They married local women, lived on in oral tradition, and thereby fulfilled, in micro-scale, Kalakaua's ill-fated dream.[46] This incident would seem to render the 1840 cutoff for Pacific beachcombing problematic in the case of native seamen.

Challenges of Acculturation

Indigenous beachcombers played whatever roles were available to them on strange shores. Some acted as English-speaking guides for visiting foreigners, as two Maoris named Bob and Friday were doing on Tahiti in 1846.[47] A Hawaiian called O'ahu Sam, who had worked on whaleships, became a barber for the Fijian chief Vedovi. When in 1840 Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition arrested Vedovi for attacking an American ship, Sam accompanied his now-captive chief as far as Hawai'i, translating for Wilkes along the way.[48] Another Hawaiian was stranded on Rapa in the Australs by a whaler, but he then persuaded a pearling ship to hire him as supercargo. The captain later fired him when it became clear that he was trading ship's supplies for the favors of women on every Tuamotuan atoll they visited.[49] A Hawaiian exseaman called John Adams worked as harbor pilot at Pago Pago, Samoa, from 1846 to at least 1873. He married a local woman and fathered eight children.[50]

Some *kanakas* turned their work experience into success as entrepreneurs on the beach. After Samuel Henry used Tongan work gangs to procure sandalwood on Erromanga in the mid-1800s, a Tongan named Toriki Rangi stayed behind as his agent. Rangi became so prosperous from sandalwooding that he purchased a thirty-foot boat from Sydney,

raised livestock, and married nine Erromangan women.[51] Meanwhile, a kidnaped Erromangan wound up in Tonga, which he refused to leave despite being offered return passage by a British ship.[52] Rotumans volunteered as early as the 1820s to work for foreign maritime enterprises, initially in sandalwood crews. Later, as sailors aboard whaleships, they found it lucrative to sell whale's teeth to Fijians, for whom the *tabua* held great value in ceremonial exchanges.[53] "Rotuma Tom" sold pigeons and other provisions to passing whaleships at Kosrae in the 1850s. He also served as a harbor pilot; when a sudden wind change threatened to drive the *Emily* onto breakers, he dived overboard and secured the ship to an underwater rock to save it.[54]

Pacific Islander women, too, found themselves on alien beaches. Some landed in comfortable circumstances, others did not. In 1827, High Chief Boki of Hawai'i established a trade shop at Papeete that was managed by a Chief Kamanohu. In fact, it was his wife who sold "Chinese goods, blank books, stationery slates, pencils . . . and various articles of hardware . . . and purchased cocoanut oil and arrow root," while he squandered most of the profits in social gatherings with Tahitian aristocrats.[55] In 1846, Queen Pomare IV of Tahiti had a Fijian female attendant, whom a visiting British naval commander described as "most savage and ferocious." When she quarreled with a French resident who had made her pregnant, "she coolly told him if ever she caught him in Feejee land she would *eat* him." There was also a Cook Islands woman on Tahiti at the time who had the English word "murderer" tattooed across her face. She had apparently killed her first husband on Rarotonga, but missionary John Williams had saved her from execution by suggesting the branding, after which she had fled to Papeete. "Time has made her callous to the gaze of strangers," wrote Captain Henry Byam Martin. "She has married a second husband, and looks very much as tho' she would treat him as she did her first."[56] A Rotuman woman called Henrietta was enticed by Rotuman beachcombers in Fiji to disembark from a ship with her husband. But the local chief found her appealing, killed and ate her husband, and forced her to marry him. Not surprisingly, in 1839 Wilkes found her "in ill-humour."[57]

It would obviously be a distortion to represent all indigenous beachcombers as successful transculturists who never experienced culture shock or other mishaps. In 1799, a Tahitian called "Tapeooe" answered Pomare II's call for volunteers to serve aboard the *Betsey,* an English Whaler-turned-privateer, and visit London. The ship visited Tongatapu on its way to Australia, where Tapeooe received a warm welcome from

English officials and missionaries. Instead of sailing on to England from Australia, however, the *Betsey* set out for more privateering along the Spanish coast of South America. At Tongatapu a second time, the disillusioned Tapeooe met a fellow Tahitian beachcomber who persuaded him to disembark. But after being driven from place to place by bloody civil wars for two years, Tapeooe shipped out again on the *Plumier,* a former Spanish vessel captured by the *Betsey*. The *Plumier* crew mutinied and stopped at Guam in 1802, where the angry Spanish confiscated it and jailed all aboard, including Tapeooe.[58] Another unfortunate, Temoana of Nukuhiva, languished in rags on the beach in Samoa from 1836 to 1839. Initially an assistant to an English missionary, Temoana was ostracized as an outsider by the Samoans and finally returned home, where the French made him "King of the Marquesas."[59]

Sometimes *kanaka* sailors on the beach had cultural traditions that clashed with those of their host societies. For example, Maori beachcombers who fought in a religious civil war on Rotuma wanted to cook and eat some of the slain, an idea the victors adamantly rejected: "You may do that at New Zealand--never at Rotumah."[60] Unrealistic expectations, based on surface impressions, could also produce disillusionment and retreat. Kalehua of Hawai'i, also know as Opai or Jack Ingraham, went ashore at Hiva Oa in 1791. He had been to Boston on a fur-trading ship and went ashore in his best suit to impress the local women, but he soon returned, explaining that Hawai'i had better taro patches and pigs.[61] In 1803, some Tahitians on a British tradeship liked the hospitality that they received among Hawaiians, who admired their tapa cloth and "whose language, complexion and manners, so nearly resembled their own." The Tahitians deserted by swimming ashore at night, boasted about the power and wealth of their king, and seemed to have high hopes of being treated as *ari'i* (nobles). But after a short, disappointing stay, they shipped out again for home.[62] Another Tahitian, named Pemi, was left in Fiji by an American ship in 1813, only to be killed in battle and eaten--a rather less than desirable form of assimilation.[63]

Adjustment to life on a strange shore could be even more challenging if the beachcomber did not begin his stay voluntarily. In 1808, two Tahitians were captured by Fijians after their sandalwood ship had fired on a local canoe. They were returned, badly disfigured by wounds, only when the ship took a Fijian chief hostage.[64] "Blackbirded" Mesiol of Pohnpei, after being almost sold and then jailed in California, stowed away on a ship to Hawai'i, where he was unable to communicate with anyone until he found a missionary who arranged his passage

home.[65] Conversely, a sandalwood ship sold ten Loyalty Islanders in its crew as slaves on Pohnpei in 1855.[66] Other *kanakas* were put ashore when considered crazy, dangerous,[67] or near death.[68] Being marooned by foreign ships was not always so distressing, however. In 1839, Wilkes left on Wallis Island a Samoan chief named Tuvai, whom he had arrested for killing an American. Tuvai had feared being exiled to a place with no coconut trees but was delighted to be sent ashore, with rolls of tapa cloth for the local chief, at Wallis.[69] Not only was his new abode in canoe contact with Samoa but nearby Futuna had been settled by Samoans.[70]

The relative treatment of involuntary indigenous and European beachcombers might be expected to reveal status differences, but the evidence is hardly conclusive. Three Palauans who were taken prisoner by Tobi Islanders in 1832 were treated more harshly than the American sailors who accompanied them. In 1834, Samoans on Savai‘i kidnaped several sailors, including three Hawaiians, in a fight over a missing musket. The ship captain ransomed the white crewmen for two muskets apiece but offered nothing for the Hawaiians. Twenty years later, Nauruans who massacred the American crew of the *Inga* spared the lives of the *kanakas* aboard, who were “from different islands.”[71] An Isle of Pines chief was less discriminating in 1842, when he avenged an insult by sailors from the *Star* by having its whole crew killed, including six assorted *kanaka* seamen and three Polynesian missionaries.[72]

Circumstance could obviously outweigh pan-Pacific solidarity in determining indigenous responses to *kanaka* sailors. New Caledonians spared the life of a near-blind Rotuman sailor when they massacred the crew of the *Mary* in 1849, only to kill fifteen Hawaiians at a sandalwood station eight years later.[73] Having predecessors ashore could help. Tuitui, as we have seen, persuaded fellow Hawaiians in the crew of the *Port au Prince* to join Finau’s beachcombers in Tonga, much as Tapeooe’s Tahitian compatriot lured him into disembarking on Tongatapu. But other alliances could be more entangled. In 1847, ten Maori, Hawaiian, and Tahitian sailors deserted the *Cape Packet* at Efate, after disputing with white crew members over access to local women. Once ashore, the deserters conspired with the Efateans, took the ship, and massacred the crew--which included some Tannese.[74]

There were many cases of Pacific Islanders arriving on alien beaches in dependent roles as a result of deliberate initiatives by Euroamerican ships. Examples include the attempts to establish provisioning stations, with Hawaiians on Agrihan,[75] Juan Fernandez Island, and North Bonin Island,[76] and with Maori women accompanying their *pakeha* (white)

mates on Three Kings, Lord Howe's, and Sunday Islands.[77] Euroamerican ships also employed Tongan, Hawaiian, and Rotuman sandalwood gangs in Melanesia[78] and Hawaiian labor on the guano atolls.[79] So many Hawaiians wound up on Rotuma from various passing ships that the islet they occupied acquired the nickname "O'ahu."[80] Fanning Island was at first a dumping ground for unwanted beachcombers from Hawai'i, both expatriate and indigenous,[81] and later became the site of a copra plantation worked by Tahitians.[82] The *Bounty* mutineers took both kidnaped and willing Society Islanders to Pitcairn Island, from which their descendants were later relocated, for a time, to Tahiti and Norfolk Island.[83] Missionaries temporarily relocated 250 Rapanuians (Easter Islanders) to Tahiti in the 1870s,[84] while other Islanders were left by ships at uninhabited islands to kill seals or hunt turtles.[85] There were also naval expeditions, such as Boki's ill-fated attempt to conquer Erromanga for its sandalwood,[86] the genocidal North Island Maori conquest of the Chathams with a captured English ship,[87] and the attack on Ngatik by Charles "Bloody" Hart's sailors and Pohnpeians, who exterminated all the indigenous men and married the women.[88]

This extensive movement of indigenous people around the region by Euroamerican ships overlapped, of course, not only with canoe voyaging but also with the plantation labor trade and with missionary travels by native teachers. The spread of orthodox Christianity in the Pacific Islands was sometimes resisted by white beachcombers because it might interfere with their own activities. In Samoa, for example, English missionaries encountered opposition from some beachcombers who had founded their own self-serving "sailor cults."[89] Yet it is interesting to note that indigenous beachcombers could use aspects of Christian *mana* --esoteric cargo for them--to enhance their own prestige. Between 1818 and 1826, for example, several Tahitian sailors arrived in Hawai'i and used their relatively more advanced knowledge of Protestant Christianity to gain acceptance into chiefly circles.[90] This process coincided with the arrival in 1822 of William Ellis from Tahiti with native teachers like Auna of Ra'iatea, whose father had been a traditional priest.[91]

Christianity could be manipulated to mean different things, depending on who was on the beach. Siovili of Samoa traveled by canoe to Tonga in the 1820s, then by tradeship to Tahiti, where he may have encountered prophets of the Mamaia "heresy." He returned home with his own syncretic "sailor cult" and converted Chief Mata'afa.[92] His countryman Fauea, who met John Williams in Tonga, returned home with the English missionary to urge Chief Malietoa to adopt Protestantism, promising cargo in the form of iron tools and weapons.[93] Langi, a

Tongan from eastern Fiji, voyaged to Sydney in 1824, then to Tahiti, where he converted to Christianity and married a local woman. In 1825, he sailed with Peter Dillon to Tongatapu as a pilot and interpreter and disembarked there to spread the gospel.[94] In 1852, a Hawaiian from Maui named Pu‘u disembarked from an American whaleship at Fatuhiva in the Marquesas. He married a local chiefs daughter and bragged about the availability of firearms in his native kingdom. Together, Pu‘u and his father-in-law journeyed to Hawai‘i to ask for missionaries in hopes of attracting the desired cargo. This embassy led to the dispatching of Hawaiian preachers to the Marquesas, though opposition from French Catholics undermined their efforts at conversion.[95]

The role distinction between native missionaries and beachcombers was not always clear. In the 1840s, a Samoan named Sualo drifted to Efate in Vanuatu with other canoeists, who were fleeing from a Samoan civil war. Sualo allied himself with an influential Maori beachcomber and fought in wars for local big-men, He also became a middleman between Efateans and sandalwood ships and welcomed the first Samoan missionaries.[96] Can Sualo’s contributions to the process of cultural change be easily distinguished from those of his Maori friend or the Samoan preachers? More blurring occurred when native teachers, like some of their European counterparts, “backslid” into unorthodoxy on alien beaches, thereby altering their historical role. For example, a Hawaiian missionary named Kapu organized a bloody Christian crusade against a syncretic church on Tabiteuea in the Gilberts in 1880. After supervising a massacre of enemy warriors, enslaving the survivors, and confiscating their lands, Kapu survived a church investigation. But the mission expelled him anyway six years later for trying to communicate with the spirit of his deceased wife. Kapu--an appropriate name--remained on Tabiteuea as a “lawgiver” until deported by the British in 1892.[97]

The Liminality of Voyaging

Any assessment of the impact of indigenous beachcombers on Pacific Islands societies must look beyond the image problem that contemporary recordkeepers imposed on the actors. White beachcombers were themselves frequently vilified by fellow Euroamericans as “worthless, dissipated, and worn-out vagabonds.”[98] Similarly, *kanaka* sailors who deserted their ships were often regarded as ungrateful miscreants and blights on the beach. In 1858, a Hawaiian called Johnny Boy jumped ship at Ua Pou in the Marquesas. The captain’s wife wrote how disap-

pointing it was "for a Kanaka who has been brought up among partially civilized people to run away in such a place as this."[99] Fifteen years later, a ship captain commented that twenty Nauruan beachcombers at Kosrae "had lighted on the place like a pestilence. . . . To carry them to any island would have been to convey a plague to the unfortunate inhabitants; and it would be far better that they should drink themselves to death where they are."[100]

In fact, liquor distilling was one of the acquired skills that such beachcombers helped to spread around the Pacific. Hawaiians, for example, learned to make ti-root liquor from Australian exconvict deserters.[101] In 1807, a Hawaiian named Pumai'a began distilling ti root for Pomare II of Tahiti, despite missionary protests.[102] By 1842, a Fijian chief was giving four Tahitian beachcombers women and other rewards in exchange for making ti-root liquor.[103] Clearly, the image of rowdy inebriation was not entirely undeserved. Kaomi, the son of a Tahitian migrant, was the ringleader of Kamehameha III's drinking companions in the 1830s, and drunken Boraborans in Honolulu threw a stick at the king's horse one day when he was out riding, thereby earning themselves a night in irons.[104]

Yet the evidence assembled in this exploratory overview suggests that the acculturative role played by indigenous beachcombers was also significant in more constructive ways. As interpreters between ship and shore, technical advisors to island leaders, and craftsmen, traders, and missionaries, they (and returned *kanaka* sailors) constituted an informal counterintelligence network that helped to mediate between island societies and encroaching outsiders. Campbell argues that Euroamerican transculturists merely participated in change rather than causing it, because they had to "merge" with their host societies, who were the true agents of their own transformation.[105] But what, then, could be said of *indigenous* beachcombers or returnees? To place them in the liminal frontline of acculturation, as Greg Dening would,[106] does not diminish the agency of other Islanders who may have learned from their cross-cultural encounters without ever sailing off on a foreign ship. The interactions that transformed the Pacific were complex enough to encompass more than one kind of native agent.

Indigenous beachcombers may have represented more imitable role models than the Euroamerican counterparts they occasionally outcompeted. Dening suggests that Marquesans saw other Polynesians "as metaphoric variations on their own themes."[107] In his commentary on a beachcomber journal he goes farther: "The Polynesians were always more interested in other Polynesian islands and their customs than in

anything the Europeans had to offer."[108] Both Dening and Nicholas Thomas have said that Hawaiian and Tahitian sailors and beachcombers introduced the idea of centralized monarchy to Marquesan chiefs.[109] Such transculturists thus played important roles not only in external relations but also in local politics. Tuitui, Tama, and "Jem," as we have seen, all attained prominence in their host societies because of the military and linguistic knowledge they acquired abroad. R. G. Ward has argued that Tahitians and Maoris employed by bêche-de-mer traders in Fiji effected important socioeconomic changes, particularly as beachcombers.[110] Overall, inter-Islander encounters via Euroamerican shipping must have stimulated "a great deal of innovation in such areas as material culture and political practice."[111] Such veterans of cross-cultural initiations could translate the geographic distances they had traveled into "an esoteric resource,"[112] much as a shaman "knows the roads of the extraterrestrial regions."[113]

At times, *kanaka* mariners do seem to have had certain advantages on island beaches. For example, a Marquesan in Honolulu claimed that he was able to understand the Hawaiian language as soon as he arrived, "and in a short time, it was as familiar to him as his own."[114] Kadu of Woleai was already a castaway in the Marshall Islands before sailing on a Russian ship. In Honolulu, he "disappeared among the natives, who liked him, and with whom he soon learned to make himself understood."[115] The relative "invisibility" of indigenous beachcombers in the records, compared to their Euroamerican counterparts, may be due to more than a simple absence of written memoirs, because they were commensurate and novel at the same time. They could potentially be true chameleons, with eyes looking in multiple directions, and use a wider range of strategies to adapt to their new, yet still intraregional, surroundings.

But they also risked "losing" their original identities--like actors who had played too many roles. As Dening has said, crossing the cultural beach "did violence to a man in all his parts."[116] By definition, indigenous beachcombers did that *more than once.* Some became colorful oracles living out riddles from the beyond. In Hawai'i in 1825, at the Nu'uanu Pali lookout on O'ahu, a British visitor met a well-dressed, English-speaking Tahitian who said that he had left Tahiti as a boy on a passing whaleship: "Afterwards he was in the British navy, till he was wounded at the battle of Algiers, when he was discharged as unfit for service with a pension of twenty-five pounds a year." The same visitor met another Tahitian who lacked a pension but had won a place in Queen Ka'ahumanu's entourage: "an old cunning fellow, 'Jack Bligh'

. . . who spoke a little English, and had, he said, been with Captain Bligh in the *Bounty* at the time of the mutiny."[117]

Others might retire on a favorite beach, ending their sailing days more humbly and happily than lonely Tama, whose fall from glory had led him to attempt suicide. A Hawaiian called "Babahey" worked for many years as a sailor and interpreter on Anglo-Australian vessels, fur trading in Northwest America, buying pork in Tahiti for Sydney convicts, and shipping sandalwood from Fiji. He even mediated on Marsden's missionary vessel, the *Active,* in New Zealand. Aging, he finally asked to be put ashore with his trade goods at Rotuma in 1814. When he died five years later, he left behind a wife and a twelve-year-old daughter,[118] indicating that like many other seamen he had already established a household ashore while continuing to sail the sea. Apart from a brief but fond mention in Peter Dillon's account of his quest for the La Pérouse wreck, "Babahey" left no memoir but his genes. His name was most likely an English corruption of the Hawaiian *Papa he'e (nalu),* "surfboard,"[119] an appropriate metaphor for someone who had mastered the limen. He apparently felt no need to return to his native Hawai'i, because he was at home wherever the waves hit the sand.

NOTES

1. H. E. Maude, *Of Islands and Men* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1968), chapter 4.

2. Ibid., 135.

3. See Martha Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), 363-375, for oral traditions; and Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1961), for a well-known ethnographic study.

4. Maude, *Of Islands and Men,* 149.

5. Greg Dening, "The Geographical Knowledge of the Polynesians and the Nature of Inter-Island Contact," in Jack Golson (ed.), *Polynesian Navigation* (Sydney: Reed, 1972), 102-153.

6. Maude, *Of Islands and Men,* 168-169.

7. Finding an appropriate term for such ship travelers is problematic, but this one, first used by Rhys Richards in his "Indigenous Beachcombers: The Case of Tapeooe, a Tahitian Traveller from 1798 to 1812" *(The Great Circle,* 12, No. 1 [1990], 1), is less contradictory than it may sound. Richards applies it to "those Pacific Islanders who from a very early date chose to join foreign vessels, but later left them in order to settle among other Pacific Island people than their own." In this essay, an "indigenous beachcomber" was someone native to the region but not to the particular island at which a foreign ship left him. The

strength of this label is that it creates a separate category from Euroamerican beachcombers, who have been the focus of most previous investigations.

8. Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), 357-364; Sione Latukefu, "The Impact of South Sea Islands Missionaries on Melanesia," in James Boutilier, Daniel Hughes, and Sharon Tiffany (eds.), *Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania* (New York: University Press of America, 1978), 91-108.

9. Thomas Bargatzky, "Beachcombers and Castaways as Innovators," *Journal of Pacific History,* 15, No. 1 (1980), 93-102.

10. I. C. Campbell, "European Transculturists in Polynesia, 1789-ca. 1840" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Adelaide, 1976), 252-256.

11. Ibid., 454.

12. Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), 129.

13. Caroline Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses: Pacific Beach Communities in the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978), 66.

14. K. R. Howe, *Where the Waves Fall* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii *Press,* 1984), 107.

15. See Saul Riesenberg (ed.), *A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands by James F. O'Connell* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1972).

16. This generic Polynesian word means person, but in Pacific trade pidgin it connoted a manual laborer or "bush" native. It was used in the plantation labor trade and today, as Kanak, is the collective term that indigenous Melanesian nationalists of New Caledonia apply to themselves. In this essay, it refers exclusively to Pacific Islanders who worked on foreign ships and hence denotes an occupational category that reflects nineteenth-century maritime usage. Many native seamen on Euroamerican ships were given "Kanaka" as a family name in the logs.

17. Victor Turner, in *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 93-97, first applied the concept of the limen, or threshhold, to rite-of-passage initiations, during which neophytes pass through a "betwixt-and-between" stage before being reborn into new social identities. Greg Dening has applied this idea of liminality to cross-cultural encounters on the decks of ships in Pacific ports. *See* his *The Bounty: An Ethnographic History* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988), 31.

18. For a general discussion of the liminality of overseas travel, see Mary Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), especially 150-155 and 191-197 for the Pacific. For a more Pacific-focused discussion, see Roderic Lacey, "*To Limlimbur,* the 'Wanderers,' "*Pacific Studies,* 9, No. 1 (November 1985), 83-146.

19. For an extended discussion of this topic, see David A. Chappell, "Beyond the Beach: Periplean Frontiers of Pacific Islanders aboard Euroamerican Ships, 1767-1887" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 1991), chapter 4 [available from University Microfilms International].

20. Edwin Dwight (ed.), *The Memoirs of Henry Obookiah* (Honolulu: United Church of Christ, 1968), 10-11.

21. [John D. Jones], *Life and Adventure in the South Pacific by a Roving Printer* (New York: Harper, 1861), 36.

22. See Owen Rutter (ed.), *The Journal of James Morrison* (London: Golden Cockerel Press, 1935), 53-119.

23. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842* (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1845), II:4, 378.

24. As the example of Hitihiti demonstrates, beachcombers helped indigenous leaders not only in relations with foreign ships but also in local power struggles. See Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses,* 29.

25. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), 323.

26. *The Polynesian* (Honolulu), 8 August 1846.

27. J. Stanley Gardiner, "The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* 27 (1898), 407.

28. John Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific* (London: Dawsons, 1967), 346.

29. Richard Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas: Notes on Hawaiian Emigration before 1848," *Journal of the West,* 6, No. 2 (April 1967), 221-225.

30. Archibald Campbell, *A Voyage round the World* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), 154.

31. [Edward Bell], Journal of the *Chatham,* 1791-1794, manuscript, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, I:122.

32. Campbell, "European Transculturists," 69.

33. William Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1804), 42.

34. C. S. Stewart, *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), 276.

35. Harlan Page, *A Memoir of Thomas H. Patoo of the Marquesan Islands* (Andover, Mass.: American Tract Society, 1825), 6-7.

36. John Turnbull, *A Voyage round the World* (London: Phillips, 1805), II:67.

37. Bell, Journal of the *Chatham,* 1:93-97.

38. John Rawson Elder (ed.), *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden* (Dunedin: Wilkie, 1932), 81-82, 125-127; John Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton, 1971), 1:92-96, 240-241, 11:209-220; Peter Dillon, *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas* (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), I:213, 327.

39. Greg Dening (ed.), *The Marquesan Journal of Edward Robarts, 1797-1824* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974), 4-5, 46-55; William Pascoe Crook, "Account of the Marquesas," typescript in George Sheehan, *Marquesan Source Materials* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1963), Part I, 150-158.

40. John Martin, *Tonga Islands: William Mariner's Account* (Tonga: Vava'u Press, 1981), 55-67, 91-92, 284; Everard Im Thurn and Leonard Wharton (eds.), *The Journal of William Lockerby* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1925), 201.

41. Dorothy Shineberg (ed.), *The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 286-290.

42. Charles Denison (ed.), *Old Slade* (Boston: Putnam, 1876), 49-101; for Wallisian oral tradition on this topic, see Edwin Burrows, "George Manini in Uvea (Wallis Island)," *Forty-fifth Annual Report, 1936* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1937), 48-51.

43. Chappell, "Beyond the Beach," 266-267.

44. C. R. Straubel (ed.), *The Whaling Journal of Captain W. B. Rhodes* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1954), 27-29, 115.

45. Henry Byam Martin, *The Polynesian Journal of Captain Henry Byam Martin* (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1981), 176.

46. For a Samoan oral tradition of this incident, see William Pila Kikuchi, "A Legend of *Kaimiloa* Hawaiians in American Samoa," in Richard Greer (ed.), *Hawaiian Historical Review: Selected Readings* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1969), 268-269.

47. Byam Martin, *Polynesian Journal,* 116, 171.

48. Wilkes, *Narrative,* III:445-448.

49. Edward Lucatt, *Rovings in the Pacific* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1851), I:325-327.

50. James Goodenough, *Journal of Commodore Goodenough* (London: King, 1876), 193-194.

51. Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967), 135, 141, 266.

52. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise,* 143-146.

53. Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1991), 111.

54. Jones, *Life and Adventure,* 132, 153.

55. C. S. Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas* (New York: Praeger, 1970), II:20-21.

56. Byam Martin, *Polynesian Journal,* 57, 116, 126-127.

57. Wilkes, *Narrative,* III:227-228.

58. Richards, "Indigenous Beachcombers," 2-9.

59. Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* 216.

60. George Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia* (London: John Snow, 1861), 358.

61. Mark Kaplanoff (ed.), *Joseph Ingraham's Journal of the Brigantine* Hope (Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1971), 43-55.

62. Turnbull, *Voyage round the World,* II:32-76.

63. Dillon, *Narrative,* I:24-25.

64. Im Thurn and Wharton, *Journal of William Lockerby,* 16-19.

65. David Hanlon and Epension Eperiam, "The Saga of Mesiol," in *Islander Resurrection* (supplement to *Guam Daily News*), 20 August 1978, 12-14.

66. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years,* 509.

67. Dillon, *Narrative,* I:289, 293.

68. Thomas Landers, Log of the *Charles W. Morgan,* 2 March 1858, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau Microfilm 316, Australian National University.

69. Wilkes, *Narrative,* II:88, 90-91, 157.

70. Karl H. Rensch, "Wallis and Futuna," in *Politics in Polynesia* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific Press, 1983), 4.

71. R. G. Ward (ed.), *American Activities in the Central Pacific 1790-1870* (Ridgewood, N. J.: Bentley, 1966), V:32, 425-426, 440, VI:394-395.

72. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise,* 344-345, 390-391.

73. Ward, *American Activities,* V:61-62, 73.

74. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise,* 327-329.

75. The Spanish repeatedly transported such "colonies" to Guam, where a small, unhappy Hawaiian community formed. See Ward, *American Activities,* I:80-86, V:277; and Otto von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Seas. . . .* (London: Longman, 1821), 11:247-248, III:86-88.

76. Ward, *American Activities,* II:16-30, III:445-448, VI:399-400; and Lionel B. Cholmondeley, *The History of the Bonin Islands* (London: Constable, 1915), 16-99, 148, 164-169.

77. Ward, *American Activities,* VI:237-239, 254; Straubel, *Whaling Journal,* 34-41.

78. Shineberg, *Sandalwood,* 17-22.

79. Ward, *American Activities,* III:311, 391, 432, IV:88, 94-95, VI:512.

80. Robert Jarman, *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in the "Japan"* (London: Longman, 1838), 186.

81. Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford: Hezekiah Huntington, 1849), 118.

82. Ward, *American Activities,* II:338.

83. Dening, *The Bounty,* 35-39; Ward, *American* Activities, VI:57-68; Stanton Garner (ed.), *The Captain's Best Mate: The Journal of May Chipman Lawrence* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1966), 68.

84. Grant McCall, *Rapanui* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981), 139-140.

85. Wilkes, *Narrative,* III:370, IV:264-265; Elder, *Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden,* 63-64.

86. Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1961), 294-296.

87. Rhys Richards, *Whaling and Sealing of the Chatham Islands* (Canberra: Roebuck Society, 1982), 43-50.

88. Lin Poyer, "The Ngatik Massacre: Documentary and Oral Traditional Accounts," *Journal of Pacific History,* 20, No. 1 (1985), 4-22.

89. Campbell, "European Transculturists," 340-347; Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses,* 33.

90. Dorothy Barrière and Marshall Sahlins, "Tahitians in the Early History of Hawaiian Christianity: The Journal of Toketa," *Hawaiian Journal of History,* 13 (1979), 20; Dorothy Barrière, "A Tahitian Journal in the History of Hawai'i: The Journal of Kahikona," *Hawaiian Journal of History,* 23 (1989), 76-77.

91. H. E. Maude, "The Raiatean Chief Auna and the Conversion of Hawaii," *Journal of Pacific History,* 8 (1973), 188-191.

92. J. D. Freeman, "The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult," in J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes (eds.), *Anthropology in the South Seas* (New Plymouth, N.Z.: Avery, 1959), 185-199.

93. John Williams, *Missionary Enterprises in the South-Sea Islands* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board, 1907), 267-311.

94. Dillon, *Narrative,* I:270-271, 299-300.

95. Nancy J. Morris, "Hawaiian Missionaries in the Marquesas," *Hawaiian Journal of History,* 13 (1979), 46-49.

96. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years,* 386-395, 454.

97. Katharine Luomala, "A Gilbertese Tradition of a Religious Massacre," *Sixty-second Annual Report, 1953* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1954), 19-25.

98. Wilkes, *Narrative,* III:385.

99. Garner, *Captain's Best Mate,* 74.

100. C. F. Wood, *A Yachting Cruise in the South Seas* (London: Henry King, 1875), 188-190.

101. Peter Corney, *Voyages in the North Pacific* (Honolulu: Thrum, 1896), 106-107.

102. John Davies, *The History of the Tahitian Mission 1799-1830,* ed. Cohn Newbury (London: Hakluyt Society, 1961), 230-231.

193. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise,* 461-462.

104. Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 251, 411, 447-455.

105. Campbell, "European Transculturists," 443-444, 454.

106. Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* 129-133.

107. Ibid., 133.

108. Dening, *The Marquesan Journal of Edward Robarts,* 47.

109. Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* 133; Nicholas Thomas, " 'Le Roi de Tahuata': Iotete and the Transformation of South Marquesan Politics, 1826-1842," *Journal of Pacific History,* 21, No. 1 (1986), 8.

110. R, Gerard Ward, "The Pacific Bêche-de-Mer Trade with Special Reference to Fiji," in R. Gerard Ward (ed.), *Man in the Pacific Islands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 113-118.

111. Thomas, *Entangled Objects,* 112.

112. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail,* 81.

113. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 182.

114. John Dominis Holt (ed.), *The Hawaiian Journal of John B. Whitman, 1813-1815* (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1979), 17. This would not be surprising, since archaeologists believe the first settlers of Hawai'i came from the Marquesas. See Patrick Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 63.

115. Adelbert von Chamisso, *A Voyage around the World* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 181-186, 267-268; Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery,* II:106.

116. Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* 34.

117. William F. Wilson (ed.), *With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825, Being Extracts from the MS Diary of James Macrae* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1922), 26, 44.

118. Dillon, *Narrative,* II:102.

119. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 317.

INHALANT ABUSE IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS: GASOLINE SNIFFING IN CHUUK, FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

Mac Marshall
University of Iowa

Rocky Sexton
University of Iowa

Lee Insko
Eastern Oregon State College

Most studies of pharmacologically active substances in Oceania have focused on betel and kava, the two major precontact drugs (for example, Brunton 1989; Burton-Bradley 1978; Lebot, Merlin, and Lindstrom 1992; Lindstrom 1987), and on beverage alcohol and tobacco, the two major introduced substances (for example, Black 1984; Brott 1981; Carucci 1987; Haddon 1947; Marshall 1979, 1982; Pinhey, Workman, and Borja 1992). Little has been published in the professional literature on illegal drugs, and what has mostly has concerned marijuana (Larson 1987; Marshall 1990, 1991a; Sterly 1979). Thus far inhalants have received no attention whatsoever, although they have been the subject of considerable recent research among Australian Aborigines (Brady 1985, 1992).

Over the past twenty-five years, concern over substance abuse in Pacific Islands countries has grown as transportation networks have improved, tourism has increased, and more islanders have traveled to Pacific Rim nations and beyond. Better transportation, more foreigners in their midst, and greater exposure to the fast life abroad all have Played a role in expanding the variety of illegal drugs available in the

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islands--particularly in the towns. These relatively new drugs--such as cocaine, heroin, and "ice" (crystal methamphetamine)--have not spread widely so far, and the major drug-related health problems in Oceania continue to be associated with the two major legal drugs: tobacco and alcoholic beverages (Marshall 1987, 1991b, 1993).

Within Oceania, concern over the abuse of illegal drugs has been especially marked in Micronesia, notably on Guam, Saipan, and Palau. These islands continue to have significant problems with marijuana and "ice," and at least until recently Guam and Palau have had to contend with heroin users as well (Duenas 1993; Evans 1987; Mason 1993). Their drug-related concerns include criminal activity associated with the smuggling of illegal drugs into, among, and through the islands to continental destinations, crimes committed by users themselves, potential mental health problems, and broader general health issues. The World Health Organization's Regional Office for the Western Pacific has acknowledged these problems by funding in recent years several short-term consultancies and by convening two conferences in Micronesia, one in Palau in June 1989 and one in Pohnpei in August 1993, the latter cosponsored by the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) government.

The direct involvement of the FSM government in the FSM/WHO Joint Conference on Alcohol and Drug-Related Problems in Micronesia, held on Pohnpei 9-13 August 1993, is a significant marker of the growing concern in the Federated States over substance abuse. In what follows we address a substance abuse issue there (which we strongly suspect will be found elsewhere in the Pacific) that so far has "fallen through the cracks": the sniffing of volatile inhalants, particularly gasoline. Inhalant abuse has not yet received attention in part because it seems to be a relatively new practice in the islands, but also because the substances that are abused by sniffers are legal, easily obtainable, and normally not viewed as drugs.

Inhalation of volatile solvents for the purpose of getting intoxicated has been recorded for most major world areas, but this practice has not been widely reported in Oceania. We have found few sources in the literature mentioning inhalant use by Pacific Islanders, and these articles all date from the 1980s. The available sources document that benzine[1] sniffing was "widespread" in Kiribati in 1982 (Daniels and Fazakerley 1983) and that sniffing of gasoline fumes, spray paint, and glue vapors all apparently occurred in Chuuk and Palau during the 1980s (Evans 1987; Larson 1987; Marshall 1991a; Oneisom 1985; Rubinstein 1980). It seems likely that inhalant abuse is much more widespread in the

Pacific Islands than the dearth of literature on the subject suggests. Given that gasoline and a number of other volatile solvents are widely used products that are readily available in most Pacific Islands countries, it is reasonable to think that a certain amount of abuse of these inhalants takes place, even if this behavior is not widely observed by foreigners. What we do not know at present is how widespread such abuse may be.

Because of the serious public health consequences of inhalant abuse, especially for youth, one of our goals here is to call attention to the paucity of data on this topic in the Pacific in hopes that researchers will begin to give it the attention it deserves. As a background to what we hope will be further work on this topic, we review the major health risks associated with inhalant abuse and then discuss general patterns of use revealed in the literature for other parts of the world. Finally, we provide some previously unpublished preliminary findings on gasoline sniffing by young people in Chuuk.

Background

Historically and cross-culturally, the controlled use of intranasally inhaled snuffs, drug powders, and gases to produce trance or elevated perception for religious, recreational, and medical purposes has been widespread among human populations (Kerner 1988). Concern with the uncontrolled abuse of industrially produced inhalants followed the first published report (in Sweden) on sniffing behavior in 1948 (Kerner 1988). Today, inhalant abuse is a worldwide problem, concentrated primarily among children and adolescents (see, e.g., Brady 1992; Dinwiddie, Reich, and Cloninger 1991; Johns 1991; Oetting et al. 1980).

Reports of inhalant abuse and resulting health problems have come from Europe, Africa, Latin America, Australia, and Asia (Kerner 1988). In Mexico, for example, excluding alcohol, the misuse of inhalants ranks second only to marijuana as the most frequent form of substance abuse (Fuente 1983). By the 1960s inhalant abuse was recognized as a major problem among adolescents in the United States, where glue sniffing incidents were reported from California as early as the 1950s (Watson 1980). A recent survey of substance use among a small sample of Brazilian university students discovered nearly all of the respondents to have sporadically inhaled ether and/or chloroform in “lanca-perfume,” a spray typically available during carnival (Silva et al. 1989).

Inhalant abuse is defined as the repeated, intentional inhalation (“sniffing,” “huffing”) of solvent vapors for the purpose of intoxication.

Many of the physiological and behavioral effects of inhalants are similar to those produced by beverage alcohol, except that hallucinations are common with inhalant intoxication (Barnes 1979). For this and other reasons, Brady argues that petrol (gasoline) sniffing leads to an altered state of a quite different order than alcohol intoxication (1985). Gasoline appears to be the most commonly abused substance, although model airplane glue, paint thinner, nail polish remover, butane and propane cigarette lighter fuel, ether, and aerosol propellants also are popular. There are various methods for using these substances: intravenous injections, direct inhalation from the commercial containers, putting the solvent in a large bowl to increase the fumes, filling a bathtub with paint thinner and closing the bathroom door, or drinking solvents in concoctions called "moose milk" and "marsh wine" (Barnes 1979).

Health Risks of Inhalant Use

A wide range of medical problems stem from extended inhalant abuse. For example, benzene depletes bone marrow cells by arresting their maturation, and there is a positive statistical relationship between chronic exposure to benzene and the development of leukemia (Gilman et al. 1985). Tetraethyl (the principal additive in leaded gasoline) has a particular affinity for nervous tissue and has been determined to cause nervous irritability, anorexia, pallor, tremor, nausea, vomiting, and occasional acute toxic delirium (Boeckx, Postl, and Coodin 1977). Prolonged inhalant abuse has caused epidemic mental retardation in various populations throughout the world (Westermeyer 1988). A specific example of such deterioration comes from a Native community in Canada:

> Alicia started sniffing gas when she was three years old. She's burnt now [at age six], and the brain damage is permanent. In class, she can't concentrate and she's lost her retention ability. She has lost her sense of balance. She sways all over the place and topples over in her chair. She falls down sixty times a day, like a Raggedy-Ann doll. She has constant bruises on her arms and legs just from falling down on the floor all the time. (Shkilnyk 1985:44)

More immediate harm can come from severe burns due to accidental ignition of volatile solvents during sniffing. Sudden death can occur from respiratory failure as a consequence of central nervous system

depression combined with respiratory irritation and bronchiolar obstruction (Nurcombe et al. 1970). Deaths caused by inhalant abuse have been reported from numerous countries. For example, twelve were reported in Finland in 1973, there were at least forty-five inhalant-related deaths in Great Britain in 1979, and at least thirty-five "sniffing deaths" occurred in Australia during the years 1981-1988 (Brady 1991; Kerner 1988). Johns (1991) cites a report that 963 deaths of young people occurred in the United Kingdom between 1971 and 1989 due to inhaling volatile solvents, with 113 of these in 1989 alone.

The medical effects of inhalant abuse vary and depend upon the type of substance used. Gilman et al. (1985) report that aerosol propellants that contain fluorinated hydrocarbons can produce cardiac arrhythmias, and ketones can produce pulmonary hypertension. Neurological impairment may occur with a variety of solvents. For example, peripheral neuropathies and progressive, fatal neurological deterioration have followed the "huffing" of lacquer thinner. Long-term inhalers of aerosol paints have suffered long-lasting brain damage (Sharp and Brehm 1977; Sharp and Carroll 1978).

A special concern in Oceania is the risk posed from sniffing leaded gasoline, to the extent that leaded, rather than unleaded, gasoline is the fuel available in some island areas.[2] Both organic and inorganic lead poisoning are problematic. Organic (tetraethyl) lead is a volatile, lipid-soluble compound used as an additive in leaded gasoline. Its toxicity is believed to be due to its metabolic conversion to triethyllead and inorganic lead (Gilman et al. 1985:1610). Tetraethyl is absorbed easily through the gastrointestinal tract and lungs, and is converted eventually to inorganic lead that endangers the brain, kidneys, liver, and periph-ml nerves.

A common effect of tetraethyl poisoning is a central-nervous-system syndrome termed lead encephalopathy, a condition that is much more common in children than adults (Gilman et al. 1985: 1608; cf. Coulehan et al. 1983). Early signs of the syndrome may be clumsiness, vertigo, ataxia, falling, headache, insomnia, restlessness, and irritability. As Gilman et al. report, "Lead poisoning in children is more dangerous than in adults, primarily because of the greater incidence of encephalopathy. The mortality rate of untreated, severe lead encephalopathy may approach 65%, and neurological sequelae are common in survivors" (1985:1610). In a study of Pueblo Indian children, Seshia et al. (1978) reported abnormal neurological signs in forty-six of fifty children and adolescents who chronically sniffed leaded gasoline. Many of the children exhibited exaggerated deep reflexes, postural tremor, and evidence of cerebellar dysfunction.

These findings should be of special concern in Micronesia since it appears that leaded gasoline is one of the major substances being sniffed there. Although their data must be viewed with great caution--because of the small numbers involved and because it is not clear how accurate self-reports by purported schizophrenics might be--Daniels and Fazakerley (1983) commented that nine of the fourteen schizophrenics under age 35 they questioned at Tungaru Central Hospital on Tarawa had sniffed benzine "at some time." Given the central-nervous-system damage that can result from tetraethyl in leaded gasoline and from prolonged abuse of other inhalants, this association may be more than fortuitous. Researchers who have studied schizophrenia in parts of Micronesia other than Kiribati have not considered the possibility that some cases seen in the islands may be at least partially related to drug abuse (Dale 1981; Kauders, MacMurray, and Hammond 1982). Although they do not mention inhalants as a possible contributing factor (not surprising in view of the paucity of information on this topic), Hezel and Wylie (1992) do entertain the possibility that alcohol and drug abuse may play a significant role in schizophrenia and other mental health problems in Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Marshall Islands. Quite clearly, the relationship of substance abuse to mental health in the Pacific calls for greater attention and researchers need to investigate patients' possible history of inhalant use along with other substances.

Populations at Risk

The particular circumstances leading to inhalant abuse are difficult to determine, considering that the practice cuts across racial, cultural, and economic groups, Any kind of uniform assessment of the problem is difficult because of the wide range of research methods and techniques used in inhalant abuse research. Many communities and investigators alike are unaware of inhalant abuse until it is identified in the course of survey research on other, more common drugs (e.g., Dinwiddie, Reich, and Cloninger 1991).

Studies that have targeted inhalant use have shown different and sometimes contradictory use patterns by age and sex. A study of a Pueblo Indian school, for instance, found that among seventy-two children ages 6 to 12, 75 percent of the males had used inhalants compared to only 50 percent of the females (Kaufman 1973). In another Pueblo school, however, a survey of nearly twenty-two hundred junior- and senior-high-school-age students suggested that females were nearly twice as likely to use inhalants as males (Carroll 1977).

Among Murngin Aborigines of Elcho Island, Australia, incidents of gasoline sniffing occurred among males ages 7 to 25 in epidemic proportions, but no females were reported to use inhalants (Nurcombe et al. 1970). By contrast, in other Aboriginal communities, such as Maningrida in the Northern Territory, females reportedly constituted one-quarter to one-third of the children involved in group sniffing outbreaks (Eastwell 1979).

Most studies suggest that inhalants are the only known drug for which use decreases with age. "Inhalant use is the only substance to show greater use among younger students," note the authors of a trend analysis of drug use by students in Ontario from 1977 to 1991 (Smart, Adlaf, and Walsh 1991:46). A survey of public-school children between the ages of 9 and 18 in Sao Paulo, Brazil, found the prevalence of recent solvent use to be highest among those aged 9 to 11, and that it decreased significantly among older students. An opposite tendency was found for marijuana, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages (Carlini-Cotrim and Carlini 1988). A similar study of Toronto schoolchildren found inhalant use peaked around the grade six or seven level (Smart et al. 1969, cited in Barnes 1979).

It is relatively easy for young children to obtain inhalants such as gasoline, considering the fuel's use in automobiles, outboard motors, and farm machinery in most contemporary societies. In addition, the ready availability of glues, paint thinners, butane lighter fuel, and other solvents adds to the accessibility of potentially lethal inhalants. Inhalant use by very young children, and a corresponding decrease in use with age, suggests that inhalants might serve as "gateway drugs" in an escalation toward tobacco, alcohol, or marijuana use (Carlini-Cotrim and Carlini 1988). However, if one accepts the definition of escalation as "the use of a relatively mild mood altering substance early on with the addition of other relatively strong mood altering substances at a later time" (Coombs, Fawzy, and Gerber 1984:63), then viewing inhalants as gateway drugs is problematic. This is because the degree of intoxication, and resulting physical and psychological problems, associated with inhalants can be stronger and more dangerous than with drugs such as alcohol or marijuana. In extreme cases of inhalant abuse a child's mental and physical abilities may be permanently damaged long before "escalation" to another drug.

Methods of the Chuuk Survey

During a one-week period in late April 1985, two college classes comprising schoolteachers from Chuuk, FSM, were briefed by Insko and

then carried out a drug survey in several schools on Weene Island under his general supervision. Despite certain methodological difficulties with this survey (e.g., respondent's sex was not recorded), it represents the only questionnaire-based study for the Pacific Islands that provides data on inhalant abuse (gasoline sniffing) by schoolchildren.

The self-reporting questionnaire was administered to a total of 852 students in fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth grades in six schools. Those who gave the survey to the students were not their regular classroom teachers. (Many students in Chuuk are two to three years older than their counterparts in the United States at the time they enter school. Thus, fourth graders in Chuuk typically are ages 9 to 12.) Fourth and sixth graders were given an anonymous questionnaire to be filled out in class in the local language. Eighth, tenth, and twelfth graders were given the same questionnaire in English on the assumption that their English comprehension skills were better than those of the younger students. After the forms had been filled out and placed face down on the surveyor's desk, the answer sheets were gathered by a class member and shuffled to further assure student anonymity.

The questionnaire included queries on the use of alcoholic beverages, marijuana, tobacco, and gasoline sniffing. Data on the first three substances will be reported elsewhere. For the last of these substances, the specific questions asked were: Have you [ever] sniffed gasoline? How often have you sniffed it in the last week?

Results and Discussion of the Chuuk Survey

The responses to the first of these two questions are summarized in Table 1. Nearly 10 percent of the total sample had sniffed gasoline. Although in the overall percentage of users gasoline was the least used of the four substances surveyed, among the fourth, sixth, and eighth graders who responded to the questionnaire sniffing gasoline was the second most common drug experience after smoking tobacco in rank order of the number of users by grade (Table 2). For tenth and twelfth graders, while gasoline sniffing still occurred, it ranked last among the four drugs in the number of those who used it. This finding suggests that in Chuuk, as in other parts of the world, inhalant use is especially likely to occur in younger age groups and that education and prevention programs should be targeted at them.

With an important qualifier, the Chuuk data also suggest that gasoline sniffing declines with age. Note in Table 1 that the percentage of eighth graders who had ever sniffed is basically the same as the percent-

TABLE 1. **Students on Weene Island, Chuuk, Who Had Ever Sniffed Gasoline, by School Grade, April 1985**

Grade	No. of Students	Percentage of Total Sample	Percentage Who Sniffed
Four	152	18	3.3[a]
Six	168	20	11.3[a]
Eight	147	17	13.6
Ten	136	16	4.4
Twelve	249	29	13.7
Total	852	100	9.9

[a]By comparison, Evans reports that a "study carried out by the Mental Health Programme of the Health Services Bureau . . . in one of Palau's Elementary Schools showed that of 97 children 21% had experimented with alcohol, 10.8% with marijuana and 29.2% with sniffing materials. These children were aged 11 and 12 years" (1987:16).

TABLE 2. **Rank Order of Drugs Used by Students on Weene Island, Chuuk, by School Grade, April 1985**

	Rank Order			
Grade	Tobacco	Gasoline	Alcohol	Marijuana
Four	1 (*N* = 13)	2 (*N* = 5)	4 (*N* = 0)	3 (*N* = 4)
Six	1 (*N* = 24)	2 (*N* = 19)	3 (*N*= 9)	4 (*N* = 7)
Eight	1 (*N* = 21)	2 (*N* = 20)	3 (*N* = 15)	4 (*N* = 14)
Ten	1 (*N* = 18)	4 (*N* = 6)	2 (*N* = 10)	3 (*N* = 9)
Twelve	1 (*N* = 94)	4 (*N* = 34)	2 (*N* = 81)	3 (*N* = 71)
Total Users	170	84	115	105
Percentage Users	19.9	9.9	13.5	12.3

age of twelfth graders who had ever done so. The low reported percentage of tenth graders who ever sniffed (approximately one-third that of eighth and twelfth graders) probably can be accounted for by a flaw in the study design. All grade levels sampled *except* tenth graders included only public-school students. The tenth grade sample comprised students from both a public junior high school and a Protestant mission-sponsored school, and unfortunately there is no way to disaggregate the data. Inclusion of students from a church school, where there was parental, peer, and institutional pressure on students to meet more strict standards of social behavior, is likely to have contaminated the tenth-grade results by leading to an underreporting of substance use.

The percentages of those sixth, eighth, and twelfth graders from Chuuk who have ever sniffed gasoline are very similar to findings reported for two different populations of schoolchildren in the United States. Johnson et al, (1971) surveyed 2,752 Oregon high school students and reported that between 12.3 and 18.7 percent of the boys and 2.0 and 10.5 percent of the girls had ever used inhalants. More recently, Chavez and Swaim (1992) compared 3,384 Mexican-American and 3,790 white non-Hispanic eighth and twelfth graders regarding "lifetime prevalences" of substance use. The percentage of students who had ever used inhalants of any sort ranged from 12.1 to 16.5.

Preventive measures used in various parts of the world to try to halt inhalant abuse include legislating against the sale of solvents to children. For example, a recent childcare bill in Ireland includes a one-year jail sentence and a $2000 fine for shopkeepers who knowingly sell products to youth such as butane and propane cigarette lighters, paint thinner, nail polish remover, solvent-based glues and adhesives, and most products in aerosol containers (Birchard 1989). In Mexico, measures have been taken to replace the benzene in thinners with less-toxic ingredients (Kerner 1988). Also, educational campaigns that target parents, children, manufacturers, and retailers have been instituted. Other measures include doctoring products to make sniffing unappealing, or altogether eliminating the intoxicating elements in commercial solvents. Legislation against the sale of such things as paint thinner or nail polish remover may be effective, but similar efforts to regulate the purchase and use of gasoline would be well nigh impossible from a practical point of view. In the case of gasoline, the best form of prevention may involve educating parents and children about its potentially harmful effects so that inhaling its fumes becomes recognized as a dangerous and possibly lethal practice. Presently, there are no educational programs for either parents or children in Chuuk that provide information about the serious health risks posed by gasoline sniffing.

Conclusions

Inhalant abuse is a worldwide problem found especially among preadolescent and early adolescent youth. Recurrent inhalation of volatile solvents, including unleaded or leaded gasoline, poses serious immediate physical and mental health risks, and may lead to long-term health care costs due to permanent impairment. Based upon our literature review and the survey of schoolchildren in Chuuk, there is strong reason to believe that inhalant abuse is a problem among Pacific Islands youth, as it is in most other parts of the world.

The limited data that we report on gasoline sniffing by schoolchildren in Chuuk suggest that the general pattern of abuse found in other populations holds for Chuuk as well. This pattern involves experiments with inhalants by preadolescent children with substitution of other psychoactive substances (e.g., alcohol, tobacco, marijuana) as they mature. Unfortunately, given the neurotoxicity and other potential problems posed by the abuse of most inhalants, young people who regularly use these substances run a serious risk of permanently damaging themselves and adding to the physical and mental health burden of their societies. It is imperative that we obtain more and better data on inhalant use in Pacific Islands societies that can be used to develop effective community-based public health prevention programs. Future researchers are strongly urged to explore this topic along with the related issues of drug studies, mental health, pediatrics, and juvenile and adolescent social problems.

NOTES

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1. Benzine and benzene are both colorless, inflammable liquids obtained by fractional distillation of petroleum (benzine) and coal tar (benzene). Benzine is used as a motor fuel and a solvent for fats and oils in dry cleaning. Benzene is used as a solvent for fats and in making lacquers, varnishes, many dyes, and other organic compounds. A natural constituent of auto fuels, benzene is very toxic.

2. During Marshall's visit to Pohnpei and Chuuk to attend the FSM/WHO Joint Conference on Alcohol and Drug-Related Problems in Micronesia in August 1993, he learned that most gasoline used for outboard motors in the Federated States of Micronesia is leaded rather than unleaded. He was also told by reliable sources of a miniepidemic of gasoline sniffing on Pingelap Atoll, and of recent sniffing incidents on Romonum Island and Namoluk Atoll. This suggests that gasoline sniffing in the Federated States of Micronesia is more Widespread than has been recognized and that it occurs in communities away from the urban areas as well as in the towns.

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EFFEMINATE MALES AND CHANGES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IN TONGA

Kerry E. James
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

The earlier term *tangata fakafefine,* "a man behaving like a woman," denoted those males who preferred women's work. The modern term *fakaleiti,* derived from the English "lady," now refers to a much wider range of behavior, including homosexuality, Western-style transvestism, and drag queen beauty contests and cabarets. Contact with Western sexual mores and culture partly account for increasing numbers of *fakaleiti* in towns. More significant, perhaps, are the difficulties of constructing a viable identity as a Tongan man today, in contrast to the continuities of Tongan womanhood, which might encourage effeminate boys to accentuate their feminine characteristics and gain, thereby, a social identity and the protection of older women against the hostility shown towards male effeminates by masculine men in Tonga.

Male effeminacy and transvestism are well known in Polynesia from the accounts of Tahiti (Levy 1971, 1973; Oliver 1974, vol. 2), Hawai'i (Souza 1976; Williams 1985, 1986; Morris 1990), and Samoa (Shore 1978, 1981; Schoeffel 1979; Mageo 1992). But Tonga is rarely mentioned, although effeminates have been there for many generations and are increasing in number. This article brings the Tongan ethnographic record of male effeminacy up to date, as far as records exist, from the last century to the present. In some cases, the discontinuities between present behavior patterns and those of the *fakafafine* of former times are so marked that they constitute a structural transformation of the older tradition. I will distinguish between the older and the modern forms of behavior and go on to suggest possible explanations for the increased numbers of male effeminate apparent in Tongan towns today.

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Cultural constructions of *tangata fakafafine* (men who behave like [Tongan] women) appear clear-cut, possibly because the finer details of their comportment and behavior have been lost over time. ***Fakafāfine***, it seems, were defined primarily by a preference for women's work and company and only secondarily by feminine dress and mannerisms. They were not expected or known to engage in sexual relations with men. A few ***fakafāfine*** still live today in rural areas, cooking, sewing, and helping their female relatives make mats and tapa cloth. The more contemporary or modern *tangata fakaleiti* (males who behave like ladies) tend to live in town. Some have professional careers, marry and have children, but are still designated as *fakaleiti.* In this behavior they show marked continuities with the older cultural tradition of *fakafafine* (womanish or effeminate men). Others are creating a modern stereotype that emphasizes female European or Tongan transvestism, an exaggerated "feminine" manner, and same-sex objects of erotic desire (cf. Whitehead 1981:98).

Fakaleitī make status distinctions among themselves based on lifestyle and personal behavior, which can vary a great deal. Individuals play up or tone down the "camp" aspects of their behavior depending on the social context. Some attired in Western drag queen-style dress may "vamp" men in the bars, discos, and at *leiti* beauty pageants in the capital, Nuku'alofa, and engage more or less discreetly in same-sex sexual activity. From all accounts, however, the greater number of *fakaleiti* probably do not. In either case, they can perform usefully in business, particularly the budding tourist industry; in government bureaucratic positions; or as professional entertainers.

The more openly promiscuous *fakaleiti,* and male prostitutes, are not generally liked. Homophobia is strong in Tonga, especially among Tongan men, whether or not they use the *fakaleiti* "as women." Most of the customers and steady boyfriends of the *fakaleiti* are tourists and yachtsmen, many of whom come to Tonga expressly to meet them. The commercialization of sexual practices is said to have increased in the 1970s with the greater influx of foreign visitors (MacFarlane 1983:11). But neither the blatantly sexually active *fakaleiti* nor the female prostitutes *(fokisi)* with whom they frequently associate are well regarded in the society.[1]

Tongan law prohibits males from having sexual relations with one another, and some of the *fakaleiti* have been prosecuted (Danielsson et al, 1978: 13). Heterosexual Tongan men who use a *fakaleiti* simply as a substitute woman for sexual purposes regard the act as mildly degrading and may, later, threaten or physically abuse the effeminate partner

because of the liaison. Homosexuality was almost certainly made a crime in Tonga because of the influence of British law. But it may be disliked independently in Tonga because it upsets the social order and is socially unproductive: It results neither in children nor in other socially valued outcomes that marriage or heterosexual relations have, such as the creation of strong relationships beyond those of the extended family.[2] If anything, the practice is destructive of Tongan values that center upon fertility and fecundity.

The question of why effeminate males appear at all in the population remains unanswered, but I examine several explanations put forward by Tongans and others for their recent increase in numbers. The most fruitful area of inquiry may lie in the difficulties that Tongan men currently experience in the construction of viable masculine roles. The cultural construction and meaning of gender differences have changed, particularly in the main towns in Tonga, and, significantly, so has the playing out of sexual politics between men and women. Females who behave "like men" *(fafine tangata)* are also present in Tonga, as in Samoa and elsewhere in Polynesia (O'Meara 1990:71; Besnier 1994: 288). They also find their salience in the construction and politics of gender but I will not discuss them here because their numbers are few and their characteristics are far from being mirror images of those distinguishing male *fakaleitī.*

The Early Record

Reports of male effeminacy abound from visitors' early contact with Eastern Polynesian islands (see Danielsson et al. 1978:11; Levy 1971: 12-13; Levy 1973:132-141), but only three scant references to it are found in the early records of Tonga, and in neighboring Samoa there are none at all (see Mageo 1992:443). The earliest reference to Tonga--in the first decade of the last century--denies that effeminacy and homosexual practices exist there, the second nineteenth-century reference is obscure, and the third--from the early 1920s--is marred by a confusion of terms.

Mariner, who as a boy was shipwrecked in Tonga from 1806 to 1810, freely describes the heterosexual mores of the people but says that they know nothing of "certain preposterous habits, . . . which have been said to infect the natives of some South Seas islands." Martin, his editor, upholds the morals of the Tongans, comparing them favorably with those of the English and adding, "If, on the other hand, we compare them to the natives of the Society Islands, and the Sandwich Islands, we

should add insult to injustice" (Martin [1817] 1981, 2:330). Unless Mariner lied or we twist logical canons so that a direct disclaimer of such behavior is taken as obscure evidence to its presence, we have to accept that the boy Mariner met with no ***fakafāfine***. Either there were none, or they were few and their presence was unremarkable.

Fakafafine are not mentioned either in mission reports, which began in earnest in the 1820s, except for a single note that the Methodist missionary Rabone included in a vocabulary list published in 1845. The "noun" *fakafafine* is defined as "A Monster" and the adjective *fakafefine* merely as "Effeminate, womanish" or as a verb, "To act like a woman" (Rabone 1845:51).[3] The lack of detail is curious because the early missionaries did not flinch from describing in detail that which they regarded as sexual license (Campbell 1992:101; see also Mageo 1992:443). If effeminacy or transvestism were evident, even if only minimally, there would surely be mention of "unnatural vice" in the Tongan Wesleyan literature.

Why did the minister find a *"fakafafine"* to be a monster? We are not told. Another missionary, Baker, copied Rabone's definition into his own dictionary at the end of the last century. "Baker's definition" was then seized upon by Gifford in the 1920s for his brief account of Tongan "Berdaches" (1929: 203-204), which manages to confuse the issue further. "Berdache" is a term that has frequently been used ambiguously as a synonym for homosexuality, hermaphroditism, and transvestism in addition to effeminism: diverse characterizations that are incommensurable and not necessarily related empirically (Callender and Kochems 1983:443).

During a nine-month sojourn in Tonga in 1920-1921, Gifford found little evidence of *"fakafafine":*

> Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island [in Haʻapai, the middle group of islands in the Tongan archipelago], vouchsafed information concerning [berdaches]. He said that anciently "there were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tongatabu. The informant knew of no special activities of berdaches, except that they took part in fighting like men. (1929:204)

The informant's remark that *fakafafine* fought "like men" might possibly explain why they were not previously noticed. Mariner makes clear that fighting was regarded exclusively as a masculine activity. Gifford adds that the "[t]wo adjectives, *fakafefine* [plural] and *fakafafine*

[singular], are used to characterize 'men who have the habits of women and do the work of women' " (1929:203-204). Apart from his inversion of the singular and plural forms, Gifford's report from the Ha'apai man accords well with information that I received over sixty years later from people who were children in 1920 and who thought that *fakafafine* had never been numerous. Gifford's final statement, "The informant conceived the *fakafefine* as hermaphrodites rather than as real males with feminine tendencies" (1929:204), is much more contentious because there is no suggestion from people today that *fakafafine* ever combined physiological sexual attributes. Perhaps Gifford was already expecting that the answers to his questions about "berdaches" would involve hermaphroditism.[4]

Oral Traditions concerning *Fakafafine*

In the early 1980s, I asked a number of elderly people in their late sixties or early seventies to tell me about the *fakafafine.* Their own recollections went back no earlier than the 1920s when Gifford collected his material, but they sometimes added things that their parents had told them. All of these informants spoke in a very matter-of-fact way about the *fakafafine* and described them as men who simply preferred "women's work' (cf. O'Meara 1990:71 on Samoa; Levy 1973:130-132 on Tahiti), In the 1920s and 1930s, men's and women's work was clearly distinguished: Most women performed "light" work in and around the home where they were always effectively chaperoned by others, and men did "heavy" work some distance away, either fishing, cultivating crops, or making copra in their gardens. The bureaucracies of church and state were poorly developed and almost all the available positions were held by men. Only one or two women in the 1920s had jobs as clerk-typists for the government.

Temporarily carrying out tasks associated with the other sex because of illness or absence of family members would not of itself indicate a status change or excite comment (O'Meara 1990:72). But *fakafafine* were boys who from an early age wanted always to be with women and showed interest only in women's occupations, particularly in the manufacture of fine mats and decorated tapa cloth *(ngatu).* Mats and bark-cloth bore special cosmological associations with the cultural construction of Tongan femininity.[5] Goddesses were believed to have woven mats that are still of great mythical and political significance to the highest-ranking aristocrats. Tapa was and is still an integral part of chiefly installations and other important ceremonies (James 1988,

1991). The divinely countenanced work was women's essence, "their proper occupation," wrote Mariner (Martin [1817] 1981, 2:364). He noted also that women were valuable prizes in warfare because they could produce these wealth items for their captors (Martin [1817] 1981, 1:139). Most producers were women of "some rank"; that is, they were neither of the highest nor of the lowest order in society. By excelling in craft manufacture, they could earn prestige and become prosperous (Martin [1817] 1981, 2:297, 368). Girl babies commonly had their umbilical cords cut on the *ike* (tapa-beating mallet) and their afterbirth was buried beneath a *hiapo* (*Broussonetia papyrifera,* the Chinese mulberry tree whose bark is used for making tapa), practices that are still sometimes carried out to ensure womanly skills. "Women," thus, "were considered to be guardians of a mystical heritage and to have a close relationship with the gods, looking after them by creating traditional mats and weaving" (Taufe'ulungaki 1992). High-ranking virgins were valued more for their reproductive potential than for material production because in this highly rank-conscious society women were the conduits of birth rank. Significantly, special mats and tapa and children can be referred to in Tonga as "wealth" *(koloa).*

Fakafāfine could not substitute for women in marriage or through adoption, but their skill in production of the material articles that frequently stood in for people in ritual exchanges--in the same way as did fine mats *('ie toga)* in Samoa (Weiner 1989:38, 52) and *tabua* (whales' teeth) in Fiji (James 1992:91)--gave them a "womanly" identity. The work of *fakafafine* could earn them worthy reputations without endangering the elaborate Tongan mystique of domination, which was built, in any case, more upon rank than upon gender distinctions (James 1992: 86). Effeminate males were often welcomed to women's work groups because of their strength and stamina and, as in other societies, many became admired for their superior "womanly" skills (Besnier 1994:296).

Secondary Characteristics of the Fakafafine

Feminine mannerisms, such as coyness, rapid facial and hand movements, high soft voices, and delicate gait, were secondary to the definition of a male as *fakafafine.* Dress was ambiguous, because in Tonga clothing is usually a wraparound skirt and loose overshirt, a style that does not lend itself to precise gender identification. There is no suggestion that the *fakafafine* wore makeup or brassieres as *fakaleiti* might today. But, at the time, neither the commodities nor the money to buy

them were freely available. *Fakafafine* were not mocked unless they made themselves ridiculous. They were popular with women and free in their company, unlike other Tongan men. Women tease one another with sexual puns and allusions while they work and the *fakafafine* amused them greatly with salacious jokes often based on their combination of gender traits. Most of all, they enjoyed gossip, which made them in the Tongan view as being extremely "like women"! *Fakafafine* frequently became women's confidantes; but the confidences women shared were rarely guarded secrets because of the *fakafafine* penchant for gossip. Women also used *fakafafine* to get "news" around because *fakafafine,* as males, would speak out in an audacious manner not considered appropriate for a woman. Outspokenness is still characteristic of *fakafafine* and still used, especially by people of high rank who want to confront people but maintain their own dignity.

Past generations of *fakafafine* mostly married and often married women of quality because the males, though effeminate, were well regarded for their skills and, also, often came from good families. In the 1950s, two *fakafafine* lived together in a house in Nuku'alofa and ran a bakery. After some years, one moved out to marry. Others, who are relatives of my informants, then moved from Ha'apai, Tonga's middle group of islands to the north of Tongatapu, into the house, which became known as a *fakafafine* residence in Nuku'alofa but not with any connotation of sexual relations between the *fakafafine* residents. Married *fakafafine* retained the label for life, in contrast to the Tahitian *mahu* (Levy 1973:133). The term in Tonga was not derogatory nor did it designate a necessarily degraded status. Male effeminacy is neither welcomed nor morally condemned in Tonga, but promiscuous homosexuality on the part of effeminate men almost always is.

Were the Fakafafine *Homosexual?*

The question is important because, although homosexuality is becoming part of the stereotype of the modern *fakaleiti,* Tongans, including present-day *fakaleiti,* agree that the practice was formerly deplored and barred. I have been told repeatedly by different people, "Had any one of them tried anything like that, they would have been beaten within an inch of their lives or killed by the men." It is now unfashionable to say that homosexuality could never have existed in a society, especially when speaking of effeminate men (Besnier 1994:285; Callender and Kochems 1983:450). But, equally, how can one claim that homosexual-

ity must have existed when there is no evidence of it? The early missionaries would surely have been quick to point it out in their condemnation of all "sinfulness" (Campbell 1992:100).

Absolute certainty in private matters of sex is rarely possible, unless one has been a partner in the sexual exchange. But it is clear that homosexuality was not part of the "ideal type" of a *fakafefine* in Tongan culture as, indeed, it might not have been among the Samoan *fa'afafine* in the past, especially in rural areas (Schoeffel 1979:203-204; Mageo 1992: 454-455). Some people in the world have genuinely never heard of homosexuality (Whitehead 1981:81, 111n. 1). If individual ***fakafāfine*** had desired sexual contact with masculine men, the sheer social unacceptability of such acts and the negative controls exerted appear to have effectively prevented them from expressing such erotic desires.

In rural Tonga, there is a tendency still for effeminate males to be referred to as ***fakafāfine*** and for them to behave in accord with the older tradition. In 1989, I met a slightly built man in his mid-thirties, who lived quietly with his parents and worked as a dressmaker on the outskirts of Pangai, in Ha'apai. The man was dressed simply in a shirt and *vala* (wraparound cloth falling from the waist almost to the ankle), giggled behind his hand, shifted coyly, and spoke in a high, soft voice with lowered head and many shy sideways glances at my hostess, a well-respected Ha'apai woman, who had her children's school uniforms made by him. As we walked away, she explained that he was a good seamstress and added casually that he was a *fakafefine.* I asked if there was any suggestion of homosexuality regarding him. She shook her head and said firmly, "No, I've known him all his life. That sort of thing would never be tolerated here; it only happens in Nuku'alofa. If they [the *fakafafine*] want to do that sort of thing, they have to go to town." I have heard of a very few other *fakafafine* today who live in rural areas and help their female relatives sew, weave, make tapa, cook, clean, and launder. There is no suggestion that they have sexual relations with men or that their numbers are deliberately limited or, conversely, that every village has one, contrary to reports from both Samoa (Schoeffel 1979: 203) and Tahiti (Levy 1973:132).[6]

I met another man who comes from an extremely noble family and is known in Tonga today as a *"fakafefine."* Now in his mid-sixties, he has lived most of his life overseas where he worked as a musician. When he returns to Tonga he is treated with respect because of his aristocratic birth, his older brother's political position, and his knowledge of protocol, music, dress, and banqueting food for ceremonial occasions. His fits of artistic temper are attributed, characteristically, to his status as a

fakafefine. I was told that he had sexual relations with men, "but only in Sydney so he doesn't disgrace his family here." The remoteness of his alleged behavior might cast doubt on its substance; it also illustrates the social pressures against this behavior in Tonga, which may be relieved by the anonymity of living overseas in a different culture.

Rabone's idea early last century, that the *fakafafine* was "a monster," is not born out by Tongans who, after 150 years of Christianization, clearly do not regard them as such. No one I have spoken to has suggested that *fakafafine* are hermaphrodites or men forced into the pretense of being women in their physiological parts. Work established the female component of a *fakafefine's* identity as his anatomy did the male. The combination of the two dimensions gave rise to his special designation as a *tangata fakafefine,* a special status recognized by his release, particularly by senior women, from tabooed behavior regarded as binding upon masculine boys. The gendered components of the term (and the lack of a special gender-unrelated term to describe them in a language that has very few gender-specific words), suggest that, ontologically, Tongans never regarded the special status as being "liminal," necessarily "socially inferior," "betwixt and between" (Besnier 1994: 287), or as part of "Polynesia's third sex" (MacFarlane 1983). On the contrary, the *fakafefine* status, while neither wholly masculine nor wholly feminine, could gain distinction and even power from the combination of two distinct genders.

From the 1920s until Today

Fakafafine are not mentioned again in publications on Tonga between the 1920s and the 1960s. Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941), for example, in their brief survey in 1939 of a rural Tongan village, Pangaimotu in Vava'u, made no mention of any *fakafafine.* They were not biased against reporting them since they had described a "wakawawine" in their ethnography of Pukapuka completed a few years previously. But they were in Pangai for only six weeks and may simply not have met any, especially if *fakafafine* were neither numerous nor noteworthy.

Perhaps rural *fakafafine* were already migrating to Nuku'alofa. By the early 1960s, an increasingly urbanized population led to the modest growth of commercial opportunities in the capital. As commercialization challenged Tongan gender conventions, new roles became available for *fakafafine* whose status was established sufficiently to provide a viable alternative to the family as a basis for business organization. Their common work roles may well have contributed to their coopera-

tion and consciousness of themselves as an entrepreneurial group at a time when mats and tapa were still seen as measures of wealth together with more newly introduced symbols of prestige (Walsh 1964:208). As Walsh remarked,

> The main activities in the bazaar sector are small-scale trading. . . . In some cases the people involved are middlemen acting for villagers, and one group, the *fakafefine,* have some form of loose cooperation which cuts across kin affiliations. The *fakafefine* . . . work in teams, each team jealously guarding its round of customers. Some have groups of women manufacturing the articles they sell and most have trading arrangements beyond Nuku'alofa and sometimes beyond Tonga. The *fakafefine,* however, are not typical. The unit of organisation (for most Tongans involved in the bazaar sector) is the family or people of the immediate neighbourhood. . . .
>
> A few local men are noted for their tortoiseshell work and a group of men locally labelled as *fakafefine* are organised into a loose association which supplies materials to local women who are paid by them either directly or when the finished articles are sold. (1964:116)

At the time, a woman would rarely engage in forms of activity away from home by herself for fear of accusations of sexual impropriety. But *fakafafine* could cross gender boundaries and transcend their social limitations. Although not uniting the sexes in their physiological parts, they were often the means of connecting them in practice. Accordingly, many *fakafafine* in these years became profitable "middlemen" by not only making handicrafts but also moving freely into the market place to get supplies and sales, haggling and negotiating with men, as Tongan women could not. The increasingly urbanized base, their links with one another as a self-conscious group, and their links with a range of new types of people and activities wrought changes to the older traditions of the *fakafāfine,* signified by the introduction of a new term--*fakaleiti.*

Fakaleitī: A New Term and New Behavior

The modern term *fakaleitī,* a man who "behaves like a lady," is fast becoming the generic term in Tonga for all effeminate males. The term almost certainly appeared first in the late 1950s in Nuku'alofa, which is always in the forefront of innovation and cultural change in Tonga.

More English-speaking foreigners pass through the main town and, in the 1960s and 1970s, more tourists and cruise ships called there than in other parts of the kingdom. The new government secondary school, Tonga High School, begun in 1948, gave instruction principally in English and was also coeducational. The generation of school pupils in the late 1950s and early 1960s was the first to be truly comfortable in English and boys, who would be beaten for their girlish ways in all-boy schools, could now hang out with girls at school. There were few effeminate boys in the Free Wesleyan boys' boarding college, Tupou College, located outside Nuku'alofa, but it is said that *fakaleiti* were numerous at the coeducational Anglican school, St. Andrew's, in town. One woman told me also that in the generation before her entrance to Form 1 at Tonga High in 1963 there were few effeminates but in the generations following, "you could hardly move at school for *fakaleiti!* Their use of the word for 'lady' was just part of their showy ways, to show off their knowledge of English and Western ways." As one *fakaleiti* told me in 1992, "*Fakaleiti* is 'the modern term for modern [effeminate] people' "!

Much of the behavior might have been a youthful flourish, a copying of currently fashionable mannerisms, because both the terms *fakafafine* and *fakaleiti* can be used loosely of a boy to describe girlish behavior, such as gossiping or staying in the house area cooking with the women rather than working outside the domestic compound. Studying, reading, and extended discussion may also indicate non-manly behavior to manual laborers. At the Tongan History Conference held in Ha'apai in 1989, an angry farmer said to speakers from 'Atenisi, a Tongan tertiary institution, "if you just talk, talk like this, you'll all end up *fakaleiti!*"--a comment that was greeted with derision by the Tongan scholars, but their laughter was uncomfortable. The negative image of Tongan manhood represented by *fakaleiti* acts as an effective reprimand although it by no means explains their presence (contra Levy 1973473).

In the rest of this article I will explore what "acting as a lady," with its self-consciously foreign-derived connotations, means today in Tongan society and culture. The *fakafefine* was defined primarily by his preference for Tongan women's work, but the distinctions between men's and Women's work are now not as clear-cut in the modern sphere as they were in the case of traditional activities. Newly introduced occupations have not been distributed according to traditional notions of gender and certainly do not have the slightest cosmological associations to buttress their significance. A *fakafefine* acted "like a [Tongan] woman" properly by Tongan standards, whereas not all *fakaleiti* feel the same constraints. Nevertheless, *fakaleiti* still prefer "light" clean work to heavy outside

work and tend to take on primarily women's jobs in Tonga, such as selling household goods or women's items in retail stores and acting as secretaries or receptionists for business firms (cf. O'Meara 1990: 71).

Their positions in the teaching profession and as government clerks are, however, rather more ambiguous and open to interpretation. Although primary and secondary school teaching is seen in many Western societies predominantly as women's work, a shortage of jobs and the strong desire for white-collar employment in Tonga motivates men to take up teaching as well as lowly office jobs, such as clerking, filing, and accounting, in both government and church bureaucracies. As a result, those jobs are not seen solely as "women's work." Many *fakaleitī* are clever, well educated, and hold influential positions in government bureaucracies; one is the principal of a government high school (cf. O'Meara 1990:71). He is known as a *fakaleitī* who has never consorted with men. He is married and, after school, he helps his wife with her work around the house rather than gardening or fishing with other men. He does not wear makeup or nail polish or dress in an obviously feminine way although he is effeminate in his voice and mannerisms. By demonstrating his ability in education and by marrying, this man has not relinquished either his *fakaleitī* status or his career ambitions. But then, he is clever, from a well-connected family, and not known to be a homosexual.

Many effeminate boys have been petted like girls by their doting mothers or grandmothers but opt for the masculine role when they begin secondary school. Others remain effeminate but do not later assume homosexual roles. One young man who was brought up as an effeminate by his parents holds a good position in a government bureaucracy. He is highly strung and temperamental, dresses in an ambiguous fashion, rarely wears makeup, but gossips continually. In his thirties, he is not married and still lives with his parents. He has neither male lovers nor girlfriends. After work, he helps his mother rather than help his father with more "manly" pursuits. Another male who was similarly brought up is now married with children. He was the youngest child and only son of nine children. His eight older sisters made a pet of him, plaited his long hair, dressed him in frills and flounces, and treated him "as a doll." He, too, now has a government position of considerable responsibility and is carving out for himself an enviable social and political niche. He neither cross-dresses nor is he homosexual. In these cases, male effeminacy is not associated with a lack of sexual restraint and decorum, as has been suggested recently for Western Polynesia (Besnier 1994:302-303). Instead, it is masculine men in Tonga who are stereotyped as sexually predatory, fathering numbers of children in and out of

wedlock and conducting numerous premarital or extramarital affairs. Partly by their sexual rectitude, many effeminates who are not practicing homosexuals also show that they are not masculine men.

Today, as throughout its history, it may be assumed that Tongan culture and society have shared complex structures of gender relations, involving several simultaneous sets of alternative conceptions and forms of expression of gender differences for individuals of similar or differing rank, kinship, birth status, and generation. Virginity is now highly valued in all unmarried Tongan daughters, particularly the eldest but, formerly, virginity was probably most carefully valued and guarded among only the highest-ranking women in the land because of its mystical potency and its political value in marriage and alliance. Tongans today have a choice not only between their own customary gender behaviors now that commoners are permitted to follow chiefly ways (a privilege not accorded to them before the 1875 Constitution), but also may choose from among models provided by the different gender relations and sexual behaviors that they perceive as normative among Europeans. *Fakaleitī* may model their "feminine" behavior from a greater variety of roles than was available to most *fakafāfine*. Thus, a *fakaleiti* may take part in a dignified Tongan ceremonial on one occasion and dress as a Western "vamp" of the 1940s on another. This is not, I think, because the Polynesian concept of personhood is any more "multifaceted' or determined by context than that of Westerners (Besnier 1994:303), but because, like people in many other cultures, they choose to behave in one way or another. Thus, *fakaleiti* can play out competing ideas in Tonga about gender roles and manifest the antimonies between traditional and European cultural accretions in their personal behavior, in *fakaleiti* beauty pageants, and in hotel cabaret acts, which capture and caricature both traditional and modern Tongan and Western stereotypes. *Fakaleitī* often act unlike either ordinary Tongan or European women but seek to create an exaggerated type of femininity associated mainly with Western stage transvestites and female impersonators, such as Danny la Rue or Dame Edna Everage, an observation that has also been made of Samoan *fa'afāfine* (Shore 1981:209; O'Meara 1990:71n. 13).

Somewhat surprising to Western notions, ordinary young Tongan men are also likely to appear suddenly sporting nail polish or wearing European dresses. The insignia are not Tongan and do not always have the same significance that cross-dressing has in Western society. Youths might do it to ornament themselves or to amuse (Cowling 1990:192).[7] On one offshore island in Vava'u, I accompanied a picnic party that included an extremely masculine youth who, having been roused with

some difficulty after a long night of kava drinking, deemed fit to don his mother's long pink dress for the day. He built fires, collected and broke open coconuts, killed and cooked piglets, and speared a large fish in the lagoon, all while wearing the dress "to make funny for the picnic," said my host.

Effeminate males, however, demonstrate a range of behavior today in Tonga that varies from simple or elaborate forms of transvestism, casual or desperately "romantic" (in Western terms) liaisons with tourists or resident expatriate men, to male prostitution with both European and Tongan men, These *fakaleiti* attract the greatest attention from Western observers and, increasingly, from the Tongans themselves. It is worthwhile, therefore, to consider the range of variation among the *fakaleitī* that they recognize themselves.

Class and Status Differences among *Fakaleitī*

I first began visiting Tonga at the beginning of 1981. Groups of young *fakaleitī* congregated in the hotels of the main town of Nuku'alofa, especially on "boat days" when male tourists from overseas cruise ships packed the bars. The "girls," as they prefer to be known, were eye-catching in exotic dresses, scarves, spangled headbands, high heels, brilliant lipstick, nail polish, and eye shadow. Their vivaciousness and wit contrasted pleasantly with the rather formal good manners that most Tongans present to an outsider on first acquaintance. Masculine Tongan men tend in manner to be either aloof and reserved or sexually predatory. After a time, I was better able to appreciate the deep vein of humor that lies behind the dignified personal presentation of most Tongans. I also learned a great deal more about the *fakaleiti.*

I sat often by a seafront park in Nuku'alofa in the late afternoon to watch netball, a sport usually reserved for women. The *fakaleiti* had their own netball team whose members wore very short gym tunics, full makeup, nail polish, and, in some cases, wigs. I went with them on beach parties and picnics, despite pointed advice from my earliest Tongan hosts to "find some nicer Tongans to talk to; we're not too proud of these ones." The team caused something of a sensation later, on a tour of New Zealand, when it was roundly disqualified as a "women's" team, and it later disbanded.

On the occasions when we went swimming together, the "girls" entered the water in long *vala,* clothes covering them from neck to knee, as do conservative Tongan women when they bathe. Each *fakaleiti* had assumed a girl's name and referred to one another as "she" (cf.

O'Meara 1990:71). Gender-specific pronouns do not exist in the Tongan language and English was used to convey the distinctive "camp" expressions, jokes, and references with which the *fakaleitī's* conversation was typically peppered, The *fakaleiti* joked a great deal, often at their own expense and almost always about sexual matters, as has been noted elsewhere (Mageo 1992:445). They bragged at length, perhaps not always accurately, about their own "sweethearts" and male lovers or luridly detailed other people's same-sex or heterosexual "affairs." Many of the young, urban *fakaleiti* affect histrionic airs on and off the cabaret floor so the gossip was usually highly exaggerated and entertaining. When considering the hand life had dealt them, however, they became somber and would reflect for hours about what it was like to be a *fakaleiti* in Tonga today.

After 1983, I spent less time in Tongatapu and began work in Vava'u, the main northern group of islands in the Tongan archipelago. There, in the principal town of Neiafu, I met several more *fakaleiti* around the ramshackle Vava'u Club. They were not as pretty and frivolous as those I had known in Nuku'alofa; many were fat, middle-aged, poor, badly dressed, and sad. On many a quiet Sunday when the streets were deserted, I talked to a hungover *fakaleiti* who would tell me parts of "her" life story or what had happened the previous night. Often, the "fat old broads, not girls, dear" of Neiafu had been sexually used and then bashed by either a Tongan or European man. Sex did not always feature in the stories of physical violence but money and alcohol did. Men would ask *fakaleiti* to buy them drinks or cigarettes with the promise of a wild fling or even a long-term caring relationship, which all *fakaleitī* seem to ardently desire. When the men did not make good their promises, or made up to another "girl," fights would break out. Some of the *fakaleiti* were shockingly abused in these fracases (see also Cowling 1990:193).

Over the years, I have become familiar with the stories of sex and violence and know in which bars and clubs in Nuku'alofa and Neiafu incidents are most likely to occur. The female proprietor of one nightspot has recently started a social club for *fakaleiti,* no doubt out of concern for the way they are treated but also to give her motel a better name. I learned which *fakaleiti* stayed out of trouble and who regularly did not, and began to identify status and economic differences among them. I have met at least thirty *fakaleiti* who have different backgrounds, life histories, and experiences to tell. I have kept regularly in touch with several of them and been able to piece together their biographies in some detail. This has allowed me to see several life courses change

markedly, into and away from different forms of homosexual experience. I am able now to ask for intimate details from six or seven *fakaleiti* to reach a deeper understanding of how they regard their own lives.

Family background and personal achievement are much more important in determining a *fakaleitī*'s life chances than the mere fact of his being effeminate. Boys are usually recognized as effeminate when very young by older female relatives who might then delight in "bringing him up as a *fakaleiti.*" This decision may be seen in Tonga as a play by the family for greater status by "showing they have enough money to bring their daughters up to do nothing, and able to afford to bring their sons up the same way!" To my knowledge, *fakaleiti* are usually brought up not quite as girls, as has been so often suggested (Morton 1972:47-48), but in a less harsh way than boys. They will be called on to do chores that are physically harder than those given to girls but not as rough as the jobs given to masculine boys.

The older women thus regard them as males but protect them to a degree. For example, at puberty the daughters of the family are separated from their brothers, by the observance of avoidance behavior and also physically, at night, when the girls are confined to the house while their adolescent brothers roam. The boys may sleep together in a separate building from the main house although in European-style houses they are often simply placed in another part of the house away from the girls. Mutual masturbation and same-sex erotic behavior take place between adolescents in the "boys' houses," although the experimentation is ultimately directed towards heterosexual prowess, even if only as wishful thinking (Cowling 1990:192-193). Adults attach no shame or importance to such adolescent homosexual behavior because these boys will mature as masculine men.

However, in protective families, the sons and brothers who are *fakaleiti* are not always sent out to the boys' sleeping houses but are allowed to sleep inside as are their sisters (Cowling 1990: 186). The *faka'apa'apa,* the strongly institutionalized protocol of respect, which is instilled into Tongan brothers and sisters from an early age particularly by mothers and aunts, is thus occasionally withheld by the senior women between sisters and *fakaleiti* brothers. The *fakaleiti* are not considered to be masculine boys and are also kept inside for their own protection from the frequently sexually boisterous male adolescents outside. Thus, it is wrong to infer without more empirical evidence, as Besnier does (1994: 301), that all effeminate males are seen as fair sexual game in Tonga because the brother-sister relationship does not shield them from the all-out sexual advances of masculine men. Besnier misses the intracultural

variation in the structure and praxis of Tongan kinship while overly idealizing the brother-sister relationship. A Tongan brother will not necessarily protect his sister if she shows continuously promiscuous behavior. *Fakaleitī* remain males in Tongan eyes and the loss of male virginity is not as important as a girl's. Boys cannot get pregnant and show to the world their family's lack of proper control. Nevertheless, well-cared-for *fakaleiti* from good families are treated somewhat as "daughters" by their older female relatives if not as sisters by their brothers.

One *fakaleiti* of my acquaintance was brought up by his grandmother after his mother died when he was a small baby. He was the family's pet. "My grandmother brought me up as a spoilt brat, but she gave me a proper Tongan upbringing [as a *fakaleiti*]. She taught me good manners, how to speak nicely to people, to wash clothes properly, set out a house nicely, and do the right thing to observe Tongan etiquette." On the death of a beloved uncle, he sat before his grandmother receiving and distributing on her behalf the gifts brought to the funeral as would a daughter of the house. He had known from an early age that he was *fakaleitī;* but, as he said, "had any man come near me, my grandmother would have killed him!" He was always dressed as a child in girl's clothes and continues to cross-dress in either Tongan or Western clothes and wear makeup, pancake foundation and lipstick, every day. In his case, as with other (but not all) Tongan *fakaleiti,* cross-dressing is assumed on a permanent basis although not always with Western women's dress (contra Besnier 1994:297).

As an adolescent, he "was always terrifically drawn to men, but romantically always." He performed fellatio regularly on Tongan boys that he "went with" in his late teens in the mid-1980s. Clearly, the elitist origins of a *fakaleiti* do not preclude same-sex sexual activity. He is aware that the boys just used him as a substitute woman. A torrid love affair with a New Zealand man living in Tonga introduced him to anal intercourse, which, he says, he found physically "uncomfortable." The New Zealander finally left him and "broke his heart." The young Tongan began to drink heavily and to "burn out." He and other *fakaleiti* affirmed that the *fakafafine* of previous generations were not thought to be homosexual and "would have been beaten to death had they attempted homosexual acts" and added that "men like that are still found in outer villages." But, with some of the newer type of *fakaleiti,* they said, "the sexual part of it may be a big thing," with Tongan as well as with European men. Why the switch? One *fakaleiti* said, "Look, we're confused too! But I can't abstract the culture like they do in school

Tongan courses, I've got to cope with living it. The sexual side is just part of the different way for newer, younger generations. Things have changed, that's all."

The *fakaleiti* finally got over the affair with the New Zealander and now has a Tongan male lover whom he rarely sees but to whom he is very attached. Photos of the lover show a masculine young man dressed in Western men's clothes. He was married for a short time but realized he preferred his *fakaleiti* lover. In the seven years of their relationship they sleep together when they are able to but have had sex, fellatio, "technically, only about seven times." The relationship is close and trusting and the young man, now in his late twenties, says, "I never feel that I am sexually used, the way I used to."

Clearly, elements of the Western gay culture have intruded into the Tongan *fakaleiti* scene. A small number resemble the *raerae* whom Levy observed in Papeete in the early 1960s (1973:140). They wear exaggerated male dress, such as leather jackets with metal studs and cowboy boots (in a semitropical climate), habits acquired self-consciously when they lived overseas (Cowling 1990:195). But in Tonga confusion reigns at present over categories and meanings, as occurred in the case of the Tahitian *raerae.* Most Tongans refer to these males simply as *fakaleiti,* although they see themselves differently from *fakaleiti* and try to place themselves socially as gay men. ***Fakaleitī*** say that they do not have sexual relations with one another and some say also that their sexual contacts with men are not homosexual because they are the "women" in the relationships. Heterosexual or bisexual Tongan men also maintain this fiction of using *fakaleiti* "as women" and only when women are not available. The fact that Tongans reduce same-sex relations to a heterosexual model suggests that Tongans have no concept of male love akin to that, for example, of the ancient Greeks.

The "gay" scene, by which *fakaleiti* commonly refer to same-sex encounters, has proved for many, however, to be not very gay. It is increasingly associated with violence and barroom brawls, which are more socially destructive than the mere fact of being *fakaleiti.* One remarked, "Some of the girls *[fakaleiti]* come in from the islands and just join in the scene, but they don't know the right behavior. They get abused, but they also get very mean and ugly." Low-born effeminate males from outer islands are much more likely to be regarded sexually as "fair game" by masculine men in Nuku'alofa because they have neither social position nor family to protect them. Often, their families have never cared for them in the way that some *fakaleiti* (and daughters) are guarded in better-off Tongan households. They tell of having been phys-

ically beaten as children by male relatives in an effort to masculinize them (see also Cowling 1990:196); or they have been introduced to same-sex practices at an early age, often by close relatives or family friends. Many *fakaleiti* told me that from the moment they were touched they felt "tainted" and even more socially unacceptable or, alternatively, they were "given a taste for" sex with men. In Nuku'alofa, young, poor, unemployed *fakaleiti* may easily drift into prostitution for the same reasons as unemployed youth do in other societies (Cowling 1990:177, 192).

It is also said that low-class people simply show low-class behavior, an observation made by the *fakaleiti* themselves in the matter of sexual and other conduct. As always in Tongan society, behavior is judged by the family origins of the person, their rank, social and economic position, and personal style. Homosexuality as a regular sexual preference and practice is still regarded by most Tongans as unnatural and abhorrent, but some *fakaleiti* manage the public presentation of their exotic life-styles in a more graceful and socially acceptable way than do others.

Status or Stigma?

Fakaleitī present no sexual threat to Tongan women and can become close to them in ways that almost all masculine men cannot.[8] As males, *fakaleiti* can go anywhere at any time by themselves. Women often use them as chaperons and this is allowed in Tongan society. Although the special status of the *fakaleiti* is never an acceptable substitute for birth rank, their assertive and outspoken manner makes high-ranking people like them (without necessarily respecting them). A high-born woman can clue in her *fakaleitī* minion as to what she wants known. Even if she is rendering an outrageous insult the *fakaleiti* will not hesitate to speak it on her behalf. The lady's message gets across and her dignity remains unsullied. *Fakaleitī* are liked by many women but, equally, they are frequently disliked and distrusted by Tongan men because the *fakaleiti* have either compromised the men sexually or know too much about their private affairs through their participation in women's gossip. Like the *fokisi* (female prostitutes), "flying foxes that flit about unseen in the night," they go where they should not and see and hear things they are not meant to, and may make connections that threaten established Power relations. In this way, both the *fokisi* and the *fakaleitī* may be seen as subversive of normal Tongan social relations (see note 1).

The current demand from masculine men to find sexual release with *fakaleitī* is possibly related to the value that even commoner Tongans

now place on virgin daughters. Men, especially young men who do not want to marry but want sex, can procure a willing or a drunken *fakaleiti* without getting into trouble with the family of a marriageable girl. Casual, fleeting encounters with *fakaleiti* are acceptable, although repeated visits to the same ***fakaleitī*** are frowned upon in case the man should become attached to the *fakaleiti* or develop a long-term relationship that would be socially undesirable and politically unwise.[9] Tongan males have an instrumental attitude towards these sexual transactions, often beating or reviling the *fakaleiti* afterwards. Their attitude might also reflect a more general contempt towards the females with whom men have sex. Wives must always stand in poor contrast to sisters who to their brothers always remain, in a sense, the unobtainable virgin. Some *fakaleiti* may be filling the role of "tramps," thereby helping to idealize the cultural value of the female virgin as reported for contemporary Samoa (Mageo 1992:454).

While young men may brag of their "conquests" of ***fakaleitī,*** the practice is not generally approved and prestige by no means passes "like a commodity" from the effeminate to the masculine man, as has been suggested by Besnier (1994:302). According to many Tongan youths, it is the masculine boys in the boys' sleep-outs who are vulnerable to the advances of ***fakaleitī,*** who are neither passive nor lack homoerotic tendencies but may even attempt anal intercourse (Cowling 1990: 193). Such contact is now fraught with physical and social consequences. Tongans are being warned of the dangers of AIDS.[10] Men prominent today in business or government are being blackmailed, not for money but for favor, influence, and promotion, because of their association with a *fakaleiti,* even if the relationship was casual, brief, and occurred many years ago. In most cases involving Tongan men, the *fakaleiti* fellates a man, who does little more than receive these attentions. The man then attempts to protect himself from future financial importuning by reviling the *fakaleiti.* But Tongan liaisons remain an ever-present threat to both ***fakaleitī*** and masculine men. Perhaps that is why most descriptions I have heard from *fakaleiti* of anal intercourse, of orgiastic gaudy nights, romantic attachments, expensive presents, and the like, involve Western rather than Tongan men. After all, the Europeans leave Nuku'alofa and all the secrets and braggadocio of the *fakaleiti* behind.

Members of the cosmopolitan, urban younger set, especially the women, tend to be more tolerant of the *fakaleiti* and of their sexual practices (see also Schoeffel 1979:203). The fourth annual Miss Drag Queen Contest in 1992 attracted a larger audience than the Miss Heilala Pageant, a national beauty contest for women.[11] The drag queen con-

test was given wide coverage in the government-run newspaper, *The Tonga Chronicle,* and members of the royal family were prominent patrons. The contest was organized by the daughter of a leading noble who with the king's only daughter is co-owner of a Nuku'alofa night-club. The prizes were awarded by the princess's eldest teenage daughter, the king's granddaughter. Twelve contestants competed in a talent quest that included the performance of the *tau'olunga,* a traditional Tongan women's solo dance, a ballgown competition, and an interview before an amused, highly entertained public.

"They want to be ladies and want men to see them looking good," said the noble organizer. "What they do in private is their own business. In public, they are very nice and useful--and I'm not ashamed of mixing with them" (*Tonga Chronicle,* 16 July 1992, 5).

Urban Sexual Politics

A great deal of sexual tension exists between men and women in Tonga. Men are commonly allowed a great deal of sexual license but women are allowed none. A wife is expected to forgive her husband his extramarital affairs but she may be beaten for suspicion of infidelity. Men have personal freedoms in public that are not allowed to women, who require chaperons at all times. Effeminate males move freely between men and women in ways that no man or woman could in business and in other dealings. Their articulation of male and female spheres of activity makes them instrumental in promoting affairs between people who are highly placed in society. They run to and fro on errands carrying gossip and messages between important people. Their jobs, in beauty parlors and hotels and as doormen, taxi drivers, and household servants, enable them to discover precisely who is seeing whom on the sly. Such "secrets" are potent in Tongan society where the ability to reveal illicit doings is a source of real power. As a result, the *fakaleiti* are useful to women, particularly the wives of unfaithful husbands, but bitterly disliked by the men.

Humor and burlesque are frequently associated with persons of equivocal gender in contemporary Polynesia, as noted elsewhere (Mageo 1992:455). It is not just effeminacy that is highly risible but the whole subject of sex: the ridiculous positions assumed, the people it holds in thrall, and the hypocrisies and deceptions that are entered into for its sake. Sex is probably the most frequently thought-about and talked-about subject in Tonga next to the competition for status with which it is closely linked.

Fakaleitī cabaret performers in satirical skits about modern-day manners play off not only their own "double" gender images, but also the antimonies between traditional and contemporary Tongan gender relations and their perceptions of Europeans' sexual and gender behavior. Imagine a skit in which an effeminate man plays a grimly upright and serious masculine Tongan husband ogling a pretty young girl who is played by another *fakaleiti* in high heels, short tight skirt, off-the-shoulder blouse, and long blonde wig. *Fakaleiti* play the scene as they themselves might tease and flirt with masculine men. In scene two, the errant husband goes home to his dutiful Tongan wife, played by another *fakaleitī,* who meekly submits to the male head of household. The husband makes excuses about having to go to an evening meeting that leave the audience, made up mostly of Tongan wives, all of whom appear to have heard these excuses before, shrieking with laughter. The husband meets his newfound sweetheart, who promptly tells him she is pregnant. The audience's howls of laughter double as the *fakaleiti* simulates advanced pregnancy in a tight European-style dress. As soon as the "husband" leaves the house, the "wife" transforms herself by throwing off her shapeless Tongan matron's costume, consisting typically of an ankle-length skirt covered by a long, waistless overdress, to reveal a slinky, skintight, European-type sheath dress underneath. The European clothes indicate the modernity of European women, whom Tongans perceive to be freer and less constrained socially and sexually by their husbands than are traditional Tongan women. Armored with modernity and European morals, the Tongan wife goes to meet her lover, who is played also by a *fakaleitī* aping a Tongan masculine male in the last gasp of the erotic arousal to which not only women but also *fakaleitī* can excite men, or so the audience is led to believe.

Despite the bewildering transitions, the message is clear and is directed against Tongan men who think that their wives (and everyone else in town) do not know what they are up to and with whom. Furthermore, just as *fakaleitī* can play at being women, wives can play at being faithful even as they are also playing sexual games and playing them more successfully than the husbands, with *fakaleitī* help. Just as the *fakaleitī* performers take on different roles, the wives take on the role of dutiful Tongan women but may turn into modern sexual predators behind the backs of their erring husbands, The *fakaleitī* parody the macho Tongan male image and portray Tongan men as clumsy lovers and as husbands who are so vain that they fail to see what is going on in their own homes. Europeans are portrayed as accomplished lovers to both *fakaleiti* and Tongan women, because they do not abuse them. The

fakaleitī use both Tongan and European cultural and gender stereotypes to criticize Tongan men's chauvinistic expectations and their dislike of the Tongan women and *fakaleitī* who assume modern Western ways.

Cabaret nights are remarkable for the numbers of high-ranking and socially prominent women who sit at tables nearest to the performers and laugh loudest when the jokes are directed towards well-known people, current scandals, or, nearer home, towards the women's own husbands! They spur the players to greater efforts by tucking money into their costumes. The women's husbands laugh uneasily or stand morosely along the wall at the back of the performance area, spatially separating themselves from the women, the performers, and, they hope, from the meaning of the performance. Or, they may simply retire to the bar for the rest of the evening and get sodden. They are caught in every way: They cannot admit that they recognize themselves or other men in the performances, and they may worry about the sexual probity of their severely tested wives. The *fakaleiti* and the wives here make common cause, even if only in burlesque, against the men's dominance in households and in sexual initiatives.

The negative image that effeminate males provide for masculine men by showing them what *not* to be has been noted, in Tahiti by Levy (1973) and in Samoa by Schoeffel (1979), Shore (1981), and Mageo (1992). Cowling suggests as much for the Tongan *fakaleitī* (1990:195). But a functional approach cannot explain the presence of effeminate males, as Besnier shows in his persuasive critique of Levy's argument (1994:304-308). After all, why should an effeminate have to show how to be not-masculine when there are so many large men walking about ready to punch them for their nonconformity to male cultural roles? Here, the *fakaleiti* are parodying Tongan husbands' behavior and how their wives might well be repaying them for their infidelities. The loudest laughs come from socially prominent women because they and their consorts play modern sexual politics for the highest stakes.

Explanations

The number of *fakaleitī* is increasing. Secondary schools now each have about twenty such boys among several hundred pupils, a significant increase over previous generations. I have been back to Tonga almost every year since 1981 and find many Tongans increasingly concerned about this increase. School principals, parish priests, and others, including members of the royal family, have asked me about the phenomenon, which suggests that no satisfactory indigenous explanation exists.

In Tonga, opinions vary as to whether ***fakaleitī*** are created only by socialization, or are born with certain propensities, which may be encouraged or discouraged. Most favor the second explanation. Men have frequently said to me about former schoolmates or ***fakaleitī*** in their families, "We bashed them and bashed them when they were young for acting that way, and they still didn't change. So, I think they *[fakaleiti]* must just be born that way." No chromosomal examination or study of hereditary factors has been carried out in Tonga to my knowledge. But a genetic factor may predispose some boy children to display light body forms, high voices, and small genitalia (although the last does not in any way prove a barrier to heterosexual behavior). *Fakaleiti* do seem to run in families but this might be a combination of "nature and nurture." Women soon perceive the physical characteristics that suggest a male child will not develop into a highly masculine man. Perhaps afraid the boys will fail in the competitive macho world of Tongan men, women direct them to other roles, ones in which they might prosper and be socially useful, but that are in the women's domain (see note 2). This idea accords with Oliver's explanation for the presence of the *mahu* in precontact Tahiti, that "males unable or unwilling to play the physically demanding and often hazardous roles expected of Maohi [masculine men] in climbing, canoeing, fighting, and so forth, were permitted and, perhaps, even encouraged or required to play female roles" (1974, 2:1112).

The blame that men place on women for bringing up boys in this unmanly fashion supports the contention that *fakaleiti* are not generally approved in Tonga. Men scorn them for not being wholly male and seek to direct responsibility away from themselves for "things having gone wrong."[12] A leading Tongan educationist and social commentator, Professor Futa Helu, has suggested that the number of young ***fakaleitī*** has risen because of the emigration of increasing numbers of men, which has led to more matrifocal families. He says that in urban areas young males find no land or reefs to work and so stay at home and perform "women's work"; they think women's thoughts, speak their language, and begin to feel like them. Thus, he says, the breakdown in the specialization of labor has led to an increase of *fakaleiti,* or, "transvestites," in the main towns.[13]

This explanation is also heard most often from expatriate Europeans resident in Tonga. Many a time I have been assured that Tongans bring boys up as girls and, so, they become ***fakaleitī.*** Tongan women disagree. One elderly Tongan lady exclaimed to me, "The mothers may pet boys and let their hair grow long, but the boys cut their hair when they go to

high school, and no one comments. Sometimes parents will bring boys up as girls and let them do the housework and the boys will be called *fakafafine,* but it has nothing to do with being a *fakaleiti!*"

Her statement here separates effeminate behavior associated with being *fakafafine* from the male homosexual behavior associated today with the *fakaleiti* stereotype. But effeminate boys, unless protected by their families, can be the target for older men's advances, and this may lead them to same-sex activity.

Other Tongan women say that homosexuality and the camp life-style affected by many *fakaleiti* is simply the Western "permissive society" of the 1960s in which "anything goes" arriving, finally, in Tonga. This explanation is favored by many *fakaleiti* today: "The sexual side is just part of the different way for newer, younger generations." Homosexuality, then, cannot be excluded from discussion of today's *fakaleiti,* although it neither determines nor defines their existence. The most fruitful inquiry lies in extending the analysis of gender into wider family, economic, and political spheres. The opportunities that *fakaleitī* have by virtue of their special combination of gender traits become clearer in the light of the differential power of men and women.

Men's Identity Crisis in Tonga

Far-reaching social changes have created difficulties for men in their construction of a satisfactory male identity today in Tonga. The achievement of prestige as a man is considerably more difficult now than the successful achievement of Tongan womanhood. Notions of Tongan manhood have undergone radical changes through the cessation of warfare, the Western cultural devaluation of traditional Tongan fighting methods, and the lessened need for skills and stamina associated with long ocean voyages by canoe (cf. Oliver 1974, 2: 1112). The abandonment of ancient ceremonies, such as the *'inasi* or offering of the first fruits annually to the Tu'i Tonga, and the increasing distance of contemporary nobles from their land and people has contributed to the devaluation of gardening skills (except for large-scale producers and growers of large yams), in favor of white-collar office jobs. In modern occupations, implicit comparisons with European standards help to maintain a sense of being underdeveloped and "second-rate" that was introduced with Western ways last century, which has never quite vanished and which affects men more than women since most of the foreign "experts" telling them how to improve and "develop" are European men.

Traditional notions of virility and male sexual prowess have suffered. The ability to seduce women and to father many children by different women is not condoned officially by the church or government, although the numbers of illegitimate births continue to rise. At a more mundane level, sexual adventuring is further discouraged by the possibility of being legally forced to financially maintain the children born either inside or outside of marriage. Some wives tell me that men who suffer from job frustration and stress are prone to poor sexual performance within marriage, which is further evidence of low male self-esteem and the strains to which it is subject. Men still frequently beat wives and children to subjugate them to male authority. But harsh physical chastisement is slowly becoming less socially acceptable and has led in some cases to legal prosecution.

Many men are too caught up today in the daily grind of poorly paid, dull, low-grade bureaucratic positions to feel much pride in their manhood. Football and brawling may not be at all an adequate substitute for the excitement and opportunities for personal display afforded by traditional male activities. Old songs and dances still performed in celebration of former pursuits and glories may only highlight the mundaneness of their present routines. When men get drunk, they sometimes roll about on the ground loudly protesting the loss of their manhood and their social impotence.

Women's roles, by contrast, have had considerable continuity in their activities around the home and the maintenance of their traditional prestige within the extended family, although the value given to tradition differs among families. The dominant images of Tongan women are still beauty, virginity, and fertility. Both the children and the craft items they produce are valued. The urbanized, "modernized" areas of Tongatapu are seeing a resurgence of barkcloth manufacture to meet a growing demand from the increasing numbers of people at home and overseas. The *ike* (tapa-beating mallets) resounding throughout Nuku'alofa are today wielded often by the wives and daughters of bureaucrats, In addition, new roles have opened to women through education and wage employment.

Female children, especially the eldest, are still commonly given preferential treatment within the family, but male children are made responsible from an early age for heavy manual work and may be physically and emotionally neglected when they are adolescents. Differential treatment of postpubescent siblings is the traditional norm, but many young boys today are confused, frustrated, and alienated by the callous treatment they receive. The absence of fathers and other male relatives

or, perhaps, of both parents through emigration contributes to a growing number of maladjusted and insecure Tongan males, who are ill equipped to take over the responsibilities of being head of the family. Many show signs of a weakening self-esteem and identity, as well as feelings of increasing helplessness (Galloway 1992:5, 7).

In a situation of role contraction and role confusion for men, more boys are increasingly uncertain of their success within the strongly competitive arena of Tongan masculinity. For the male effeminate, *fakaleiti* status may provide a viable alternative of identity and survival in the female domain. Their special status can gain them access to people of rank and the possibility of acquiring some prestige, albeit neither quite as a man nor as a woman. Their protection by women does not explain the origins of *fakaleitī*, but it may help to explain their increased visibility and number.

Conclusion

The *fakafafine* were defined in the past by their performance of women's work. They were not notably homosexual but this may have been because of the sheer social unacceptability of such practice and the threat of punishment. They often married and fathered children while retaining the designation of *fakafāfine*. They were respected because they produced people and goods, both highly valued in Tonga.

Today, *fakaleiti* is becoming the generic term for all effeminate males in Tonga, some of whom lead useful and productive lives, while many do not. Some marry and create families but others pursue activities associated with neither the attainment of Tongan womanhood nor social production and that may include same-sex activity.

Homosexuality is not generally liked or accepted by Tongans, but it is more tolerated by members of the young, urban, cosmopolitan elite, especially women. Tongan men generally show strong homophobia whether or not they sexually use *fakaleiti*. But a few *fakaleiti* even though they engage in same-sex activity may gain a good reputation because of their family background, personal style and discretion, and for their contributions to national festivities and their work for charitable organizations.

Male effeminacy is not purely a gender issue in Tonga today, but neither is it determined nor defined by the practice of male homosexuality (Besnier 1994:300). I have suggested one possible explanation for the increasing numbers of *fakaleiti* in the cultural construction and politics of gender. The attainment of a viable male identity today in Tonga is in

many ways more difficult than in previous generations and may be contrasted with the continued viability of many female roles and statuses. An effeminate male is an incomplete man but may, by enhancing his feminine qualities, partly exploit the social opportunities available to both genders. When men become hostile, ***fakaleitī*** may seek the protection and support of women who find uses for them, often in the highly wrought sexual politics of Nuku'alofa.

NOTES

A brief version of this article was first presented at a colloquium in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa in April 1992, during tenure of a Rockefeller Fellowship for the Humanities at the Center for Pacific Islands Studies. I am grateful to both institutions for their support and a chance to work through these ideas as part of a more comprehensive project on changes in gender relations in the Kingdom of Tonga. Helpful comments were made at the colloquium by Alice Dewey, Ben Finney, Alan Howard, Jonathan Okamura, and Douglas Oliver. The present article was improved later by comments from Ian Campbell, Tupou Koenig, and Walter Williams. My special thanks to Joey Mataele and Tupou Koenig for their many hours of patient and careful discussion of the *fakaleiti, 'ofa lahi atu.*

1. In the early 1960s, Walsh's observations that "even prostitutes and *fakafefine [sic]* are accepted without too much reserve" might be due to the brevity of his observations and to the small numbers that existed because, he continues, "[There is] only one brothel in Nuku'alofa whose clientele are mainly overseas seamen. The *fakafefine* would appear to be not quite the same as the homosexual overseas. The overall attitude seems to be one of amusement that people do such things" (Walsh 1964:202). The Tongan reaction of amusement supports the notion that such behavior is unnatural but the increase in numbers of prostitutes, including *fakaleiti,* and the increasing rowdiness of their behavior have hardened the Tongan attitudes to ones of dislike and disapproval.

2. Alan Howard pointed out that the ***fakafāfine*** and some of the *fakaleiti* today clearly perform work that is socially useful. These activities contrast with the predilection of other *fakaleiti* for idleness and same-sex activity, which is merely "sex-for-sex's sake" and unproductive of children. Besnier's account of the only effeminate on Nukulaelae in Tuvalu partly underscores the logic of "usefulness," as does Oliver in one of his explanations of *mahu* (men who live as women) in precontact Tahiti (1974:1112), which I quote later in the text and which Besnier has also quoted (1994:565n. 114).

3. Grammatically both are incorrect because *fakafafine* is used in Tongan as an adjective and also as a plural noun (Churchward 1959:29). *Fafine* is the dual or plural and not the singular form of *fefine,* "a woman or girl." But it was rather early to expect European proficiency in the Tongan language.

4. Churchward, a compiler of a modern Tongan-English dictionary (1959), lists both *fakafafine* and *fakafefine,* following Baker who followed Rabone. Churchward defines the terms as "womanish, effeminate" and solves the possibly ticklish problem of cross-sexing by requesting in the English section that people wishing to know the Tongan word

for hermaphrodite look up *"fakafafine."* This sends us back to Rabone's word list, I suspect, rather than to an indigenous concept of Tongan male effeminates.

5. Myths tell of Tongan goddesses weaving fine mats in canoes from which the islands of Tonga were drawn up from the sea. Goddess figures carved in ivory were reverently wrapped in barkcloth or finely woven matting.

6. Tamar Gordon's work also bears out this observation (pers. com., 1992).

7. Several of my observations are similar to those recorded by Wendy Cowling since we were both in Tonga in the 1980s, I having begun a study of changing gender relations in 1981. Yet our arguments largely do not overlap nor our conclusions coincide, especially as regards the clear distinction I wish to make between the "ideal type" of the *fakafafine* and the emerging stereotype of the *fakaleitī.* Cowling appears to see the two as a continuous tradition when she asserts that "*fakaleiti* . . . existed in pre-modern times" (1990: 189).

8. It might once have been sufficient to say that "unrelated" men were the main sexual threats to women in Tongan society, but reports of incest cases between senior male members of families with their daughters, granddaughters, and nieces have increased to the point where all men, related or unrelated, must be seen as potential threats.

9. Tamar Gordon gave me this useful insight from her fieldwork in Tonga in the early 1980s, for which I thank her.

10. To date, five HIV-positive cases of men who have returned from overseas and one death from AIDS in Tonga have been reported in the national newspaper together with repeated health warnings. Several AIDS-prevention campaigns have been mounted in recent years and posters warning visitors of the danger are prominently displayed in the arrivals section of the international airport.

11. The *heilala (Garcinia sessilis)* is a fragrant flowering tree that is associated symbolically with the preeminence of women in the Tongan family.

12. I owe this point in the argument to Jon Okamura; cf. Helu's remarks that follow, which are contrary to Cowling's assertion that no blame is attached to the causation of *fakaleitī* (1990:196).

13. Helu made these remarks at a conference entitled "Pacific Islander Migration," held by the Centre for South Pacific Studies at the University of New South Wales, 19-22 September 1990.

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RETURN MIGRATION FROM THE UNITED STATES TO AMERICAN SAMOA: EVIDENCE FROM THE 1980 AND 1990 CENSUSES

Dennis A. Ahlburg
University of Minnesota

Census data on American Samoan migrants to the United States who return to American Samoa are investigated in an attempt to determine the extent of return migration, if return migrants benefit from their experience overseas, and if American Samoa benefits from the return of migrants. It is found that return migration decreased between 1980 and 1990. Return migrants had greater economic success in American Samoa in 1980 and 1990 than nonmigrants, although the extent of their advantage declined over the decade. However, a simple comparison of migrants and nonmigrants is likely to yield a biased estimate of the benefits of migration. Until better migration data is collected, the benefits of migration and return migration to American Samoa and other Pacific nations cannot be estimated with certainty.

Determining whether migration is "good' or "bad" for Pacific island nations requires complex calculation of the costs and benefits of migration (see Ahlburg and Levin 1990:6-10). One argument often made in favor of migration is that migrants acquire education and skills overseas that can be productively applied upon return. However, several researchers challenge this argument. First, it is not clear that low-skilled migrants can be transformed into skilled migrants by a period of employment overseas (Greenwood and Stuart 1986:124). Second, even if such skills and education *could* be acquired, it is not clear that they *are* acquired (Reichert and Massey 1982:8). Third, the amount of return migration is small (Connell 1984; Hayes 1985; Macpherson 1985; Ahlburg and Levin 1990). Fourth, even if migrants acquire skills and return, it does not follow that they apply their skills upon return (Straubhaar 1986).

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This article examines data from the 1980 and 1990 decennial censuses of American Samoa (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1984, 1992), the only source of data relevant to return migration to American Samoa, to see if any conclusions can be reached on the extent and value of return migration from the United States to American Samoa. Migration to and return migration from the United States is important because the United States is the most common destination for migrants from American Samoa and is now the most important destination for most Pacific Island migrants (Greenwood and Stuart 1986).

The Census Data

Although the published census data do not address return migration directly, this can be done indirectly through the use of the question on residence five years before the census.[1] Responses to this question give an underestimate of return migration since the question does not capture information on migration and return in the five-year period immediately before the census (1976-1980). Individuals were included in the census if they were normally resident in American Samoa for most of the time in the six months before the census. Thus, the return-migrant estimates are not likely to be inflated by migrants temporarily visiting American Samoa, that is, "in circulation."

Return migrants, those born in American Samoa but resident overseas in 1975, constituted 2.9 percent of the 1980 total population aged 5 years and older and 5.3 percent of the 1980 population born in American Samoa (Table 1).[2] Of the American Samoa-born individuals who returned, 83 percent returned from the United States and 14 percent from Western Samoa. In 1990, return migrants were only 1.8 percent of the total population aged 5 years and older and 3.7 percent of the American Samoa-born population. Of these latter individuals, 81 percent returned from the United States and 16 percent from Western Samoa. These figures underestimate the extent of return migration since they refer only to first-generation returnees, that is, those born in American Samoa. Of the 1,835 U.S.-born individuals in American Samoa in 1980, 893 had been resident in the United States in 1975 (Table 1). In 1990, of the 3,102 U.S.-born persons, 1,016 had resided there in 1985. Of these individuals, about 60 percent were younger than age 15 in both 1975 and 1985. It is likely that a large number of these children were the offspring of first-generation returnees and thus may themselves be counted as second-generation returnees who may benefit the nation.

The lower incidence of return migrants in the population in 1990

TABLE 1. **Residence Five Years before the 1980 and 1990 Censuses of Persons Resident in American Samoa, by Selected Country of Birth**

	Total	Born in American Samoa	Born in U.S.
1980 Census			
All Persons 5+ years	27,511	14,730	1,835
Outside American Samoa in 1975	5,837	766	967
Resident in U.S.	1,639	632	893
Resident in Western Samoa	3,448	105	14
1990 Census			
Persons 5+ years	39,821	19,480	3,102
Outside American Samoa in 1985	6,299	720	1,060
Resident in U.S.	1,781	580	1,016
Resident in Western Samoa	3,415	112	16

Sources: (1980) U.S. Bureau of the Census 1984; (1990) U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992.

compared to 1980 could reflect either a decline in returning among migrants or a lower level of out-migration in the 1980s leading to fewer new migrants who may choose to return. In 1980, 9,361 American Samoa-born individuals were living in the United States; in 1990, there were about 15,000.[3] The lower incidence of return migrants thus seems to relate to fewer migrants returning rather than to fewer Samoans migrating.

For data on the characteristics of return migrants from the United States we must rely on census data on individuals who resided in the United States five years before the census. Of those persons resident in the United States in 1975, 39 percent were American Samoa-born and 54 percent U.S. -born; in 1985, the figures were 33 percent and 57 percent. Thus the characteristics of returnees are at best a combination of the characteristics of first- and second-generation return migrants. These are the individuals most likely to acquire valuable skills overseas and apply them once back home. To address return migration directly, data are needed on the characteristics of American Samoa-born individuals who migrate at the time that they migrate and at the time that they return home. Information would also be needed on the economic activities they engage in before migrating and upon return. In the absence of such data, data on those resident in the United States in 1975 and 1985 are used as a proxy.

The age distribution data in Table 2 show that 69 percent of those res-

TABLE 2. **Age Distribution of Those Resident in the United States Five Years Previously, 1980 and 1990**

Age	1980 Census	1990 Census
	Number	
Total	1,639	1,781
	Percentage	
Total	100.0	99.9
5-9	14.6	15.4
10-14	12.8	14.5
15-19	9.3	12.1
20-24	10.0	7.3
25-29	13.3	8.3
30-34	12.6	8.6
35-44	12.4	16.2
45-54	8.2	8.6
55-59	2.9	2.7
60+	3.9	6.2

Sources: See Table 1.

Note: In this and following tables, percentage-s may not sum to precisely 100.0% due to rounding.

ident in the United States in 1980 were of labor force age (aged 15-59 years) compared with 54 percent of the entire population. The respective figures for 1990 are 64 percent and 56 percent. These figures indicate that returnees made a disproportionate contribution in numbers to the labor force. Table 2 also shows a shift in the pattern between censuses. In the 1990 census, return migrants from the United States were less likely to be in the prime working ages (aged 20-34) than returnees in the 1980 census. This could signal increased permanent migration among younger workers or a change in the age structure of outmigration.

Data on income and labor-market activity of return migrants can be obtained from the published census reports and compared to data for all residents of American Samoa. In Table 3 data on income are reported. In both censuses return migrants were more likely to be income earners and to have higher incomes (median and mean). However, the income advantage enjoyed by return migrants (shown by the ratio of median or mean incomes) decreased between 1980 and 1990--from 80 percent of median income in 1980 to 60 percent in 1990.

Some of the reasons for the higher earnings among return migrants are revealed in Tables 4, 5, and 6. Return migrants had much higher levels of educational attainment in 1990 than did all residents of American Samoa (Table 4). Fully 82 percent had a high school diploma or higher qualification and 23 percent had a bachelor's degree or higher. For all residents the corresponding figures were 51 percent and 5 percent.[4]

Return migrants were less prevalent in the labor market in 1990 than a decade earlier. Although the labor force grew from 8,329 in 1980 to 14,198 in 1990, the number of returnees in the labor force fell by 21 per-

TABLE 3. **Income for Persons Aged 15 Years and Older, by Residence Five Years before the Census**

	Total Number with Income	Percentage with Income	Median Income (U.S.$)	Mean Income (U.S.$)
Residence in 1975				
American Samoa	19,090	51.3	4,219	6,159
U.S.	1,190	66.1	7,645	12,425
(Ratio, U.S./ American Samoa)		(1.3)	(1.8)	(2.0)
Residence in 1985				
American Samoa	28,952	53.7	6,600	9,147
U.S.	1,249	60.0	10,625	16,186
(Ratio, U.S./ American Samoa)		(1.1)	(1.6)	(1.8)

Sources: See Table 1.

TABLE 4. **Educational Attainment of Persons Aged 18 Years and Older, by Residence Five Years before the 1990 Census (Percentage)**

	Resident in American Samoa	Resident in U.S.
Total	99.9	99.9
Elementary	15.3	4.6
Some high school	33.8	13.6
High school graduate	30.8	31.0
Some college	9.6	18.8
Associate degree	5.6	9.0
Bachelor's degree	3.2	14.0
Higher degree	1.6	8.9

Sources: See Table 1.

sons and their labor force participation rate declined about 4 percentage points (Table 5). Return migrants had higher levels of labor force participation in 1980 than all adults in American Samoa but the rates had almost converged by 1990. Although there was a slight increase between the censuses in the number of individuals resident in the United States five years before the census (to 142 individuals), the number of returnees aged 16 years and older who were employed, and thus potentially applying skills they had acquired overseas, declined by 48. It is not uncommon for return migrants to experience problems in reentering the home labor market. Such problems may explain the higher rates of unemployment of returnees in both 1980 and 1990, and the extent of the problem may have increased between the censuses. Cross-classification of data by year of return would allow us to investigate this hypothesis.

Return migrants were more likely than all residents to work full-time (more than 35 hours) in 1980 but less likely to do so in 1990. The relative worsening of the labor market situation of return migrants in 1990 may explain, at least in part, the deterioration in their earnings advantage over all residents and may explain, at least in part, the lower level of return migration in 1990.

The industrial distribution of employment of return migrants and all

TABLE 5. **Labor Force Status of the Population Aged 16 Years and Older, by U.S. Residence Five Years before the Census**

	1980 Census			1990 Census		
	All	In U.S. in 1975	Ratio (U.S./All)	All	In U.S. in 1985	Ratio (U.S./All)
Population 16+ (number)	18,319	1,155		27,991	1,198	
Labor force (number)	8,329	655		14,198	634	
Labor force participation rate (%)	45.5	56.7	1.3	50.7	52.9	1.0
Civilian labor force (number)	8,308	642		14,187	633	
Employed (%)	97.6	96.9	1.0	94.9	92.7	1.0
35+ hours (%)	89	91	1.0	95	93	1.0
1-34 hours (%)	11	9	0.8	5	7	1.4
Unemployed (number)	202	20		726	46	
Unemployment rate (%)	2.4	3.1	1.3	5.1	7.3	1.4

Sources: See Table 1.

residents is shown in Table 6. The distributions are quite different. All residents had a concentration in manufacturing that increased between 1980 and 1990. Return migrants were concentrated in professional and related services and public administration. However, the percentage of return migrants in these two industries declined after 1980 and the percentage in manufacturing increased. Professional and related services and public administration pay almost twice as much as employment in manufacturing. Thus the different industrial distributions of employment help explain the income differences noted above.

Data on Persons Who Had Lived in the United States for Six Months or More

In the 1980 census, data were collected on individuals who had resided in the United States for six or more consecutive months at some time between 1970 and 1980.[5] Unfortunately these data were not collected in the 1990 census. Information on those who had resided in the United

TABLE 6. **Employment by Major Industry and U.S. Residence Five Years before the Census**

	1980 Census		1990 Census	
	All Persons	In U.S. in 1975	All Persons	In U.S. in 1985
	Number			
Total Employed	8,106	622	13,461	587
	Percentage			
Total	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	1.2	1.4	2.4	2.9
Construction, mining	7.7	6.4	8.8	8.5
Manufacturing	23.5	5.8	33.8	12.8
Transport, communications	8.7	9.2	7.5	7.3
Wholesale	1.9	1.8	1.9	2.7
Retail	9.6	9.0	10.8	10.6
Finance, insurance, real estate	1.3	3.9	1.3	3.9
Business, repair	1.3	1.0	2.2	2.4
Entertainment, personal service	3.3	2.3	2.5	1.2
Professional, related services	21.6	33.4	18.2	28.4
Public administration	19.8	25.7	10.6	19.3

Sources: See Table 1.

States for at least six months may give us more insight into return migrants and the likelihood that they acquired valuable education and skills while overseas.

Individuals who had been away for at least six years constitute the largest group of returnees for males and females (Table 7). Fully 47 percent of males and 41 percent of females had been absent for this period. Short-term absences (six months to two years) were the next most common, accounting for 30 percent of male and 37 percent of female returnees (Table 7). These figures are consistent with two types of return migrants, a group who erred in migrating and returned quickly (or who were "on the trip") and another group for whom migration and

TABLE 7. **Persons Aged 5 Years and Older Who Lived in the United States for Six or More Consecutive Months between 1970 and 1980 and Returned to American Samoa, by Sex, Age, and Length of Stay in the United States, 1980**

Length of Stay & Age Group	Males		Females	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total	1,795		1,797	
6 months to 2 years				
Under 1 5	99	5.5	126	7.0
15-24	74	4.1	137	7.6
25-34	95	5.3	132	7.3
35-44	87	4.8	68	3.8
45+	189	10.5	200	11.1
3 to 5 years				
Under 15	85	4.7	74	4.1
15-24	53	3.0	79	4.4
25-34	85	4.7	73	4.1
35-44	33	1.8	26	1.4
45+	33	1.8	25	1.4
6 or more years				
Under 15	136	7.6	104	5.8
15-24	126	7.0	185	10.3
25-34	206	11.5	199	11.1
35-44	172	9.6	114	6.3
45+	209	11.6	133	7.4
Length of stay not reported	113	6.3	122	6.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census n.d.

return migration after an extended absence were planned over the life cycle. Those who were away for three or more years were more likely to acquire skills and were the vast majority of returnees.

The labor force activity of returnees during their last six months of residence in the United States was lower than that for persons in American Samoa in 1979 (Table 8). Only 41 percent of male returnees and 29 percent of female returnees were engaged in working at a job or business compared to 58 percent and 39 percent for all males and females in American Samoa. This lower level of economic activity may reflect a higher incidence of other productive activities such as education (see Table 9), lower labor market participation, or higher unemployment. It may also imply that economic difficulties or retirement may have been a precipitating factor in the decision to return.

If education was a primary reason for initial migration and subsequent return migration, the probability of school attendance should have been higher for return migrants in the six months before their return than for those remaining in American Samoa. This does not appear to have been the case in 1980. Of the 3,592 individuals who had resided in the United States for six or more consecutive months, 35 percent reported school attendance during the last six months of residence (Table 9). This percentage is considerably less than the 47 percent of all American Samoans aged 5 years and older who were enrolled in school in 1980. However, 45 percent of returnees were of school age, that is, were aged 5-24, compared to 56 percent of the American Samoa population. Thus the probabilities of a school-age individual being in school or college were the same.[6]

TABLE 8. **Persons Aged 16 Years and Older Who Lived in the United States for Six or More Consecutive Months between 1970 and 1980 and Returned to American Samoa, by Activity during Last Six Months of Stay, 1980**

	Males		Females	
Activity for Last Six Months in U.S.	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total	1,376	100.0	1,368	100.0
Working at job or business	559	41	400	29
Not working at job or business	642	47	819	60
Not reporting working	175	13	149	11
(In U.S. armed force)[a]	(217)	(16)	(17)	(1)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census n.d.

[a]Those in the armed forces are also recorded in the other categories.

TABLE 9. **Persons Aged 5 Years and Older Who Lived in the United States for Six or More Consecutive Months between 1970 and 1980 and Returned to American Samoa, by School Attendance for Last Six Months of Stay, 1980**

School Attendance for Last Six Months in U.S.	Males		Females	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total	1,795	100.0	1,797	100.0
Attending school or college	629	35.0	641	35.7
Not attending school or college	915	51.0	933	51.9
Not reporting either	251	14.0	223	12.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census n.d.

Discussion

Data from the 1980 and 1990 censuses in American Samoa and the United States indicate that the amount of return migration to American Samoa is small and declined during the 1980s. Return migration may still, however, contribute to the economy if the migrants acquire skills that they use productively upon their return, Migrants returning from the United States were more successful in American Samoa than other American Samoans and other migrant groups. Their median incomes were considerably higher, their labor force participation higher, and their representation in professional services and public administration was higher than any other group. However, the economic advantage enjoyed by return migrants declined between 1980 and 1990. This decline was largely due to decreasing labor market success: a declining participation in the labor market (perhaps reflecting the increasing average age of adult returnees), increasing unemployment, declining hours, and decreasing occupational success.

Why has the relative success of return migrants decreased? Possible explanations are a decrease in the acquisition of education and skills, and decreased selectivity in out-migration leading to a greater likelihood that return migrants will be those who have failed to find a niche in the metropolitan countries.[7]

The superior performance of return migrants in the census-reported data does not allow us to conclude that migration is a "good thing" simply because return migrants are away long enough to acquire skills, earn more than other American Samoans, have higher educational attainment, and are employed in higher-paying industries than all American Samoans. The primary barrier to drawing this conclusion is

that we do not know what education and skills migrants left American Samoa with, that is, were education and skills acquired overseas? Nor do we know what education and skills would have been acquired if the individuals had not migrated. This latter problem is the problem of selectivity. That is, migrants tend to be a highly selected group who would have performed above average even if they had not migrated. Thus simple comparisons of migrants (and return migrants) with nonmigrants give an upward-biased picture of the benefits of migration. Ahlburg and Levin found that recent American Samoan immigrants to the United States had a similar occupational distribution to immigrants of longer residence (1990:8). This implies that migrants of different vintages have similar education and skills. In other words, migration is selective and little additional skill accumulation takes place beyond that which would otherwise occur. This is also suggested by the findings on the activity of those who had resided in the United States for six or more months between 1970 and 1980. If little additional skill and education is acquired, then the argument in favor of migration is considerably weakened.[8] It must be emphasized that this is a very tentative conclusion because the occupational classifications in the published census data are so broad. Much better data are needed to resolve the issue of selectivity.

Conclusion

Data in the 1980 and 1990 censuses of American Samoa indicate that return migration declined in the 1980s. The data also seem to indicate that migration may make individuals more productive and thus adds to the national good. Return migrants were absent long enough to acquire education and skills and outperform nonmigrants in the labor market, implying that they may have acquired more human capital (education and skills), even though their advantage declined during the 1980s.

Closer analysis of the data leads us to be skeptical of this interpretation. Based on 1980 census data, at the time of return migrants had lower levels of economic activity and no greater rates of school attendance than all American Samoans. This throws some doubt on the hypothesis of greater acquisition of education and skills. The undeniably greater economic success of return migrants does not necessarily mean that they have acquired human capital as a result of migration. Migration is a selective process. Those who migrate would have been more successful than the average nonmigrant even if they had not migrated.

Thus it seems that American Samoans may have benefited from

migration to the United States but that the relative benefit declined in the 1980s. The conclusion is tentative and cannot be resolved until better data are collected on migrants and return migrants. Data could be collected on the productive attributes (education, training, occupation, and the like) of migrants at the time of migration and at their return. Expanded entry and exit cards may be used to collect these data. This information would need to be augmented with data on the individual's earnings and assets, such as those collected in the income and expenditure surveys carried out in American Samoa in 1985 and 1988. Collection, storage, and analysis of such data would allow the calculation of the benefits of migration with controls for the selectivity of migration and return migration.[9] An ideal and unified approach to collecting such data is a panel, that is, individuals in randomly selected families are interviewed over a period of years. Such panels are utilized in many developed countries and in some developing countries. There are currently efforts being made to establish such panel data collections in some countries in Micronesia. A valuable addition to this statistical approach is the approach of in-depth case studies, such as used by Macpherson, and life histories of migrants.[10] Case studies and life histories give valuable insights that statistical studies do not, but they are necessarily limited to small numbers and their representativeness is suspect. The different approaches are complementary rather than substitutes.

NOTES

The author has benefited from discussions with Michael Levin and Vai Filiga and comments from Dale Robertson and four reviewers. An earlier version of this article was presented at the Hawaiians' and Pacific Islanders' Census Data Conference, East-West Center, Honolulu, February 1993.

1. Although there is no post-enumeration survey carried out in American Samoa, the census data are judged to be of high quality. The labor-force questions in the census yielded data consistent with data from labor-force surveys carried out in 1985 and 1988 (Michael Levin, U.S. Bureau of the Census, pers. com., 1993). In addition, the methodologies used in the 1980 and 1990 censuses were consistent, strengthening the validity of comparisons across the censuses.

2. Of the 27,511 individuals aged 5 years and older, 689 did not report a place of residence in 1980; 371 of these were born in American Samoa. To calculate these percentages, I used as denominators the totals of those who reported a place of residence.

3. The 1980 figure is from Ahlburg and Levin (1990) and the 1990 figure is from unpublished census data.

4. Data on educational attainment by residence in 1975 were not published in the 1980 census report.

5. Michael Levin, Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census, provided these data from STF3 (Summary Tape File 3) (U.S. Bureau of the Census n.d.). They are discussed in greater detail in Ahlburg and Levin (1990:80-83).

6. Data more finely disaggregated by age would allow a more conclusive test of the role of education in return migration.

7. Connell characterized returned migrants as a group, largely composed of those who had failed overseas (1984:192). This does not appear to be true for American Samoan return migrants.

8. An argument can be made for migration if migration results in some other nation's paying for the acquisition of education and skills.

9. Data on nonmigrants would also be needed to control for the selectivity of migration.

10. See Ala'ilima and Stover (1986) for a discussion of life histories and Chapman (1991) for a discussion of more qualitative studies of migration.

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EDITOR'S FORUM

RAPANUI IMAGES

Grant McCall
University of New South Wales

Exotic locations always have appealed to Hollywood and other filmmakers, even if they had to be created using potted plants on a back lot in downtown Burbank or the Cine Cittá outside Rome. As cinematic technology improved, films moved out of the studio and on location; the world became Hollywood's back lot.[1] People began to believe that if something *actually* was filmed in a particular place, then the story *must* be true. That did not prevent filmmakers from using similar locales, rather than the actual places, for their stories. Thus, Francis Ford Coppola's epic *Apocalypse Now!* (1979), set in Vietnam, was filmed in the Philippines.[2]

The Pacific has been always a focal point for European *imagining*, as Bernard Smith has demonstrated so well in a string of publications, his most recent being a summary of his life's enterprise (1992).

The earliest European visitors to Rapanui produced visual images of what they saw, the first illustration appearing in 1728, just six years after Dutch Admiral Jacob Roggeveen happened upon the place and gave the island the name by which it is known throughout the world: Easter Island (see Bahn and Flenley 1992: 139). Since then, images fanciful and realistic have been published, from engravings to cartoons to moody studies of the landscape. and the people. Wistful and evocative sketches of the Rapanui of 1872 by Pierre Loti (Julian Vaud) (Loti 1988) followed the more formal renderings of Cooks Webber and the slightly comical La Pérouse portrayal of the Rapanui cleverly thieving from the French visitors (McCall 199455). A good recent example of a tourism

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report is an article published in the March 1993 issue of *National Geographic* (Conniff 1993).[3] Equally photogenic is the heavily illustrated and imaginative account of recent archaeological work done on the island (Domenici and Domenici 1993).

The first application of modern photography to the Rapanui people (but not their island) occurred in 1871, when a group was asked to pose with characteristic artifacts, including a *rongo-rongo* tablet, in front of the residence of the Archbishop of Tahiti. Well-dressed and enthusiastic, the Rapanui were in the employ of the Catholic Church on plantations at Mahina, just outside Papeete. At around the same time, an American photographer, Thomas Croft, came to Tahiti and photographed a number of Rapanui (1875), his interest being their tattoos. These photographs were never published and, as they were stored in the California Academy of Science in San Francisco, I presume them lost in the devastation of the 1906 earthquake. In 1877, Alphonse Pinart (1878; McCall 199455) brought a photographer to the island, E. Bayard, who made a series of studies resulting in a tableau of the French crew being received by the self-styled Queen of Rapanui. While the engraving demonstrates that a series of individual portraits were taken, the actual photographs have never been published and their whereabouts is unknown.

The report of Paymaster William J. Thomson (1891) of his 1886 U.S. Navy expedition contains photographs of the Rapanui and their land. Thomson's publication is well illustrated and, when his ship arrived in Tahiti after the Rapanui visit, he presented an extensive album to the bishop there. That album resides in the Archives of the Sacred-Hearts in Rome presently and contains photographs of the people and the island that have never been published.[4]

At around the same time, and in Tahiti again, Rapanui who had taken up work with the Catholic Church and its partner, John Brander, had purchased land at Pamata'i near the present-day airport at Faaa. In a sweep through the Pacific, Arthur Baessler (1900) captured two images, one of two children, the other of an old man in front of his Rapanui-style house, for his *Neue Südseebilder.*

The visit of a French naval ship, the *Durance,* in 1901 brought a medical doctor, Delabaude, who photographed a group of Rapanui at Hangaroa and the officers of the ship preparing their lunch on the seaward side of the gigantic Ahu Tongariki (Chauvet n.d.: 82 and pl. 27, fig. 35). The Hangaroa photograph appears in a recent, heavily illustrated French introduction to Rapanui (Orliac and Orliac 1988:117).

The most prolific and detailed photographer of Rapanui was Henry Percy Edmunds (1879-1958), administrator of the sheep ranch interests

on Rapanui from 1904 to his final departure in 1929.[5] Edmunds was the second son, after brother Clive and before sister Catherine, in a prosperous family, the wealth coming mainly from the mother, née Thornley. Clive received a full education, but Percy, as he preferred to be known, left home at the age of eighteen or so to seek his fortune overseas, landing in Argentina to work on a sheep ranch, where he learned his trade. In 1904, Edmunds contracted with Enrique Merlet to be administrator of ranching interests on Rapanui, arriving there to replace another Englishman, Horace Cooper. Cooper is remembered well, along with Merlet, for assassinating Riro, the last king of Rapanui, and for disposing of any islander who opposed their rule. Merlet himself, during Cooper's reign (from 1900), had gone to Rapanui and set fire to the islanders' crops to demonstrate his power over them.

Edmunds, at age twenty-six, arrived on an island where any opposition to outsider rule had been cleared. The surviving population consisted mainly of the old and a few very young. A visiting Catholic priest, Father Isidore Butaye, and a Chilean naval captain had recorded a population of just 213 persons in 1900, this number increasing to but 237 in 1902 (Ossandon 1903:487). Apart from the Rapanui, there were two Europeans and one Tahitian living on the island. One was Vincent Pont (or Pons, 1866-1946), born in Brest, France, who had come to Rapanui sometime in the 1880s, married a local woman, and produced one son, born in 1896. Rafael Cardinali (1886-1936) was born in Viareggio, Italy, and fathered a daughter with a local woman in 1917 (Branchi 1934: 114). The Tahitian, Moehanga, was married but had no children. The outsider making the census took two others, Tuamotuans Elisabeth and Bartholomé Rangitaki, both married to Rapanui, as being Rapanui themselves.

Moehanga and Cardinali held various positions with Edmunds and later administrators; and the ranching company, frankly known as La Campania Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua,[6] in its various forms saw them as trustworthy. Pont only worked from time to time and kept largely with his Rapanui in-laws and family. In fact, Pont was involved with two Rapanui in one of the few murders to take place on the island in this century, that of a company guard named Bautista Cousin. Cousin, like Pont, was a Frenchman. He was killed at Vinapu on 22 August 1915 at the age of fifty-six because, so the oral tradition tells it, he was just too hard on the islanders, perhaps reminiscent of the bad old days of Horace Cooper.[7]

Edmunds's time on Rapanui was broken by the occasional visits of researchers, such as the Chilean team headed by Walter Knoche in 1911

(1925), Englishwoman Katherine Scoresby Routledge in 1914-1915, and the New Zealander, John Macmillan Brown, in 1923. Others of lesser note passed through as well on the annual supply ships. There were also the regular visits of the Chilean Navy to check up on the foreigner and the business he represented.

Mostly, Edmunds dedicated himself to a constant round of hard work, riding his island domain by day and working late into the night. His first son was born in 1909 and the last child, a daughter, appeared after his departure, in 1929. Some time around 1910 or 1911, Edmunds, who took a year's leave from Rapanui but four times, left for his first period away and, either in England or Valparaiso, he purchased a camera and darkroom supplies, thus becoming the island's first resident photographer.

Knoche, Routledge, and Brown used Edmunds's photographs in their publications (see, for example, Knoche 1925; Routledge 1919; Brown 1924) and he freely gave his work away to visitors. As well, he sent a constant stream of photographs to his mother in England, to whom he was devoted. In the early 1920s, his long-term correspondent, Captain A. W. F. Fuller,[8] the art collector, persuaded Edmunds to round up a collection of photographs of the people and their remarkable material culture and to send them to him. The catalogue of the FuIler collection in Chicago[9] notes artifacts acquired from Edmunds in four batches, from 1907, 1909-1918, 1919-1925, and 1925-1929. Taking into account the ages of the people in the photographs that I was able to identify with Victoria Rapahango Tepuku and others in 1973, I judge that Edmunds sent the Fuller collection photographs in the second batch.

The Edmunds view of Rapanui was that of the perpetual tourist. When he acquired a roll-film Kodak camera in Valparaiso in the early 1920s, he would either sling the machine over his shoulder or pop it into his jacket when he went to public festivals. He recorded the life of the sheep ranch. The Chilean-based Williamson, Balfour company, the controller of the Rapanui ranch, is still in business and selling automobiles in Chile. They have a collection of photographs of corrals, livestock, and other aspects of farm life. There is a similar collection at the London offices of the same company.

From the researcher's point of view, Edmunds's studies of the Rapanui themselves are the most interesting part of his work. The photographs are mostly carefully, sometimes artfully, posed, reflecting formal styles of the times. Sometimes there are crowd scenes showing action, dancing, and the like. Many people on the island today treasure Edmunds's photographs for often they are the only record of loved ones

long since deceased. Only one Rapanui, Juan Porotu, refused to be photographed and had to be sketched by Mrs. Routledge for her research.[10]

The collection of Edmunds photographs at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum consists of 154 negatives, 146 of which are exquisitely delicate glass, the others being nitrates and a modern copy of a cracked glass one. As well, there are 43 Edmunds photographs without negatives, all obtained through Captain Fuller's widow in a donation and purchase agreement in 1964.[11]

Cinematic Images

Apart from an apocryphal tale of a silent movie made by an unknown Chilean on Rapanui in the early part of the century, the first documented film about the place was shot and produced by Henri Storck in 1936 (Cinema Éditions Production), when the Belgian naval ship *Mercator* came to collect Drs. Henri Lavacherry and Alfred Métraux, who had arrived six months before to carry out archaeological and ethnological work.[12] The film, directed with melodramatic gusto and featuring a full orchestral score by Maurice Jaubert (who also did the narration), shows islanders, the monuments, and a public dance. A theme of decay and decadence characterizes the film, the motif portrayed gruesomely by extensive close-ups of the inhabitants of the leper colony there at the time. The film suited a romantic image of a mysterious lost civilization, the survivors eking out a pitiful existence on a barren rock.

Métraux, on the *Mercator,* direct from his work on Rapanui, stopped at the Bishop Museum in February 1935 and was engaged by (then) Director Peter Buck for two years beginning in January 1936. Along with writing his authoritative *Ethnology of Easter Island* (1940), Métraux sent the museum a collection of eighty-one photographs and items of printed material, which was received in August 1935. Many of the photographs are from Métraux's own visit, but there are miscellaneous ones bearing the imprint of a photographer in Valparaiso, "Vogel," with an indication that these were taken between 1906 and 1914.[13]

As European familiarity with Rapanui has progressed (through time, only), the theme of contemporary decadence and ancient splendor has come to dominate the documentary image of the place. This image has prompted a number of persons whom I have met to inquire incredulously, "Are there people on Easter Island?" after they find out about my social anthropological research there. If people were photographed, it was often because they have some anthropological characteristic,

such as alleged "purity" of the Rapanui race. The human in that form becomes the specimen (see Edwards 1993).

The next prominent cinematic image of the island derives from the Thor Heyerdahl expedition of 1955 and the sixty-minute production dramatically titled *Aku-Aku* (Heyerdahl 1959) to accompany the leader's popular book of the same name (Heyerdahl 1958). Klymyshyn (1976) reviewed *Aku-Aku,* along with a 1970 twenty-eight-minute production, *Easter Island: Puzzle of the Pacific* (Eagle 1970), featuring the work of William Mulloy, a long-time archaeologist there.

After Heyerdahl's visit, and perhaps because of it, Chilean authorities permitted the island to be more open to the world after a half-century of tight naval control. Schoolchildren were allowed to study on the mainland, more tourists could come, and cruise ships began stopping over, the first organized by Heyerdahl through his Norwegian shipping contacts. There were more documentaries for schools and for the cinema, by Chileans and others. With the 1960s, the next major expedition, that of the Canadian Medical Expedition to Easter Island (METEI) in 1964-1965, produced its own twenty-eight-minute short, featuring what was only the second revolt against Chilean authority in the island's history (the first was 1914). *Island Observed* (Lemieux 1966) is available still in 16 mm and breaks from the usual view by displaying islanders of all sorts prominently, the archaeology taking second place for once.[14]

A filmography of Rapanui, especially of those made after the coming of regular air service in 1971, would be a long list indeed, especially with the numerous television productions all purporting to reveal the "truth" or "mystery" about Easter Island, words that appear in many of the titles. The majority of these, I would estimate at an average of two each year since 1971, were made by television production crews from Europe, North and South America, and Asia. Some few of these are available in film libraries and from commercial distributors. Of the twenty productions in the filmography below, four do not concern Rapanui but are discussed for comparative purposes. I present the first documentaries about Rapanui (Storck 1935; Heyerdahl 1959; Lemieux 1966) above and three commercial feature films (Eggleston 1986; Karst 1970; Reynolds 1994) are taken up in the next section. The ten remaining titles are distributed over the decades, with one from the 1960s (Anon. 1969), five in the 1970s (Anon. 1971; Costeau 1978; Eagle 1970; Krainin 1978; Landsburg 1976), three in the 1980s (Anon. 1982; Lynch and Lerner 1988a, 1988b), and one in the present decade (Triester 1990).

It took some time for Rapanui to be discovered as a fictional, as opposed to documentary, film venue. *Les soleils de l'île de Pâques* was released in 1970 (Karst 1970), just after intermittent air service had been established, using luxuriously outfitted DC-10 propeller aircraft from Santiago. A joint French, Brazilian and Chilean production, the film was produced, written, and directed by Pierre Karst, a minor French director who did his first film, a humorous science-fiction one called *Un amour de poche,* in 1957 (Prédal 1991:144). According to one synopsis, six characters, all unknown to one another, discover that they have the same sign on their palms and this means that they must go to Easter Island for some mysterious purpose. Unknown beings from an unknown time and place meet with them in a cave to study their souls. The powerful beings find that human souls have nothing in them but violence and a survival-of-the-fittest ethic, so the beings go away, perhaps to return another day. The critic concludes: "[Karst] makes his point in a private film, very slow, with beautiful images of nothing spectacular, which requires the close attention of the viewer in order to be fully appreciated" (Tulard 1990:775; my translation).

A small number of outsiders and a few Rapanui posed for the filming at the principal archaeological sites. One, a long-term Chilean resident, Edmundo Edwards, told me he played a Rapanui priest presiding at an ancient ceremony. One Rapanui resident in France has seen *Les soleils* at least twice on television, but recent attempts to locate a copy resulted in finding only an archive print not for public viewing. Given its mystical melodramatic character, it is perhaps just as well.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the Rapanui obsessions in the Australian-made potboiler, *Sky Pirates* (Eggleston 1986), an imitation of the Indiana Jones films.[15] Starring a toothy John Hargreaves, who should know better, the story is built around an alleged curse: "He who disturbs the sacred *moai,* meets death."[16] The story opens with what we can take to be a *rongo-rongo* tablet being stolen in 1886 (a reference to Paymaster Thomson and his numerous acquisitions?). In the course of the robbery in a gigantic cave, a *moai* (monolithic stone figure) begins to glow and rocks come pouring perilously down, the tablet shattering into three pieces, two of which are stolen. We come to the present (World War II actually) and devil-may-care (what else?) pilot Hargreaves is enlisted on a quest to reunite the pieces, for in that state they are a "source of unlimited power" like other sacred sites, including Uluru (Ayer's Rock). Hargreaves battles Nazis (of course) and, at one point, spinning *moai* and other objects roughly resembling Rapanui artifacts batter his seaplane, bringing it down. Ultimately, virtue tri-

umphs on Rapanui; when the pieces are joined, *moai* glow against a background of golden treasures and the Nazi melts. Need I say that the pilot gets the girl and never loses either his hat or his leather flight jacket? The use of Rapanui images in the Game Boy cartridge "Super Mario Land" and this Australian effort differ only in the size of the screen used!

Rapanui's "Eco Epic"

In 1993, though, came production of the first big-budget movie to be made on Rapanui, which has had not a little press as the principal financier is Kevin Costner, whose evocative *Dances with Wolves* broke forever the way that American Indians had been portrayed on the screen (Costner 1990), although those with longer memories will remember the equally sympathetic, but less heroic, *Little Big Man* with Dustin Hoffman more than two decades previously (Penn 1970). My preliminary impression suggests, though, that this effort, with the tentative title *Rapa Nui* or, in other accounts, *The Centre of the World,* may be a kind of *Dances with Moais.*[17]

The Chilean press began buzzing with excitement in August of 1992 when the producer Jim Wilson and director Kevin Reynolds, but not star/producer Costner, visited Chile to get permission to film and to case the island. *La Epoca* of 29 August broke the story. Reynolds's best-known success to date is *Robin Hood,* with Costner in the title role. The director claims that he has had the Rapanui project in mind for some time, but only in 1991 did he finally make his first visit to the island.

Fears that the movie would become some kind of a travesty have been stirred in Chile and among Rapanui enthusiasts in the United States.[18] Are these justified?

The *New Zealand Herald* of 22 February 1993 reported that the arrival of technicians (mostly from Australia, who began to turn up in December 1992) and actors considerably enlivened the place. No Rapanui have speaking parts, but about 130 were hired as set constructors and perhaps another 400 as extras for the film. According to the *Herald* article, *Rapa Nui* is set in 1680, the date that the priest long resident on the island, Father Sebastian Englert, calculated as the battle between the *moai* builders and the people who actually did the hard work. The plot centers around a "love triangle," Canadian actor *(Black Robe)* Sandrine Holt being the love interest. Jason Scott Lee, who starred as Bruce Lee in *Dragon,* and Esai Morales, who was Richie Valens's brother in *La Bamba,* are the "Rapanui" loves between whom she is torn.

Throughout January and February 1993, in the temporary Auckland, New Zealand, offices of "Easter Island Productions," a string of Maori actors (and one Rapanui hopeful) were auditioned for about fifty parts. One well-known Maori actor, who was offered a prominent speaking part, withdrew his application when told he was to receive just US$75,000 for the work, claiming that the movie was paying "nigger rates" to its actors. Nevertheless, some experienced Maori actors, such as George Henare and the Reverend Eru Potaka-Dewes, are in the cast. Mr. Lani Tupu, Senior, who, apart from possessing acting skills, is a tutor in anthropology at Victoria University of Wellington and a human rights commissioner in New Zealand, also has a speaking part.[19]

Writer Tim Rose Price fashioned a script that might be best described as a palimpsest, a kind of rendering of Rapanui history, working with Rapanui themes but essentially a contrivance, a concoction.[20] The writer and his director, probably his producer, Costner, too--they all have a story they wish to tell and they are using Rapanui and some elements of the place to get across their message. More about what I think that message is in a moment.

Their partial source is chapter 8 of Englert's authoritative book, *La Tierra de Hotu Matu'a* (1948:117-126). I say partial because one of the main features of the movie is the erroneous assignment of the designations "Long Ears" and "Short Ears" to the antagonists in the battle that becomes the catharsis of the film. Had they only read the previous chapter (Englert 1948:88-89; see also Englert 1970), they would have known what any Rapanui does: The terms *hanau eepe* and *hanau momoko* refer not to how these groups dealt with their ears but with their alleged physical appearance. *Hanau eepe* means people or "race" of "wide, corpulent, stocky" build, while *hanau momoko* means thin people. A war between the "short, fat people" versus "tall, thin people" does not have quite the same ring to it as "Long Ears" versus "Short Ears," so the convenient fiction continues. Also, the *moai*-building complex is not contemporaneous with the birdman ceremony of Orongo, although the movie lumps them together. Did the moviemakers find outtakes of *Les soleils de l'île de Pâques?*

"Ororoine," whose name is in Rapanui legend, is the lead and would-be birdman, son of a father who abandoned the island. The moviemakers have rechristened him variously "Oroinia" or "Ororoina," but the Rapanui are used to people misspelling their names and words. There is also an evil king, "Ngaara," a name that figures in island genealogies, notably in that collected by Bishop Tepano Jaussen in the last century: Ngaara was the great-grandfather of the last genealogical

king of Rapanui (who was baptized "Gregorio" by the missionaries shortly before his death as a child).

The girlfriend, an entirely fictional "Ramana," described as "spunky" in the casting notes distributed in New Zealand, provides a tragic love interest and, in spite of (no doubt tastefully filmed) passionate lovemaking, takes herself off to a desiccating virgin's cave. In a bit of close approximation, Ramana's father is "Haoa"; according to tradition, the traditional Ororoine married the daughter of Haoa.

No Euro-American film about power and superstition would be complete without an evil priest and this drama has one too, in the form of "Tupa."

The "revolution" takes place much as Rapanui storytellers have related it and, indeed, there is a terrible aftermath of cannibalism and internecine warfare, testified to enough in the actual oral tradition, which should give the movie its "mature audience" rating for box office success.

What will the public make of this latest assault on the Polynesian image, so lovingly portrayed in numerous films from Jon Hall to Dorothy Lamour and the numerous *Bounty* films? Will they be surprised at dialogue like, "Did you hear me tell that priest to kiss my ass?" Or, a late love scene:

Oroinia
You've always been beautiful to me.
Ramana
Then why haven't you kissed me yet?
(kiss)
Ramana
You didn't tell me Make was swimming too . . . and that he's to die.
Oroinia
You didn't tell me about the child.

The dialogue goes from standard "native" elliptical phrases to the modern: At one point a female character calls another a "hot bitch." And, in a conversation with a friend, Make, the other part of the love triangle, sounds more rapper than Rapanui when he gives his opinion of the island where he lives: "And here [meaning Rapanui] shits." If melodrama in Western settings can be "soap," perhaps we can think of *Rapa Nui* as a "coconut opera" in its Pacific locale?

From the pre-release material available, what are the messages that this film wishes to portray? In press statements published in Chile in late 1992, one focus of the film is to use, in Bonnemaison's phrase (1990-

1991), the island as metaphor. That is, Rapanui is to be taken as a microcosm, as an exemplar of, as one science-fiction movie put it, "*This Island Earth*" (Newman 1955). The Rapanui exhausted themselves and their environment by overexploitation. They pushed their society and their island to limits that could not be sustained. There was a break, the system snapped, and the entire cultural and physical edifice came tumbling down. There is a mild revolutionary message here, too, for it is the oppressed who overthrow the squandering overlords.

As far as I know, it was William Mulloy who first ventured this environmentalist metaphor in a popular article published two decades ago (1974). Young took up the same theme in a 1991 article (1993), while a recent book makes the point even stronger (and with more evidence) by having as its subtitle *A Message from Our Past for the Future of Our Planet* (Bahn and Flenley 1992). Catton has a similar message in his very recent comparative article (1993). One of the first journalistic articles that I have seen referring to the film has been published in a popular Italian nature and travel magazine and the authors make the environmental theme its focal point (Domenici and Domenici 1993). Even before the release of the film, there already were magazine articles appearing criticizing the use made of Easter Island for the film, most with illustrations of props scattered about the landscape. The *Rapa Nui Journal* for March 1994 included references to American (Allen 1993; Krause 1994; Scheller 1993) and German (Gaede 1993) critiques of the filming and its alleged damage to the island.

While director Reynolds denied in 1992 interviews in Chile that he was making "an ecological film," the script summary that I have seen suggests that this will be a prominent theme. The Italian article seems to confirm this. To emphasize this theme, some forest shots apparently were to have been done in New Zealand, so watch out for the kiwis in the background! The only forests presently on the island have been planted in this century and they are either of pine or nearly thirty kinds of eucalyptus, the latter started by sheep ranch administrator and photographer Edmunds.

There is another, more subtle message, I think, that will develop from the movie and that is one that is common enough in colonial discourse: Natives did not know how to govern themselves due to their backwardness and, so, the coming of Europeans and their rule enforced a pax on the squabbling natives. The proximity of the date of the war (which is based upon Englert's genealogical deduction) to the coming of the Dutch is tempting for such a conclusion. I believe this more subtle thought is implicit and not conscious.

Although 6 April 1994 was given as the official release date for *Rapa*

Nui in many publications in early 1994, only audiences in Australia and New Zealand seem to have been so honored. The *Rapa Nui Journal* for March 1994 suggests that September is the more likely U.S. and general release date. In the meantime, a dribble of articles will continue to appear about the film and a couple of months prior to the final release a heavily illustrated book by the film's director and script writer is due to be published to whet fan appetites (Reynolds and Price 1994).

We specialists can be a tiresome lot. When popular culture dares to invade our remote patches, we spring in defense of our knowledge capital. In our own work, we insist upon a level of authenticity and exactitude that makes our publications somewhat dull. The speculations of the moviemaker and his or her embellishments sparkle in the popular imagination; our tomes with our dates and footnotes and modest print runs are as remote from the cinema queue as two cultural achievements can be.

Even though I know the storyline of the film, I will go to *Rapa Nui* in the same spirit that I find "hyperreal"[21] theme parks a curious excursion: to see what they do with the idea.

NOTES

Research on Rapanui since 1972 has been supported by The Australian National University, the Australian Research Council, and the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of The University of New South Wales. I am grateful to these institutions for their past and, where appropriate, continued support. The present draft of this article was done while the author was on sabbatical leave, associated with the Laboratoire d'Ethnologie Méditerranéenne et Comparative, of the University of Provence. Professor Christian Bromberger was most generous in the provision of work facilities and Ms. Blondine Nouvel and Mr. Alain Beyma both assisted in practical ways with my work.

1. Some hopeful filming sites, such as Hawai'i, make special efforts to cater for production work, maintaining "a computerised locations library complete with thousands of photographs . . . to aid film companies in choosing the perfect setting for their project" (Crites 1993:19). Every year, the Association of Film Commissioners stages "Location Expo" in Los Angeles, which provides "an international one-stop shopping arena for producers interested in shooting on location" (Crites 1993:20).

2. Production details and availability of *Apocalypse Now!* and other feature films may be found in the various editions of the *VideoHound's Golden Movie Retriever;* for this article, I have used the 1994 edition.

3. The *Rapa Nui [sic] Journal,* in its seventh volume in 1993, prints occasional sightings of such images, as does its European counterpart, *L'Echo de Rapa Nui.*

4. I examined this large-format, bound album in Rome in December 1986, thanks to the kindness of Father Amerigo Cools, whose extensive knowledge of Catholic Church archives of the Pacific is legendary.

5. I am grateful to his sons, principally Urbano Edmunds Hey and Jorge Edmunds Rapahango, for the details of the life of their remarkable father. Gladys Reina Edmunds and Major A. T. Thornley, respectively daughter and nephew of H. P. Edmunds, kindly contributed other information.

6. Details of the history of the company are found in Porteous (1978, 1981), especially in the section where he calls this sort of commercial formation "the company state."

7. The date of death and exact name are from the Civil Register on Rapanui. The place and other details of his death are from oral tradition, told to me by various Rapanui.

8. Alfred Walter Francis Fuller (1882-1961) was a noted collector of ethnographica throughout his life, beginning his collections as a child. Some of Fuller's library and artifacts were donated or sold to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, by Fuller's widow, including the Edmunds photographs. These details are from the Bishop Museum's archives. The main Fuller collection is in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

9. The archives of the Bishop Museum hold a catalogue of the Chicago collection on individually typed cards, which I examined in 1993. The number of artifacts sent suggests that purchasing continued at a pace for more than two decades. The 1907 shipment contained nine objects, with tallies for the following years being: 1908 (five objects), 1909-1918 (sixteen objects), 1919-1925 (twenty-three objects), 1925 ("via Lt. Col. H. J. Kelsall," two objects), 1926 (forty objects), and 1929 (one identified object). Most, if not all, of these artifacts were manufactured for Fuller through Edmunds's intervention on the island, using photographs and drawings of originals in various European museums (see O'Reilly 1986).

10. Edmunds's story and that of other outsiders resident on Rapanui will be taken up by me in a subsequent publication, with the working title *Matamu'a.*

11. Luella H. Kurkjian (of the Bishop Museum Archives) accessioned this collection some years later and she kindly assisted me in uncovering these details in 1993.

12. Production details, a brief synopsis, and distribution information for these productions are found in Aoki (1994:38, 54, 88, 131, 133, 138, 158, 236, 244, 257, 260, 268), alphabetically by title. See also the filmography at the end of this article for all films mentioned in this text.

13. Further details on how Métraux came to acquire the Vogel prints are not available as Métraux's field notebooks were loaned by the Bishop Museum to a German linguist in 1956 and have not been returned.

14. A good account of the METEI expedition is in a book by one of the medical doctors on the trip, Helen Evans Reid (1965).

15. Producers John Lamond and Michael Hirsh, along with director Colin Eggleston, are the main guilty parties to this forgettable effort at Polynesian mysticism.

16. Later, the "translation" is regiven as "will feel the hand of death"!

17. The Chilean press mention the title *Centre of the World* mostly: see, for example, *La Epoca,* 28 November 1992. Tricia Allen, a Ph.D. student in anthropology at the University of Hawai'i, used the *moai* phrase in her photographically documented report on the filming, "Dances with *Moai:* Effects of a Hollywood Production on *Rapa Nui,*" read at the "Rapa Nui Rendezvous" held at the University of Wyoming from 3 to 6 August 1993.

18. Georgia Lee, archaeologist and publisher/editor of *Rapa Nui Journal,* has provided a detailed account of the island's early reaction to the filming (1993).

19. Dr. Nancy Pollock of the Department of Anthropology, Victoria University, told me about her tutor's temporary defection to the bright lights of Rapanui. Other New Zealand material and script information from confidential personal communications.

20. This is not unlike Rob MacGregor's *Indiana Jones and the Interior World* (1992), a novelistic offshoot of the Lucasfilm feature films, which places the hero on Easter Island, one of the "portals" of the mysterious "Inner World." To be fair, unlike freewheeling storyteller MacGregor, *Rapa Nui* script writer Tim Rose Price at least has *tried* to keep to ethnographic and archaeological facts.

21. I take the phrase from Eco, especially the lead essay (1987:3-58), which is an intellectual travelogue through American mass entertainment, first published in 1975. I contribute my own tongue-in-cheek critique of Eco's *Foucault's Pendulum* (McCall 1992).

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BOOK REVIEW FORUM

Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific.* Princeton: Princeton University Press; Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992. Pp. xvii, 251, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index, illustrations. US$24.95 cloth.

Review: DAVID HANLON
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MANOA

On the Practical, Pragmatic, and Political Interpretations of a Death in the Pacific

I read this book to be about the deaths of two men: that of the late eighteenth-century British explorer Captain James Cook and the other of Wijedasa, the Sri Lankan cabdriver and friend of the author who perished at the hands of repressive political forces in Sri Lanka rather than betray his son. These deaths, Gananath Obeyesekere tells us, are linked across time and space by a persisting legacy; that legacy is an international cult of terror resulting from European expansion over the globe. For purposes of this essay, I will focus on Obeyesekere's deconstruction of Cook's death and the two centuries of writing on it. Of the two deaths, it is the more prominently addressed and documented. I wish we knew more of Wijedasa, though; his fate obviously exerts a formidable influence over *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook,* making it the impressive, intriguing, and problematic work that it is. There should be a book about Wijedasa as well, but the discourse of European imperialism, not its victims, provides the primary focus of the publication under review.

Obeyesekere's thesis is relatively straightforward and clearly argued. The author contends that the image of Captain Cook as living Polyne-

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sian god was created not by Hawaiians but by Europeans, and as part of a larger mythic charter for their conquest, imperialism, and colonization in the world. The Princeton anthropologist begins his attack upon the apotheosis of Cook by debunking first a related myth--that of Cook as hero. To do this, the author employs a set of "myth models" drawn from the works of William Shakespeare and Joseph Conrad. On the first of his three Pacific voyages, Cook stands as Prospero, a harbinger of civilization who remains immune to savage ways in his promotion of progress and enlightened culture. Over the course of his twelve-year travels, however, Cook becomes transformed into a Kurtz who loses his identity and becomes in effect the very savage he despises. Evidence for this transformation is drawn from the accounts of Cook and those who sailed with him. On his third and final voyage, Cook demonstrates an increasingly marked propensity for violence and erratic, often irrational behavior. In Tonga and later Tahiti, Cook resorts to force to protect his expedition against what he views as insolence, theft, and general disrespect on the part of island peoples. At Eimeo, the taking of two goats on 6 October 1778 leads to a two-day rampage of wanton destruction in which houses are burned and war canoes destroyed. Errors, miscalculations, and mistakes mark the trip north toward Hawai'i; the hardships of the voyage induce in the British explorer fits of rage that seaman James Trevenen of the *Resolution* refers to as *"heivas";* Trevenen saw Cooks violent foot stamping and his exaggerated body gestures when angry as resembling Polynesian dancing.

Having worked to establish the British explorer as civilizer turned savage, as Prospero become Kurtz, Obeyesekere uses the arrival of Cook in Hawai'i to examine the theory of his apotheosis. Western scholarship has tended to see the opposition between the mythic world of the Hawaiians and the pragmatic, rational one of the British as resolved in the identification of Cook with Lono, the Hawaiian god of fertility. The unquestioned acceptance of Cooks deification in life has become accepted wisdom and has brought Western scholarship to what Obeyesekere calls "the border zone of history, hagiography and mythmaking" (p. 50). Not surprisingly, the work of the University of Chicago anthropologist Marshall Sahlins receives particular attention and criticism.

Sahlins, according to Obeyesekere, uses the apotheosis of Cook to advance the interests of structural history; the result gives theoretical imprimatur to European visions of Cook's deification and advances the myth in "interesting and unexpected" ways that ultimately sustain European hegemony over the area and its past. Obeyesekere views Sahlins's effort as flawed from the start by the limitations of its theoreti-

cal approach. Reflecting his own preference for a more cognitive, psychological anthropology, Obeyesekere argues that structuralism can only account for history and practical action through a formal, mathematically elegant set of transformations concerned more with abstract structures than with people and the complexities of their lives. Far from the conjuncture of structures, Obeyesekere views the arrival of Cook and his ships as entailing ruptures in the Lono belief system and the rituals around it. Obeyesekere asks how the generally disruptive behavior of sailors, their interaction with native women, the consequent disease, and the general chasm of cultural values and expectations that separated the British from the Hawaiians could possibly have led Hawaiians to accept Cook as the god Lono. Obeyesekere posits instead that these disjunctions led to a plurality of responses from different levels of Hawaiian society, none of which involved the realization of mythopraxis or, to put it another way, the historical reenactment of a mythical precedent. Obeyesekere adds with emphasis that of all the journals produced by the members of the third Cook expedition, only two--those of Lieutenant John Rickman and Seaman Heinrich Zimmerman--actually describe Cook as being perceived as something other than a man.

Obeyesekere's refutation of Sahlins's work is painstakingly detailed. He finds no evidence to suggest that, at the time of Cook's visit, the rituals of the Makahiki--the Hawaiian festival of thanksgiving dedicated to the god Lono--were as stylized, formal, or widespread as Sahlins describes them. The standardization of the Makahiki, believes Obeyesekere, came some two decades later with the rise of Kamehameha I to dominance over the island group. Similarly, the author doubts that Hawaiians understood Cooks ships to be floating temples and their main masts to resemble the stick and cloth images of Lono used in the ceremonies of the Makahiki. Obeyesekere can find no documentary support for the contention that the Kali'i, the closing rite of the Makahiki, involved a ritual confrontation between Lono and the Hawaiian war god Ku; what the Kāli'i rite involved was the reenactment of the death of Kū, not Lono. If Cook's death made him a Hawaiian deity, it should have been Ku, not Lono. Moreover, argues Obeyesekere, the death of the ordinary seaman William Watman and his burial in the special temple or *heiau* designed for the conclusion of the Makahiki was regarded by Hawaiians not as human sacrifice to mark the beginning of the season of Kū but as the pollution of sacred space. The decision to bury Watman in that holy ground involved Cooks affection for the fatherly Watman and the need to provide him a proper Christian burial. The subsequent removal of the pilings and sacred images of that *heiau* did

not constitute an act consistent with Hawaiian ritual prescription, but rather involved Cook's attempt to resolve the guilt and debasement he felt over his earlier participation in the rituals held at that temple. Readers should note here that Obeyesekere draws heavily from Freud in analyzing Cook's relationship with his men.

Obeyesekere's differences with Sahlins involve more than matters of emphasis or interpretation. The Princeton scholar charges the Chicago anthropologist with a series of academic violations that include an uncritical reliance on a limited number of accounts; a selective, self-serving use of certain passages; a failure to consider the ambiguities, nuances, and contradictions in those passages; and a refusal to acknowledge the weighty counterevidence of other, more substantial and reliable texts. Obeyesekere believes that Hawaiians' reference to Cook as Lono is best understood as the result of timing and Hawaiian politics. Hawaiians, asserts Obeyesekere, bestowed titles or chiefly names to locate an individual in time and place; thus, the bestowal of the title Lono on Cook marked not a recognition of the British captain as god but rather a marker of his arrival at the time of festivities honoring Lono. Obeyesekere reads the accounts of Cook, Lieutenant James King and Ship's Surgeon David Samwell to mean that the explorer's involvement in the ceremonies of the Makahiki ultimately meant submission to the god **Kū** and installation as a chief in the Hawaiian polity. Such cultural appropriation served the political interests of the principal chief of the island of Hawai'i, **Kalani'ōpu'u,** who needed Cook and his resources in wars against Maui. To Obeyesekere's way of thinking, Cook then was domesticated, not deified in life; the author refers to this convergence of local politics and foreign visitors under a particular temporal context as "situational overdeterminism."

In explaining the actual death of Cook, Obeyesekere sees not a historical metaphor for a mythical reality, but rather punishment for transgressions on Hawaiian sensibilities and sacred space. The accounts on which Obeyesekere relies here are those of Lieutenant Molesworth Phillips and John Ledyard, who both blamed Cook for his own death. Phillips's manuscript has been lost but is summarized in its major themes by the scholar J. E. Taylor, who saw it before its disappearance. Recognizing perhaps the less-than-convincing nature of arguments built on secondhand summaries, Obeyesekere finds support for Phillips's attributed assessment in close and critical counterreadings of King and Captain Charles Clerke, Cook's second-in-command. In assessing Ledyard's work, Obeyesekere comments on how historians, taking their lead from Cook's foremost biographer, J. C. Beaglehole, have tended to attribute

an anti-British bias to the American who served as a marine corporal on Cook's last voyage. Obeyesekere notes, however, that Cook and Ledyard tended to get along well and that there exists no criticism of Cook in Ledyard's account until the expedition's arrival in Hawai'i. Indeed, the dismissal of Ledyard's account, writes Obeyesekere, illustrates the power of scholarship in fostering the conventional mythology regarding Cook's apotheosis.

Events following Cook's death are reread to refute his apotheosis in life and to support instead the argument for his postmortem deification. The concern of some Hawaiians over the "return" of Cook as evidenced by their questions to the British in the days immediately following his death suggest to Obeyesekere not a belief in his divinity but more likely a dread of his vengeful spirit. The treatment of Cook's bones indicates not actual worship but a reflection of his status as a chief. The fate of his bones is consistent with the treatment later accorded the physical remains of both Kalani'ōpu'u and Kamehameha I; the cleaning, distribution, preservation, and honoring of the bones of high-ranking chiefs comprised a cultural practice accorded not gods but deceased chiefs who were deified at death and thus converted into "real gods" (p. 148).

Challenging Sahlins on one final point, Obeyesekere thinks it fruitless to seek out the actual identity of Cook's killer in heavily edited voyager accounts, flawed ethnographies, or pictorial representations that are essentially stereotypic in their depictions of savage Hawaiians and heroic explorers. What does emerge from the accounts of Cook's death is strong evidence of British barbarity. There is the bombardment of Kealakekua Bay, the killing of Hawaiians, the mutilation of their bodies, the distribution of Cook's clothes among his surviving crew, and the general lack of any behavior that would indicate mourning or bereavement on the part of the British. All of this, believes Obeyesekere, "seemed to render fuzzy the distinction between the savage and the civilized" (p. 189).

The apotheosis of Cook as a living Hawaiian god occurs, then, not in Hawai'i but in Europe, and not by Hawaiians but by Europeans. Obeyesekere takes special pain to show that the Hawaiians' alleged adoration of Cook as god was in fact a language game that resulted from the selective manipulation of firsthand accounts from his third and final voyage of exploration into the Pacific. The apotheosis of Cook also reflected and was a part of an established pattern in Europe's historical consciousness. Writes Obeyesekere, "As the Spaniards had their Cortés who was deified by the Aztecs; now the English had their Cook, their own hero who also explored and opened up a new world" (p. 130). Writers

of secondary accounts stood predisposed to accept the attribution without question, as did later voyagers who looked for signs of their own divinity in the responses and reactions of the indigenous people whom they encountered. Missionaries in Hawai'i also promoted the apotheosis of Cook to indict a native Hawaiian religion that, in their view, was so corrupt and shallow as to accord a mortal British sea captain the status of a god. Such then are the origins of the apotheosis of Captain Cook and its perpetuation, an exercise in mythmaking that serves and is explained by imperial politics.

It is an impressive book that Gananath Obeyesekere has written, especially in light of his relatively late arrival to the field of Polynesian history and culture. He is, I believe, ultimately quite right in seeing Cook's apotheosis as intricately linked to European imperialism, conquest, and colonization. The persuasiveness of his argument lies in the author's meticulous attention to detail and in his sensitivity to the subtleties and ambiguities of texts. Obeyesekere's book serves as a valuable, much needed reminder about the politics of doing history in and around colonized settings.

I am unable in a forum of this sort to undertake a detailed examination of the particular charges leveled against Marshall Sahlins's scholarship by Obeyesekere. I must confess though to a very enthusiastic response to the publication of both *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* (Ann Arbor, 1981) and *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985). My enthusiasm resulted not from a commitment to structural history but from the positioning of Hawai'i, Hawaiians, and Hawaiian culture as the prime foci of Sahlins's analysis. In a real sense, Obeyesekere's book returns the meaning of Cook's death to a more global stage, one that I am not altogether comfortable with.

Having expressed myself on this matter, I would like to raise several reservations regarding *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook.* These involve the matter of sources, the development of argument, the fine art of interpretation, and the uses to which other peoples and their pasts are put. In at least several instances, there occurs what I find to be "manipulative flexibility," though quite different in character from the trait credited to all cultures in historical settings by Obeyesekere. The manipulative flexibility of which I write concerns the kind of language games and interpretive play with sources that Sahlins is accused of engaging in. For example, Obeyesekere shows that Sahlins's reliance on King to describe the response of Hawaiian commoner women to the bombardment of Kealakekua Bay is highly suspect because King himself was not there. King's account is, in fact, drawn almost entirely from

Samwell. Obeyesekere claims, then, that the arguments developed by Sahlins from King's account regarding the interplay of tabu and sexuality in Hawaiian society are all unfounded. Obeyesekere, however, later uses King's journal to demonstrate Cook's resolve to use force against Hawaiians for a series of perceived thefts that occurred at Kealakekua Bay on 13 February 1779, the day before his death. Moreover, King's account is not only seen as accurate but a *likely* paraphrase of Cook's very words on the subject. Might we not have here an instance of manipulative flexibility? In a related issue, Obeyesekere relies heavily and uncritically on the accounts of Cook's earlier encounters with Tahitians, Tongans, and Maori to establish a pattern of Polynesian response that bolsters the pragmatic behavior that he believes more accurately characterizes the Hawaiians' interaction with the British. To be consistent and convincing, it seems that Obeyesekere should have given the same attention and analysis to these accounts that he did to some of his Hawaiian sources.

To his credit as a scholar, Obeyesekere acknowledges the larger issues in the use and interpretation of texts. He notes in his introduction that he does not treat all texts the same way; he is highly suspicious of some while considering others more seriously. "Consequently," he writes, "the reader might well disagree with the stand I have taken regarding a particular text" (p. xiv). Nonetheless, this propensity toward interpretive license makes even more unsettling the frequent use throughout the book of such suppositional phrases as "must have been," "likely that," "quite probable," and "reasonable to assume."

The recorded accounts of native Hawaiian historians also are used in varying and contradictory ways. According to Obeyesekere, the writings of indigenous scholars such as Samuel Kamakau and David Malo, both trained at the American Calvinist seminary or high school at Lahainaluna on the island of Maui, reflect in part "a deliberately constructed 'myth charter' for modem evangelical Christianity" (p. 159). Evangelical prejudice induced Kamakau in particular to arrange Hawaiian cosmology in a ranked pantheism that included places for Lono and Cook as Lono. Obeyesekere, however, later plays on the general silence of these sources respecting the actual cause for Cook's death to tease out an inference against the argument of Cook as the god Lono. Obeyesekere does not dismiss outright the legitimacy of these native Hawaiian writings. Kamakau's works are said to contain excellent accounts of native cosmology and historical genealogies, and to exhibit the contentious or argumentive nature of Hawaiian discourse. What these works ultimately offer, believes Obeyesekere, is not history but a

glimpse at how later Hawaiians came to understand and incorporate Cook in their histories. I would argue in response that what Kamakau, Malo, John Papa **ʻĪʻī** and others wrote was indeed history and, in its general inquisition and consciousness of the past from a troubled present, not unlike the kind of intellectual exercise undertaken by Obeyesekere in *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook.* The more radical character and possibilities of these indigenous histories should also be remembered. Kamakau, for example, wrote regarding the prophecy of Kaʻopulupulu, a priest from Waimea on the island of Oʻahu, that "white men would become rulers, the native population would live (landless) like fishes of the sea, the line of chiefs would come to an end, and a stubborn generation would succeed them who would cause the native race to dwindle" (Samuel Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* rev. ed. [Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992], 167). Where are the missionary tropes in this passage?

At the core of this work rests the concept of practical rationality, "the process whereby human beings reflectively assess the implications of a problem in terms of practical criteria" (p. 19). Structuralism is not the only kind of anthropology with which Obeyesekere takes issue. He argues for the notion of practical rationality as a way to overcome the reifications of those who find a culture's most fundamental values and meanings expressed symbolically. An appeal to the practical rationality of all cultures may offer an important caution against the idea of culture as fetish. The universality of pragmatic considerations, though, does not explain easily or quickly how local cultures act in distinctive ways to comprehend the alien, domesticate the foreign, and appropriate the useful. Obeyesekere's own research into the contexts of Cook's deification in Hawaiʻi would seem to prove this point.

Ironically, Obeyesekere's commitment to the value of ethnography as a way to uncover the empirical evidence of this practical rationality rests somewhat disjointedly against what I consider to be his very effective deconstruction of European texts and the political discourse that permeates them. Is not practical rationality a literalizing trope of sorts that obscures the "nuances of utterance" and the "utterance of meaning" noted by Mikhail Bakhtin and John Searle? Are we to understand that ethnography is for the Rest what discourse is to the West? Practical rationality may help us to understand how late-eighteenth-century Hawaiians, like contemporary citizens of Sri Lanka, are all victims of an ongoing cult of international terror. I wonder, though, how much better we know Hawaiians through the context of terror and this spyglass of practical rationality. Do we not lose a sense of them as people

amidst yet another alien, albeit well-intentioned theoretical paradigm? I wonder too how the descendants of Kalani‘opu‘u will regard this work; I think they might tell us that their past more than “barely exists” (p. xiv) and that it is not as easily ordered as Obeyesekere believes.

Review: Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa
University of Hawai‘i at Miinoa

When I first happened upon Obeyesekere’s *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook* I groaned to myself, “Not another book about Cook! The man died two hundred years ago. Why can’t they just leave him dead?” For most Hawaiians Captain Cook is rather an uninteresting historical figure. The noted Hawaiian scholar Haunani-Kay Trask often dismisses Cook as “a syphilitic, tubercular racist,” and when I teach that part of Hawaiian history I relate to my students that he brought venereal disease, violence, and, eventually, an unrelenting wave of foreigners, once his journals had been published in Europe.

From the Hawaiian perspective, however, the best part about Cook’s visit is that we killed him, as the *mana* (spiritual power) of his death accrues to us. Such *mana* is very useful in our dealing with those admirably fierce Maori of Aotearoa who often look askance at Hawaiian reluctance to confront the colonizing foreigner. Upon such occasions we can defend our honor by declaring that at least *we* killed Cook, and having done so we rid the world of another evil *haole* (white man). Perhaps if we had followed that tradition more faithfully, the *haole* world would have avoided us longer. Considering the devastating effects of *haole* disease on our population, such avoidance would have only been to our benefit (Stannard 1989:45-49).

After all, Cook happened upon Aotearoa *before* he came to Hawai‘i and the Maori had had their chance to kill him. Since they faltered in judgment, we took care of the job, and hundreds of years later we are still glorying in the act, no doubt for the same reasons that our ancestors did; Cook’s behavior, like the behavior of many *haole* today, was racist, condescending, and rude. His attempted kidnaping of Kalani‘opu‘u, one of our highest and most sacred Ali‘i Nui (high chiefs) was a criminal act, appropriately deserving of the death sentence he received.

But for the main part, his brief visit did not substantially change the political relationship among Ali‘i Nui, which is the part of Hawaiian history important to Hawaiians. I have been hard put to understand why *haole* scholars (like Marshall Sahlins) persist in writing about

Cook, and since such scholars (including Valerio Valeri) invariably misinterpret Hawaiian cultural acts, we generally laugh at such works.

Obeyesekere's book is not simply about Cook, the great white explorer; it is also about the way *haoles* have idolized Cook as a God, ignoring that biblical commandment which forbids them to do so. Although not as harsh as Trask in her analysis of Cook, Obeyesekere does make a good attempt at debunking the image of slavish Natives worshiping at the feet of Cook. He says, "To put it bluntly, I doubt that the natives created their European god; the Europeans created him for them. This 'European god is a myth of conquest, imperialism, and civilization--a triad that cannot be easily separated" (p. 3). Obeyesekere can afford to be polite; Cook wasn't responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of Obeyesekere's ancestors, as Cook is in the case of Hawaiians.

It is a wonderful quirk of fate, or perhaps after Edward Said, an inevitable historical progression, to find a person of color using the white man's pseudoscience of anthropology to study white society. Anthropology has long been a *haole* term for the study of quaint Natives, as opposed to sociology, which is the "serious" study of white societies. As the object of intense anthropological observation, Natives have often wished that white people would study their own ancestors, whom they could at least know culturally, instead of us, whom they generally misunderstand and thus misrepresent (Trask 1993: 161-178).

It was refreshing, therefore, to read this thought-provoking book by Gananath Obeyesekere, a Sri Lankan by birth and an anthropologist by training, which attacks an oft-repeated and cherished European notion that Hawaiians, and by romantic extention other Pacific Natives, believed Captain Cook to be an Akua (God).

This fanciful paradigm of initial contact captured the imagination of the Western world. Perhaps Westerners, having suffered the historical memory of fierce resistance and occasional defeat at the hands of Moors and other infidels, were delighted to find at last some Natives who knew the true worth of the white man. That Cook was a commoner son of an ordinary laborer must have given hope to lower-class *haole* aspirations as well. Hence the precipitous rush of the savage white tribes of Europe to invade the friendly islands of the Pacific.

According to Western myth, even after Hawaiians killed Cook, they (the Lono priests) expressed remorse and asked when Cook would return. Obviously, the Natives were childlike and credulous, if somewhat violent, which could only be attributed to their innate animal nature. Once a superior white man killed and mutilated a goodly num-

ber of them, Natives invariably would obey; like a smart dog, Natives could be trained with the proper discipline.

Obeyesekere begins his work with an examination of the manner in which *haole* anthropologists interpret Native actions. Using his Sri Lankan view of the world, and his experience of the West's misinterpretation of Sri Lankan culture, he cautions his *haole* colleagues, especially Marshall Sahlins, against assuming that Natives are not capable of rational thought or sophisticated discrimination in cosmological matters. He warns that "the native can make all sorts of subtle discriminations in his field of beliefs; the outsider-anthropologist practicing a reverse form of discrimination cannot" (p. 22). Hawaiians can agree with Obeyesekere on that point because as people of color we have both been on the receiving end of such condescending attitudes.

His introductory arguments are a prelude to an entirely new analysis of Cook (hopefully the last one!) and of the Cook myth. Make no mistake, Obeyesekere is an excellent scholar, and if one is really interested in this time period, his is the most succinct and interesting of all the accounts. Instead of the usual syrupy-sweet portrayal of Cook as a brilliant navigator but often-misunderstood leader of men, Obeyesekere uses excerpts from the official journals to show Cook for the cruel savage that he actually was. Evidently Cook worshiped at the altar of private property and used the crime of "theft" as an excuse to act out his racist fantasies of white superiority. Besides personally murdering Natives, Cook also reveled in the brutal beating and mutilation of Natives.

For the crime of insolence and theft, Cook ordered that one Tongan man be given seventy-two lashes, six times the legal limit of twelve prescribed by the British admiralty, and afterwards, had a cross cut by knife on to both shoulders, penetrating to the bone (p. 31). Although particularly severe in this case, such behavior was common practice by Cook against the Tongans. He even had the audacity to hold hostage a number of high chiefs while in a rage over the theft of a goat and two turkeys. It is truly a testament to Tongan humanity that they did not rise up and murder the entire crew as they slept. I confess such thoughts ran through my mind as I read the account.

Nor were Tongans the only Natives so treated by Cook; he did the same thing in Tahiti and in the Society Islands. On Eimeo he burned whole villages and war canoes, and on Huahine he amused himself by flogging and cutting off the ears of those who offended him. Meanwhile, his men began to be inspired by such brutality, and upon landing on Raʻiatea, a savage named Williamson fiercely attacked a man who had stolen a nail, stomping on his side and breaking out several of his

teeth. To their credit, some of Cook's officers began to desert in horror of his behavior, so Cook promptly took the high chief Rio's wives and children hostage until the deserters were restored. Rio was aghast at Cook's behavior because he had feasted Cook with generous hospitality.

This is the Captain Cook who sailed into Hawai'i and according to Sahlins was supposedly worshiped as a God. Obeyesekere does an excellent job of criticizing the Sahlins interpretation of Hawaiian response to Cook. I have often been amused at Sahlins's fanciful flights of mythical realities, until of course some local anthropologist tries to teach it to my people as the truth. So it is highly gratifying to see Obeyesekere take each strand of Sahlins's argument and strip it down to the bare bones, using the actual (and not doctored) quotes from the eyewitness accounts.

Obeyesekere does a very good analysis of the actual ceremonies at Hikiau temple where Cook, or Tuute as he is called by Hawaiians, is given the name Lono and is presented to Kunuiakea, the highest-ranking Akua at the temple. He argues that the ceremony installed him as an Ali'i Nui, not as the Akua Lono; the Akua Lono is not usually presented to **Kūnuiākea.** Sahlins, on the other hand, has interpreted that ceremony to be one of **hānaipū,** where the high chief ritually feeds the Akua Lono. In actuality, the Ali'i Nui feeds the priestly representative of Lono. It is also just as plausible that Cook was being initiated into the Lono priesthood, not as a God but as a priest.

I was most amused by Obeyesekere's rebuttal of Sahlins's argument that the confrontation between Cook and **Kalani'ōpu'u** was a **Kāli'i** ceremony in reverse, wherein he remarks that "one of the serious problems that Sahlins faces in his mythic interpretation of Cook's death is that there is nothing in Hawaiian culture that recognizes a **'Kāli'i** in reverse' " (p. 182). The Kali'i is a ritual of transition between the two great religious cycles of Makahiki and 'Aha, or of the reign of the Akua Lono, which lasted for four months, and that of **Kū,** who presided for eight months. Using the **Kāli'i** ritual as a model, **Kalani'ōpu'u** would be the king ritually killed and Cook would be the God Lono who supposedly vanquishes him, but since Cook was killed and not the king, Sahlins is indeed stretching the analogy, as is his wont.

Personally, I have always thought that the **Kāli'i** ritual has been misinterpreted by foreign scholars. **Kāli'i** means to "touch the chief' and, as described by Malo (1951:150), clearly is a ritual whereupon the Akua Lono, having completed the Makahiki circuit and collection of gifts, now accepts and blesses the Ali'i Nui, or king if you like. That is why the king is never pierced by the shower of spears, merely tapped by a spear wrapped in the white tapa symbolic of Lono; he is protected by Lono.

That Sahlins was following in a long line of *haole* scholars in idolizing Cook is no longer difficult to understand, thanks to Obeyesekere. Sahlins, like other *haole* before him, gains *haole mana* by doing so. He is thus identified with Cook, the great white humanitarian so beloved by Hawaiians as to be worshiped as a God. Perhaps Sahlins too, with his skillful and magical manipulation of Hawaiian ritual, hoped to achieve a similarly divine status. Certainly he is revered by many of his colleagues, if not by Hawaiians, and has gained great renown for his recitation of the cherished Cook myth.

So what actually happened? Was Cook really worshiped by Hawaiians as a God when all previous Polynesians had failed to do so? Did Hawaiians think all *haole* were Gods and thus buried Watman at Hikiau *heiau?* Which Hawaiian actually killed Cook? And why did they kill Cook, after having deified him? Didn't they know they were not supposed to kill a God?

When Cook stumbled upon our shores, Hawaiians were astounded, just as was every other Native in the Pacific when first laying eyes upon the *haole.* There is an excellent film by Dennis O'Rourke called *First Contact,* which describes the Native reaction to *haole* intrusion into the New Guinea Highlands in the 1930s. The people postulated that the *haole* were Gods, or perhaps ancestors returning from the dead, as their skin was so pale.

That is not unlike the confusion expressed by Hawaiians at first contact. In a universe ordered by cosmogonic genealogy, Hawaiians needed to make some sense of the event according to their own categories, and they had varied reactions. Some thought the event wonderful and others were terrified. Some postulated that the strange white-skinned people were one of the forty thousand Akua. The word *Akua* refers to various kinds of divinities. Akua are sometimes one of the great unseen Gods, or they can be ancestral guardians with varied physical manifestations (e.g., fish, plants, animals), or they can be ghosts.

Some of the Akua proposed were Lonoikamakahiki, Kukalepa'o ni'oni'o, Lonopele, Niuolahiki, Ku'ilioloa or **Kānehekili** (Kamakau 1961:93-95). One priest recommended a test to judge whether these *haole* were Akua--tempt them with women and if they could be seduced, they were mere men. Cook's crew proved quickly enough that they were men, and by Native accounts, so did Cook when he slept with the Kaua'i chiefess Lelemahoalani.

After initial contact in January 1778, Cook sailed off to northwest America, returning to Hawai'i island in November of the same year, which is roughly the beginning of the Makahiki. In the intervening ten months, Hawaiians had no doubt discussed his visit and expostulated as

to who exactly he was. Some Hawaiians recognized that their venereal sores originated with Cook's men and appealed to them for medical treatment; if not Gods, they might be medical priests.

In his search for a sheltered harbor, Cook made a clockwise circuit of Hawai'i island, unwittingly following Lono's ritual path of the Makahiki festival. When he weighed anchor in Kealakekua Bay, traditional home of Lono, thousands of Hawaiians greeted him with exuberance and unstinting hospitality. I sincerely doubt that every Hawaiian there identified Cook as the God Lono, but it is very likely that the Lono priests decided to do so.

The Akua Lono was a God of peace and fertility who made an annual visit and circuit of a given island to bless the people and the land, gathering offerings of food, mats, tapa, and feathers in his wake. During Lono's time, war, ocean traveling, and hard labor were *kapu,* or forbidden, and celebration was the order of the day. But as Lono's ritual was less rigorous and severe than that of **Kū,** the Lono priests enjoyed less *mana* (Malo 1951:141).

Note that during the Makahiki season of 1778, the **Mō'ī** (paramount chief or king) of Hawai'i island, Kalani'opu'u, had led his warriors in an attack on the chiefs of Maui, although war was expressly forbidden by the Lono priests at this time. Hence, it was entirely serendipitous for the Lono priests that Cook should sail into Kealakekua at this moment. His presence demanded the return of Kalani'opu'u to their jurisdiction.

To the extent that the Lono priests could convince Cook to act out the part of their God, they could then persuade the general populace that the physical manifestation of the Akua had arrived. It was not usual to find one of the great unseen Akua such as Lono manifesting himself in living, breathing human form. The Lono priests could gain great *mana* from such an event. When Cook conveniently arrived with all of the requisite similarities--white sails resembling the Makahiki symbol, traveling in the prescribed clockwise direction, landing at the focus of the Lono priesthood, and worshiping at his temple (Hikiau was used for both the worship of **Kū** and of Lono, as was commonly done at *luakini*) --of course the Lono priests would have hailed him as some kind of manifestation of Lono. They would have been foolish not to have done so, as it was to their political advantage.

Never mind that Cook didn't know the name Lono, couldn't speak Hawaiian, and refused to eat the ritual offerings; he was white (one of Lono's symbolic colors), he had powerful weapons, he would make a good ally, and that was enough. Had the Lono priests not done so, the **Kū** priests might have claimed Cook as their own, whereupon he would have had to eat the eye of a man (Malo 1951:174), and that might have

proved difficult. His name Tuute, or Kūke in modern Hawaiian orthography, would classify him as a relation of the war God Ku.

Did Kalani‘opu‘u, the other Ali‘i Nui, and the Ku priests believe that Cook was an Akua? I have to agree with Obeyesekere that they treated Cook as an Ali‘i Nui, not as an Akua. Some ranks of Ali‘i Nui were designated Akua, or Gods who walked upon the earth, by virtue of an incestuous mating between their parents. Clearly Cook could not fit into that category. Moreover, it would have been highly detrimental to the *mana* of the Ku priesthood for the real God Lono to put in a physical appearance. Peaceful pursuits might have taken precedence over war, and chiefs could only gain great *mana* in battle. On the other hand, Cook as an Ali‘i Nui with powerful weapons would prove a fierce adversary to Kalani‘opu‘u. It was better to let the Lono priesthood claim him as one of their own, either priest or chief or for the masses as an Akua.

If Cook, and by extension, his men, were part of the Lono faction, it would be entirely fitting that Watman, one of Cook’s crew, be buried at Hikiau, where the Lono priests could watch over his remains and keep rivals from stealing his bones (for their *mana*). The *haole* belonged to the Lono priests for a time.

As to which Hawaiian actually killed Cook, no one will ever know, although surely it was a chief; only other chiefs were allowed in close proximity to Kalani‘opu‘u. The Hawaiian account has it that many participated, each trying to claim the *mana* of the death of this foreign Ali‘i Nui as their own. Now that *mana* has accrued to all Hawaiians as a people. That Hawaiian chiefs did kill him is evidence that they at least did not believe him to be an Akua. Obeyesekere correctly interprets the disposal of his body as the normal chiefly custom. These were not, however, honors given to the Akua Lono of the Makahiki.

Are there no flaws in Obeyesekere’s book? Is his analysis perfect? I cannot answer these questions in the affirmative. He is not a Hawaiian and does not know our culture, nor does he speak our language; thus he makes mistakes common to a foreign scholar. I applaud his critical analysis of his field of anthropology, of colonialist myths, and of Sahlins’s work, but before he ventures further into the writing of Hawaiian history, he should at least become fluent in my language. Nonetheless, he has certainly satisfied the purpose of his inquiry; Cook is no longer a God. Maybe now he will rest in peace.

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Review: NICHOLAS THOMAS
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Commonsense Sorcery

The Apotheosis of Captain Cook contains much of potential value, much that might be distinctive in the very extensive literature on the Cook voyages, but is frustratingly underdeveloped and in some respects underresearched. The core of the book, as readers of this journal will already know, is an attempt to rebut Marshall Sahlins's celebrated arguments concerning the Hawaiians' apparent identification of Cook with the deity Lono; this particular critique is embedded within a reappraisal of Cook's psychology, on the third voyage in particular, and a critical history of the mythologization of Cook in the imaginations of Europeans, and more specifically those of Britons and inhabitants of British settler colonies such as New Zealand and Australia. The most original strand in the book is the reappraisal of Cook's psychology; the material concerning European mythmaking is reviewed in critical terms, but is on the whole familiar to readers of Bernard Smith and Greg Dening, as well as to anyone with more direct familiarity with late-eighteenth-century representations of exploration and the exotic.

The book obviously raises both substantive and methodological questions, as well as issues about the politics of exploration for eighteenth-century Pacific islanders and the politics of its historiography in the present. In this review I will be concerned with these methodological and wider political issues, and will neglect what might seem to be the core issue, the explanation of Cook's death itself.

On a first reading, I found Obeyesekere's critique of Sahlins broadly persuasive-- there are, at least, many points that call for some kind of response--but I have since worked through the material in more detail with students and am now struck rather by Obeyesekere's tendency to

insist upon certain readings of events and of Hawaiian responses, readings that are (1) simply not clearly substantiated by the material from the voyage journals that is quoted, or (2) excessively reliant upon a notion of "common sense" in the absence of contextual discussion of what exactly "sense" was bearing upon and with what criteria.

With respect to the first point, it is asserted, for example, that the deference accorded Cook was "confused' with that given to Omiah: "It is as likely that people prostrated and were murmuring, 'Lono,' not primarily for Cook, but to Omiah" (p. 94). The source here, Law, suggests the reverse, and the only evidence that supports Obeyesekere's contention is King's assertion that the priest Omiah is "a personage of great rank and power." Anyone who has worked extensively with early voyage sources ought to be aware that statements of this kind--that a chief, a priest, or priests or chiefs collectively possess great status and/or power --are of limited significance and are typically based on the most impressionistic and potentially misleading observations. What needs to be documented, rather, is precisely what the priest's ritual agency entailed, what capacities he had, and so on; and these points can frequently be established by the analysis of events rather than through reliance upon generalized statements. Here, Law may indeed have been mistaken as to which person the Hawaiians were expressing their veneration for (though there are other cases where it was pretty obviously Cook); but there is simply no definite reason for preferring Omiah rather than Cook, unless one is concerned to do precisely the kind of thing Obeyesekere finds Sahlins doing--that is, reading ambiguities in a manner consistent with one's argument. I too would affirm Hocart's dictum that "imagination must always keep ahead of proof as an advanced detachment to spy out the land" (p. xv), but do not accept that this is the kind of thing he meant.

With respect to the second point, it is supposed to be obvious that the *Resolution* and *Discovery* could not be identified with Lono's canoe and mast, simply on the grounds that the size of the ships is radically different. Who is to say that size is the most fundamental issue? Given the Polynesian understanding of part/whole relations, the idea that one deity or type might have a variety of exemplifications, there is nothing intrinsically problematic about an identification between a ship and a canoe, especially because there was no particular visual image or prototype of Lono's canoe anyway, which might be taken to be larger than a ceremonial war canoe in any case. It is simply not possible to reconstruct the cognitive processes that took place, but, against the evident dissimilarities between the vessels is the striking similarity between a

European sail and the crosspiece icon associated with the deity, which is distinctly unlike a Polynesian sail. It would also seem slightly wrong-headed to insist upon some simple issue of objective similarity in this case, because the kind of identification at issue is surely something such as what Taussig (1987) has referred to as historical sorcery, something that consists of a seizure upon contingent or partial similarities, which may defy historical reason, in the interest of empowering the past in the present in a singular way.

This is widely attested to in twentieth-century millenarian movements in Oceania, which raise related problems. According to Peter Lawrence, the Kilibob myth widely known in the Madang area was adapted to incorporate white men and European technology. The traditional versions of the myth posit two brothers who quarrel and depart in separate canoes, one inventing love magic, sorcery, and warfare, the other inventing a range of useful arts; though there are considerable variations, in most forms the myth is plainly a charter for the unequal distribution of various forms of ritual knowledge, craft activities, and so on (1964:22-23). In later versions of the myth associated with cargo beliefs, one brother builds an iron engine-powered ship rather than a canoe and invents, or is shown how to make, other forms of cargo also; in related myths one brother is identified as a white man, and white men are commonly taken to be returned ancestors (ibid.:93).

If a scholar points to identifications of this kind, is he or she assuming that the people are prisoners of a prelogical mentality, or that they are unable to distinguish between a ship and a canoe, or between white men and black men? The critique would seemingly insist upon precisely what it seeks to enfranchise indigenous people from: Their thought is taken to be limited to a peculiarly literal and immediate range of identifications, and deprived of the capacity for playful and manipulative extension. Here I am writing as much against Sahlins's notion of mythopraxis (applied to the Maori rather than the Hawaiians) as against Obeyesekere's insistence that because the British were white, they couldn't have been presumed to be Hawaiian deities. (I leave aside the point that precontact categories such as *haole* and *papalangi* posited fair-skinned humans from across oceans.) An alternate reading could surely see these identifications as motivated and opportunistic extensions of indigenous categories that are, after all, fuzzy and prone to extension and specification. This is well attested to in the domain of material culture (see Thomas 1991), and the dynamic around Cook may in the end be better understood if it is situated in a much wider class of identifications and appropriations. These acts of opportunistic semantic

extension are not, to my mind, somehow incompatible with practical rationality: Instead they frequently seem precisely attuned to it, and moreover to be prone not to further stereotypic replication but to revision and reformulation as cross-cultural relations change. What motivated wild and seemingly irrational identifications was the sorcerer's common sense; and in the Pacific in the contact epoch, many men and women, European as well as Polynesian, appear to have been engaging in sorcery of the historical kind.

On the one hand, therefore, it would seem that Sahlins has a case to answer--the question of how the variable character of the Makahiki calendar is reconciled with his original argument would seem especially important--yet Obeyesekere's critique cannot be taken to be conclusive. In both cases it is not so much history as sorcery, which I would not mind, as mere sleight of hand. I am not intimately familiar with third-voyage sources myself and cannot pursue the particular issues in this context. However, questions of methodological strategy, and of the politics of methodology, are perhaps of broader importance in any case.

In his preface, Obeyesekere insists on the importance of *evidence* (his italics): "Ethnographic interpretation cannot flout evidence, even though one might argue that evidence is opaque and subject to multiple interpretations" (p. xv). As an acknowledgement of the historiographic issues, this surely stops rather too short; for what counts as evidence, or what counts in what way and with what weight, is far from self-evident in cross-cultural history, especially for early phases of contact in the Pacific where the absolute quantity of documentation is relatively limited. This question of what is allowed to be salient, and what is not, precedes any consideration of opacity or conflicting interpretations, yet it is of specific importance for the kind of history at issue here, because the reconstruction of indigenous perceptions of events of contact may depend on accounts obtained or published considerably later than the events themselves.

What marks Obeyesekere's analysis, in general, is a resistance to the use of later sources that might purport to describe Hawaiian culture, or the culture of other Polynesians, that would therefore potentially offer contexts for indigenous responses. The exclusion of such material might seem eminently rigorous: Given that historical change-s certainly proceeded in a dynamic fashion over the early decades of contact, it can hardly be supposed that the notions at issue were untransformed, and later sources would appear plainly irrelevant to the interpretation of eighteenth-century events. This, implicitly, is Obeyesekere's method-

ological principle, and it is so explicitly where he rejects the nineteenth-century Hawaiian identifications of Cook and Lono. I do not dispute the view that the interpretation of the encounter with Cook must be grounded above all in the voyage texts, but would point out, first, that this historiography can only have a politics, in the sense that indigenous perceptions can only be read through those texts rather than somehow reconstructed or recognized independently. Despite a writer's ideological commitments, the rejection of later sources only disenfranchises an indigenous commentary that may in fact be available in other accounts. The more important point, though, is that the exclusion of later sources is simply too crude a historiographic rule. Changes certainly take place, but their effects are variable; certain institutions or beliefs attested to later cannot plausibly be represented as innovations consequent on any specific form of colonization; other practices may very well have changed. In other words, the reconstruction of indigenous responses can draw strategically (and comparatively) on later and other materials, and indeed must do so unless one is prepared to acquiesce in the limitations of particular bodies of documentation.

This has a crucial bearing on the issue that Obeyesekere says motivated his effort of research and the critique: the question of whether indigenous people represent a foreigner and a colonizer as a god. On the basis of South Asian categories, Obeyesekere insists that this can only be mistaken. While I accept the point that the European apotheosis of Cook has its own reality, and a pretty transparent basis in a project of imperial imagining, a basic issue is passed over, that is, what notions Polynesians possess of deities. In my view they are quite different to South Asian concepts, and the radical distance and status that deification elsewhere implies, that clearly troubles Obeyesekere, is less conspicuous in Polynesia. While Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) is cited as an authority for the view that living men were not made gods, Buck is not authoritative at the best of times and conspicuously unreliable for Polynesians other than Maori. Accordingly, far from it being impossible in Polynesian cosmology for living people to be identified as gods, it is well attested to, in the Marquesas if not in Hawaii: Powerful shamans, for instance, were known as *etua (atua)* while alive, and far more mundane objects and animals could also be taken as deities or exemplars of deities in certain contexts (see Thomas 1990). This does not resolve the issue of how Cook was identified, but it does suggest that it is not prima facie problematic and does not in any case carry the significance that is attached to it.

The section of Obeyesekere's book that is freshest from the point of

view of one familiar with Cook-voyage scholarship is the challenging and almost iconoclastic rereading of Cooks persona. While the argument that he was always divided between Prospero and Kurtz, that the latter clearly took over on the third voyage, is a little too sketchy and schematic, it is broadly persuasive; the claim that the older sailor William Watman was a kind of father figure, whose death precipitated Cooks fatal plunge into deeper depression and irrationality, is highly suggestive and worth exploring further.

In this area, Obeyesekere's analysis might be much enriched by the kind of ethnography of shipboard theater and power that Dening offers in *Mr Bligh's Bad Language* (1992). Yet both books refer often to paternal constructions of captains, and to their lapses into despotic behavior, seemingly without grasping how central this language of arbitrary power was to debates from Filmer and Locke onward, concerning the constitution of both fatherhood and government (that figured in the period, in the widely read texts of John Millar and Mary Wollstonecraft, among many others). Cook and Bligh were contending not only with dilapidated ships, vast oceans, fractious crews, and islanders with their own agendas, but also with antinomies fundamental to their political culture, which was to impose a kind of historical sorcery upon themselves. An analysis of these resonances could only enrich the analysis of the fraught and contested relations of power on the vessels, which were of course so often expressed through or implicated in relations between vessels and beaches and beyond.

Obeyesekere's book is valuable insofar as it reopens a debate, particularly if it prompts Sahlins to provide a more detailed justification for his arguments than appeared in *Historical Metaphors* (1981), which was, after all, offered only as a preliminary sketch of a larger work. I would be concerned if the critique were taken to be definitive, as I was concerned when I saw Sahlins's original argument being too hastily accepted and too readily taken to provide a paradigm for diverse and very different histories. I remain just slightly irritated by the preoccupation with Cook's death. Didn't other things happen on the voyages? Weren't the encounters with the Tahitians and Maori more sustained, and probably more consequential, than that with the Hawaiians? If *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook* prompts a wider range of readers to return to the eighteenth-century sources, they may discover other encounters and histories, less matter for mythmaking yet equally important for their ramifications for indigenous histories. After more than two centuries of European mythmaking, it is surely time for those indigenous histories to be foregrounded.

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Review: VALERIO VALERI
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

> Demetrius [the Besieger] was greeted as the son of Poseidon and Aphrodite; his wife Phila, as an avatar of Demeter. Then followed the claim that the other gods were deaf, or indifferent, or absent, whereas "*You* are here, and visible to us / Not carved in wood or stone, but real, / So to you we pray."[1]

Ever since the publication of *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook,* I have been besieged by requests to review the book. I have declined them all. The reason should be obvious. Obeyesekere's claims stand or fall by the interpretation of a great number of sources, which in turn depends on a variety of voiced and unvoiced presuppositions. The limited space usually available to a reviewer does not permit one to go in sufficient detail into either interpretations or presuppositions. A review of the book, then, can be little more than a public declaration of the side of the fence on which one stands. For such declarations--the life blood of certain academics--I have no taste. And, I must confess, even if I were offered all the necessary space, I would not gladly go into all the details either. My life is getting shorter and otherwise occupied. So I had every inten-

tion of saying no to [Book Review Forum editor] Rob Borofsky as well. I had not reckoned with his persistence and persuasive talents. So in the end here is the result of my weakness. It is at least a bit more detailed than a review would have been--and I don't have to summarize the book!

Obeyesekere's basic point is that Cook was named after the god Lono, not identified with him. That he was so identified, he says, is a Western myth perpetuated by a majority of scholars and brought to extremes by Sahlins. He himself sides with the minority opinion, articulated by Peter Buck, that Cook was installed as a high-ranking chief in Hikiau temple. And he claims to have found the motivation for such installation: Kalani'opu'u, the king of the island of Hawai'i, wanted to enlist Cook's help in his wars against Maui. Thus Cooks enthronement was a piece of political strategy rather than Sahlins's stereotypic enactment of a mythical-ritual structure (Lono's return during the New Year festival). In addition, it was an attempt to preserve indigenous hierarchies threatened by the arrival of an outsider to whom the populace paid honors that by right went only to the Hawaiian nobility.

In asserting that "Lono," as applied to Captain Cook, was just a name, Obeyesekere assumes a priori that the Hawaiian theory of names was very much like his own. This is not my reading of the evidence--which Obeyesekere does not even examine. Hawaiians believed in an ontological connection between names, and especially proper names, and their referents and associations. One participated in what one's name stood for and evoked. Name, rather than character, was destiny in this society.[2] Being called Lono thus entailed, at the very least, membership in the class of beings that was grouped under this god.[3] It prompted people to act towards the named one in ways consonant with his category affiliation and to expect similarly consonant actions from him--in the appropriate contexts. Whatever the reasons Hawaiians may have had in naming Cook Lono, then, we can be sure that the extreme disjunction of name and god postulated by Obeyesekere is not in agreement with Hawaiian ideas. Precisely because Hawaiians did not have the Judeo-Christian view of God as radically different and separate from the world, the relationship between a category-god like Lono and all things and persons he subsumed was hierarchical and not dichotomous. The either/or approach taken by Obeyesekere is conceptually dubious, because the question whether Cook was a god or was simply named after a god is based on ontological premises that were not, I believe, those of eighteenth-century Hawaiians. The very contrast of the appellations *akua* (god) and *kanaka* (human) was a relative one in

their "language game."[4] Being named Lono meant participating in the properties of Lono and thus being, in some capacities and respects, Lono. The upshot of this is that I see no necessary contradiction between the view that Cook was Lono the chief and the view that he was Lono the god.[5] A contradiction only arises when a non-Hawaiian view of "divinity"--and thus also of the relationship of gods and humans--is introduced in the situation. It also arises when each identification is used to the exclusion of the other in the interpretation of the events. Thus Obeyesekere wants to see everything in terms of chiefly politics and strategic improvisation, Sahlins in terms of ritual enactment of the god Lono's epiphany. Perhaps they are both too reductive for the complexity of the events and for the multiplicity of possible readings inherent in the situation--as seen in Hawaiian (and thus non-exclusionary) terms.

Once divine and human identities cease to be treated as mutually exclusive, a number of Obeyesekere's arguments against the thesis that Cook was seen as an "avatar"[6] of Lono lose much of their apparent force. Such is the case for the argument that Cook was called "Tuute" (Cook) as much as "Lono" by the Hawaiians, and that his country was referred to as "Brittanee" and not just as "Kahiki" (pp. 88 and 61-62).[7] Moreover, it is wrong of Obeyesekere to assume that the signs of hunger, voracity, and mortality that were noticeable in Cook as in the other British necessarily undermined his divine status (pp. 63-64). Hawaiian gods were often represented with enormous gaping mouths[8] and described as always hungry.[9] It was even said that if not fed with sacrifices, they might die.[10] Indeed, I have doubts about the accuracy of the term "immortal" in connection with them. "Long lasting" may be more appropriate--at least for many. Ironically for somebody who attributes the thesis of Cook's apotheosis to Western and particularly missionary mythmaking, Obeyesekere consistently attributes Christian ideas of divinity to Hawaiians in order to argue that with such ideas they could never have viewed Cook as a god.[11] He does not seem to have felt the necessity of delving into the religious notions of the Hawaiians themselves, as they appear in rituals, prayers, and stories. Some familiarity with such materials would have taught him that the Hawaiian's relationship to his gods was highly complex and ambivalent--oscillating between seriousness and playfulness, fear and derision, in ways that must seem puzzling and even scandalous to the modern (less so to the medieval) Christian mind.[12] It is therefore rash to assume as a matter of course that the derision with which some Hawaiians confronted Cook towards the end necessarily indicates that he had no divine status in

their eyes (pp. 104-105). To the contrary, disrespectful behavior vis-à-vis the gods, and the disparaging of their powers, was common in Polynesia[13] and in Hawai'i it was even *de rigueur* during the Makahiki period.[14] And if we recall our own pagan classics--for instance Ajax's threat to cut the ears of Apollo and Poseidon (Hom. *Il.* 21.455)--we may not find it strange that Hawaiians could act violently toward Cook and yet believe in his divinity.[15] If anything, there are positive indications that some Hawaiians, at least, took Cook to be alive even after his death--as if they thought that only one of his "avatars" (or, to use a Hawaiian word, *kino*, "body") had been killed. Indeed, they asked Captain King: When would "Lono" (Cook) return?[16]

Obeyesekere's attempt to explain this question as motivated by the fear of Cook's avenging ghost or by the expectation that the ghost would possess a medium is not very convincing (pp. 138-139). Moreover, this explanation entails a contradiction with Obeyesekere's own basic thesis on the ontological status of the British officers. Why would the Hawaiians ask them for news of the return of Cook's spirit if they believed that they were merely human? How could they presume that Captain King and others on board knew better than themselves, who had just performed the appropriate rituals for Cook's "post-mortem deification," in Obeyesekere's words? And if it was a matter of mediums being possessed, why not consult the mediums instead or, better still, call Cook's spirit to find out how to placate it? In any case, Obeyesekere's interpretation seems to me squarely at odds, whatever he says, with the questions asked of Colnett in 1791, namely: When had he last seen Cook, would Cook come back again, and what could they do to enlist Cook's support against the Spanish?[17] The idea that Cook was a mere spirit seems incompatible with such questions. They seem to presuppose that Cook was alive where Colnett came from--unless of course Colnett was himself taken for a spirit!

Obeyesekere may still be right that Cook was seen just as a chief by Hawaiians, but my point is that neither hunger, nor mortality, nor lack of respect, nor even the evidence of clearly human traits,[18] necessarily proves this from the point of view of Hawaiian religious ideas. My own view is, and has always been,[19] that Cook was considered a divine chief of the Lono category and thus participating in the attributes of this god --although not in all of them and perhaps not even in all those that were activated in the Makahiki festival. Nor did these Lono attributes exclude relationships with other gods, for reasons that I have discussed elsewhere and to which I shall return shortly.

Since Cook was not taken for the god Lono, argues Obeyesekere, the

"honors" paid him in Hikiau temple must have been his installation ceremony as a Hawaiian "chief" (p. 77). The expression "chief" is vague: does "chief' translate *ali'i* as "member of the aristocracy" or *ali'i* as "ruler"? In the latter case, we would have to ask: ruler of what? Of a particular district? Of the island of Hawai'i? If the latter, then Cook took the place of the king of the island, Kalani'opu'u--a conclusion in obvious contradiction with Obeyesekere's claim that the priests of Hikiau were acting on Kalani'opu'u's orders as he hoped to enlist Cook's help (pp. 79-88). If, on the other hand, Cook was made the chief only of a district, we do not understand why he was treated as a superior or at least as an equal by Kalani'ōpu'u. Either, then, Obeyesekere's thesis that the priests of Hikiau were acting on Kalani'opu'u's orders is wrong, or Cook was only installed as a person of rank, not as a ruling chief. But then, have the rites performed for Cook any connection with what we know of rites for "installing" an *ali'i* in whatever capacity? This is the crucial question. The answer is not easy. There is no mention by the canonical Hawaiian antiquarians (Malo and so on) of a ceremony for installing somebody as a person of rank, except perhaps the chanting of the ancestral genealogy at birth.[20] The only mention of any such rite for an adult that I found is in the legend of 'Umi, who was born a commoner but was made into an *ali'i.* The transformation was effected by making him go again through birth and circumcision rituals *('oki ka piko),* which were symbolically performed for him in chiefly fashion.[21] As for ruling chiefs, they were installed (or installed themselves) simply by dedicating the main sacrifice in the main temple of a district or an island. The highest ruler (whom I call "king") had to dedicate human sacrifices. Such sacrifices had to be constantly repeated to maintain "ruling" status. In other words, no installation was once and for all.[22]

Now is there any connection between these rites and those performed for Captain Cook in Hikiau temple? There is a tradition that the *Kumulipo* (the birth chant of Hawaiian royalty) was chanted at the ceremony, probably because the last name in the genealogy it consists of is that of Lonoikamakahiki (Lono-of-the-Makahiki), and Cook was supposed to have been called Lono due to his arrival during the Makahiki festival. But the tradition is a very late one.[23] Furthermore, none of the chanting that occurred during the rite in Hikiau was long enough to warrant the possibility that the *Kumulipo* was performed (although it could have been in abbreviated form). In any case, I cannot find any trace of symbolic navel cutting (or circumcision, for that matter) in the ritual undergone by Cook. Even the tapa cloth he received was not the loincloth we would expect in such a case but a kind of mantle in which he was wrapped.[24]

And what about the dedication of sacrifices by rulers? As I indicated long ago (but Obeyesekere seems to be unaware of my work on this as on several other points touched by him), there is similarity or even identity between this rite and the one performed for Cook in the upper part of Hikiau, in front of the main image, that of the god Kū in his form as Kūnuiākea.[25] If we focus exclusively on this rite, which seems to connect Cook with Kūnuiākea, we would have to say that Obeyesekere is right, that Cook was treated as a chief legitimized by his connection with Kū and not as the god Lono. But this first stage of the ritual cannot be separated from the next, which took place in the lower part of Hikiau. Obeyesekere's imaginative suppositions notwithstanding (p. 85), the rite that Cook underwent there resembles only one Hawaiian rite known to us: the *hanaipu,* in "which the image of Lono as god of the Makahiki festival was consecrated by the feeding of his bearer."[26] In this case, then, it is Sahlins who is right.[27]

But if each component of the ritual performed for Cook in Hikiau corresponds to a known rite, the ritual as a whole corresponds to nothing that is otherwise documented. It is most probably an *ad hoc* creation that combines the crucial rite in the cult of Kū with the crucial rite in the cult of Lono. The issues, then, are: For what purpose was this ritual put together and performed? What does it tell us about the view that Hawaiians had of Cook? I tried to answer these questions in my 1982 essay. I suggested that the ritual was probably an attempt to give a priest-controlled form to the Lono identity that had already been spontaneously bestowed upon Cook because of the time of the year at which he arrived. At the same time I emphasized that Cook "was considered divine, just as a king was considered divine: he was a human manifestation of the god; he was both king and god."[28] This required removing an anomaly. A king reached the Lono pole of his identity only after a transformation of his Kū pole. The ritual year saw his oscillation from the Kū pole (war, human sacrifice) to the Lono pole (peace, first-fruits offerings). But Cook had appeared directly in the Lono period. To fully make him part of a Hawaiian-controlled order, it was necessary to make up in ritual for what was missing in empirical reality. Hence the invention and performance of a ritual that telescoped, in essence, the whole ritual process in order to reconstitute Cook's Lono identity in an orderly fashion. Although made up for the occasion, the ritual respected the basic structure of the Hawaiian ritual cycle--a fact that demonstrates the Hawaiian priests' considerable powers of analysis and abstraction. Hawaiian ritual, as I emphasized in *Kingship and Sacrifice,* was not just a fixed, unreflected-upon text (although it could be, and ordinarily was, that too), but a generative system of possibilities.

Today, I still feel that the thrust of this argument is correct, but I would develop it further. The emphasis that was put on Cook's Lono identity (to the point of treating him, at least in the temple, as an image of the god himself) at the expense of his Kū identity (which existed only through the mediation of a sacrifice reconsecrated to the god), and especially the insistence that the former identity resulted from an irreversible transformation of the latter one, seems to betray a fear that Cook might turn out to be a destroyer and a violent conqueror after all. Probably, there was nothing preordained about Cook's identity: The performance of rituals was an attempt to orient and fix this identity in a direction favorable to the Hawaiians. But the Hawaiians themselves were apparently divided in different interests groups, with different views, hopes, and fears vis-à-vis Cook. This brings me to Obeyesekere's claim that Cook's "installation" in Hikiau was part of an attempt by Kalaniʻōpuʻu to enlist the British forces in his war against Maui. By this hypothesis, Hikiau's priests were the agents of the king pure and simple.

There are several difficulties with such a view. One should be evident. The first part of the ritual performed for Cook in Hikiau granted him a prerogative of the king himself: sacrificing to the god Kūnuiākea in the main *luakini* temple. Although Cook was immediately transformed into an exalted, but--hopefully--less threatening persona, that is, a quasi-image of Lono, the priests' implicit challenge to Kalaniʻopuʻu's status must have been clear. That there were some tensions between the Hikiau priests and the king is rather evident from the journals--*pace* Obeyesekere. Further evidence of the tensions, and of the reasons for them, was adduced in my 1982 essay. There I showed that (again contrary to what Obeyesekere assumes without looking any further into the matter) the temple connected with the Maui war was not Hikiau, but Keikipuʻipuʻi--as it should have been, since Kū in his warlike aspect (Kukaʻilimoku) was housed there.[29]

Moreover, for reasons that I have again explained in my 1982 essay, it is unlikely that Kaʻoʻo, the high priest based in Hikiau, was the same person as Holoaʻe, the man who according to Hawaiian tradition was the priest of Kukaʻilimoku, based in Keikipuʻipuʻi temple.[30] Obeyesekere inherits this assumption (p. 79) from Fornander and uses it as an argument for his claim that the Hikiau priests closely identified with Kalaniʻopuʻu's interests. On the contrary, there may well have been a rivalry between Holoaʻe, as priest of the warlike Kukaʻilimoku in Keikipuʻipuʻi, and Kaʻōʻō and his group, as priests of the more peaceful Kūnuiākea/Lono pole enshrined in Hikiau.[31] The conflict was probably sharpened because (and here again I side with Sahlins against Obeyes-

ekere) Kalani‘opu‘u was still at war on Maui notwithstanding the fact that it was already Makahiki time and thus tabu to fight. Indeed, it is quite possible that the populace’s identification of the unexpected visitor, Cook, with a Lono type of divine chief was also a veiled form of protest against Kalani‘ōpu‘u’s (and Kahekili’s--the king of Maui) disastrous insistence on war (and thus on the Kūkā‘ilimoku pole of kingship). The priests of Hikiau may have wanted to ride, at least for a while, this popular protest in the absence of Kalani‘opu‘u.[32] In sum, the situation can be interpreted in more than one or two ways--but I do think that in identifying a Cook/Kalani‘opu‘u contrast, corresponding to a Lono/Kū one, Sahlins is closer to the truth.

In any event, Obeyesekere’s hypothesis that Kalani‘opu‘u must have asked Cook to help him in his war against King Kahekili of Maui is based on no evidence whatsoever. His suggestion (p. 78) that this evidence must have been contained in the “lost” part of Cook’s journal strikes me as extremely implausible. If such a request had been made, the other officers would have recorded it in their own journals, as they did on other occasions. In fact, there is good reason to surmise that Kalani‘opu‘u-- whatever his views of how Cook related to Lono--increasingly saw him as a threat and was probably anxious to see him leave.

There would be much more to say about all this, and about other points made in *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*, but I am coming to the end of the maximum space allotted to me. Before I close, however, I must say that the more valuable part of Obeyesekere’s book is, to my mind, the one where he discusses the Western myth of Cook and its legitimating functions for British imperialists, New Zealand and Australian colonizers, and American missionaries. No doubt some part of this mythology, especially the missionary one, influenced Hawaiian thinking about Cook. But I disagree with Obeyesekere’s characterization of Hawaiian antiquarians as totally passive tools of the missionaries in these matters. Precisely because, as Obeyesekere notes (and as I have myself insisted before him),[33] Hawaiian culture was contentious and full of debates, which continued well after conversion to Christianity, it makes no sense to characterize their views of Cook as purely derivative. Obeyesekere also underestimates the ambiguities of Hawaiian attitudes toward the American missionaries (Samuel Kamakau, for one, eventually became a Catholic and finally a nativist),[34] and the political context of their attempts at indoctrination. As Sahlins has noted against other critics with views very similar to Obeyesekere’s, it made little sense for the missionaries to elaborate a Cook myth that would favor British

rights against American ones.[35] The Lahainaluna students may have presented a poisoned gift to the missionaries, at least qua Americans. The psychology of colonial subordination is more complex--and less supine--than Obeyesekere makes it to be.

Finally, I do find that the different strands of the Western myth of Cook are not distinguished well enough in the book. The Christological version of Cooks deification by the Hawaiians was very different, in my opinion, from the more paganizing version followed by most educated people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and, in a sense, by Cook himself. Unfortunately Obeyesekere cannot do full justice to this version and to its cultural and psychological underpinnings, because he does not fully or even correctly reconstruct its genealogy. The version owes less to Cortez and his "Indians" than to Alexander and his Indians.[36] It is also incomprehensible without a realization of the strange status that Pagan gods--viewed euhemeristically as apotheosized heroes--had retained in aristocratic culture at least until the end of the eighteenth century.[37] Obeyesekere makes Westerners--even Englishmen--far more Christian than they ever were.[38] And he forgets that the divinization of authority figures came almost as naturally to Europeans as to Hawaiians. Perhaps, then, the culture that had proclaimed "Papa est Deus" and that "kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon Gods throne, but even by God himself they are called gods" was closer to Hawaiian political-theological sensibilities than one may suspect.[39] But by the same token, we may have to be prepared to admit that neither Hawaiians nor Europeans were as deadly literal about Cooks divinization than later, Reformed versions, have led us to suppose. One thing is certain: Belief is too complicated a matter to be settled by the incidence of empirical indexes on propositions[40] or by reference to official ideologies. Cooks self-mythologization through his projection onto Hawaiians of the pagan residues of his own culture and the Hawaiians' own mythologization of him as Lono may have converged for a fleeting moment. The fuller philosophical history of this encounter of beliefs remains to be written.

NOTES

1. P. Green, *From Alexander to Actium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 398.

2. See M. K. Pukui, E. W. Haertig, and C. A. Lee, *Nana i ke Kumu* (Look to the Source) (Honolulu: Hui Hanai, 1972), 94-106; V. Valeri, "Constitutive History: Genealogy and Narrative in the Legitimation of Hawaiian Kingship," in *Culture through Time,* ed. E. Ohnuki-Tierney (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 175-188.

3. V. Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 9-18,144.

4. Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice,* 144.

5. Indeed, as Beckwith observes, "Gods are represented in Hawaiian story as chiefs dwelling in far lands or in the heavens and coming as visitors or immigrants to some special locality in the group sacred to their worship" (M. W. Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* [Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970], 3).

6. Sahlins's expression. M. Sahlins, "Captain Cook at Hawaii," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 98 (December 1989): 385.

7. Obeyesekere disregards the fact that for the Hawaiians Brittanee was axiomatically in Kahiki, since Kahiki refers to the zone of space where all distant lands are.

8. Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice,* 244.

9. Hence the expression *no'u ke akua mu-ki,* "the god that smacks the lips is mine," in G. W. Kahiolo, *He Moolelo no Kamapuaa: The Story of Kamapuaa* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Studies Program, University of Hawai'i, Miinoa, 1978), 37; A. Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore,* Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum [Honolulu, 1916-1920], 4:606-607. Cf. also the following dialogue: " 'You have a large god indeed,' 'Yes, you could all be devoured without satisfying his hunger' " (Fornander, *Collection,* 4:520). There are dozens of such examples.

10. "The term *'Akua pukuole'* used by the Hawaiians, and found in one of their old prayers, represents the deserted gods as hungering and starving for lack of worship and physical sustenance to be derived from the offerings which their neglectful worshippers failed longer to provide" (J. S. Emerson, "The Lesser Hawaiian Gods," *Hawaiian Historical Society Papers* 2 [1892]: 24). Cf. the following text: "The starving god can only whisper softly, / Hunger! Famine! / Dead for lack of food, but there is indeed food" (Kahiolo, *He Moolelo,* 82).

11. In this he appears to follow Charlot's opinion. But the unconscious Christian projections that are perhaps understandable in an exseminarian are much less so in a South Asian. On the other hand, there is little serendipity in Obeyesekere's recourse to notions and attitudes from his own Serendip to make inferences about Hawaiian views.

12. Cf. V. Valeri, "Pouvoir des dieux, rire des hommes: Divertissement théorique sur un fait hawaiien," *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 5, no. 3 (1981): 11-34.

13. An example among many: When the great Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua attacked Futuna, the men of the island "marvelling at his prowess, said, 'Thou art not brave of thyself, but by favour of the gods.' And he mocked them, and cried, 'Then I will leave my back to the gods to defend, and myself defend my face.' And as he was attacking the gate of the wall which his father's murderers had built, one of them wounded him in the back as he was passing through the gate. Thereat he cried, 'The gods *are* fools: they cannot *even* shield my back' " (B. Thomson, *The Diversions of a Prime Minister* [London: Blackwood, 1894], 303). Kau'ulufonua implies that he is stronger and abler than the gods themselves. Yet he does not deny their status as gods. The gods were also derided in Tahiti, when their images, captured in battle, were stripped of plumes. This was "a predicament described as ludicrous to the gods and mirth-provoking to humans" (D. L. Oliver, *Ancient Tahitian*

Society [Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974], 116). Also, during the rite in which the images were refurbished with plumes, the officiating priest provoked a general hilarity by remarking: "*Ua pohe tena atua, e ua pohe paha fatu e! Inaha ʻaʻita roa e ʻura,*" "This god is defeated [literally: "dead"], perhaps his owner is defeated [dead] too. Look, it has no plumes!" (A. Babadzan, *Les dépouilles des dieux: Essai sur la religion tahitienne à l'époque de la découverte* [Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1993], 137). In none of these cases is the divinity of the gods denied, although they are derided for their weakness.

14. Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice,* 223-224.

15. Obeyesekere himself mentions Kamehameha's destruction of the gods who failed to help him in his expedition against Kaumualiʻi in Kauaʻi (p. 149).

16. J. Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (London: Nicol and Cadell, 1784), 3:69.

17. J. Colnett, *Colnett's Journal aboard the* Argonaut (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 220.

18. Nor even the fact that Cook did not look like a Hawaiian and only had a smattering of Tahitian, another of Obeyesekere's arguments (see p. 61). There is no reason to assume that gods had always to look Hawaiian to the Hawaiians. Indeed, many of their forms of manifestation did not (images with distorted mouths and eyes and, in one case, with a nose in the shape of a pig [Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice,* plate 9]; animals, plants, natural phenomena). A certain degree of otherness sustained divine status. The gods came from Kahiki, which also means, let us not forget, "far lands" (Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology,* 3).

19. V. Valeri, "The Transformation of a Transformation: A Structural Essay on an Aspect of Hawaiian History (1809-1819)," *Social Analysis* 10 (1982): 3-41. I shall quote this essay from its reprinting in *Clio in Oceania,* ed. A. Biersack (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), although I should warn the reader that, due to the fact that I was not given the proofs to correct, it contains some misprints. The most serious is on p. 148, where lines 21-22 should read: "Thus it is not a matter, here, of viewing ritual as a 'reflection' of a praxis, but as a praxis in its own right, which enabled . . ." An erratum sheet can be obtained from the Press.

20. Valeri, "Constitutive History," 180-181.

21. V. Valeri, "The Conqueror Becomes King: A Political Analysis of the Hawaiian Legend of 'Umi," in *Transformations of Polynesian Cultures,* eds. A. Hooper and J. Huntsman (Wellington: The Polynesian Society, 1985), 81.

22. Valeri, "The Transformation," 152, n. 16.

23. Queen Liliʻuokalani, trans., Introduction to *An Account of the Creation of the World According to Hawaiian Tradition* (Kentfield, Calif.: Pueo Press, 1978; photographic reprint of 1897 ed.). Cf. Valeri, "Constitutive History," 182.

24. J. King in J. Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain Cook on His Voyages of Discovery. Vol. 3, The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Discovery, *1776-1780.* Parts 1 and 2. (Cambridge: Cam bridge University Press, 1967), 505.

25. Valeri, "The Transformation," 134. Incidentally, Obeyesekere's reading of King's account is questionable on one point of this sequence. King writes that the officiating priest ("Koah") "prostrated himself [to Kunuiakea's image], and afterwards kiss'd, and desired the Captain to do the same" (King in Beaglehole, *Journals,* 505-596). Obeyesekere assumes as a matter of course that "to do the same" refers to both prostrating and kissing, but I think, along with Beaglehole (*The Life of Captain James Cook* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974], 659), that it only refers to kissing. I cannot see Cook, even at his most passive, prostrate himself with his men watching.

26. Valeri, "The Transformation," 134.

27. M. Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities.* ASAO Special Publications, no. 1 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), 21.

28. Valeri, "The Transformation," 134-135.

29. Valeri, "The Transformation," 135. Of course, this did not exclude that enemies from Maui could be offered in Hikiau, as was indeed mentioned to the British (Beaglehole, *Journals,* 505). But, if one has to judge from surgeon Ellis's sketch of the temple, the heads of human victims stuck on the palings were not fresh. The same sketch makes evident that the temple was in a state of disrepair.

30. Valeri, "The Transformation," 154, n. 27.

31. A possible indication of this rivalry is that while the Hikiau group of priests sponsored Cook, Holoa'e never seems to have visited the ships. His name is never mentioned in the journals and not, I think, because he was the same person as **Ka'ō'ō.**

32. Sahlins has rightly insisted on the popular and spontaneous character of the veneration of Cook in 1778-1779, well before the chiefs and priests could decide what to do about him (and thus about it) ("Captain Cook," 412-414).

33. Valeri, "Constitutive History."

34. T. G. Thrum, "Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of S. M. Kamakau, Hawaiian Historian," *Hawaiian Historical Society Annual Reports* 26 (1917): 46.

35. Sahlins, "Captain Cook," 372.

36. And also, of course, to the memory of the spontaneous emergence of a cult of the Emperors--to whom they ambivalently submitted, to the point of unwillingly performing, like Vespasian in Egypt, "miracles" (Suetonius, *Vespasiani Vita,* 7)--in the Eastern part of the Roman dominions (cf. S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 19841).

37. See the fundamental study by J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

38. Let us not forget that the cult of rulers was long a competitor of Christianity (cf. L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, *Un concurrent du christianisme: Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* [Bibliothèque de Théologie, series 3, vol. 5. Tournai: Desclée 19571). And that in countries like France the cult of the monarch and the belief that he could perform miracles (such as curing the scrofula) survived even longer than in England, namely until the nineteenth century (M. Block, *Les rois thaumaturges,* new edition with a preface by J. Le Goff [Paris: Gallimard 1983]).

39. W. Ullmann, *The Medieval Papacy, St Thomas and Beyond* (London: Aquinas Press, 1960), 5. James VI and I, "A Speech to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament at White-Hall (1610)," in *Divine Right and Democracy,* ed. D. Wootton (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 107.

40. I am surprised and disappointed that Obeyesekere, for all the influence of psychoanalysis on his thought, should take such a simpleminded empiricist view of belief as he does when he repeatedly asserts that Hawaiians could not have believed in Cooks divinity in the face of various experiential evidence to the contrary (pp. 56, 147, 168). This is not just the misunderstanding of Hawaiian notions of divinity I have already denounced: it is also a misunderstanding of the nature of belief. See the classic paper by O. Mannoni, "Je sais bien, mais quand même . . . ," in *Clefs pour l'imaginaire ou l'autre scène* (Paris: Seuil, 1969), 9-33.

Response: GANANATH OBEYESEKERE
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

How to Write a Cook Book: Mythic and Other Realities in Anthropological Writing

I must express my appreciation to the editors of Pacific Studies for providing a forum for the discussion of *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* and to the four reviewers for their reflections on it. I regret that here in Sri Lanka I do not have access to any of the journals of the voyages, not even copies of Valeri's **and** Sahlins's work. I have to depend on my own book, which I have before me, and my recollections of what is contained in the others. I will also examine the larger methodological, ethical, and political implications of the reviews of *The Apotheosis* in terms of the empirical examples advanced by my critics. My response to Valeri, however, will have an added dimension, I shall show that it is impossible to respond to him on empirical grounds; his and mine are different modes of writing anthropology and I can only criticize his approach and defend mine. Who is right--or ethically and politically sensitive (or correct, or whatever)--is for others to decide. I am totally inept when it comes to prescribing alternative ways of writing ethnography; little recipes for Cook books are more in my line. I shall start off with the two reviews that are most sympathetic, those of Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa and David Hanlon, and then deal with the highly ambivalent review by Nicholas Thomas and the more straightforward one by Valerio Valeri. Because Thomas's critique is a bit fragmentary I might on occasion also use his earlier review of my book in *Current Anthropology* (vol. 34, no. 3 [1993]: 328-330; hereafter CAR) in my response.

In his review Hanlon asks the following question: "I wonder too how the descendants of **Kalani'ōpu'u** will regard this work; I think they might tell us that their past more than 'barely exists' . . . and that it is not as easily ordered as Obeyesekere believes" (above, p. 111). I shall respond to Hanlon's rather unfair representation of my views of Hawaiian history later, but for the moment let me consider the strongly worded political and ethical critique of anthropology and related disciplines by a daughter of Kalani'opu'u, **Lilikalā** Kame'eleihiwa, who says: "when I teach that part of Hawaiian history I relate to my students that he [Cook] brought venereal disease, violence, and, eventually, an unrelenting wave of foreigners, once his journals had been published in Europe" (above, p. 111). She laughs at the work of *haole* scholars like Sahlins and Valeri, whom she accuses of misrepresenting Hawaiian cultural acts. She castigates our own discipline as the "white man's pseudoscience of anthropology." She has made an important point regarding the manner in which the "native" has been represented in anthropological writings; and I think natives are quite rightly reacting to what they perceive are "condescending attitudes." I can imagine many scholars responding to these ethical and political critiques with snooty hauteur; but that kind of response is only going to alienate us further from those whom we write about and who ought to be co-producers of our ethnographies. I am going to take Kame'eleihiwa's critique seriously in my own political and ethical critique of Valeri's work. For the moment I must defend some kinds of ethnographic writing.

The founding fathers of anthropology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been part of the colonialist enterprise, as indeed have been historians and other scholars who have represented colonized peoples in their writings. It is futile to deny that that heritage is not alive and well, masquerading under the guise of objectivity, in the work of some of our colleagues. I have pointed out in my Cook book that the prejudices of the past get embedded even in our theoretical work, in such notions as the "savage mind," or the idea that natives don't possess individuality, or that they are incapable of rational discrimination, or that their thought is governed by "stereotypic reproduction," and so forth. Part of the trouble lies with anthropology itself in its self-appointed role as protector of the integrity of native culture, conjoined with the naive belief in cultural relativism and the arrogant notion that the other culture could be understood in terms of the rules devised by the scholar during his short sojourn in an alien culture. On the other hand, in defense of anthropology let it be said that this posture does have a good side. Ethnography did bring into the realm of intellectual discourse the lifeways of peoples who have not been represented in

history before--ordinary peoples living in small communities or, to use a currently fashionable term, "subalterns''--even if that subaltern consciousness has been falsely arrogated or badly represented by the ethnographer. Moreover, there is I think an emerging self-criticism among anthropologists in respect to the discipline's own past and its styles of representing the other culture, stimulated by recent radical epistemological rethinking in the human sciences in general, especially in post-structuralist thought, contemporary feminism, hermeneutics, and in "cultural studies." The last genre seems to preempt much of the anthropologists' own agendas precisely because of our own conservative stances. I also think that anthropology has the potential to carry out Nietzsche's subversive philosophical game by looking at Western culture through the prism of the thought of other peoples and thereby enriching Western discourse itself. I see this emerging in the work of some of my colleagues and my students; and among ethnographic historians who have looked at the recent pasts of European culture itself, to show their striking affinities to forms of life in the non-West, blurring the binary distinctions that have bedeviled Western social thought. I will take up this critique of anthropology further in my response to Valeri's review; here I must express my disappointment that Thomas's students in Canberra are reading the *The Apotheosis* in terms of pernicious and isolating categories like "Pacific history" or "Polynesian thought," as if such forms of thought do not spill over into those of other humans beings, including anthropologists. Or could it be that Thomas has not understood some of his own students?

I am grateful for Hanlon in providing a clear and succinct summary of my book focusing on its central theme of European mythmaking, something that many reviews of my book have ignored. In several places in the latter portion of his review, Hanlon is critical of my interpretations. I do not want to argue with him on many of these because such differences are integral to the nature of interpretation itself. When it comes to the interpretations of highly opaque writings like the ships' journals, one can only make one's own position unequivocal and clear so that others can in fact adopt different readings. On rereading my book I myself have come across certain kinds of "interpretive license" that Hanlon speaks about, as for example when I use a phrase like "it is clear" (p. 41) when perhaps it is not all that clear to the reader! On the other hand, I do not think my use of suppositional terms like "must have been," "likely that," "quite probable," and "reasonable to assume" indicates interpretive license; it rather underlines my own hesitation and nonauthoritativeness regarding a particular line of interpretation. I

would be hesitant to use categorical imperatives or unqualified language to describe the fluidity of the historical situation and the tentativeness of all forms of interpretation. I do have two serious responses to Hanlon: One pertains to my uses of native history and the other to the term "practical rationality." I want to clarify both these issues because I think they have been misunderstood by Hanlon, perhaps because I have not expressed them clearly enough. In any case I am grateful to him for giving me a chance to clarify my own position.

I would be a poor scholar of South Asian history and culture if I did not take native histories and "myths" seriously; I have done this in virtually all of my Sri Lankan and Buddhist writing. In *The Apotheosis* I have myself been strongly critical of the Western term "myth" to categorize the multiplicity of texts of different types from the native tradition and have suggested that such texts come close to the Indic notion of *itihasa* that embraces what in Western thought may be labeled as history, myth, and legend. Such histories are central to my work in Hawai'i also. For example, the critical section entitled "Politics and the Apotheosis: A Hawaiian Perspective" (pp. 74-91) is based on Fornander's exposition of Kamakau's history of the Hawai'i-Maui wars. Yet this does not exempt us from a critical evaluation of these histories and I think it is patronizing to treat them otherwise. I don't think one can make a claim, as I do, that anthropological theories like Sahlins's are continuations of prejudicial Western discourses, or that European historical writing must be seen in the context of their times, and then affirm that native histories are exempt from such critical appraisals. They too have to be critically disaggregated in relation to a specific research task (p. 163). I would be surprised if Hanlon objected to statements like the following: "The purpose of our initial look at native histories is not to deny their legitimacy as diverse, even contradictory, Hawaiian visions of their past, but rather to determine whether these histories help illuminate the empirical question of Cook's apotheosis by Hawaiians" (p. 163). Or: "My contextualizing myth in a particular time, place and tradition does not mean that myth elements do not send tentacles into the past. This is not self-evident, however, and only a critical reading of the myths permits us to make tentative historical inferences" (pp. 170-171). Thomas in his review also attributes to me a "crude historiographic rule" that stipulated that the myths of preliterate peoples are not relevant for history (above, p. 122). If contextualization of a text in a particular time and place and making a claim for a critical reading of histories and myths is a crude historiographical rule, I am happy to subscribe to it. Hanlon is of course right that some of the

native histories are not contaminated by the missionary discourse, but my question to him is this: How does one determine that except through a critical reading of texts? Whether one talks of native or academic histories, it seems to me, does not make the slightest difference to this important and crude (that is, "raw") historiographical rule.

The issue raised by Hanlon is a difficult one for anthropologists to accept since myths and narratives are the stuff of their trade. Let me get back to the Hawaiian example: I state that while the texts recorded by Kamakau may not reveal an empirical history they do reveal a feature of Hawaiian discourse, namely their contentious and argumentative nature. I go on to say that it is possible to consider these texts *as if* they were true, and then argue that, even in terms of this *as if* assumption, there is no way that Cook = Lono can be substantiated (p. 166). Now consider why I take the position that the texts dealing with the events of Cooks time compiled by Kamakau more than eighty years later cannot be treated as literal or empirical history. As Kame'eleihiwa says, Cook's voyages brought about the introduction of new diseases and massive depopulation, followed by serious social and moral dislocation. Soon afterwards there occurred the Kamehameha political reform and unification paralleled by a religious systematization. After Kamehameha's death, Hawaiians gave up their traditional religion in 1819; the following year Calvinist missionaries started preaching and Kamakau, the historian I referred to earlier, became one of the earliest converts. Can one seriously believe that the histories recorded at this time were immune to these momentous events? Why is it that anthropologists have such static and conservative views about the nature of texts? Everywhere in the nineteenth century the colonized world reflected the impact of the colonizer. In Sri Lanka, for instance, I have described the hegemonic power of the missions, in spite of strong resistance to them by Buddhist monks, and have characterized the Buddhism of this period as "Protestant Buddhism." Similar ideological changes occurred in Indian history during the same period; and in both Sri Lanka and India histories were refurbished, reinvented, or created outright under the influence and impact of imperialism, colonization, and missionization. Small islands also had to contend with the dislocations introduced by the violently intruding outside world. If so, is it all that senseless to say that a recent convert like Kamakau tried on occasion to rephrase Hawaiian religion in terms of the new doctrines that he fervently embraced? I would add that if there is a historiograpical rule underlying my work it is what Ricoeur calls "the hermeneutics of suspicion," which in my thinking is useful for dealing with texts in general, and especially so with texts that are per-

meated with strong emotions and written in difficult times. How can writing history or anything else (including what we are doing here right now) be immune from power, prejudice, ethical and other presuppositions, and, let us not forget, the not-so-elevating politics underlying academic discourses?

Hanlon's second criticism pertains to my notion of "practical rationality" and it has some merit, particularly his idea that practical rationality might itself end up as a literalizing trope. I agree with this criticism and the dangers of literalizing tropes, particularly since I accuse Sahlins of precisely that! However, I suggest that Hanlon's argument can be turned on its head. I can take the opposite stand and say that one reason for the natives' hostility to anthropology is that it is given to excessive symbolization of ordinary practical rationality and (to take up Thomas's point) common sense! In one manifestation of the anthropological imagination, native worlds are so symbolically closed that there is no space in them for creative improvisation and plain literalism. Does Hanlon believe that natives cannot think literally or commonsensically? Part of *my* political agenda is to bring back what many natives think is obvious: that they are capable of plain literalism in thought and expression and the pursuit of economic interests in terms of simple means-goals nexuses, however culturally defined these may be. I explicitly say that "practical rationality" is simply a way of creating a space for thinking of the Other in human terms in a situation where such spaces are difficult to create (p. 21). It is far from being a "spy glass" to survey the cultural world and should not be taken to mean that I subscribe to a universalistic view of British utilitarianism or of "practical reason" of a Kantian sort. I make explicit my limited view of practical rationality as a foil to symbolic interpretations gone mad, never as a substitute for agency-oriented symbolic analysis.

Hence I link my use of practical rationality with the capacity for "creative improvisation," inventiveness, and change; and beyond that to a common psychobiological nature I share with Hawaiians and others. Surely to attribute insensitivity toward symbolic analysis to the author of *The Work of Culture: Symbolic Transformations in Psychoanalysis and Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) is a little bit odd, to say the least. And in *The Apotheosis* itself I engage in the symbolic game much more than I do in the practical rationality game, in fact virtually everywhere! But symbolic analysis, as I practice it, gives motivation and agency to the actor. It is not a "closed symbolism" of the sort that Valeri practices that does not permit Hawaiian voices and active consciousnesses to surface in any meaningful way. I

also state that practical rationality is not cross-culturally uniform either but varies with each tradition (p. 19). And beyond that I deal with two kinds of discourses that exemplify a practical, rational one and a more tropic or allusive one, namely that of counsellors and priests--the one a more or less literal discourse that can be deciphered by us and the other a thicker, more metaphoric or parabolic one that requires a complicated symbolic exegesis (pp. 170-171). The very fact that Pacific historians and anthropologists can argue whether natives think literally or commonsensically and whether they are capable of making practically rational decisions is part of the political problem that makes anthropology such an alienating discourse for those people whom we study and who are now beginning to talk back to us, sometimes, as Professor Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa does, not very politely!

I find Nicholas Thomas's review the most puzzling of the lot because I think he has either not cared to read my work through or read it carelessly. It has disconcerting problems of writing style, gratuitously pejorative references that I think the author is unaware of, and certain departures from what he had written only months ago in CAR. He starts his review with the statement that my book is "frustratingly underdeveloped" and somewhat "underresearched," except for the "reappraisal of Cooks psychology," the very psychology that in CAR he labeled as "implausibly dark," without explaining why (CAR, 329). Let me therefore try to imagine what I think his complaints are all about and respond to them as best I can.

He seems to think the core issue in my book is the death of Cook: a strange inference, since none of the many other reviewers has made that particular point. He adds: "the material concerning European mythmaking is reviewed in critical terms, but is on the whole familiar to readers of Bernard Smith and Greg Dening" and to anyone familiar with eighteenth-century travel literature (above, p. 118). In my introductory chapter I state that my discussion of Cooks psychology is very preliminary and that the core of the book is "European mythmaking," as the subtitle indicates, and as Hanlon also notes in his review. This myth relates to the apotheosis of the white civilizer, understood as myth of imperialism, civilization, and conquest that has had a "long run" in European culture and consciousness. I discussed in detail the refractions of this myth in Cortés and Columbus, its reappearance during Wallis's "discovery" of Tahiti, its manifestations in European poetry and drama, and the turn it took in the missionary discourse of the nineteenth century. If my interpretations are already well known to those in Pacific studies, then my book loses much of its originality. Not having a refer-

ence library here, I can only defer to Thomas's judgment on these matters. However, in my own review of some of Bernard Smith's writing, I pointed out that his reappraisal of Cook is "astute" but, in line with the Enlightenment view of Cook, he fails to see the dark side of his hero and takes for granted his apotheosis (pp. 132-133). Now Thomas tells me that Smith does in fact anticipate my argument; I plead guilty for not having read Smith's relevant work. And as for Greg Dening's book, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language*, that Thomas urges me to read, I can only say that it appeared after I had published mine. I haven't read the book yet but more power to his (Dening's) elbow for having demonstrated the European genesis of the Cook = Lono myth. While Thomas's new information robs my book of much of its originality, it also makes Sahlins's thesis look even more bizarre for having ignored all this European mythmaking data freely available to Pacific historians and Polynesianists.

Thomas advances what he considers two methodological criticisms of *The Apotheosis,* the first pertaining to "unsubstantiated readings" of texts and the second to an excessive reliance on "common sense." He gives examples of each kind of methodological error, and I shall now respond to them in some detail because I really think controversial texts like mine are easily misread and can on occasion become a kind of "projective screen" for the reader/reviewer.

1. Cook and the priest Omiah are in attendance at a boxing match and people acclaim, "O Lono," and chant verses, according to the ship's surgeon, John Law. Law thought that the chanting and acclamation was for Cook; I said that this is not likely and that it was in honor of the priest Omiah who was also called Lono. Thomas responds by saying that the "only evidence" I have for this inference is King's assertion that Omiah is "a personage of great rank and power" and adds patronizingly that "[a]nyone who has worked extensively with early voyage sources ought to be aware that statements of this kind . . . are most impressionistic and . . . misleading." One has to document the priest's "ritual agency," his capacities and so forth, he says (above, p. 119). I must confess my amazement at this critique, aside from the put-down that Obeyesekere does not belong to the class of scholars who have looked extensively at these early voyages. Let me therefore reaffirm what I did say about the priest Omiah, also known as Lono.

In my book I was rather pleased that I had resurrected this important figure from the texts of King, Samwell, and Ledyard and devoted a whole section entirely to him (pp. 92-95). Contrary to Thomas, I show that Lieutenant King had an extended account of Omiah in the official

edition of the voyages (1784). King had much time for reflection and he says very specific things about Omiah-Lono, namely, that he was the head of the priests of the Lono cult; that he "was honored almost to adoration"; that he was the son of the old head priest Kao and the uncle of Keli'ikea (both well known to the journal writers); that, like Omiah, his little boy was also treated with adoration and "was destined to succeed to the high rank of his father." In a long footnote King adds that he was like the Dalai Lama or the "ecclesiastical emperor of Japan." Samwell made similar observations, in several places noting that Omiah partook "something of Divinity"; he later added that Omiah's status was as sacred as that of the king himself (p. 109). How then on earth did Thomas think that King only made generalized statements about Omiah? One can even say that it is in reference to Omiah that King (and Samwell) make their rare concrete statements about specific people. It is on the basis of their statements, and the information supplied by Vancouver much later, that I drew a brief genealogy of the line of important priests to which he belonged (p. 93). I further identify Omiah-alias-Lono with Pailiki, the chief priest who headed King Kalani'ōpu'u's Maui campaign. Thomas complains of the lack of ritual agency given to this priest although I describe his agency in several places, including his role in the Maui campaign (pp. 80-81, 108-109). If my detailed interpretation of Omiah is correct, and if Omiah was present at the boxing ceremonies with Cook, what other interpretive choice have I except to say that the acclamation and chanting of the people was for their own revered high priest and not for Cook (who in my analysis was viewed at best as a chief)? I must also protest at this put-down of Omiah; it is as if scholars like Thomas cannot get away from their idealization of Cook and cannot brook the thought that the Hawaiian chief-priest could possibly be treated as superior to the white civilizer. I can understand if Thomas objected to my identification of Omiah and contested my depiction of his sacred status or his genealogy, as Valeri does. What puzzles me is his ignoring the details of my reconstruction of this important person and flatly attributing to King the one assertion that Omiah was "a personage of great rank and power." This is simply false.

2. Thomas provides an example of my excessive reliance on common sense in a much more responsible argument, and I can only respond by presenting my own case. Before I do this I want to reaffirm a strategy that I employ in my book: "On occasion [I] repeat an important event or interpretation. This is a heuristic device to restore the reader's attention and a stylistic device to emphasize a different aspect of that event

or its interpretation" (p. xiv). Thomas's example is that of the canoe of Lono floated at the end of the Makahiki which, according to Sahlins, was one of the reasons why Hawaiians thought Cooks great ships were really Lono's. I suggested that to assume that Hawaiians would identify Cook's ships with the tiny canoe floated at the end of Makahiki would be to attribute to them an error in ordinary perception; however, I added that it is possible that once they had seen Cook's great ships, they could metonymically (or synecdochically) represent them as small canoes (or masts) on the principle that the part represents the whole (p. 61). I still stick to this line of interpretation; and D. Barrère confirms this when she says that the ritual of the canoe did not exist in Cooks time but was the product of the Kamehameha reform. Thomas says that people could easily have seen a connection between Lono's mast and canoe and Cook's ships. I assume he means metaphorically; not iconically (which does require perceptual coordination), nor metonymically. He cites an example from a New Guinea cargo cult where a leader invented a model of an engine-powered ship. All I can say is there is no particular reason why my commonsense argument is better or worse that his noncommonsensical one. I was protesting against the larger issue of attributing to the native the absence of discrimination that you and I have on the basis of ordinary perceptual and cognitive mechanisms. I do not think that this issue could be resolved in this kind of debate except to reaffirm each person's respective position. Thomas's specific Melanesian example leaves me at a loss; if the example is strictly isomorphic with that of the Hawaiian, then the Melanesian innovator must have invented a replica of the ship without having seen a modern ship or heard of one. I just don't believe this. A further metonymic point that both Thomas and I might have ignored: Isn't it just possible that the Hawaiians had seen Spanish ships and then represented Lono's canoe and mast on that model? Cook and his officers certainly thought that Hawaiians had known Spanish contact.

The other examples of Obeyesekere's "commonsense sorcery" are, I think, totally gratuitous. He says that I insist "that because the British were white, they couldn't have been presumed to be Hawaiian deities" (above, p. 120). I never put it in quite this way! On the contrary, I say that whiteness was relevant for the Hawaiians in their relationship to Cook, witness the aid that Kalani'ōpu'u sought in the Maui campaign in order to balance the priest of the "white" lineage that joined his enemy's forces (p. 81). I do say, though, that Cook's whiteness, and the fact that he did not speak Hawaiian and was unfamiliar with Hawaiian lifeways, combined with numerous other events that I conceptualized as

"situational overdetermination," rendered it impossible for Hawaiians to mistake him for their god Lono. The preoccupation with whiteness is Thomas's hang-up, not mine. So is his idea that Hawaiian and South Asian conceptions of divinity were dissimilar because the latter affirms a radical distance between man and deity. I thought I said the very opposite: that South Asian concepts of deity-naming could range from radical distance to simple familiarity, as for example when the word for "god" is extended to a variety of contexts exactly as in Hawaii. Kame'eleihiwa got me right when she quoted me: "the native can make all sorts of subtle discriminations in his field of beliefs; the outsider-anthropologist practicing a reverse form of discrimination cannot" (pp. 21-22). And finally I must protest at Thomas's put-down of another native, Te Rangi Hiroa, who, he says, "is not authoritative at the best of times and conspicuously unreliable for Polynesians other than Maori" (above, p. 122). Couldn't Te Rangi Hiroa as a Polynesian have had some insight into Hawaiian lifeways without being "authoritative" in Thomas's sense? Does Thomas ever ask himself: What kind of authoritarianism impels him to make statements of this sort? This style of "put-down" is found elsewhere also: in respect to the chief priest Omiah or Lono; in the "Commonsense Sorcery" title of his review of my book; in his reference to my "crude historiographic rule"; in the gratuitous and simplistic misrepresentation of my views; and in the transparent rhetorical ploy of taking a minor issue (Cook's death) and treating it as the centerpiece of my work. I wonder what went on that affected the tone of the present review as compared to the more balanced and yet critical judgments he made in *Current Anthropology?*

Perhaps the most reasoned scholarly critique of my book is Valerio Valeri's. I regret that it is not possible for me to respond to the details of his argument because I do not have his or any other Hawaiian texts with me. Let me respond to the more serious criticisms and then deal with what I consider some of the methodological problems in his own position, including the "voiced and unvoiced presuppositions" that any text contains.

The key event as Valeri sees it is the ritual at Hikiau where Cook was installed. He says that both Sahlins and I make partially true and partially false interpretations of this ritual, but that he has it right. There is not a trace of doubt, methodological and substantive, in his argument and, for the most part, the authorities he cites in his bibliography are himself. No wonder when Charlot disagrees with him he comes down harshly on his critic: "In this he [Obeyesekere] appears to follow Charlot's opinion. But the unconscious Christian projections that are

perhaps understandable in an exseminarian are much less so in a South Asian" (above, p. 133, n. 11). Someone who writes in this vein must surely think that he is exempt from "unconscious projections." I wonder what Valeri thinks of all the seminarians, theologians, Christian believers, and rabbis in classical Western philosophy (from old Descartes down to Gadamer in our own times) and their contributions to knowledge. I find this authoritarianism rather difficult to take; Valeri himself is quite unaware of it as he arbitrates on the truth of Cook's apotheosis. He can make statements like "Sahlins is closer to the truth," of which he (Valeri) is the ultimate knower. Everywhere in this text, as in his major work, he refers to the way Hawaiians think, to Hawaiian ideas, to the rules of their ritual, but the authority is himself. Here then is my fundamental critique of Valeri's review and of his work in general. In *Kingship and Sacrifice* he has invented the rules by which Hawaiians acted and these rules are derived from texts that were available during and after Kamehameha's reform. On the basis of these texts, whose contexts are at best difficult to reconstruct, he has reconstituted kingship and sacrifice in Hawai'i. Now there is nothing wrong with this if he would recognize the invented character of his ethnography and permit spaces for other kinds of interpretations, such as that of the seminarian Charlot's. There are no extant Hawaiian texts that were composed during the period of Cooks arrival and it is, I think, fallacious to assume that he can speak authoritatively about what went on at that time. But then am I not guilty as well of the same lapse? Perhaps, but not as badly. . . . To make this clear let me deal initially with the significance of the Cook = Lono equation for Valeri and myself, and of course for Sahlins, and then deal with another key event, namely Cook's "installation ritual" at Hikiau.

Regarding the Cook = Lono equation, let me briefly summarize our respective hypotheses. For Sahlins Cook is the god Lono who comes in person to the Makahiki festival. I took the position that Cook was called Lono due to the "situational overdetermination" that prevailed at the time of his visit and depicted some of those overdetermined elements (p. 97). I did not say what Valeri imputes to me, namely, that Cook was called Lono simply because he arrived during the Makahiki, though this was a critically important element in the situation. Because of its importance let me contrast my own interpretation of Cook's being called Lono with Valeri's in order to highlight the different strategies of research and writing ethnography.

When Cook arrived in Hawai'i on his *second* visit during the Makahiki festival for the god Lono, the ships' journals everywhere stated that

he was called Lono. But here's a serious problem: When he *first* arrived in Kaua'i and Ni'ihau a year before, not one journal account mentions that he was called Lono. If indeed people like Thomas are correct that Hawaiians saw a consonance between Lono's canoe set afloat at Makahiki and Cooks ships, then Hawaiians must have been peculiarly myopic during this first visit. What then is the crucial difference between the two trips? I have argued that, contrary to Sahlins, there is not the slightest evidence that there was a Makahiki going on during this first visit; but suggested that Cook did arrive at Makahiki time during the second visit (adding that the festival was suspended owing to the difficulty of maintaining the integrity of Hawaiian tabus and other religious beliefs). There seems to me, then, good cause for surmising that it is this crucial event of his arrival during Makahiki that led Hawaiians to call him Lono (in the larger context of "situational overdetermination").

Now take Valeri's argument: For him these inferences from the empirical data of the journals do not matter; what matters is Hawaiian thought that he has elucidated, in this case the ontological significance of why Cook was called Lono. Names are serious business in Hawai'i, he says: "Name, rather than character, was destiny in this society." He then adds that for Obeyesekere the appellation "Lono" given to Cook was "just a name" very much like his own, Gananath (something I never said). To substantiate his argument he uses the famous Hawaiian compendium, *Nana i ke Kumu,* which is the very source that I use to uphold my position that Hawaiians, like many others, name people after important events! It seems to me that to name people after events is not a matter of "just a name," but, as the authors of the above-mentioned compendium state, a serious naming procedure, because events *are* important, even if they are not always destiny. Hawaiians did not practice an exclusive naming procedure either. It is Valeri who posits one kind of naming. The ethnographic evidence suggests that Hawaiians did change names often and even possessed multiple names, and it is likely there were multiple naming procedures also (pp. 92-93). Here then is another problem with Valeri: He can only see a single scenario in Hawaiian beliefs, and that must be one that he has isolated because Hawaiians are rigidly rule-bound like other "islands of history" that ethnographers study.

Now to come to poor Obeyesekere's parents. In general in Sri Lanka, upper status groups are very particular about naming based on astrological computations, such that words and sounds have planetary potency. But they also adopt *other* naming procedures, for example, to commemorate events. Thus, my father studied in Calcutta under a famous

teacher, Gananatha Sen. He gave me his teacher's name not only to remember that personage but also, he told me, to commemorate the crucial educational event in his life. Another example: A famous Sri Lankan public servant is named Bradman Weerakoon because the day he was born was also the day the famous English cricketer, Don Bradman, arrived in Colombo. Anyone familiar with the triumph of British colonialism through cricket can appreciate the significance of the name and the event it commemorates. Further, the surnames of Sri Lankans nowadays simply follow the English naming habit of putting the surname at the end and the personal name in front, a complete reversal of traditional practice, but adopted within a few years of British rule. Thus emerges another invention, not to mention the many more naming procedures based on caste and class that I cannot even begin to enumerate.

I suggest that Hawaiians are the brothers and sisters of the Sri Lankans in this regard. To be fair to Valeri, he does not say that Cook/Lono was strictly the *god* Lono as Sahlins claims. He adopts a safe middle ground: He was not the god Lono arrived in person at the Makahiki, but rather he was hailed as a (second) king and in Hawai'i kings are gods! He has got us back to the European idea of the divinity of kings; consequently Cook is not a real god but "a quasi-image of Lono" (above, p. 130). But this kind of argument inevitably lands him in a terminological morass, for what on earth does he mean by "a quasi-image of Lono," and is there such a Hawaiian conception? I would suggest that in this context the phrase "quasi-quasi-image of Lono" sounds more appropriate.

Now let me make a more detailed critique of Valeri that will further illustrate the methodological issues I raised, this time in relation to the ritual in which Cook was installed as a god, a chief, or a king.

1. I like the part of his argument that says the ritual at Hikiau was created or invented by the Hawaiians to deal with Cook's unexpected arrival, which is my argument also. Yet Valeri undermines his own thesis by saying that while there is precedent for a king to be installed, there "is no mention by the canonical Hawaiian antiquarians [I love this phrase] . . . of a ceremony for installing . . . a person of rank' unless there was navel cutting or circumcision. He then adds, without a trace of humor: "I cannot find any trace [of navel cutting and circumcision] in the ritual undergone by Cook" (above, p. 128). But were Hawaiians as rigid as the scholar who interprets their lifeways? Surely what Valeri does is to deny Hawaiians the capacity for creative improvisation in an unusual historical situation. My puzzlement does not end here. Why

should Hawaiians install Cook as a king simply because that is the only installation ritual they knew, particularly when they already had a divine king, Kalani'opu'u? This objection, incidentally, would not apply to Cooks being installed as a chief or, even as Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa suggests, as a priest, because there were many of them around. Having another king could not possibly bring order into Hawaiian-English relations that Valeri also thinks is important, but would produce its very opposite. Moreover, such a notion of kingship cum divinity must contend with what Beaglehole correctly pointed out--that even ordinary Hawaiians did not accord Cook ceremonies of prostration in the very realm that Cook held sway, namely his ship (p. 121). A strange divinity indeed!

2. In the ritual at Hikiau an important sequence occurred that is significant to both Valeri and to me but not to Sahlins, namely, at a critical point the priest prostrates himself before the god Kii and urges Cook to do the same. I suggested that Cook is made to acknowledge the superiority of the Hawaiian gods and this act indicates his subservience to them. Valeri thinks this cannot be and that Cook only kissed the deity, an act that does not indicate subservience at all. Here is King's description: "to this [image of Kū, Koah the priest] prostrated himself, and afterwards kiss'd, and desird the Captain to do the same, who was quite passive, and sufferd Koah to do with him as he chose" (cited in *Apotheosis,* p. 84). Valeri's Cook could not have prostrated himself because "I cannot see Cook, even at his most passive, prostrate himself with his men watching" (above, p. 135, n. 25). Here I am confronted with a stone wall of prejudice; it is impossible for these scholars to shed their idealization of Cook even when the text clearly says that Cook was passive and *suffered Koah to do with him as he chose.* Valeri forgets that in Tonga Cook stripped himself to the waist to participate in the Inasi ritual in the presence of ordinary seamen who were in fact offended at what they thought was indecorous behavior in their captain. Also, to Lieutenant Williamson's disgust, Cook liked to sit on the floor and drink premasticated kava with Tongan chiefs. In Tahiti, in his own ship, he got himself stripped naked by several women for a massage to cure his "rheumatism," something that the crew would have known and commented on. Moreover, contrary to Valeri, there were no "men" present at the installation ritual, only two officers, King and Bayly. And surely we know from a variety of instances that even aristocratic European emissaries had to bow, kneel, or prostrate themselves before sacred non-European kings. Not only this: At a critical point in the ritual Cook is

made to raise his hands in an act of worship of the Hawaiian gods (p. 84), something that Valeri's Cook does not do.

3. It seems to me that this ritual is difficult to interpret in every detail owing to King's ignorance of its meanings. I myself resisted any attempt at definitiveness, stating that "the very possibility of a plausible alternate interpretation is at the very least a demonstration of the folly of attempting any rigid interpretation of symbolic forms" (p. 82). I think Valeri's own interpretation of details is subject to the same strictures he makes of mine, but he does not subscribe to my methodological proviso. Consider the following example: The priests offer to the god **Kū** a hog and other items and hail him as "O Lono" and then give Cook and the other officers portions of the hog to eat but only after they had consumed kava. Cook found it difficult to swallow any of the "putrid hog." Valeri's response to my interpretation: "Obeyesekere's imaginative suppositions notwithstanding [this ritual] . . . resembles only one Hawaiian rite" and that is the one performed at Makahiki in which "the image of Lono as god of the Makahiki festival was consecrated by the feeding of his bearer" (above, p. 129). There are serious implications here: The underlying assumption is that of bricolage, where the savage, like the artisan in Western culture, can only put together elements of an existing repertoire of knowledge, rather than reinventing anything. Savage creativity is of a strictly limited kind. It cannot occur to Valeri: (a) that feeding of persons from a sacrificial offering is quite common cross-culturally and perhaps even common in Hawai'i, and (b) that this element could have been given a different creative meaning specific to the ritual at hand rather than as a replication or bricolage of existing elements from another ritual (the knowledge of which is based on the accident that it happened to be the one recorded by canonical antiquarians). Further, if Valeri is right, it does not make sense for Bayly and King also to be given these same foods unless they too were refractions of the god Lono.

For Valeri (as it is for Sahlins and Thomas) even the half-starved Englishmen who appeared in Hawai'i resembled hungry-looking Hawaiian gods! But once again note the empirical issue: The Hawaiians told King that the English came from a land where food supplies had run out and hence their greedy consumption of the food given to them (p. 63). Not so, Valeri tells us; King and the Hawaiians are both wrong because the English emaciation was consonant with the Hawaiian image of gods with greedy appetites and enormous gaping mouths (though this isn't quite how the English looked). Unfortunately Valeri

doesn't give examples of Hawaiian gods who are also dirty and do not bathe but this, I imagine, is simply due to forgetfulness. Once again note Valeri's strategy: All you need to know is Hawaiian thought, narrowed down to mean mythic thought, and you can ignore the Hawaiian voices that King recorded. But look at the other side of the coin: If King's Hawaiians had said that the British looked hale and hearty (or whatever), Valeri could still say, "Sure, they are divinities because there are Hawaiian gods who look hale and hearty (or whatever)"; and indeed there are such deities no doubt. Valeri does not realize that he comes perilously close to making precisely the kind of assumption based on ordinary-sense perception, namely, that the hungry British were correctly perceived on the model of hungry gods.

But in an endnote Valeri moves away from this: Obeyesekere was wrong in saying that Cook, who did not look Hawaiian and spoke no Hawaiian, couldn't possibly be one of their gods, because Hawaiian deities appear with distorted features "and, in one case, with a nose in the shape of a pig *[sic]*" (above, p. 134, n. 18). He seems to have forgotten two things. First, aren't we now talking about one particular god, Lono, and not Hawaiian gods in general? Second, are there not myths and stories of Lono that say he looked Hawaiian and talked Hawaiian and in fact lived in Hawai'i? What is the relationship between sculpture and varieties of narrative representation? It seems to me that we once again have Valeri's typical strategy of freezing Hawaiian thought into a single scenario. Can you now blame me for insisting that Hawaiians could perceive the external world as you and I do and that they could in fact see that the British were hungry and emaciated, and that they empathized with the Englishmen's plight because hunger and dirt were familiar to them as part of their ordinary human experience? With Valeri we are, I regret to say, in the realm of "anthropologism," a very sophisticated ethnographic counterpart of Orientalism.

4. An important part of my thesis was the strong political motivation for Kalani'opu'u to incorporate Cook and his officers and crew into the Hawaiian social stucture as "chiefs" because, among other things, he wanted their aid in his flagging war with Maui. Here is Valeri's response: Obeyesekere's hypothesis, he says, is based on no evidence whatever and to say that proof of the hypothesis is contained in the lost part of Cook's journal is implausible. What do I say though? I suggested that there isn't always enough evidence to determine what went on during that fateful period and therefore whatever evidence available has to be "imaginatively re-ethnographized" (p. xiv). I then adopted the following strategy. First, I showed that wherever Cook went in Polynesia

native peoples solicited his help in their internecine wars, not surprising given the superior firepower he possessed. I then say that, at the time of his arrival in Hawai‘i, there was a war being waged between Maui and Hawai‘i island in which the latter was being worsted. I based my information on Fornander’s account, which is based on a “canonical” authority, Kamakau. And most importantly, after Cook’s death, when the ships were on their way home, chiefs of Kaua‘i sought Captain Clerke’s help in their domestic wars. I suggested that, given these reasonable Polynesian and Hawaiian attitudes, it would have been surprising if Kalani‘opu‘u, as a good military strategist, did not seek Cook’s help in his worsening conflict with Maui. I also showed that iron was mostly sought by Hawaiians to make daggers, once again useful for the same purpose.

For me this is a reasonable way of “re-ethnographizing” the situation, particularly when I explicitly state that in the absence of direct evidence one has to seek “indirect evidence” (p. 78). If one were to discount indirect evidence as “no evidence,” then practically all of *Kingship and Sacrifice* would be valueless, depending as it does almost entirely on indirect evidence. I then, somewhat facetiously, recognize that there is no way of “proving” this hypothesis, unless one could recover Cook’s journals for this period, which for some reason were the only ones to be “lost” by the admiralty (p. 216, n. 29). Valeri makes a big thing of Cook’s lost notes and says that “[i]f such a request [for aid] had been made, the other officers would have recorded it in their own journals, as they did on other occasions” (above, p. 131). I detect here again the very emergence of common sense that he decries in my work. He assumes that Kalani‘opu‘u, like a good Western commander, would have had a joint conference with Cook and his other officers rather than talking to Cook alone as the only one who could have measured up to his [Kalani‘opu‘u’s] own status; he then commonsensically assumes that Cook would have consulted his officers on these matters. Therefore the evidence should be available in other officers’ journals (though I document everywhere in my book that, at this time, and in this voyage in general, Cook rarely consulted his officers owing to his increasing moodiness). In fact, I show that while some opinions are collectively formed, others are not; and that some journals record evidence not found in others. My guess, because here in Sri Lanka I do not have the journals with me, is that references to Polynesians seeking Cooks help is found, for the most part, in the journals of the two captains and not in those of their fellow officers. Commonsense assumptions such as the above are scattered all over Valeri’s work. I suggest that it is impossible

to write an ethnography or history without the writer's commonsense (and other) assumptions implicitly affecting his or her writing. This propensity is not just a vice of seminarians.

Let me end this critique on a slightly upbeat note. I think Valeri in effect totally destroys his colleague Sahlins's hypothesis. He says: "Probably, there was nothing preordained about Cooks identity: The performance of rituals was an attempt to orient and fix this identity in a direction favorable to the Hawaiians" (above, p. 130). This is what I say also, though the substance of our interpretations is different. For Sahlins all this is preordained and Cook is the god Lono who comes in person during the Makahiki festival as predicted by Hawaiian prophecies (and their ritual canoes) and this is central to his whole thesis. It does Sahlins no good to say, as Valeri does, that Cook was installed as a king and he was a god by virtue of being a king. Though I agree with Charlot that one must not confuse European ideas of divine kingship with the Hawaiian, I also suggested that the installation ceremony might well have given a sacredness or *mana* to the chiefly officers (p. 86; appendix 2, pp. 197-199). To me it is important to affirm that Cook was *not* the god Lono arriving in person to a savage land because that is a myth of the long run in *European* culture and consciousness, and not a Hawaiian one at all. This Valeri, I think, does not dispute. Instead he disputes my specific tracing of this European myth and suggests, among other things, that it is more accurately reflected in Alexander of Macedon. This is possible; so is Julius Caesar and other civilizers of European myth. Actually, I myself stated that this "cultural structure occurs against a larger background of ancient Indo-European values" (p. 124). Nevertheless, to trace it specifically to Alexander, I think, can only lead us to a sterile scholasticism unless Valeri can demonstrate how the Alexandrian myth affected the lifeways of sailors during the voyages of discovery, unlike the Cortés myth that did affect them, as it did the Enlightenment in general, for example, in Cowper's verses compiled after Cooks second voyage comparing the good Cook to the evil Cortés (see text of Cowper's poem in *Apotheosis,* p. 223). I think I am right: The Cook myth is a manifestation of a more general type found in European thought; more specifically, it is a myth of the Enlightenment, an example of that which is believed to evade mythic thought, namely rationality itself, the credo of the Enlightenment.

Once we move beyond Valeri's Alexandrian reference, there are other areas of agreement also. After all, I do say that Cook was deified after his death in conformity with Hawaiian custom. Thus it is not correct to say that I deny the idea of the "return of Cook"; I only say that there is

no single scenario involved there either and several scenarios are possible. It may be that Valeri is right in his critique that some of the scenarios I have sketched are unconvincing, but that is not proved by his simply asserting so on the basis of his interpretation of Hawaiian thought. That thought is multiple, even contradictory; I think I am right to affirm that it is an error to freeze Hawaiian thought into a single scenario. Valeri protests with some pique that, in a 1990 paper, he also has documented the contentious nature of Hawaiian discourse before I did. But what good is it if Valeri still confines Hawaiian thought to a set of rules that he has devised for it on the basis of shakily contextualized "myths" and "rituals," as if those are the only sources of "thought"? If Valeri had read *my* 1990 book, *The Work of Culture,* that dealt with the theoretical significance of contentious discourses or debates in myth and history in general, he might have developed a more loose or open view of Hawaiian thought. And what about agency, which Valeri ignores in his work and mine? For example, is Cook's Kurtz persona irrelevant to understanding the events that occurred in Hawai‘i and in Europe in the eighteenth century? Finally, I think it is not only necessary to unfreeze the world of the native and open up the multiple worlds contained therein, but it is also necessary to perform a parallel act and open up the closed, boxed-in world of ethnographic theorists, particularly those who draw chalk circles around islands of history and thereby unwittingly esotericize those cultures, ignoring human suffering and pain. And also, I might add, bypass those deadly events that occurred in the aftermath of violent contact, colonization, or conquest on which Kame‘eleihiwa justly looks back in anger.

REVIEWS

William E. Mitchell, ed., *Clowning as Critical Practice: Performance Humor in the South Pacific.* ASAO Monograph, no. 13. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993. Pp. x, 227, bibliography, index. US$39.95 cloth, $17.95 paper.

Reviewed by Richard Feinberg, Kent State University

As any comic can attest, clowning is serious business. *Clowning as Critical Practice* is a serious study of performance humor in the southwestern Pacific. It provides an extended, systematic treatment of this potentially important, yet underappreciated topic, and as such is a welcome addition to the Pacific ethnographic record.

The volume consists of an introductory essay and seven substantive ethnographic chapters. Five chapters deal with Papua New Guinean communities: Murik of East Sepik Province (Kathleen Barlow), Lusi Kaliai of New Britain (David Counts and Dorothy Counts), North Mekeo of Gulf Province (Mark Mosko), Tubetube in the Massim region (Martha Macintyre), and Wape of the Toricelli Mountains (William Mitchell). Two chapters focus upon Polynesian communities: Rotuma (Vilsoni Hereniko) and Samoa (Caroline Sinavaiana). Insider perspectives from Hereniko and Sinavaiana are particularly welcome.

None of the chapters attempts to break new methodological ground. Rather, the volume's strength is in its ethnographic data and careful analysis. Theoretically, the authors' approaches are eclectic, drawing upon functionalist, structuralist, symbolic, psychological, and other well-established analytical traditions, combining them in ways that seem appropriate to their particular data sets.

The geographical distribution of case material, while heavily skewed toward Papua New Guinea, is reasonable for a first venture into largely

uncharted intellectual territory. Clowning may have been defined somewhat *more* broadly than one would wish. Each chapter focuses on some form of performance humor, but the contexts range from weddings and funerals to commercial performances in schools and theaters, and the activities range from clever monologues to riddles and slapstick. Nonetheless, some common themes emerge.

Pacific Island clowning frequently occurs during rites of passage. It often is associated with food and involves gender-role reversal. It speaks to local notions of personhood and the relationship between human and spirit worlds. Clowns are able to break normal rules of etiquette with relative impunity. In the process, they call attention to those individuals who flout community standards, and in doing so, pressure them back into conformity. They may also promote social control by assisting in release of pent-up psychic tensions that would otherwise be difficult to express without being disruptive. Although in some respects they are a conservative force, they also provide a relatively safe mechanism for expressing criticism of persons in positions of power, such as pastors, chiefs, and government officials. This aspect of clowning offers a venue for political criticism and mobilization of popular sentiment against the powers that be, making it, as indicated in the volume's title, a form of critical practice.

The first chapter is a theoretical introduction by the editor. This useful review of cross-cultural approaches to the study of laughter, humor, and clowning is historical and interdisciplinary, reflecting particularly upon anthropological, psychological, and philosophical contributions.

Barlow's chapter on the Murik addresses a joking relationship between classificatory fathers' sisters and brothers' daughters, which is particularly evident in the context of funerary activities. The author suggests that such joking is a mechanism for cultural learning in light of contradictory demands affecting lives of Murik women and that it emphasizes the continuity of social structure despite the loss of individual community members through death.

David and Dorothy Counts explore a distinction between "ritual" and "informal" clowning among the Lusi Kaliai. Ritual clowning occurs in association with major rites of passage and is a formal part of the proceedings. It typically involves gender reversal and mocks general classes (e.g., warriors, young men, chiefs, and Europeans). Informal clowning is more likely to target a specific individual as representative. of a disapproved category, may take place almost anywhere, and is more or less impromptu. The authors suggest that ritual clowning expresses women's ambivalence at having their children grow up, move

out of their homes, and become exposed to the risks of adult life. In the context of marriage ceremonies, it also expresses the implicit tension between affinally related families. And Kaliai clowning in general provides a relatively safe mechanism through which the weak are able to retaliate against the powerful.

Mosko examines mortuary feasting among the North Mekeo. He unpacks the messages symbolically encoded in clowning at these feasts, demonstrating the place of performance humor in Mekeo exchange and ultimately its role in the process of social reproduction.

Macintyre describes female jesting in a variety of formal and informal contexts on Tubetube. She argues that the clown is the positive counterpart of the witch, bringing the community together in times of stress and gently castigating socially inappropriate behavior.

Mitchell's ethnographic chapter points to parallels between clowning among the Wape and "carnival" activities in other parts of the world. Much like Macintyre and the Countses, he distinguishes between "sacral" or ritual and secular "theatrical" clowning. As is true of carnival performances elsewhere, Wape clowning is subversive in the sense that normal behaviors are inverted and ordinary restraints dissolved, thus exposing the status quo by "showing it to be subjective and arbitrary" (p. 157).

Hereniko focuses on female clowning at Rotuman weddings. The clown is typically an elderly woman who provides entertainment through public ridicule, comporting herself in a high-handed way, ordering others around, contravening normal Rotuman values, and calling into question the basis for social stratification. At the same time, however, she is a conservative force, allowing people to express unresolved tensions and frustrations while reminding leaders of the limits to their authority.

Sinavaiana, in the final chapter, deals with a type of Samoan comedy sketch termed *fale aitu*, "spirit house," which is popular not only in Samoa but among Samoans in New Zealand and the United States. *Fale aitu* are elaborately scripted performances combining slapstick, burlesque, (sometimes) gender-role reversal, and merciless satire, often directed against pastors, chiefs, senior kin, or other prominent personages. As such, they provide a "socially sanctioned vehicle for overtly criticizing authority figures through the protective frame of theater" (p. 193).

The contributions to this volume are solid ethnography, combined at times with subtle and sophisticated analyses. Given the subject matter, the book seems short on illustrations. Photographs, in particular, would

have been useful since so much of a clown's effectiveness depends on visual performance, and a number of contributors lament the difficulty of capturing the essence of performance humor on the printed page. Production is somewhat marred by typographical errors and works cited in the text that fail to appear in the lists of references. On the positive side, the volume's potential value as a reference work is enhanced by the inclusion of a five-page index, a luxury sometimes omitted from edited volumes.

Gerald Haberkorn, *Port Vila: Transit Station or Final Stop?* Pacific Research Monograph, no. 21. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1989. Pp. xiii, 162, maps, tables, figures, bibliography. A$20 paper.

Reviewed by Lamont Lindstrom, University of Tulsa

Demographers and geographers working in Melanesia in the 1970s proclaimed that "circular migration" was the dominant pattern of population movement between countryside and *town.* Rural migrants came to town, undertook short-term employment to earn cash, and then went back home again. Vanuatu's 1982 Development Plan assumed this pattern still to hold although, by this time, it was clear that significant numbers of people had come to town to stay. The population of Port Vila, Vanuatu's capital, expanded 7.2 percent annually during the late 1960s and 1970s. In this book, which builds on his earlier Ph.D. thesis in demography, Gerald Haberkorn surveys patterns of population movement in Vanuatu between 1953 and 1983 to assess whether the ruling geographic metaphor for urban migration should be circles or lines.

Migration is a serious topic in the Pacific, given a relatively small land base, rising populations, and limited economic resources. The Vanuatu case is an important one in that, unlike Tonga or Samoa, almost all migration is internal. Few people have the opportunity to emigrate overseas, although Noumea's nickel boom of the 1970s left behind a small community of Vanuatu expatriates in New Caledonia. And unlike the Tonga and Samoa cases, cash remittances are only a minor factor in town/country relations.

Haberkorn's answer to his subtitular question is that Port Vila is *both* transit station and final stop. Some people do continue to come to town intending to return home after earning some cash, visiting relatives, or

enjoying the bright lights of the "transit station." Haberkorn's data, however, show that the number of these circulators is declining--a decline correlated with a decrease in short-term employment opportunities in town and on periurban plantations. Significantly more people are moving to Vila as a final stop. The average length of time in town among Haberkorn's urban study population was around ten years. These people have relatively steady employment, have their families along with them, and have town-born children. Relatives from the countryside visit them in town more often than they return home.

Haberkorn's explanation for the shift from circular towards lineal migration to town looks for causes within the general social structural "setting" as well as the particular "situations" that inform people's choices to stay home or to move. Both ends of the road influence those choices. Urban opportunities pull people into town; and rural difficulties force them there. The core of the book presents Haberkorn's comparisons of two areas of north-central Vanuatu: the Liro area of Paama, a small island in the Shepherds group, and the Hurilao region of north Raga (Pentecost Island). Haberkorn demonstrates that differences in land tenure, descent and marriage patterns, and local organization in these two locales affect people's choices to migrate. An interesting element of the "setting" of migration in Vanuatu is the impact of sorcery and sorcery accusations. Such concerns on Paama, for example, have made that island a center of antisorcery campaigns. Although similar percentages of Liro and Hurilao people have moved to town, Haberkorn is able to demonstrate that "survival" drives the Paamese to Vila (they face land shortages and economic leveling institutions back home), while "convenience" pulls many of the Ragans.

Haberkorn provides a valuable systemic perspective on migration. As migration proceeds, it may over time change the character of both town and countryside, making additional movement either more or less likely. Whereas in the past the rural subsistence economy subsidized the plantation system by maintaining pools of cheap labor, nowadays the town also subsidizes the countryside's subsistence and prestige economies by drawing off excess population and by pumping resources out into the islands.

In Vila, the Ragans control better-paying jobs than do the Paamese. Although Haberkorn does not pursue reasons behind this, in Vanuatu generally people from Anglican areas (including Raga), many of whom have received an education at Anglican schools, have tended to enjoy greater employment opportunities and skills than those from Presbyterian regions (such as Paama). The fact that prominent leaders of the

two main political parties in the 1980s came from Pentecost may also partly account for Ragan employment achievements in Vanuatu's capital city.

Haberkorn stresses urban migrants' deepening commitments to town life. What is less clear is the extent to which their commitments, or their children's commitments, to home islands will be sustained in the future. Some urbanites, at least, continue to play a double game. They work to maintain their links to the country, particularly if rural land rights and access to plantations are in question. They continue to remit goods, cash, some of their children, and also their bodies back home. People from Tanna, in southern Vanuatu, for example, often pool money to airfreight home their dead--the defunct urbanite's return home announced in one of Radio Vanuatu's famous *ded mesej* (death messages). Haberkorn might ask where dead migrants from Liro and Hurilao rest in peace.

This study concluded in 1983, although Haberkorn was able to determine that 93 percent of the migrant urban population he studied was still resident in Vila in 1987. Haberkorn predicts that most migrants are in Vila to stay, despite government efforts to promote rural development to keep people back in their home villages. (It would be interesting to know whether the huge increase in kava cash-cropping on Pentecost in the late 1980s--to supply Port Vila's eighty-some kava bars as well as the Fijian market--has had an impact on out-migration from Hurilao.)

Studies such as this are immensely important for appropriate urban--and rural--planning, especially in the peripatetic South Pacific. Haberkorn remarks that Port Moresby's chaotic scenes present a "timely" reminder that Port Vila and other Pacific towns need to grasp the scope and causes of urban migration if they hope to avert some of its problems. Port Vila, although increasingly populous, still remains a magnificent town; I have often longed to migrate there myself.

Stephen Henningham and R. J. May with Lulu Turner, eds., *Resources, Development, and Politics in the Pacific Islands.* Bathurst, Australia: Crawford House Press, 1992. Pp. 323.

Reviewed by Albert B. Robillard, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

As the title states, this is a book about resources: minerals, chemicals, timber, land, fish, water, and general environmental quality. The edi-

tors state in the introduction that the articles contain information, theoretical paradigms, and analyses that may lead to the solution of certain conflicts in commercial resource development in the Pacific Islands. This is a big expectation but problem solving is a pro forma pedagogical statement at the start of social-science research projects and conferences. However, I will review the book against the promise that the articles lead to a solution of some of the problems entailed with natural resource extraction.

This well-edited book issues from conference papers, most of which have been rewritten. Although most of the nineteen articles focus on Melanesia, some deal with resources, mainly land rights, in New Zealand and Australia. The two articles on fisheries, one by Waugh and the other by Rodwell, trace the migratory patterns of tuna, as well as local fishing, throughout the Pacific. The primary focus on Melanesia is natural because that is where most of the commercially viable resources are located.

The volume is split into six categories: "Mining and Oil Exploitation," "Forestry," "Fisheries," "The Environment," "Australia/New Zealand: Indigenous Peoples and Resources," and "Perspectives." I found the first section the most interesting. It deals with mining and oil extraction in Papua New Guinea, nickel mining and politics in New Caledonia, and how the forces of international capital, even when operating under the auspices of the state, foil the ability of the nation-state to control resource commerce. The excellent article by Hank Nelson on early surface mining in Papua New Guinea gives the flavor of a rough and tumble, dangerous era. It is followed by one of John Connell's exemplary expositions of the contradictions in capitalistic mining development in Papua New Guinea. This chapter is about monetary compensation of traditional landowners by mine owners and the ensuing social crisis in Bougainville. The article by Stewart MacPherson on oil exploration and production in the Southern Highlands is followed by a bright chapter by Stephen Henningham on the struggle between French settlers, international and French capital, and Kanak politics over the control of nickel. Finally, Richard Jackson discusses the instability of the state in the face of international development of natural resources.

The section on forestry is less impressive. It has chapters by T. E. Barnett on administering the forestry bureaucracy, Frances Deklin on forestry policy formation, and Rodney Taylor on forestry management, all in Papua New Guinea; as well as Maev O'Collins on logging in the Solomons and an all-too-short article on traditional ethnic Fijian culture and forestry by Ropate Qalo. With the exception of the Qalo arti-

cle, the approach to problems appears to be based on the notion that if we were only more rational, scientific, and comprehensive in forestry management, we would have present and future problems solved. Some of the articles read as if they were management audits. We have seen the same kind of management-audit mentality and great amounts of government effort to control the forest products industry in the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand; and still the amount of illegal logging and timber smuggling is significant. As I will suggest at the end of this review, I think the faith in ever more complex and comprehensive management matrices to control resource development is based on the wrong level of analysis of the problem. I will also suggest that the level of analysis in the chapters on mining, oil, land rights, fisheries, and the environment is at such an abstract level that the situated interactional details through which these industries are initiated, maintained, and terminated--through the course of months and years--are entirely lost. The chapters appear to ignore what I have come to call the situated achievements of business culture.

The two pieces on fisheries, by Geoffrey Waugh and Len Rodwell, report on the national and international economics of fishery harvesting, processing, and marketing and on the special problems of developing a tuna industry in Papua New Guinea. Both chapters are of the "top down" variety, describing the efforts of government, regional and international agencies, and international markets.

The article by Neva Wendt on environmental issues is split into two parts. The first discusses the work of the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), The second part illustrates specific environmental problems of pesticide use; hotel and airport development in Micronesia; logging in the Solomons, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa; and phosphate mining in Nauru. Although Wendt describes the actual and potential harm to the environment from development, particularly to the attraction of "paradise" to tourists, the details of how important Pacific Islanders and outsiders would come to see and undertake development projects as an important activity are absent.

It was the section on land rights of the Maori in New Zealand and Aboriginal people in Australia that started me thinking that the entire book was devoid of the materials and theorization that would lead to solving the problems of resource development in the Pacific. When I read the articles by R. T. Mahuta, J. C. Altman, and John D. B. Williams, I immediately began to think of a 1985 book by Kenneth Liberman, *Understanding Interaction in Central Australia: An Ethnometh-*

odological Study of Australian Aboriginal People (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985). Liberman describes the Aboriginal commonsense culture of interaction, emphasizing consensus; how Aboriginal interaction is sequentially and contextually constructed; and how this interactional culture is incommensurate with European-Australian interactional culture. One of the topics treated by Liberman is land-rights negotiation between Aboriginals and European-Australians.

The volume has no conclusion. There are three "sort of" concluding pieces by Brij V. Lal, Edward P. Wolfers, and Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh. The articles by Lal and O'Faircheallaigh go far beyond the preceding papers and do not stand in an overt critical relationship to those chapters. The "Perspective" pieces are too congenial, though the paper by the historian Lal and the attempt by O'Faircheallaigh, a political scientist, to formulate a model of the local politics of Pacific Island resource development are most intriguing. Wolfers criticizes natural resource development consultants.

Finally, does the volume fulfill the editors' promise to formulate a problem-solving approach to the myriad challenges of natural resource development? First, I want to say the book and the reference section are essential reading and a real service. But to my question, I think the editors promised too much: The level of abstraction and the comprehensiveness of the chapters miss the contingent, interactional sequences in which resource business is carried out. The issue of cross-cultural business communication is not treated seriously. I think the essays in the book are an example of the paradigms of social-science writing getting in the way of reporting and analyzing the interactional business details that every one of these authors knows but considered irrelevant for this book and the preceding conference. This is not surprising as social science aspires to be a general, positive science. However, my brief involvement with exporting uncut logs and copra and my reading of Liberman's excellent analysis of land-rights negotiation leads me to believe that social science, as seen in this book, has structurally insulated itself from the interactional sense-making details of business. Until social science focuses on business interaction, it has no hope of fulfilling the problem-solving promises of the editors.

BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, NOVEMBER 1993-JANUARY 1994

This list of significant new publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisition lists received from Brigham Young University-Hawaii, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East-West Center, University of the South Pacific, National Library of Australia, and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau's Centre for Pacific Development and Training. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted Editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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CONTRIBUTORS

Dennis A. Ahlburg, Industrial Relations Center, University of Minnesota, 537 Management & Economics Bldg., 271 19th Ave. So., Minneapolis, Minn. 55455, U.S.

David A. Chappell, Dept. of History, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Sakamaki Hall A-203, 2530 Dole, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822-2383, U.S.

David Hanlon, Dept. of History, University of Hawai'i at Miinoa, Sakamaki Hall A-203, 2530 Dole, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822-2383, U.S.

Lee Insko, Regional Programs, Eastern Oregon State College, La Grande, Oreg. 97850, U.S.

Kerry E. James, Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822, U.S.

Lilikali Kame'eleihiwa, Center for Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Moore Hall 428, 1890 East-West Rd., Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822, U.S.

Mac Marshall, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52242, U.S.

Grant McCall, Center for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, Kensington, N.S.W. 2033, Australia

Gananath Obeyesekere, International Center for Ethnic Studies, 8 Kynsey Terrace, Colombo 8, Sri Lanka; or Dept. of Anthropology, 100 Aaron Burr Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 08544-1011, U.S.

Rocky Sexton, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52242, U.S.

Nicholas Thomas, Dept. of Archaeology and Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T. 0200, Australia

Valerio Valeri, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1126 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill. 60637, U.S.