PACIFIC STUDIES

a journal devoted to the study of the Pacific--
its islands and adjacent countries

MARCH 1993

Anthropology
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Published by

THE INSTITUTE FOR POLYNESIAN STUDIES
(BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY-HAWAII)

In association with the
Polynesian Cultural Center

Articles and reviews in *Pacific Studies* are abstracted or indexed in *Sociological Abstracts, Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts, America: History and Life, Historical Abstracts, Abstracts in Anthropology, Anthropological Literature, PAIS Bulletin, International Political Science Abstracts, International Bibliography of Periodical Literature, International Bibliography of Book Reviews, and International Bibliography of the Social Sciences.*

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Editorial Policy: *Pacific Studies* is published quarterly by The Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawaii, Laie, Hawaii 96762-1294, but responsibility for opinions expressed in the articles rests with the authors alone.

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This publication is printed on acid-free paper and meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

ISSN 0275-3596

Volume 16 March 1993 Number 1

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PACIFIC STUDIES

Vol. 16, No. 1 March 1993

FROM SAMUEL McFARLANE TO STEPHEN DAVIES: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE TORRES STRAIT ISLAND CHURCHES, 1871-1949

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In 1915 the London Missionary Society in Papua gave up spiritual jurisdiction over its three thousand Torres Strait Island converts in northern Australia and, in a wholesale territorial cession characteristic of the cavalier imperialism of the age, entrusted its churches to the Anglican bishop of Carpentaria. Until then, the Islanders had been Congregationalist converts accustomed to the rule of patriarchal Samoan pastors and the simple chapel services of the LMS. However, in the words of the British anthropologist A. C. Haddon, the Islanders "speedily became interested in the new ritual" of the Church of England and "went over without a murmur."

This article examines the weakening of LMS strength before 1915. It argues that the transfer was eased by the resentment toward Samoan autocracy as well as the growing authority of Queensland government officials whose sympathies lay with the Anglican church rather than with the LMS. In particular, it analyzes the subsequent process of religious transformation during the long episcopate of Stephen Davies, third bishop of Carpentaria (1922-1949), and discusses the present legacy of Polynesian Congregationalism that lingers in the island churches of the Torres Strait.

On 1 July 1871 a party of eight teachers from Mare and Lifu in the Loyalty Islands, under the leadership of the Reverend Samuel McFarlane of the London Missionary Society, landed at Darnley Island to begin a mission to the Torres Strait Islands. At the time of the landfall at Darnley, there were between four and five thousand people living on the Strait's twenty inhabited islands. By the seventies; the Strait's rich resources in pearl and trepang (bêche-de-mer) were attracting commercial interest,

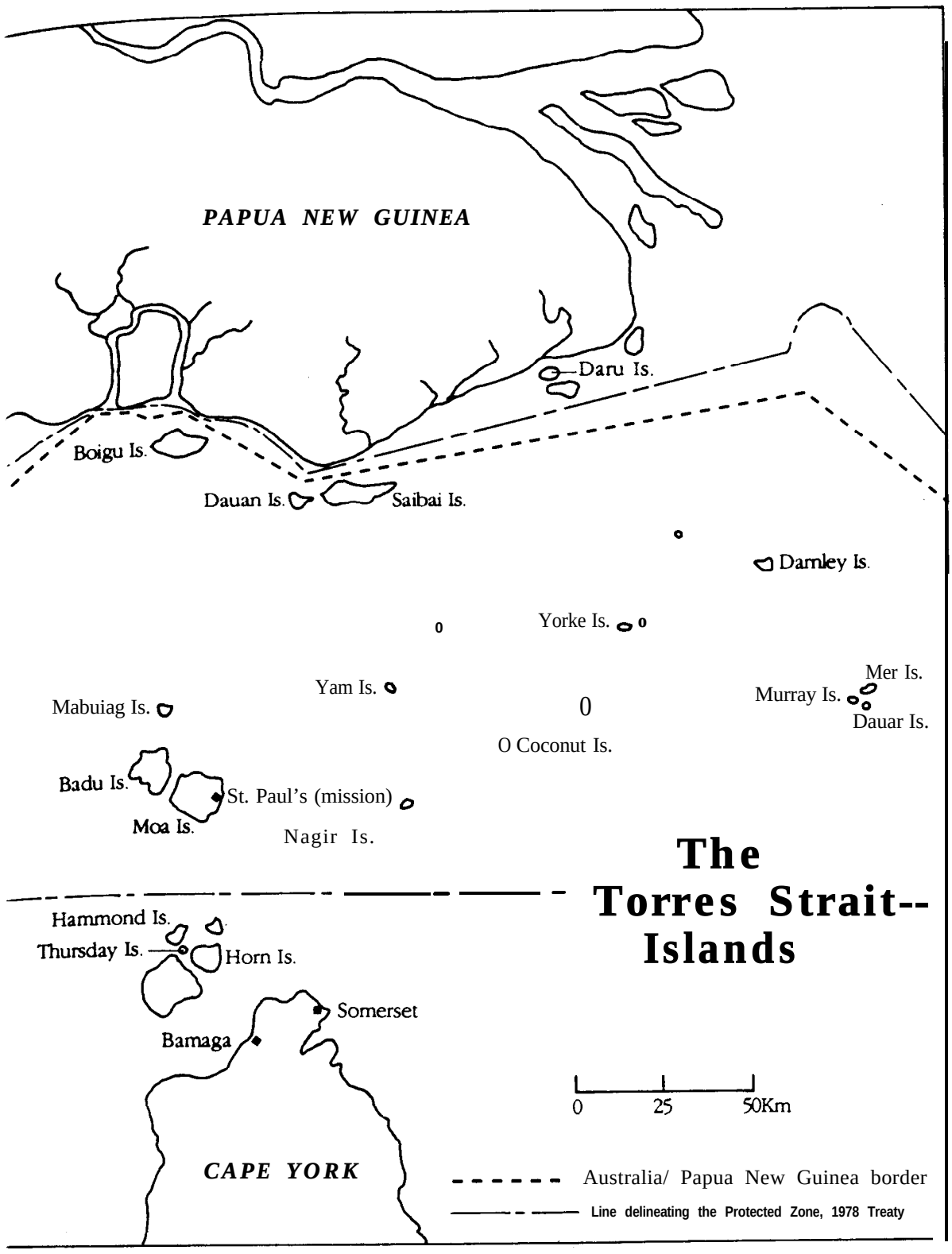
and pearlers and trepangers were fishing extensively in its waters.' The origins of these pearlers were diverse: Torres Strait and South Sea islanders were joined during the final quarter of the century by Australian Aboriginal and Japanese divers. Some South Sea Islanders, notably seamen from Rotuma near Fiji, intermarried with Strait women and had some influence on island culture in the Strait.

McFarlane, a Scottish engineer-turned-evangelist, regarded the Strait Islands as "another Iona" that could be used as "stepping stones" for the mission he hoped to establish in New Guinea.[2] McFarlane believed the mainland of New Guinea to be unfit for permanent European residence. Vexed, too, by the difficulty of living under French restrictions on the Loyalties, McFarlane and his veteran colleague A. W. Murray had decided to move to the Strait. The male teachers. and their wives would be dispersed to various islands, and a "Papuan Institute" for training Torres Strait Islanders would be built on Murray Island, following the example of McFarlane's institute at Chepenehe on Lifu. A second party of Loyalty Islanders came in 1872, accompanied by a pioneer band of Rarotongans, including wives, who settled at Redscar Bay on the Papuan mainland.

From 1877 the original Loyalty Islanders in the Strait began moving seven hundred kilometers eastward to the new LMS mission outposts McFarlane was establishing in the Milne Bay area of eastern New Guinea. Their places were taken by pastors from the Cook Islands and Samoa whose first party arrived in 1883. Samoan pastors managed the LMS congregations in the Strait for over thirty years until the First World War.

Illness and death dogged McFarlane's Loyalty Island teachers from the start. Some succumbed to fever; four were massacred. The death rate among their wives too was appallingly high. Yet footholds were established on Darnley (teacher Guceng), Yorke (Siwene and Waneg), Mabuiag (Waunaea), Dauan and Saibai (Locat, Elia, Tepesa, and Kerisiano), and Murray (Mataika and Josaia).[3] Taken to Papua in order to "get the start of [i.e., preempt] foreign settlers," as A. W. Murray put it, Loyalty Island teachers also settled briefly near the Bineturi River not far from Daru. Still believing it was courting death for a white man to live in New Guinea, McFarlane preferred to remain at Somerset, on Cape York, and later chose the "Papuan Institute" on Murray Island as his home.

However, when further acquaintance with coastal New Guinea by the LMS missionaries W. G. Lawes (arrived 1874) and James Chalmers (1877) showed that, although New Guinea had an irksome climate, it



The Torres Strait--Islands

was quite possible to live there, the idea of using Murray Island as a mission center for the whole of New Guinea was abandoned. Lawes and Chalmers became critical of both McFarlane and his methods. The newcomers' comments on A. W. Murray's "rose colored glasses" and of McFarlane's varnished accounts about his New Guinea exploits provide a glimpse of the divergence between them: "You know that Mac stands at the portals and only occasionally looks in," wrote Chalmers.[4]

With the disappearance by death or resignation of the forty-five Loyalty Islanders,[5] followed by McFarlane's retirement from the mission in 1886, the focus of LMS work shifted at last from the Torres Strait to New Guinea. Thereafter, the Torres Strait LMS mission lapsed into a state of stagnation tempered by dispute. McFarlane's English successors E. B. Savage and A. E. Hunt failed to work in harmony, the institute at Murray Island collapsed, and the islands became merely the outstations of the "western and Fly River branch" of the mission. The sole representatives of the LMS were Samoan and Ellice Islander pastors.[6]

Nevertheless, chapels had been established, and for Torres Strait men, work on pearling luggers now alternated with a life of fishing, gardening, and church going, Torres Strait Island converts now bore biblical names such as "Isaac," "Samuel," "Ephraim," and "Jacob," conferred by the pastors. They sang hymns written in the vernacular by Loyalty Islanders and Samoans to tunes that came from the English Nonconformist tradition. Samoan and Rotuman hymns were characterized by a two-part harmony with the parts moving independently, the parts sometimes in antiphon and sometimes overlapping.[7] In addition to other secular tunes, they sang songs taught by Samoan pastors and Rotuman pearlers. The Islanders had also learned a repertoire of Polynesian dances: the Samoans had been anxious to eliminate what were regarded as objectionable features in Torres Strait choreography and, as substitutes, had introduced Samoan "sitting down dances." By the turn of the century, club dances from Tana (Tanna) in the New Hebrides could also be seen in the islands, as could Rotuman dances, which were known generally as the "Taibobo."[8]

Songs and dances were incidental to the spread of Christianity, and the LMS brethren in New Guinea were reproached by visitors for the partial failure of their pioneer mission. Certainly, the LMS could point to the chapels that had been constructed on a number of islands, the mission vessel built on the slipway of the "Papuan Institute" on Murray Island, and the translation of the four gospels by A. E. Hunt into the language of the eastern islands, which is known as Miriam. But such visitors as the Cambridge anthropologist A. C. Haddon and Sir William

MacGregor, first administrator of British New Guinea, had been shocked at the contrast between the glowing accounts of mission work in McFarlane's book *Among the Cannibals* (1888) and the shabby reality.[9] Brave words by McFarlane about the Torres Strait being a "firm footing" and the "key to the interior" of New Guinea, where young men were "entering and taking possession in the name of Christ,"[10] were considered by the late eighties to be nothing more than the vaporings of the founder's imagination.

It would be wrong, however, to ascribe the weakness of the Torres Strait mission to McFarlane alone. In Britain, there had been a gradual slide in LMS missionary support from its summit of influence in the 1860s and 1870s. The "Forward Movement," launched in 1895 to mark the society's centenary, had failed to arrest the decline. Hence the "glorious results" couched in the mid-century language of triumph by Murray and McFarlane seemed to a newer generation of missionaries like Chalmers to belong to a vanished age. Still younger candidates for LMS service in the South Seas were placing little emphasis on the Atonement and giving a greater role to the social consequences of the Incarnation of Christ, clearing plantations, building up industrial missions, working. amongst orphans, and speaking less certainly of hellfire.[11] The modern Evangelical missionary movement that had fueled the South Seas missions from the late eighteenth century was on the wane.

An Anglican Foothold in the Strait

While Evangelical Nonconformity faltered, the Anglican dioceses in Australia were beginning to plant their own outposts in the Torres Strait. At first the Church of England in Australia had reflected the lethargy and weakness of church life in early nineteenth-century Britain. This was certainly the case in the Moreton Bay settlement, which became part of the self-governing colony of Queensland in 1859. But, once a bishopric had been established in Brisbane in 1860 under Bishop E. W. Tufnell and strengthened by his successor, Bishop M. B. Hale, the clergy were found organizing congregations and building wooden churches in North Queensland. This activity increased in the wake of the gold and silver discoveries at Ravenswood (1868), Charters Towers (1872), and the Palmer River (1872-1873).

More than to any other cause, the extension of the Church of England to the Melanesian population of the Torres Strait owed its origin to the mineral boom in North Queensland. So rapid was the influx of white population and wealth to the "El Dorado" of northeastern Australia

that the Anglican church in far North Queensland was expected to become predominantly European and self-supporting. As a commentator on the church in North Queensland wrote laconically, while the gold boom period lasted, the Australian continent, like a ship, "developed a temporary list to the northeast, during which everything and everybody tended to roll in that direction."[12] An ambitious stone Anglican church with side aisles and clerestory windows was begun at Thursday Island in 1890. C. G. Barlow, bishop of North Queensland (1891-1902) began collecting funds for a Church of England diocese that would include the ports of Thursday Island, Cooktown, and Port Douglas.[13] With nearly £9000 collected by Barlow toward a bishopric endowment, Gilbert White, archdeacon of North Queensland, was consecrated first bishop of the Diocese of Carpentaria in 1900.[14]

The new bishopric encompassed some six hundred thousand square miles, or one-seventh of the land area of continental Australia. Carpentaria was more a geographical expression than a diocese. Claiming to be the fourth largest Anglican diocese in the world, Carpentaria consisted of the Cape York peninsula north of Cairns, the Gulf country, and the whole of the Northern Territory. Alice Springs in central Australia was included. The islands of the Torres Strait, staffed by Samoans and still under LMS auspices, lay within its boundaries.[15] When White arrived at Thursday Island, the total population living within the borders defined for his diocese included some 16,500 Europeans; 7,400 Chinese, Japanese, and Melanesians; and an Aboriginal population estimated at about 35,000. There were only four Anglican priests besides the bishop to minister to this scattered population. Their work was to be financed largely by the endowment. It was expected that Carpentaria would depend for further financial support upon settled European parishes in the towns and that the growing port of Cairns would be ceded to Carpentaria by the Diocese of North Queensland and would provide considerable income for the new diocese.[16]

Until 1915 only one Anglican settlement existed in the Torres Strait Islands, at Moa Island thirty kilometers northwest of Thursday Island. In 1901 the federal parliament of the new Commonwealth of Australia had decided to deport the Melanesian laborers, or Kanakas, from Queensland in order to maintain a white Australia. Following petitions from Melanesians resident in Queensland and protests by church leaders, a royal commission recommended that those Kanakas who had been in Australia for over twenty years or who had purchased certain areas of land should be permitted to stay.[17] From 1908 Melanesians totaling about seventy-five, including twenty-five children, settled near

the village of Wag on Mea-- the original population having been scattered by pearl shellers--and Gilbert White sent Florence Buchanan to be their teacher. In 1999 the five hundred acres set aside for the Anglican settlement, known as St. Paul's reserve, was increased to two thousand acres.[18] Florence Buchanan, who was called the "Apostle of Moa," endured much suffering until her death in 1913. She used to write on her school blackboards, "One King One Flag One Fleet One Empire."[19]

Apart from St. Paul's mission to the Queensland Melanesians on Moa Island, then, all mission work in the Strait was still Congregational. For twenty years the LMS in Papua had agonized over the future of its decaying stations begun by McFarlane and the Loyalty Islanders. In 1903 the New Guinea District Committee had decided to recommend to the society's directors in London the transfer of the Torres Strait churches to the bishop of Carpentaria.[20] The LMS held freehold land on seven islands. It was represented at that time by nine pastors--six Samoans and Ellice Islanders and three Torres Strait Islanders. The pastors and Islanders had built eleven churches, some of them fine buildings of lime and coral.[21] Annual visits were paid by the LMS missionary resident on the Papuan coastal island of Daru near the Fly River. In addition, the Papuan Industries, an offshoot of the LMS in New‘ Guinea, was operating in the Strait, one of its objects being to enable Islanders and Papuans to engage in pearling and planting. The Reverend F. W. Walker, formerly of the LMS, and his brother Charlie had established the headquarters of the Papuan Industries on Badu Island near Moa in 1904.[22]

Handing Over

The LMS felt compelled to hand over its mission to the Anglicans in 1915 for three reasons. First, there was continuing friction between the Samoan pastors and the state schoolteachers settled on six of the islands by the Queensland government. The role adopted by the Samoans in the Torres Strait and New Guinea was influenced by the Evangelical traditions of British dissent. Masks, paintings, and carvings of various types were assailed, because they were held in Old Testament teaching to be an offense in the eyes of God. In 1879, before the coming of the first Samoan pastors, some of the Polynesian teachers had joined Samuel McFarlane on Murray Island for a "ceremony of burning the idols."[23] The pastors were acting on lessons learned during their mission training in Polynesia. But the pastors' pattern of behavior was also grounded in their Samoan background, and it is probable that nonmission influences

were at work as well in shaping their responses to Torres Strait Island culture. For, beneath the religious training of the pastors was what Norman Goodall described as a characteristic mode of reaction to certain demands and loyalties, incompatible with any other culture, known as the *fa'aSamoa*, the "Samoan way."[24]

A serving pastor in Samoa was referred to as the *feagaiga*, a word meaning literally a "contract" or "covenant." The implication was clear: the people undertook to recognize the position of the pastor and respect it; the pastor agreed to recognize the position of the chiefs.[25] In short, the village *faifeau* (pastor) was given a position regarded as appropriate for one responsible for the spiritual welfare of the villagers. As in Samoa, so it was in the Torres Strait. The Samoan missionaries expected and received presents during the annual "Mei" (May) mission collections, organized by the Samoans to heighten interisland rivalries and thus produce the maximum show of generosity to the church. In the Ellice group, also a Samoan missionary dependency, the position of the pastors appears to have been the same. The description of the Samoan pastor at Funafuti given by Mrs. Edgeworth David in 1898 seems to typify also the Samoans in the Strait: "He gives himself a few airs, lords it, in fact, over king, magistrate, and natives just like an old-fashioned rector-squire in a country parish in England."[26]

However, the European schoolmasters appointed by the Queensland government represented a rival source of authority to the Samoans in the islands.[27] The government resident, John Douglas, had complained about the tyrannical regime of the Samoans but until the turn of the century had lacked the funds to replace them.[28] The appointment of the Queensland teachers helped precipitate a confrontation with the Samoans, dividing the pastors from some of their younger converts. For example, a government teacher on Yorke Island, a Mr. Connolley, quarreled with the Samoan pastor Samuela. It was reported that in March 1914 Connolley entered the LMS church and interrupted the service to tell the people the pastor was a liar. The teacher is said to have called out: "There is no God. All the missionaries are telling you people lies. If there is a God, why does he not heal your sick? I give you medicine and that makes you well, but there is no God to help you."[29]

Moreover, through the work of the teachers, the young Islanders were gradually becoming better educated than their Samoan mentors, whose faulty English was beginning to be the object of mimicry by some young Islanders. On Murray Island in particular, the position of the Samoan pastor Finau was made more difficult by the administration's appointment of a court of justice on the island. The court consisted of police-

men and chiefs known as *mamooses,* with the schoolmaster J. S. Bruce as guide, At the same time, pastor Finau set up a court in opposition to the Queensland government court. Under the church court, pastor Finau levied fines for disobedience and appointed about twenty of his own magistrates, also called *mamooses.* Then John Douglas set up a Murray Island council representing the districts of the Murray group under the sanction of his own authority as resident.[30] Thus, there were other bodies-- teachers, councillors, and *mamooses*--competing with the Samoan pastor for leadership, and it was evident that the Samoans had ceased to command the respect of Torres Strait Islanders to the extent they had earlier. A similar rivalry also soured Queenslander-Samoan relations on Saibai Island.

The second reason for the capitulation of the LMS in the Torres Strait was administrative. The society was understaffed in Papua and could not provide a European superintendent, while the Anglican church on Thursday Island was anxious to expand into the islands and possessed the means to do so. Finally, the applying of the Commonwealth Navigation Act to Papua from 1914 would administer the coup de grace to the LMS: for tariff purposes Papua would be severed administratively from-Australia including the Torres Strait. This legislation would force the LMS ocean-going steamer *John Williams* to enter the Strait at Thursday Island for customs clearance and leave for Papua in the same way, It would also force a local missionary leaving Murray Island for Daru Island, a few hours' sail away in Papua, to clear customs first at Thursday Island, a journey of some four hundred additional miles.[31] Being "tied hand and foot" by government regulations, the superintendent E. B. Riley advised the LMS from Daru that "owing to the attitude of the Government towards the Anglican Church being so different from that towards our own brethren," the interests of the Torres Strait Islands would be "best served" by the transfer of the district to the bishop.[32]

Riley's claim is supported by evidence. Not only did the government residents mediate the influence of the Queensland government, but they had personal reasons to favor the Anglican church. John Douglas, former premier of Queensland (1877-1879), was resident and police magistrate on Thursday Island (1885-1904). Douglas had been North Queensland's diocesan spokesman at the general synod of the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania in 1886 and was a member of the Carpentaria diocesan council. Hugh Milman, his successor (1905-1912), was the nephew of a notable dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London as well as brother of an Anglican bishop; and W. Lee Bryce, the third resident (1912-1916), was an Anglican churchwarden and a mem-

ber of the diocesan council.[33] Moreover, the military garrison set up on Thursday Island in 1895 to operate the artillery battery used the cathedral for military services known as church parades.

The Queensland government officials may have been sympathetic, but most LMS missionaries in Papua were still loath to cede a Nonconformist district to an Anglican bishop. So the LMS vacillated. As late as 1911 the LMS mission staff in Papua had voted £600 for the erection of a large LMS headstation house at Darnley Island. One LMS missionary pointed out to his brethren that the bishop and his clergy were "very high," and another, asserting the Anglicans to be "unsuitable," wanted the Salvation Army to take over the Torres Strait churches. This dislike was felt in the highest quarters. The foreign secretary of the society, R. W. Thompson, wrote to the resident missionary on Darnley Island of his regret that the Queensland government, allegedly under the influence of the Anglicans, was unwilling to hand over its schools to the LMS. "I confess I was not surprised," Thompson went on, "because when it comes to the scratch the Anglican Church and the brewers and opponents of all kinds generally have more voting power than we and our friends."[34] Offering for sale the society's aging vessel *Niue* to the Anglican Gilbert White when cession seemed inevitable, E. B. Riley was inclined to thumb his nose in the direction of the purchaser: "I put £10 on the price because he is a bishop."[35] To the LMS brethren, the prospect of handing over the fruits of Nonconformist sacrifice to a mitred High Churchman was, to say the least, unpalatable.

It was more acceptable to the Torres Strait Islanders than to their LMS district missionary. In March 1915 Bishop Gilbert White traveled around the Strait on the auxiliary schooner *Goodwill* with F. W. Walker of the Papuan Industries.[36] "We will teach the younger people our ways," White wrote, "but we shall have to remember that the elders will naturally cling to the customs to which they have been used, and we shall not press them unless they themselves want to be confirmed to join the church." The Samoan pastors would remain at their posts until the LMS could provide for their removal to Samoa. A. C. Haddon reported a communal swing among the twenty-four hundred Islanders to the new religion: "The people went over without a murmur and at once began to follow the form of the English church service, so different from the simple services they had been used to. . . . The result was that instead of being Congregationalists whose public and domestic piety greatly impressed me, the natives suddenly became Anglicans and speedily were interested in the new ritual and vestments."[37]

A few details had to be settled. The lime and coral churches would be

enlarged for liturgical purposes, with chapels, side aisles, and ambulatories. Deacons ("decona") of the Congregationalist order would be metamorphosed into church wardens and required to recite the daily office with the priest, a custom that long persisted in many islands. The Book of Common Prayer began to make its appearance, and before long five hundred candidates were being prepared for confirmation.

There were a few isolated ripples. Saibai Island pearl shellers informed mainland Papuans some years after the transfer that the LMS were "not real missionaries, but simply forerunners . . . preparing the way for the advent of the real minister who would give them the true word"; Papuan pearlers collected £80 for the building of a church of the "new religion" at Mabadauan in western Papua. The resident LMS missionary was annoyed.[38] On the whole, however, the transfer from Nonconformist to Anglican had been harmonious, a process aptly caught in the name, the *Goodwill,* of the vessel carrying the bishop and Walker around the Strait.

Consolidation

The sudden transition from a Congregationalism emphasizing "the glorious undifferentiated gospel of God" to High Church Anglicanism could not have been accomplished without Islander consent. This consent seems to have been given readily, partly because of growing resentment toward the Samoan pastors. While some Samoans were esteemed, all the pastors were "fond of power," as John Douglas once remarked, and some were despotic.[39] In the instance of Pastor Finau on Murray Island levying fines for disobedience and appointing his own "magistrates," the presence of a rival European authority possessing greater prestige had then led to conflict. According to Murray Island leaders, the traditional Murray Island priest-headman Passi had become "fed up" with Samoan restrictions, and Gilbert White's tour had come "just in time" to prevent widespread disaffection from the Christian church on Murray Island.[40] The Miriam-speaking people of Mer revered family headship, and elders were greatly respected. A hereditary priesthood had held sway over the densely populated Murray island group (eight hundred to one thousand people in the contact period). The island of Waier in the Murray group had been reserved exclusively for the priests of Waiet, who visited it for feasting and preserving the dead. The priests, or *zogo-le,* of the cult, known as Malu-Bomai, had been largely suppressed, at least in public, by the Samoan pastors. In Waier, their departure was not regretted.

That the Islanders seemed prepared for the new regime is suggested in a Saibai elder's speech to White in 1915: "We are like children who have lost their father and mother. We do not know what to do or where to look. You will be our father and show us the way to go and how to live."[41] At Saibai, a cargo prophet had appeared, warning the villagers of the "New Messiah" soon to arrive in the islands.[42] This prophecy was an offshoot of the "German Wislin" movement, whose doctrines had first been announced two years before White's visit and which had become an organized movement in 1914. The cult devotees anticipated the coming of ancestors bringing money, flour, calico, and other goods; their leaders were three men who became known as "German Wislin" and were called "generals" or "captains." It had been predicted that the millennium would begin on Good Friday, 1914; when it did not materialize, the day was postponed, then postponed again. It was reported that a steamer would tie up at a jetty that would rise out of the sea next to Saibai. The cult had been strongly opposed by the LMS Samoan pastor on Saibai.[43] It is possible that the bishop's arrival on the *Goodwill*, while the cult was still at its height, may have been viewed as a fulfillment of the cult leader's prophecy. Until more anthropological research has been completed, the historian must rest content with only a partial understanding of the reason for the welcome given to the Anglicans on Saibai Island.

Not long after the changeover, White resigned and Henry Newton, who had been a missionary in British New Guinea from 1899, was elected bishop of Carpentaria.[44] Once enthroned in October 1915, Newton became concerned about how to minister to the islands. Some of the islands had a population of not more than fifty, and the priests would necessarily require something to do besides their religious duties. Newton decided to create an indigenous Torres Strait ministry, with a priest on every inhabited island, who would support himself with his own gardening and fishing. Presiding over the Islander priests would be the "priest director" of the new mission; and J. J. E. Done, known in the Islands as "Baba" or "Father," arrived in the Strait to occupy that position from 1915 to 1917.[45] Done was succeeded in 1917 by the Reverend W. H. MacFarlane, welcomed initially by Islanders under the mistaken belief that he was the returning son of the LMS mission founder.[46] Newton opened a small theological college on Moa in 1916, and the first four Islander men were admitted for training.

Unlike the Samoans, the Anglicans tended to be sympathetic to traditional Torres Strait custom, and on islands such as Murray, episcopal rule rekindled family leadership after many years of Samoan suppres-

sion. The hereditary priestly leadership on Murray, the Malu, received an impetus when Poey (Tauki) Passi, the grandson and heir of the last *zogo-le,* began studying on Moa Island for ordination. As Dave Passi, Poey Passi's son, said, the clerical orders of the Anglican church were regarded by many Murray Islanders as the "fulfillment" of the Malu hereditary priesthood.[47] Kabay Pilot, a later student for the Anglican priesthood, was a descendant of the priest-chiefs of nearby Darnley Island. In 1919 Poey Passi and part-New Hebridean Joseph Lui were made deacons on Thursday Island; in the mid-1920s Passi and Lui were ordained as Anglican priests.[48]

Government control was greater by the time Torres Strait Islanders ceased to belong to the Nonconformist allegiance. The colony of Queensland had asserted its jurisdiction over the Cape York islands with the establishing of the outpost of Somerset in the 1860s, but it had not annexed such islands as Saibai until 1879 and had only nominal control in the Strait until about 1885. After 1904, when Torres Strait Islanders were declared subject to Queensland's Aboriginal Protection Act of 1897, a virtual cordon was thrown around the Islands to limit the movement of their dwindling population. The cordon would also prevent settlement in the Torres Strait Islands by Europeans, South Sea Islanders, and Japanese. Even if the government could not be rid of the Torres Strait Islanders resident on Thursday Island, Islanders were to be kept out of "T.I." as much as possible and segregated within the Torres Strait "reserve." The Anglicans established a South Sea Islanders' home on Thursday Island, where, as Bishop Henry Newton put it in 1915, "boys could have a place to sleep free of charge away from the temptation to drink and gamble, and [have] a bible class every night." While bishop of Carpentaria, Newton had urged the appointment of a protector of Islanders with almost absolute power but also with deep understanding and sympathy. In the Torres Strait Islands, he himself fulfilled the role in no small measure.[49]

Politically regulated from Thursday Island and instructed by Queensland state schoolteachers sympathetic to the church, the Melanesians were quickly absorbed into the Anglican fold. In fact, the Torres Strait mission became something of a diocesan showpiece, a miniature "diocese" in itself. However, Murray Island was proud of its reputation as an independent community, and it is significant that, though some outstanding clergy came from Murray Island, it was the island the government and the Anglican church always found the least tractable. As one government official put it, the Meriam people of Murray were the Irish of Torres Strait, with a long tradition of resistance to colonial authority.

There was in later years a continuing attraction to a corybantic form of Pentecostalism at Murray and Darnley, the islands farthest removed from the offices of the resident as well as those of the bishop.[50]

By the time Newton had resigned to return to New Guinea as bishop in 1921, a clear pattern of religious development had emerged. The Islanders had undergone cultural changes at the hands of the British and Samoan agents of the LMS. There had been considerable musical enrichment through the songs and hymns of the Loyalty Islanders and Samoans, and Islanders had abandoned many precontact dances in favor of a repertoire of Polynesian dances. Many Islanders now bore biblical names. They had received a Congregational church polity grafted by the missionaries. They had endured a fairly strict autocracy under Samoans. There had been some Torres Strait intermarriage with various South Sea visitors: the prominent Mills, Nona, and Hanken families bore witness to part-Samoan origins. The mass of the Torres Strait Islands under the LMS, Gilbert White had written, had "not only become Christian in name, but also to a very large extent in practice."[51] It is noteworthy that the first Torres Strait clergy, Poey Passi and Joseph Lui, had originally been "commended" to the Anglicans by the society. In turn, the fonts, pulpits, and altars raised by Anglicans in memory of the LMS pioneers showed that the Anglicans were adopting McFarlane, Chalmers, and the Loyalty Islanders as their founders. Finally, the anniversary of the LMS landing, 1 July 1871, was celebrated from 1919 as the festival of the "Coming of the Light": "Everything possible linking up with past days is being carefully preserved," wrote the Reverend W. H. MacFarlane to the LMS directors.[52]

Stephen Davies

This was the mission inherited by the Right Reverend Stephen Harris Davies after Newton's brief six-year episcopate in Carpentaria.[53] Under Davies, whose term at Thursday Island spanned a prodigious twenty-eight years, the monarchical tendencies demanded of a bishop of an Anglican missionary diocese increased. Davies was an autocrat. A thin, gaunt man, whose ascetic leanness seemed increasingly to underline the burdens of office, Davies sometimes came close to despair at the trials of the Australian north. Since he occupied the bishopric of Carpentaria far longer than any other bishop before or since, his personal authority deserves closer scrutiny.

In the Torres Strait his first act as bishop was to excommunicate a Murray Islander, and he began at Mitchell River Mission on the Gulf of

Carpentaria by excommunicating four Aborigines. Fifty Anglican converts were excommumcated in the first two months of Davies's episcopate in a severance that, in Anglican churches in New Guinea and the Strait, was carried out with the solemnity of bell, book, and candle.[54] The mark of Davies's episcopate was authority.

According to his only son, Davies's spiritual model was molded after early Celtic monks who cultivated a self-denying solitude in their rocky British outposts.[55] The description of the Islands as "another Iona" by LMS founder McFarlane is strikingly appropriate. As a personality, Davies was self-assured and aloof. These traits are scarcely surprising considering Davies's background. His childhood had been spent in a rectory in Shropshire, a county scarcely touched by the industrial revolution and in whose villages squire and rector were often neighbors. The young Davies, moreover, had been not only the rector's son but nephew of the squire as well, having the freedom of the adjoining hall, with its copper beech-shaded gardens and croquet lawn. There were nine children. Apart from two killed during the First World War, one of his brothers served during the war as a doctor in an Indian hospital in Mesopotamia. Another, Vice Admiral Sir Arthur Davies, was chief of staff of the British Atlantic Fleet between 1924 and 1927. A tea planter brother in Assam and the bishop completed the Davies family circle.[56]

Davies accomplished short-distance visits to the Strait communities in the twenty-one-ton *Francis Pritt,* the sixteen-ton *Herald* (replaced in 1939 by the *Torres Herald),* or the eight-ton *Banzai.* He was away from Thursday Island in the Islands and the Gulf of Carpentaria much of the year once the wet, or "Nor'west," season of the early months had passed. Like his admiral brother, Davies was a good seaman and, when in residence, a genial host to officers and crews of the Royal Australian Navy visiting Thursday Island.[57] His assurance of authority was reflected in his first visit to the Mitchell River in 1922, when older members of the staff were interrogated regarding "the aims of their industrial work": Davies concluded that "they did not seem to have thought out their position."[58] What the older staff members thought of their new diocesan's forthright questions is not recorded. However, in the Torres Strait Islands, a society conditioned by traditional respect for clan heads overlaid by forty years of Polynesian authoritarianism, the people seemed to have adapted easily to Davies's rule. On visits the bishop was welcomed by banners saying "Hosanna to the Son of David" to the accompaniment of Evangelical hymns of the LMS. He walked on woven mats to his receptions, a postcontact tabu of Polynesian origin, for a chief's feet must not touch the sand. Years after his episcopate of

nearly thirty years ended, there were many Torres Strait Islanders for whom a question under dispute was settled by the saying "Lord Bishop, im bin say!"

Yet it would be incorrect to describe such behavior in the Strait as obsequious; displays of deference to authority by Islanders appeared confident and self-possessed, recalling similar displays by Fijians to high chiefs. Of Davies's pontifical visitations as Lord Bishop of Carpentaria, a European priest wrote many years later that Davies adopted this hierarchical grandeur "because it was desperately demanded of him."[59] To his staff Davies appeared simple and unaffected. An Australian teacher in the diocese who stayed with Davies at Bishop's House said that the bishop had "no pomp about him."[60] The initiative for the display of episcopal rule was taken by the Islanders, whose society of chiefly deference was easily accepted by one accustomed to rectory and hall in county England.

The Island converts, then, came beneath the authority of the bishop and the immediate ecclesiastical control of his delegate, W. H. MacFarlane. However, while the bishop remained a spiritual monarch, the Islanders were also involved to an extent in the decision-making processes of the church, a leaven that may have owed something to their Congregationalist nurturing. From 1923 a series of conferences of Torres Strait LMS "decona," or deacons, known as churchwardens in the Anglican system, met under Davies's direction at St. Paul's mission on Moa. Undoubtedly the Congregational precedent of local church order contributed to the effectiveness of such conferences. The chairmanship of the Reverend Joseph Lui was also significant, for it was said that, in addition to Lui's evident "sense of vocation," he "could also show firmness and direction when required." At the first conference the churchwardens discussed the question of higher education for their children and the matter of "church dues," the mission contribution that had its origins in earlier LMS "Mei" mission collections. The churchwardens' conferences became a familiar institution in the Torres Strait.

By this time, the churches in the Torres Strait were becoming symbols of local pride. In a society where church buildings surpassed all others in grandeur, the imposing size of an ecclesiastical structure reflected the municipal spirit of a community. Plain LMS chapels, originally given biblical names from 1871 such as "Bethel" (Badu), "Etena" or Eden (Mabuiag), "Salom" (Yam), and "Panetta" (Saibai), were rededicated in honor of saints. The huge Evangelical pulpits that had dominated their interiors were dismantled, and the timber was used for altars.[61] Walls were rebuilt to take in Anglican additions of sanctuary, chancel,

baptistry, vestry, and side chapels. Arches leading to side aisles were common for overflowing numbers; in this way Panetta chapel at Saibai was expanded to seat five hundred at the renamed Church of the Holy Trinity. A lime-making technique copied from LMS South Sea teachers was to hew coral blocks from reefs at low tide and pile the coral into fire pits for a fortnight. Church interiors had to be richly ornamented, so polished shells --spotted cowrie and pearly nautilus--were set into upper walls and altar rails.

The size of such newly built churches as on Moa (1931) and Badu (1933) also reflected interisland rivalry. When Moa's new church was begun, the five hundred Badu villagers, traditional enemies of the nearby Moa people, insisted that the length of their new church must outstrip that of Moa's. Most Island churches, however, were not new buildings but old chapels rebuilt. Darnley Islanders, proud that their island had first seen the "Coming of the Light," created the most intricate facade in the Strait. Over the LMS-built Zion chapel, an enlarged structure was decorated with turrets and renamed All Saints Church. A craftsman from Rotuma fashioned its altar cross and lights from polished red wongai wood and inlaid the work with mother-of-pearl. Portraits of Samuel McFarlane and James Chalmers were placed in the vestry to remind first-generation Anglicans of the mission's founders. Finally, the building was decked in garlands of frangipani and dedicated by Bishop Davies to the booming of wooden drums. Major Raven-Hart, author of a widely circulated book on the Strait, wrote that All Saints put in mind a scaled-down imitation of a Spanish church, "a miniature, doll's size cathedral . . . a perfect gem."[62] Though Anglican ornamentation of such churches as Darnley's All Saints had sometimes been of baroque weight, the severe outlines originally planned by their Nonconformist builders remained easily recognizable.

The historian of the neighboring Anglican Mission in New Guinea described the period from 1910 as the "golden age" of the Melanesian village. In the Strait the description "golden age" fitted well the theocratic communities molded by Bishop Davies's clergy. No village epitomized these communities better than St. Paul's mission village on Moa in the mid-twenties. The community of St. Paul's, with the nearby villages of Kubin and Pethin, was based on intermarriage between indigenous women and Queensland Melanesians. Moa appeared frequently in the official literature of the diocese. The island was topped by Mount Augustus (Moa Peak), sometimes shrouded in mist; its lower hills sloped down to the white beaches of the southeast, where the red roofs and romanesque outlines of a newly built church with theological college

showed through the coconut palms. At the landing the vegetation was cleared in front of the monument to Florence Buchanan. Behind the monument the full apparatus of a theocratic community was revealed: dispensary, boarding school and girls' hostel with "high school class," church building, and clergy house. The master builder, Junius Schomberg, was also the priest, filling the role of manager, bookkeeper, and recorder; as the *Carpentarian* reported with some understatement, "Many of his tasks do not belong to his priestly office."[63] The land of St. Paul's was legally under the joint custodianship of the Queensland resident on Thursday Island and the bishop, who was trustee for the Queensland Melanesians. Like a medieval prelate, the bishop was empowered to convene courts for certain civil as well as ecclesiastical offenses, a power he rarely exercised.[64] This oversight by state and church was mediated by a policeman and three church council representatives, each wearing a red jersey emblazoned with the word "councillor."[65] At the small theological college, St. Paul's, the first ordinations. took place in 1924, when two St. Paul's men, Captain Oth and Sailor Gabey, were made deacons.

Situated near Thursday Island and opposite the progressive community on Badu Island, Moa was better fitted for energetic advance than some other groups in the Torres Strait. Moreover, Moa's commercial prospects were enhanced by the example of F. W. Walker's Papuan Industries company worked by the Badu pearlers. Through a large store on Badu, the Papuan Industries bought marine produce from the Moa Islanders, selling foods and other consumer goods in exchange. A primary objective of Walker's company was to assist groups of Islanders to buy or build their own luggers, though only one or two luggers were ever built on the Badu slipway. Soon many Island communities in the western group had bought their own boats. Inspired by the P.I., the Moa Fishing Company was formed under the eye of the priest director of the Strait in 1925. The companies were financed by worker-shareholders in a venture described approvingly in mission publications as "communistic." The company was a portent of a more explicitly socialistic venture begun on the mainland toward the end of Davies's episcopate, the Lockhart River Co-operative. During the brief life span of the Moa Fishing Company (1925-1932), the diving and fishing expeditions yielded varying profits for shareholders. Rifts between clans contributed to the decline of the company after a promising beginning.[66]

The Torres Strait people were generous to their churches, supporting them with a mixed subsistence-and-money economy. Churchwardens were meeting to discuss common problems, and an Islander priesthood

was emerging. For their first curacies, Strait clergy were normally sent as "missionary" chaplains to mainland Aboriginal settlements, particularly to the Edward River people, whom Davies lightheartedly referred to in the diocesan newsletter as "the wild men of the Diocese." Torres Strait teachers and clergy were paid from an annual grant by the Australian Board of Missions in Sydney, supplemented by local offerings from pearl shell profits won by divers on the luggers.

In some ways, Carpentaria's offshore Torres Strait mission was beginning to fulfill the principle embodied in Henry Venn's mature nineteenth-century vision of a self-supporting and self-propagating church. So, by the late twenties it seemed to Davies that Islanders should take counsel in a self-governing Carpentaria diocesan synod. In 1931 seventeen European and Islander delegates (twelve clerical, five lay) met on Thursday Island under the authority of the bishop. No representatives of Aboriginal settlements were present. The distances involved in traveling from parishes and missions to biennial diocesan synods were staggering and often prevented attendance at subsequent synods from such parishes as Alice Springs and Darwin. But Melanesian clergy from the nearby islands were always prominent.[67] The synods were examples of joint Melanesian and European decision making in action. Like the Diocese of Carpentaria itself, they were without equal in other Anglican missionary enterprises in Africa and the South Pacific before 1939. The seasoned participation by Melanesians from the Strait in these assemblies must be added to the other legacies bequeathed by the Congregational founders of the Strait churches to their Anglican successors.

Synods on Thursday Island provided occasions for reappraisals of church and sometimes government policy. Concerned to preserve harmony between church and state, Davies rarely criticized publicly the Queensland government's performance on Aboriginal issues. In correspondence with the Pearl Shellers Association from the twenties, the bishop pointed out that in many cases Moa men were worth more than the minimum wage; in 1924 he interviewed Crown law officers and a federal parliamentarian to complain about "the wages question." There was a police action at Cowal Creek on Cape York in 1928, after which Davies gave the magistrate a chance to clear himself by arresting the policeman concerned. But Davies used the 1935 synod to make a trenchant attack on the "Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Amendment Act" passed in Brisbane in the previous year. He called it "an infringement of the rights of citizenship possessed by some of the coloured people of Queensland." This was reflected in a synod motion urging the federal government of Australia to strip Queensland

and other states of power over Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders, and to assume control of all Aboriginal people within the Commonwealth. Such resolutions mirrored the dominance of the bishop in carrying the Carpentaria synod with him. The motion was later unsuccessfully proposed by Davies to the Queensland provincial synod of the Anglican Church in 1935.[68] A few months later, during a four-month strike by Torres Strait trochus divers in early 1936, Davies wrote to the governor of Queensland suggesting that the system of payment, which entailed a deduction by the protector, was among the major causes of the strike.[69]

Drought, Cyclone, and Depression

One reason why the bishop remained monarch of the diocese was the declining European population of northern Australia. Carpentaria had been originally created as a diocese whose income was expected to come largely from white settlements; but steadily and inexorably these settlements were beginning to become ghost towns, and Carpentaria was becoming more Melanesian and Aboriginal in character. Between 1910 and 1930, for example, the populations of Cooktown and Croydon-Normanton in the Gulf declined from 900 to 250 and from 2,200 to 450, respectively. Where Gilbert White had confirmed five times the number of Europeans as he had Aborigines and Islanders, Davies's confirmations showed an opposite bias: of 375 persons admitted by Davies to full membership in 1935, for example, only seventeen were of European descent. Such a reverse was to be expected when the settled ministry once existing in Cooktown and the Gulf towns of Georgetown, Burketown, and Normanton had shrunk with the European population. In 1927 Davies had taken away the service registers from Christchurch, Cooktown, after the resignation of the last resident rector, Henry Matthews. He was "convinced that church life was finished there." As for Darwin, whose population did not decline but showed sturdy indifference to the church, Davies made an entry concerning the parish priest in his diary for 12 May 1924: "Heard from I. L. Skelton that he wishes to leave Darwin, is this place fit for any Priest; a Jeremiah alone could endure." Skelton left the diocese in 1925.[70]

Not only did the loss of European population increase Carpentaria's reliance on the bishop, but it also highlighted the Torres Strait Islands as the sole center of measurable progress in the Anglican church. The Depression compounded the financial slump reflected in the continuing decline in the European population. In 1931 the Australian Board of

Missions cut its grant to New Guinea and Carpentaria by 20 percent and the diocese's overdraft limit was reached quickly. By November missionary stipends, including the bishop's, could not be paid. Cables to London brought some emergency funds from the Carpentaria Association in England, but some European staff had to be dismissed to conserve money. The effects of the church's evaporating reserves lasted throughout the thirties and made it impossible to augment staff. At Thursday Island's All Souls' cathedral, William Burvill was obliged to combine a plurality of offices: subdean, vicar, surrogate, and diocesan registrar (1930-1940).

"A Jeremiah alone could endure," Davies had written of Darwin. It could have been a comment on Davies's relations with some of his diocesan staff. As one writer observed in the 1960s, what has been ascribed to autocracy in Davies, the aloof prelate, may have been partly due to exasperation. The impossible shortages of equipment and sometimes vile climate, with its wet and dry seasons, brought out the worst in certain of Davies's staff. The notable Australian photographer Frank Hurley, commissioned by the Australian Board of Missions to make a film of the mission in 1920, had been reduced to a state of peevish inertia within two months of arriving in the Strait.[71] As for the permanent staff, the same writer later wrote with acid verve of Davies's less successful workers: "SO many of the missionaries sent up to him bore some resemblance to their New Testament prototypes described by St. Paul as 'the offscourings of mankind.' All types of misfits and neurotics unconsciously hoping to receive from primitive and unsuspecting natives the adulation denied them by their more sophisticated compatriots were sent to him over the years. The bishop did not suffer these fools gladly."[72] Such acerbity is unkind, but it bears witness to the blame that powerfully motivated workers heap on one another for collective failure. There were some major personality clashes in the Torres Strait. One result was the increasing emphasis placed by Bishop Davies on local Islanders as church leaders, who were at least acclimatized and, in the words of one commentator, "less likely to throw the jam tins at each other in the monsoon." Pity trod on the heels of exasperation, and whatever their limitations, Davies always supported his European staff when they were in difficulties or under criticism.[73]

While the European part of the diocese atrophied, life in the Melanesian churches of the Strait prospered on a mixed subsistence-and-trochus economy. Voluntary labor, enhanced by shell earnings accumulated during the twenties, had enabled building programs to continue during the Depression, even though the relative prosperity in pearling

had come to an end in 1930. The Reverend E. J. Taffs, rector of the European town of Mossman, had to wait twenty-five years to rebuild his church demolished in a cyclone in 1911; but in the Strait during the fifteen months after January 1933, Davies found himself in a busy round of church openings: dedicating new theological college buildings on one island; opening a rebuilt church seating five hundred on another; and laying the foundation stone for a new church on a third. For the latter, St. Marks at Badu, he used a trowel with its haft made of dugong tusk and its blade of polished turtle: a thousand Islanders were in attendance. The church was of cathedral-like proportions. Graced by cool arches, it was built in two years by Islanders under A. G. Harris, an overseer whose salary they paid; and in spite of the recession in the trochus industry, the £999 promised by the three villages to complete the structure was paid up. The altar at Badu was built as a memorial to the Reverend F. W. Walker, Congregationalist founder of the Papuan Industries (an irony, since as a Nonconformist, Walker had been explicitly forbidden by Bishop Newton and his successor to take communion at an Anglican altar).[74] The prosperity of Anglican life in the Strait was not confined to church buildings. "In every island," wrote the diocesan historian, "there was a branch of the Heralds of the King, while the Mothers Union was established on most of the islands." There were also flourishing branches of the Boy Scout movement, with annual camps under priestly leadership,

This activity was accompanied by ritual even more elaborate than previously: the use of incense from 1922; daily cathedral celebration of the Mass under subdean Burvill from 1932; stations of the cross from the mid-thirties, with liturgical processions carrying incense through village lanes in the islands, often led by young trepangers in vestments. It was not for nothing that the Diocese of Carpentaria was reckoned part of the "biretta belt" of Anglo-Catholicism permeating much of northern Queensland. Marked by an increasing use of ritual, there was a general buoyancy in church life in the Strait during the thirties.

What had happened in Carpentaria before the Second World War is without parallel in missionary dioceses of the Anglican Communion. In 1900 Carpentaria had been founded as a diocese whose income was to be drawn mainly from white settlements; but drought, cyclone, and depression had done their work, and the Europeans were withdrawing. By the thirties, the settled parish population in all its towns except Darwin and Thursday Island had virtually ceased to exist. In their place, as the *Carpentarian* remarked, a "coloured" population that could live at a lower standard than the whites was "thriving and

increasing." In spite of the European facade to Carpentaria's synods, in the years leading to the Second World War Carpentaria had become more and more a missionary diocese.[75]

Evacuation

In February 1942 Japanese forces raided and bombed the city of Darwin. Troops had been stationed at Darwin and Port Moresby in Papua from 1941, and in early 1942 women and children on Thursday Island were evacuated on the S.S. *Wandana,* with the men following. They were allowed one suitcase for each family.[76] On Thursday Island, a proclamation was issued by the commander of the Torres Strait Force declaring an area within a hundred-mile radius of Thursday Island an emergency area. Bishop Davies, who had left in 1941 to attend to his ill wife and child, had appointed the Reverend W. J. A. Daniels (1930-1946, 1955-1958) as subdean of the cathedral and was cut off by the evacuation of European civilians from Thursday Island. The European priest at St. Paul's, Moa, fled, leaving his Torres Strait staff in charge.[77] The bishop set up the diocesan registry in Townsville, his house on Thursday Island having been taken over as army headquarters. In both Thursday Island and Darwin, houses and churches were looted by hoodlums, many of whom were members of the Australian armed services. Of the 234 houses taken over by the army on Thursday Island, only 103 remained standing at the end of the war. The small cathedral organ, installed in 1941, disappeared without explanation while the troops were in control of the island. Darwin's stone church, which Davies had threatened to demolish rather than allow the army to use, was also looted. At Moa, St. Paul's College was closed and the theological students joined the eight hundred men of the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion.[78]

During the three years of hostilities, the Reverends Poey Passi, Kabay Pilot, and Francis Bowie ministered to the Torres Strait congregations, Joseph Lui having died in 1941. At Kubin village on Moa, on a night before the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942, a number of Islanders claimed they saw what they described as a vision of Christ in the sky above Kubin, with his hands outstretched in blessing and protection. News of their "vision" soon spread, and the Islanders took it as a special sign to them that their islands would be safeguarded. The only islands in which direct action took place were Hammond (Aada) and Horn (Laforey). The vision at Kubin was later portrayed on canvas in the reredos in All Souls' Cathedral, where the Australian artist Cohn Tress

painted Christ crowned and with arms outstretched over the islands of the Strait.

The first three postwar Torres Strait ordinands, Boggo Pilot, Kiwami Dai, and Sagi Ambar, were ordained deacons in 1949, the year Davies ended his long episcopate.[79] Davies had inherited a diocese devastated by cyclone in the twenties and brought to bankruptcy in the thirties. A good deal of the remainder in the see town was destroyed not by Japanese armies, but by Australian troops. Mrs. Davies and her son Stephen did not return to Thursday Island following the war, and the bishop lived alone. As Stephen Davies recalled, his father's last years were lonely ones. A poignant picture of Davies after the Second World War was provided by an admirer, A. P. B. Bennie: "To see him wracked by cardiac asthma, bent with pain and alone in his ruinous episcopal house was pathetic. For he had forbidden any repairs whatever to be made to it until the dwelling of every single member of his staff, whether white or coloured, was sound and serviceable."[80]

On retiring in 1949 Davies left his successor a report on conditions in the diocese and the clergy. Davies bequeathed several troublesome clergy: two Torres Strait Islanders who had been ordained together in 1936 were "badly prepared" and had deserted their posts; he would not advise that either man be restored. Some of Davies's clergy had benefited from the routine term for Island priests served among Aborigines on the Queensland mainland. Among these priests who received praise was Kabay Pilot, the son of the last pre-Christian priest-chief of Darnley. Another, Francis Bowie, of mixed Malay-Badu Island parentage, was "the best of Native Clergy." Francis Bowie, Davies added, "has great authority and power with both mainlanders and Islanders."[81]

"Authority and power" might be Davies's own epitaph, confirmed by the Torres Strait Islanders saying "Lord bishop, im bin say!" W. J. A. Daniels echoes these testimonies to the third bishop's strong episcopal identity: in Daniels's words, Davies was "a bishop in every sense of the word." That is: "He knew his people, he understood them, what he said was law and the people respected him. They always sought his opinion, even after they had seen [Mr. Cornelius O'Leary,] the Director of Native Affairs."[82] As for the Torres Strait Islanders' response, it was most strikingly revealed during and after the Islands' maritime strike in 1936 in which the wage-earning Melanesians ceased work for four months in protest against low pay and the system of deductions made by the chief protector--a subject on which Davies had corresponded in the twenties. Three years after the strike, the chairman of the Murray Island council approached Davies unsuccessfully with the proposal that he assume

temporal as well as spiritual control of the Islands by becoming protector of Islanders himself.[83] It was an echo of Davies's predecessor Henry Newton, the bishop who had urged appointment of such a protector.

Postscript

If Carpentaria is more a geographical expression than a diocese, the evidence accumulated suggests that over the span of eighty years the Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders were able to use the religion left by departing white settlers as a beam of support in the bewildering sea of culture change then being thrust upon them. The resident Strait population, having risen steadily from the 1920s until the 1960s, declined again by 40 percent, from seven to four thousand in the twenty years before 1988; but the identity of its Christianized communities has remained extremely durable.

There has been a fragmentation of religious affiliation between Anglicans and Pentecostalists in some eastern islands. In the eastern Strait many islanders, especially from Murray and Darnley in the eastern group, have migrated to mainland Queensland in search of work.[84] A feature of the religious adjustments hastened by migration to North Queensland has been the attachment of a minority of Islanders to various Pentecostal sects. The Pentecostal challenge to the Anglican monopoly (virtually all Islanders have been nominal Anglicans) arose from the conversion before the Second World War of an extended family group on Darnley to the Assemblies of God. There was also a lingering grievance that Darnley, scene of the "Coming of the Light," had not been given primacy as the choice of a site for the cathedral instead of Thursday Island. Within Darnley, relations between descent lines, fanned by religious exclusiveness, were sometimes so strained as to prevent the visiting diocesan bishop from saying Mass until the families promised to settle their differences.[85]

While fragmentation occurred in some eastern islands and on the mainland owing to the encroachments of Pentecostalism, the pattern of monolithic Anglicanism was maintained elsewhere. In the western islands the Congregationalists-become-Anglicans have proved resistant to yet another conversion, to fundamentalist Pentecostalism.[86] However, the Anglican facade stamped on the western communities has not overwhelmed their sturdy Congregationalist independence. Residents of such islands as Badu, for example, have expressed their desire on occasions for their clergy to be elected by their own congregations rather than appointed by the bishop.

Pentecostalism has weakened the dual Congregational and Anglican heritage of some transplanted Islanders. But continuity rather than change has been the dominant feature of Torres Strait Islander religion, The Anglican churches framed on the chapels built by McFarlane's teachers remain the religious centers of gravity in the Islands. Viewed from the sea, the silhouette of each Torres Strait Island settlement is still topped by a cross.

NOTES

Acknowledgment is due to the Faculty of Social Sciences, Deakin University, Victoria, Australia, for making available a grant to undertake work in the Torres Strait Islands in 1983. I wish to thank the Venerable Dave Passi, Dr. S. J. J. F. Davies, and the late Right Reverend E. E. Hawkey for comments on earlier drafts of this article. I also thank the Right Reverends H. T. U. Jamieson and Anthony Hall-Matthews for hospitality during my fieldwork.

Research for this article was originally undertaken for an eight-author reflective volume, on the history of the Church of England in Australia, 1788-1988. The volume was one of a number of projects commemorating the bicentennial of European settlement in the antipodes that remained unpublished. The work, an institutional history, was not intended to explore in depth the relations Europeans, Aborigines, and Torres Strait Islanders had with one another. However, further research is envisaged for a study of the manner in which Torres Strait Islanders sought to exploit and accommodate the incoming religious culture of missionaries.

1. Following the Spaniard Torres, who passed through the strait now bearing his name in 1606, visitors to the Strait included James Cook on H.M.S. *Endeavour* in 1770, the *Pandora,* which was wrecked in 1791, and then H.M.S. *Rattlesnake* (1848) and *Basilisk* (1873). These naval survey ships were followed by the investigations of A. C. Haddon's Cambridge Anthropological Expedition (1898), in which the Torres Strait Islands served as the world's first field of study for the emerging science of anthropology.

2. S. McFarlane to J. Mullens, Murray Island, 13 April 1878, LMS Papua Letters, Council for World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London; microfilm in National Library of Australia [NLA] (hereafter cited as PL). His reference to Iona was to the island base that St. Columba of Ireland had established as a springboard for the evangelization of Britain. The first missionary to visit the Torres Strait Islands was an Anglican, William Kennett, who had accompanied the Reverend Frederick Jagg to found an Aboriginal school near the small military station at Somerset (1867-1868). The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in England made a grant available for work among the Aboriginals of the north and the "Indians" in the Torres Strait Islands. Kennett visited the "Indians" of the Torres Strait to try to settle a feud between Mulgrave (Badu) and Prince of Wales (Muralag) islands.

3. A. W. Murray to J. Mullens, Cape York, 25 December 1872, PL. A brief description of some of the teachers together with their islands of origin appears in R. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895* (London: Frowde, 1899), vol. 1.

4. J. Chalmers to J. L. Green, 29 March 1884, LMS Papua personal, box 1, PL.

5. The number forty-five includes teachers as well as their wives and children.

6. A. E. Hunt to R. W. Thompson, Murray Island, 26 July 1889, PL; J. Chalmers to R. W. Thompson, Port Moresby, 28 May 1891, PL; see also D. Langmore, *Tamate--A King: James Chalmers in New Guinea* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1977).

7. J. Beckett, E. Bani, et al., *Modern Music of Torres Strait* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1981), 2.

8. Ibid.

9. A. C. Haddon to J. Chalmers, near Cooktown, 14 April 188[8], PL; A. E. Hunt to R. W. Thompson, Murray Island, November 1888, PL; W. G. Lawes to R. W. Thompson, Port Moresby, 8 January 1890, PL; A. Pearse to R. W. Thompson, Kerepunu, 7 January 1889, PL. For a further description of the "Papuan Institute," see Nonie Sharp, *Torres Strait Islands, 1879-1979: Theme for an Overview,* La Trobe Working Papers in Sociology, no. 52 (Melbourne, [1979]), 70-71.

10. S. McFarlane to R. W. Thompson, Murray Island, 22 January 1884, PL.

11. See, for example, E. Pryce Jones to R. W. Thompson, Iokea, 6 December 1901, PL.

12. W. H. W. Williams, "Bishop Frodsham," in *North Queensland Jubilee Book, 1878-1928,* ed. J. O. Feetham and W. V. Rymer (Townsville: Diocese of North Queensland, 1929), 13.

13. This money was collected by Barlow in England during the Lambeth Conference of 1897. North Queensland Synod Book, 21 June 1894, Diocesan Registry, Townsville; ibid., 9 February 1898, 31 May 1898, 31 January 1900; E. C. Rowland, *The Tropics for Christ* (Townsville: Diocese of North Queensland, 1960), 38-40.

14. White came from an Evangelical clerical family. He himself was a product of the Oxford Movement. The best known of his forebears was his eighteenth-century namesake, the naturalist Gilbert White of Selborne. He had some of the qualities required for a diocese like Carpentaria: The climate suited him, as he had originally left England for a warmer climate because of lung trouble. He had spent sixteen years in North Queensland, knew bush conditions, and would not be prone to disillusionment as might a bishop fresh from England. White was also steeped in the ascetic life and had begun a monastic "brotherhood of St. James" at the cathedral at Townsville. For a fuller portrait of White, see K. Rayner, "The History of the Church of England in Queensland' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Queensland, 1962), 381.

15. Ibid., 268. Subsequent attempts by White's successors to reduce some of this vast territory by ceding central Australia to the care of the Diocese of Willochra in South Australia were rejected by the metropolitan Diocese of Adelaide. *Carpentarian* 21, no. 13 (July 1931).

16. For White's first horseback tour of the continent from Darwin to Adelaide, see G. White, Diaries, 28 May-17 August 1901, Oxley Library, Brisbane (hereafter OL). The creation of a mission at Kowanyama on the Mitchell River by the Aboriginal James Noble and Ernest Gribble is recorded in Feetham and Rymer, *Jubilee Book,* 60-62.

17. See K. Saunders, *Workers in Bondage: The Origins and Bases of Unfree Labour in*

Queensland, 1824-1916 (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1982); see also D. Wetherell, "The Bridegroom Cometh: The Lives and Deaths of Queensland Melanesians in New Guinea, 1893-1956," *Pacific Studies* 12, no. 3 (July 1989): 53-89.

18. G. Peel, *Isles of the Torres Straits: An Australian Responsibility* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1947), 78-79.

19. J. King to G. White, 21 February 1908, Metoreia minute book, United Church Archives, University of Papua New Guinea (hereafter UCA). See also Gilbert White, *Thirty Years in Tropical Australia* (London: SPCK [Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge], 1924), 181, 190; and E. Jones, *Florence Buchanan* (London: Central Board of Missions and SPCK, 1921), which contains a photograph of Florence Buchanan with blackboard containing the words referred to above; K. Saunders, "Florence Griffiths Buchanan," *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* vol. 7: 1891-1939, A-Ch. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979). See also J. Beckett, *Torres Strait Islanders: Custom and Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 90.

20. H. M. Dauncey to R. W. Thompson, Port Moresby, 4 April 1914, PL.

21. LMS lands were on Badu, Darnley, Mabuiag, Masik, Murray, Saibai, and Yam islands. H. M. Dauncey to G. White?, Port Moresby, 22 October 1914, UCA.

22. F. W. Walker, *The Papuan Industries Ltd: The Appeal of the Backward Races to the Business Man* (London: Papuan Industries, 1912); J. Singe, *The Torres Strait People and History* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1979), 110-111.

23. S. McFarlane to W. Mullens, Murray Island, 31 January 1879, LMS Papua Reports; Council for World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London; microfilm in NLA (hereafter cited as PR).

24. N. Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 378-379.

25. For a discussion of the conflict between pastors from Samoa and the Ellice Islands and their English supervisors, see D. Wetherell, "Pioneers and Patriarchs: Samoans in a Nonconformist Mission District in Papua, 1890-1917," *Journal of Pacific History* 15, nos. 3-4 (July 1980): 130-154. The writer acknowledges the permission of the editors of the *Journal of Pacific History* to cite extracts from three paragraphs of this article.

26. Mrs. T. W. E. David, *Funafuti or Three Months on a Coral Island: An Unscientific Account of a Scientific Expedition* (London, 1899), 74.

27. John Stewart Bruce (died 1929), the first Queensland government teacher, had been appointed to Murray Island about 1893. A. C. Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits* 6 (Cambridge, 1908), xviii. The inscription on Bruce's grave records that he had lived on Murray from 1881 with his father, brother, and brother's wife.

28. J. Douglas to J. Chalmers, Thursday Island, 27 November 1898, PL.

29. T. O. Harries to R. W. Thompson, *John Williams,* 8 April 1914, PL; see also J. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria: Being a History of the Church of England in Northern Australia from 1865-1965* (Brisbane: Diocese of Carpentaria, 1965), 56.

30. Haddon, *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition,* 6: 178-179.

31. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 56.

32. J. Douglas to J. Chalmers, Thursday Island, 27 November 1898, PL; E. B. Riley to R. W. Thompson, Fly River, 9 July 1903, PL; Papua District Committee Minutes, 18-24 March 1914, PR.

33. White, *Thirty Years,* 218-219.

34. T. O. Harries to Royal Commission on Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, Mabuiag, 24 June 1913; F. Lenwood to H. M. Dauncey, 18 June 1914; H. M. Dauncey to F. Lenwood, 22 August 1914, all in Metoreia House records, Port Moresby. R. W. Thompson to B. T. Butcher, London, 29 April 1910, Western Outgoing Letters, Council for World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London: microfilm in NLA.

35. E. B. Riley to R. W. Thompson, Daru, 5 June 1905, PL; H. Milman to E. B. Riley, Saibai, 14 June 1905, Metoreia House records, Port Moresby.

36. F. W. Walker arrived in British New Guinea as an LMS missionary in 1888, resigned in 1896, formed the Papuan Industries in 1904 after further service with the LMS, and died in 1926.

37. The original version of this account, written initially about Murray Island by J. S. Bruce to A. C. Haddon (1915), is in the Haddon Collection of Cambridge University Library, envelope 1004.

38. Fly River District Report 1924, PR.

39. J. Douglas to J. Chalmers, Thursday Island, 27 November 1898, PL; see also Fly River District Report, 1898 PR; Haddon, *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition,* 6:79-81; see also Wetherell, "Pioneers and Patriarchs," 142-149.

40. B. T. Butcher to Queensland Secretary, Darnley Island, 10 August 1908, Metoreia House, Port Moresby; Dave Passi, interview with E. E. Hawkey, transcribed by David Wetherell, Brisbane, December 1983. The Murray Islands consist of Mer, Dauar, and Wajer, but when the group name Murray Islands was gradually abandoned, Mer became known as Murray Island.

41. White, *Thirty Years,* 214.

42. Lee Bryce to A. C. Haddon, Thursday Island, 30 September 1914, Haddon Papers, Cambridge University Library, envelope 24.

43. Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), 94-95. There seems to be no reason to accept Worsley's claim that the word "Wislin" is a contraction of "Wesleyan."

44. J. J. E. Done, *Wings Across the Sea* (Brisbane, 1987). White was translated to the new Diocese of Willochra in South Australia.

45. Ibid.

46. There was a brief interregnum following Done's transfer to other Strait work, with the Reverend G. A. Luscombe of St. Paul's, Moa, acting as priest director before MacFarlane's arrival. Ibid., viii.

47. Father Dave Passi, pers. com., May 1991.

48. H. Newton, Diary, 11 February 1916, OL; H. Newton to H. H. Montgomery, Thursday Island, 19 December 1919, Bishop's House records, Thursday Island (hereafter BH). Passi and Lui descended from a common ancestor, Koit of Giar Pit, and, having the same great-grandparents, Kaisamo and Mogor, were second cousins. Father Dave Passi, pers. com., May 1991.

49. Singe, *The Torres Strait People,* 109; H. Newton to Secretary, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Thursday Island, 3 December 1915, BH; *Carpentarian,* October 1917. In June 1992 the High Court of Australia determined that Murray Island is not Crown Land but is in the possession of the Murray Islanders. The Meriam people, the court ruled, are "entitled as against the whole world to possession, occupation, use and enjoyment of the lands of the Murray Islands." The court put to one side "the Islands of Dauer and Waier and the parcel of land leased to the Trustees of the Australian Board of Missions [Anglican]." With regard to the church, the evidence given to the Australian High Court by Father Dave Passi is similar to that cited in note 47, above. *Eddie Mabo and [others], plaintiffs and The State of Queensland, defendant: Order I High Court of Australia,* Canberra, High Court of Australia, F.C. 92/014.

50. A. P. B. Bennie, review of J. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria, ABM Review* (Sydney) 56, no. 3 (June 1966): 41-42, 52; Beckett, *Torres Strait Islanders,* 22.

51. G. White, *Round About the Torres Straits: A Record of Australian Church Missions* (London: Central Board of Missions and SPCK, 1917), 41.

52. W. H. MacFarlane to LMS Directors, Darnley Island, 9 March 1919, UCA.

53. The series of episcopal moves in Queensland that led to Davies's appointment in 1921 were initiated by the action of David Lloyd George, British prime minister (1916-1922). Lloyd George translated the archbishop of Brisbane, St. Clair Donaldson, to the bishopric of Salisbury in England. The Queensland bishops then elected Gerald Sharp, bishop of New Guinea, as Donaldson's successor in Brisbane. In turn, Newton of Carpentaria was elected to succeed Sharp in New Guinea, creating the vacancy in Carpentaria. In November 1921 Davies, who had been head of the Bush Brotherhood of St. Paul at Charleville, Queensland, was offered the bishopric of Carpentaria.

54. S. Davies, Diary, 23 April-28 July 1922, OL.

55. Stephen J. J. F. Davies, interview by David Wetherell, 1983, Melbourne.

56. Sir Arthur Davies, created admiral in 1936, was recalled in the Second World War as commodore of ocean convoys during the Russian campaign. *Sunday Mercury* (Shrewsbury, Shropshire), 23 June 1968; *Who Was Who, 1951-1960,* vol. 5 (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1964), 280-281.

57. The naval connections of the bishops of Carpentaria continued with the election of a former chaplain in the Royal Australian Navy, Hamish T. U. Jamieson, as seventh bishop (1974-1984).

58. S. Davies, Diary, 12 May 1922, OL.

59. A. P. B. Bennie, pers. com., 1985.

60. Doris Downing to Joyce Downing, Thursday Island, 12 May 1924, cited in J. Downing, *The Bridle Path: Doris Downing, Her Life and Letters* (Maryborough, Vic.: Joyce Downing, 1989), 10.

61. H. Newton, SPG report, 1916, BH. At the time of cession the Anglicans inherited the partly built LMS church at Mabuiag; they were able to persuade the Mabuiag people to finish their church in a style that accorded with Anglican liturgical practice, including the raising of the sanctuary, "as the floor was fortunately not completed' by the LMS. Gerald Peel, *Isles of the Torres Straits: An Australian Responsibility* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1947), 80.

62. R. Raven-Hart, *The Happy Isles* (Melbourne, 1949), 75.

63. *Carpentarian* 30, no. 120 (October 1930); 27, no. 114 (April 1929); 37, no. 148 (October 1937).

64. For a reference to the church court of St. Paul's, Moa, see S. Davies, Diary, l-11 May 1929, OL.

65. See White, *Thirty Years,* 182.

66. H. T. U. Jamieson, pers. com., 15 December 1983; *Carpentarian* 28, no. 114 (April 1929); 29, no. 118 (May 1939). A description of the young Bishop Davies as "a socialist" is found in an interview with one of his brothers in *Sunday Mercury* (Shrewsbury), 23 June 1968.

67. *Carpentarian* 43, no. 155 (July 1939).

68. S. Davies, Diary, 16 March 1922, 16 February 1924, 12 October 1928, OL. *Carpentarian* 31, no. 123 (July 1931); 37, no. 148 (October 1937); 25, no. 140 (October 1935); 25, no. 141 (January 1936).

69. S. Davies to Sir Leslie Wilson, n.d., cited in Beckett, *Torres Strait Islanders,* 52.

70. *Carpentarian* 21, no. 126 (April 1932); 25, no. 141 (January 1936); S. Davies, Diary, 13 August 1927, OL.

71. F. Hurley, Diary, 14 December 1920-15 February 1921, ms. 883, NLA.

72. A. P. B. Bennie, review of J. Bayton, 42.

73. Ibid.

74. H. Newton, Diary, 17 January 1916, OL.

75. *Carpentarian* 35, no. 141 (January 1936). Reports of the chief protector and of the Aboriginals Department indicate that the Islander population was 2,368 in 1913, rising to 3,765 in 1938, and 7,250 in 1960. Subsequent census figures suggest lower figures but record similar rates of growth in Beckett, *Torres Strait Islanders.*

76. W. J. A. Daniels to II. T. U. Jamieson, Clontarf, Queensland, 25 June 1977, in BH.

77. Ibid.

78. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 166; *Carpentarian* 38, no. 155 (July 1939).

79. One of the three, the Right Reverend Kiwami Dai, was consecrated assistant bishop of Carpentaria in 1986.

80. Bennie, review of J. Bayton. Bennie further remarks that Davies's refusal was "magnificent."

81. S. Davies, Notes on Clergy, 1949, BH.

82. Cornelius O'Leary was protector of Islanders, 1936-1941; department head of Native Affairs, 1941-1953; and director of Native Affairs, 1948-1953. W. J. A. Daniels to H. Jamieson, Clontarf, Queensland, 22 April 1977, BH; see also J. Beckett, "Mission, Church, and Sect: Three Types of Religious Commitment on the Torres Straits," in *Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania*, ed. J. A. Boutilier (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1978), 223.

83. Beckett, "Mission, Church, and Sect," 223.

84. Beckett, *Torres Strait Islanders*, 177-180.

85. E. E. Hawkey, pers. com., December 1983.

86. Asked by Bishop H. T. U. Jamieson (1974-1984) how the church should react to the coming of Pentecostalism, a priest on Moa tendered this terse advice: "If the Pentecostals [*sic*] come, My Lord, shoot them!"--an expression of the vehement reaction to the family disruption and fragmentation caused by new sects. H. T. U. Jamieson, pers. com., December 1983.

MIKLOUHO-MACLAY AND THE PERCEPTION OF THE PEOPLES OF NEW GUINEA IN RUSSIA

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It was only in the eighteenth century that Russia became aware of the peoples of the Pacific Islands. However, during the nineteenth century more than fifty Russian expeditions visited Oceania on their way around the world (Tumarkin 1983: 143-144). Many Russian navigators entertained warm feelings toward the South Seas Islanders and became convinced that all peoples, irrespective of race or skin color, were capable of developing their cultures and following the way of progress. In 1822, for example, V. M. Golovnin wrote about the islanders of Oceania: "All mortals are endowed with vast intellect and unusual gifts, no matter where they are born; if it were possible to bring together a few hundred children from all over the world and give them an education of our standard and norms, then, probably, more great people would emerge from among their numbers with curly hair and black faces than those born of European parents" (1822:337-338). However, the books and articles by those navigators were quite limited in their circulation and failed to affect the Russian public in any significant way. Furthermore, they dealt mostly with Polynesia and Micronesia, as the islands of Melanesia were seldom visited by Russian ships.

As for New Guinea, in the mid-nineteenth century the huge island remained terra incognita for Europeans, except for parts of its coast. According to some British and American anthropologists, who at best watched the indigenes of New Guinea from the decks of their ships, the

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islanders belonged to the "lower human race" or were even an intermediate link between Europeans and their animal forebears (Tumarkin 1982:9-12; Tumarkin 1988:177). Fantastic and odd rumors about the Papuans--as all the indigenes of New Guinea were often called at the time--were current in Russia as in Western Europe. However, a radical change in the perception of the peoples of New Guinea in Russia occurred in connection with the activities of the outstanding Russian traveler and researcher Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay (1846-1888).

In 1871 Miklouho-Maclay landed on the northeast coast of New Guinea in the Astrolabe Bay area, where no European had set foot before him. He later visited the place twice more, spending nearly three years there altogether. Having made friends with the local people and learned to speak the language of the Bongu villagers and neighboring dialects, the researcher was able to collect unique scientific materials that have retained their importance to this day. In the 1870s and 1880s he also visited the southeast and southwest coasts of New Guinea, made a few voyages through Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, and crossed the Malacca peninsula twice. These voyages too yielded a rich scientific harvest.

Miklouho-Maclay was not only a prominent researcher but also a progressive public figure, He was a fighter against colonialism and racism and for the rights of the Pacific Islands peoples. He vehemently protested against the brutal exploitation and plundering of the islanders, including their being made drunkards or kidnaped into slavery under the pretext of a "free labor trade." In his attempt to prevent the annexation of eastern New Guinea by colonial powers, he worked out a utopian project to create a Papuan Union as an independent state in the northeastern part of the island. Despite his efforts, Miklouho-Maclay failed to help his friends, for in 1884 eastern New Guinea was divided between Germany and Great Britain (Miklouho-Maclay 1975, 1982; Tumarkin 1977, 1982, 1988, 1990).

In the intervals between his expeditions to New Guinea and his voyages through Oceania, Miklouho-Maclay lived in the Netherlands Indies (now the Republic of Indonesia) and then in Australia, mostly in Sydney. The articles and travel accounts he sent to the Russian Geographical Society's journal *Izvestiya* had a limited readership, and his letters seldom appeared in Russian newspapers and had no significant public response. In 1879 the situation changed when the prominent Italian naturalist and traveler O. Beccari sent a letter to Russia about the poor health and the financial plight of Miklouho-Maclay, who had had to pawn his collections, manuscripts, drawings, and other materi-

als from his expeditions to survive. Beccari's letter found its way into newspapers and called forth anxious commentaries. There was a sharp increase in interest in the personality and work of Miklouho-Maclay and in the islands he studied, and a campaign was started to collect money to help out the fellow countryman. From that time on, Russian society came to see Miklouho-Maclay not merely as a daring traveler but also as a man fanatically devoted to science who had voluntarily surrendered himself to various hardships in mysterious far-away countries (Maynov 1880; Polevoy 1882; X. 1886).

Miklouho-Maclay's popularity among the Russian public reached its acme in 1882 and 1886, when he returned to his native country for a few months from Australia. The largest halls of Petersburg and Moscow, where his public lectures were held, were crammed with people; some stood in the aisles and on adjoining premises. Detailed accounts of each lecture, often in a stenographic form, were published by the metropolitan and provincial newspapers, and reviews appeared in various journals. Miklouho-Maclay evoked enormous interest among the most diverse layers of Russian society from the highest nobility to revolutionary-minded university students; meetings with him were sought after by many enlightened merchants patronizing the arts and literature, and some outstanding men of science and the arts (Anuchin 1882; 1898:228-229; Ekaterinoslavtsev 1882:504; Nosilov 1898; Press 1913:314-315, 333; Botkina 1960:237). What was it, then, that Miklouho-Maclay told his listeners, interlocutors, and readers?

In recounting his voyages, the scholar naturally paid most of his attention to New Guinea. He described the material culture, economy, and social organization of the local inhabitants, their beliefs, and their customs. In refuting the assertions of some contemporary anthropologists, Miklouho-Maclay emphasized that the indigenes of New Guinea were not significantly different from Europeans in either their physical or their psychological make-up. He paid much tribute to their industry, honesty, and brightness and to their ability to learn. As in his earlier articles and voyage accounts, the leitmotif of his lectures and conversations was that the Papuans as human beings were not different from the whites but stood at a lower stage in their historical development.

Miklouho-Maclay resolutely refuted any rumors concerning brutality, treachery, and "predatory instincts" on the part of the indigenes of New Guinea. One of his lectures puts it as follows:

> When I came to know them closer and learned to understand their language--which seems to me indispensable to under-

> stand the character of people--I was pleasantly stricken by the good gentlemanlike relations that exist between the natives and by their kind treatment of their wives and children. . . . I have not seen a single rough quarrel or a fight between the natives; I have never heard of a single theft or murder among the natives of one and the same village either. That community had no chiefs, no rich, and no poor; hence there was no envy, theft, or act of violence. Means of subsistence were easy to find and did not make them work too much, leaving thus no place for the expressions of spite, bitterness, or vexation there. . . . The various cases of cruelty such as burying people alive, the old and the sick being poorly looked after, and cannibalism--all of this does not, it seems to me, run counter to what I have said earlier and can be explained by certain ideas and beliefs." (Miklouho-Maclay 1886)

It was with indignation that Miklouho-Maclay told of the crimes perpetrated by European sailors and traders against the islanders of Oceania. One of the comments on his lectures read:

> Our contemporary traveler in the person of Mr. Miklouho-Maclay still finds on the Pacific shores this shocking *(infâme,* as he puts it) treatment of the savage. To this day the unlucky children of nature are captured into slavery and transported to the plantations in Australia. The trade in slaves is practiced under various fictitious disguises. They are treated most awfully. The traveler says, "To kill a black is the same as to kill a dog," and he continues, "I held my pistol not against the blacks but against the whites insulting blacks." And to think that at the very time the blacks are being made to suffer on the plantations a scientific theory should develop to advocate the idea of the "dying out of the lower races." (Yadrintsev 1882)

As we can see from the press of the time and from the recollections of his contemporaries, Russian public opinion was stirred up and captivated by the ideas that guided Miklouho-Maclay and that he frankly expressed about the unity of humankind and the equality of its races, about the possibility of mutual understanding between people of different races and tribes or standing at different stages of social development, and about the struggle against the use of violence, oppression, the slave trade, and colonial forms of behavior (Yadrintsev 1886; Shvetsov 1888; Press 1913:335; Korotkova 1915:36).

These humane ideas were timely not only with reference to the peoples of faraway countries but also in the contemporary Russian context: the tsarist government was carrying out a policy of oppression and Russification toward the peoples of the outlying areas of the Russian Empire, and the chauvinism manifested at some levels of Russian society seemed to be sanctioned from above. The prominent traveler and public figure N. M. Yadrintsev, who suffered imprisonment and exile between 1865 and 1873 for his progressive views, despite censorship was able to demonstrate quite clearly the direct relationship of the moral preaching of Miklouho-Maclay to the realities of life in Russia.

In an article devoted to Miklouho-Maclay, Yadrintsev wrote:

> The questions of lower races and aboriginals are of much importance to all mankind. A collision between races is usually marked by many a sad event and often results in the forced disappearance of whole tribes; that is why it seems to be a particularly urgent question of civilization. Although our academic traveler's observations concern the indigenes of New Guinea, the Malay Archipelago, and Australia, in the general context of the question of races, they can be of an instructive significance to us too.
>
> Being important for all peoples in general, the question of aboriginals and races has a particular significance to us, the Russians, and the inhabitants of the outlying areas [of the Russian Empire]. Unlike [Western] Europe's isolation from the influence of its colonies' aboriginals, we are taking part in the historical process of developing ethnic contacts and merging with the aboriginals. The future will show what this rapprochement and merging have in store for us. Zealots of "civilization" and the inviolability of the Slavic race are warning us already of the danger of the race's decline and the loss of its best qualities and predict degeneration. It is easy to see that this conclusion derives from the same recognized theory that postulates the moral qualities of other races as lower. (Yadrintsev 1882)

A main purpose of Miklouho-Maclay's return to Russia in 1886 was to find some way to disrupt the actual implementation of the German annexation of northeast New Guinea. While having a poor knowledge of the diplomatic particulars and subtleties of international law, the scholar thought of setting up a free Russian settlement on one of the small islands in the vicinity of the modern town of Madang to provide a

barrier against German colonization. The vice-president of the Russian Geographical Society, P. P. Semyonov, who knew Miklouho-Maclay intimately, remembered later that the scholar meant "to establish relations between the Russian settlers and the indigenes that would combine the interests of the settlers with those of the indigenes and, instead of their egoistic exploitation, protect them against imminent extermination" (Semyonov 1896:939). To accomplish such a risky undertaking, to say the least, Miklouho-Maclay needed a few assistants. But the popularity and the charisma of the prominent scholar and traveler were so great that over two thousand people from all over Russia responded to his appeal carried in the newspapers. They made up their minds to try to improve their lot wherever Miklouho-Maclay asked them to go. In newspaper interviews he told about his plans and his guidelines for setting up the settlement (i.e., joint land cultivation, income distribution according to work, and democratic self-government) and described in detail the natural conditions and population of New Guinea. In December 1886 Miklouho-Maclay's project was rejected by the tsarist government. However, the episode served, no doubt, to facilitate the spreading of reliable information in Russia about New Guinea and its inhabitants (E. Ch. 1886; Val'skaya 1870; Tumarkin 1982:50-52).

Miklouho-Maclay's ideas about the equality of human races and the unity of humankind and his condemnation of the theory and practice of colonialism were not to the liking of everybody in Russia, especially among the metropolitan bureaucracy. Even during his first visit to Russia, he encountered not only general interest in his travels, sympathetic attention to his ideas, and a rapt appreciation of his personality, but also incomprehension and even hostility as reflected in various items of scandal and false, unfriendly rumors (Polevoy 1886). The ill will shown to Miklouho-Maclay in 1886 was even more evident when he put forward his project to set up a free Russian settlement near the coast of New Guinea. It was not without reason that some publicists saw in the project an echo of the ideas of the French utopian socialists (Modestov 1886). In summer 1886 some of the semiofficial and yellow press, led by the newspaper *Novoye vremya* (New Times) of Petersburg, developed a slanderous campaign against the scholar and accused him of scientific insolvency, undermining the state's "foundations," and a lack of patriotism. They mockingly called him "a Papuan tsar" and published jeering caricatures of him. But the liberal press repulsed the campaign and disgraced the abusers (Koropchevskiy 1886; Grum-Grzhimaylo 1939: 137-144).

The personality and work of Miklouho-Maclay were highly esteemed

by Leo Tolstoy, who was not only a great writer but the reputed collective conscience and indisputable moral authority of a considerable part of Russian society. In September 1886 he wrote to Miklouho-Maclay: "You were the first to demonstrate beyond question by your experience that man is man everywhere, i.e., a kind, sociable being with whom communication can and should be established through kindness and truth, not guns and hard liquor. You proved this, moreover, by a feat of true bravery" (Tolstoy 1888). The letter appeared in Russian newspapers immediately after the untimely death of Miklouho-Maclay in April 1888.

The tradition of goodwill toward the peoples of New Guinea and of interest in their life and culture that began with Miklouho-Maclay is distinct both in works on the South Pacific by Russian authors and in the biographies of the scholar published in Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see, for example, Koropchevskiy 1887, 1889; Gol'tseva 1910; Press 1913; Korotkova 1915). A typical opinion was expressed by the author of one such work: "If only all Europeans had followed the example of this Russian traveler, there would not have been so much innocent blood shed, and we would not have had so much false information on the character, morals, and manners of the 'savages' " (Polkova 1886: 115).

After the 1917 October Revolution, this tradition developed further in Russia largely owing to the study and popularization of the life and scientific heritage of Miklouho-Maclay. In 1923 the diaries of his major travels to New Guinea were published for the first time, one of the most outstanding works of their kind. Other publications followed. After extensive preparatory work, a five-volume collection of his works was published between 1950 and 1954 by the USSR Academy of Sciences. But this "comprehensive" publication was not complete either. Over the last three decades many more writings and drawings by Miklouho-Maclay have been located, both in the USSR and elsewhere. At present a new and more complete edition of his works is being published that will include these discoveries.

Apart from the academic publications, selected works of Miklouho-Maclay, mostly his New Guinea diaries, as well as his popular biographies, including those meant for children (the most recent example is Orlov 1990), were brought out many times in mass editions. In the 1940s a feature film was devoted to Miklouho-Maclay and in the 1980s, a TV series. Miklouho-Maclay has become a favorite hero among a few generations of school children.

The noble traditions of Miklouho-Maclay are being carefully pre-

served and developed by Russian ethnologists (social anthropologists). It is no coincidence that the Institute of Ethnology and Physical Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (until recently the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences), which studies the world's peoples, including Pacific Islanders, has borne the name of Miklouho-Maclay since 1947.

NOTE

A version of this article was presented at the Seventeenth Pacific Science Congress, Honolulu, 27 May through 2 June 1991.

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[The Russian transliteration system used in this article varies from that of the Library of Congress and others most commonly used in the West. --ED.]

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THE PACIFIC GUANO ISLANDS: THE STIRRING OF AMERICAN EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN

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The Pacific guano trade, a "curious episode" among United States overseas ventures in the nineteenth century,[1] saw exclusive American rights proclaimed over three scores of scattered Pacific islands, with the claims legitimized by a formal act of Congress. The United States Guano Act of 18 August 1856 guaranteed to enterprising American guano traders the full weight and authority of the United States government, while every other power was denied access to the deposits of rich fertilizer.[2] While the act specifically declared that the United States was not obliged to "retain possession of the islands" once they were stripped of guano, some with strategic and commercial potential apart from the riches of centuries of bird droppings have been retained to this day.

Of critical importance in the Guano Act, from the viewpoint of exclusive or sovereign rights, was the clause empowering the president to "employ the land and naval forces of the United States" to protect American rights. Another clause declared that the "introduction of guano from such islands, rocks or keys shall be regulated as in the coastal trade between different parts of the United States, and the same laws shall govern the vessels concerned therein." The real significance of this clause lay in the monopoly afforded American vessels in the carrying trade. "Foreign vessels must, of course, be excluded and the privilege confined to the duly documented vessels of the United States," the act stated. Accordingly, the Guano Act of 1856 clearly conferred on the United States the mantle of empire over the sixty-odd Pacific Islands and archipelagoes appropriated almost four decades before the dra-

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matic events of 1898. In fact, with Atlantic and Caribbean acquisitions under the Guano Act, the United States acquired title to some one hundred noncontiguous island territories.[3] The sheer number of the acquisitions supports Roy F. Nichols's argument that the guano trade marked the "first small beginnings" of the American empire.[4]

The Aberration Theory

This "curious episode" arose directly from problems with Peru over Chincha Islands guano,[5] and it unquestionably involved the United States in acquisition of empire overseas long before the end-of-century incidents that spawned the interminable "aberration" debates initiated by Samuel Flagg Bemis's influential study.[6] In an elaborate and exaggerated metaphor, professors Link and Leary capture the essence of the "consensus" school with their depiction of the United States "crossing the Rubicon" in 1898 and launching a "brief and disillusioning flirtation with imperialism," thereby ending American isolationism.[7] Their thesis that the Spanish-American War brought American "control over territories and people far from American shores" is itself a critical ingredient in the "aberration" theory. Clearly there was conspicuous enthusiasm for the acquisition of these scores of guano islands back in the fifties, notwithstanding their distance from mainland America or the possibility of potential competition with rival European powers. The enthusiasm was explicable in terms of the desperate urgency of alternative sources of a raw material. From 1852 relations with Peru, the world's only other source of guano, had simmered uneasily as a consequence of America's failure to negotiate a cheaper price for the guano, with war averted virtually at the eleventh hour. Reports in 1855 of untold treasures in guano deposits on remote Pacific islands fueled interest in the acquisition of these noncontiguous territories; the actual American record in the ensuing handful of years is at variance with the consensus doctrine that 1898 marked a cataclysmic break with American traditions and aspirations. The end-of-century "flirtation" with imperialism had earlier antecedents: the guano episode was but one factor. While the protracted "aberration" debate has continued unabated for over half a century, a recent study by Joseph A. Fry argues with telling cogency that America's "territorial grab" at the end of the century was "not uncharacteristic of prior or subsequent national behavior."[8]

Eminent Pacific scholar Ernest S. Dodge has postulated that the United States "was the slowest of all Powers to take definite political action in the Pacific, even though Americans had been among the ear-

liest and most active traders throughout the area following the Cook voyages."[9] The assertion cries out for rebuttal. There is the unassailable evidence of American primacy in Hawaii after 1842, the year of de&-r$_a$tion of the Tyler Doctrine that any foreign intrusion in the affairs of "those islands" would result in "a decided remonstrance" by the United States.[10] Hawaii became the linchpin of American Pacific policy and was destined to assume even greater importance with the acquisition of a mainland Pacific seaboard.[11] There is the insurmountable evidence of American gunboat diplomacy in China and Japan, of the competition with the European powers in Samoa, of unequal force applied to Fiji, and of the constabulary and surveillance role of the United States Pacific Squadron maintaining a presence in the Pacific precisely in the fashion of the other powers. All of these suggest deficiencies in Dodge's claim as well as in the fundamental Bemis thesis. The American guano experience also appears to weaken the underpinnings of both propositions: when the nation required this resource in the 1850s, entrepreneurs were encouraged to seek it out, and legislation was swiftly and decisively enacted to legitimate their actions and relieve a desperate domestic shortage.

The U.S. Pacific Squadron and Guano

Pacific guano had been of enormous interest to the Pierce administration since the autumn of 1855, when the president himself received a report of a deserted Pacific island, later identified as Baker (or New Nantucket) Island, supposedly rich in guano. With the report from the American Guano Company was a request that it should be annexed.[12] On 20 October, mere weeks later, the United States Pacific Squadron was ordered to conduct an examination of this uninhabited island. The naval orders made reference to the "heavy tax" of Peruvian guano to American farmers and the importance such a find would be to the American economy.[13]

Much interest was manifested in New England in these new sources of the valuable raw material and the possibility of outright acquisition of the islands. For a brief period in 1852, Webster entertained the notion of annexing Peru's offshore Lobos Islands, with the Pacific Squadron actually instructed to provide the protection of its warships to American guano hunters engaged in their freebooting enterprises.[14] While outright war was averted, the dispute with Peru continued to fester as the need for the indispensable raw material continued unabated. On 15 November 1855 the New Bedford *Daily Evening Standard*

announced that an American warship had been ordered to "a newly discovered island in the Pacific to protect an American ship master who is the discoverer of the island, said to contain an immense quantity of Guano."[15] The newspaper account was well founded, Secretary of the Navy James C. Dobbin having instructed Commodore William Mervine, then commanding the Pacific Squadron, on 20 October 1855 to proceed to the island "at the earliest possible opportunity." Dobbin's motive was made perfectly clear in the official instructions: guano was an "extremely desirable" fertilizer; the price charged by Peru, the world's only supplier at the time, was "a heavy tax"; and there were "few events which would be hailed with more general satisfaction than a discovery calculated to secure it on reasonable terms to the agricultural interest" of the United States.[16]

In January 1856 the *Daily Evening Standard* drew the attention of merchants to reports that the voyage from San Francisco, Australia, and other Pacific ports to the eastern United States was "more than a month shorter via the new guano island than via the Chincha Islands."[17] Even apart from the huge cost of Chincha guano, delays in loading at both the Chinchas and at Callao, Peru's seaport, were proving vexatious to shipowners interested in the speedy return of their vessels under full cargo.[18] The prospect of an American-owned guano island was very attractive.

On 5 March 1856 the New Bedford *Daily Mercury* informed its readers of the discovery of "vast deposits" at Baker Island of guano "believed to be equal to the best ammoniated Peruvian Guano."19 Even better news was that it was "under the control of our citizens," having been discovered by an American whaler. "The Government has deemed this a subject of sufficient importance," the report continued, "to justify an order to the commander of the Pacific Squadron to detach one of his vessels to examine and survey the island and its product of guano, and to protect the owners in their territorial rights." Also in the article were details of the American Guano Company, very first in the new field of endeavor. The company had been floated in New York immediately after the island's potential was realized, with a capitalization of $10 million consisting of one hundred thousand shares at $100 par value. Of these, fifty thousand shares were to be devoted to the purchase of the island, ten thousand to finance the first expedition sent from the Atlantic the previous August, and fifteen thousand were already sold to the public. The prospectus envisaged that even half a million tons the first year would yield a handsome profit, but with the plant in full production, some two million. tons per year would be produced. At a price of

$35 per ton to American agriculturalists, there appeared to be huge savings on Chincha Island purchases at over $50 per ton. It was confidently predicted that profit in the first year would be some $4 million.[20] The president of the company was Alfred G. Benson, a New York entrepreneur who had been closely involved with the Peruvian guano trade.

In the same edition of the *Daily Mercury* there was a letter from George W. Benson, half-brother of A. G. Benson and the special agent for the American Guano Company, reporting that the Pacific Squadron was also about to "take possession" of Jarvis Island, some thousand miles east of Baker Island. Benson noted that the squadron commander planned to undertake the important mission to Baker and Jarvis islands in the flagship himself rather than to "trust it to second hands." Accompanying Mervine, with the blessing of Secretary of the Navy Dobbin, was George W. Benson. Despite the huge support for the new acquisitions in the New England press, within the Pacific Squadron itself there was much less enthusiasm. On returning to Valparaiso after his tour of duty westward, Mervine filed his report on Baker Island (confirmed as New Nantucket) on 30 June 1856.[21] It boded ill for the hopes of both guano gatherers and New England farmers. Unfortunately for Mervine, inclement weather had prevented any landing on Baker at all, and his report was based on little more than a strong hunch that no guano in commercial quantities was to be found. He skipped Jarvis altogether.

Valparaiso, the important consular outpost on the Pacific rim, was the prearranged port of call for his next naval orders. At the time, the tours of duty for the handful of American warships in the Pacific Squadron extended along the whole western seaboard of the Americas and westward to the limits of the China Squadron, maintaining surveillance over Fiji, Samoa, the Friendly Islands, Tahiti, and of course Hawaii, the pivot of United States Pacific policy. In Valparaiso, Mervine received word of the "discovery" of yet another guano island. It was Jarvis (variously known as Bunker, Volunteer, Jervis, and Brook). His response was to dispatch Commodore Boutwell (also rendezvousing at Valparaiso), whose historic mission to Fiji the previous year had seen the United States involved in full-scale constabulary duties befitting a great power.[22] On that earlier mission to Fiji to "show the flag," a mission of enormous significance to subsequent Fijian history, Boutwell had journeyed by way of Panama and Apia, unexpectedly extending his stay in Panama to quell anti-American rioters demanding a French protectorate. On 11 July 1856 Mervine instructed Boutwell to reprovision the U.S.S. *John Adams* and cruise westward' "through the Polynesian Islands" to the Marquesas, thence to Jarvis Island, "represented to con-

tain guano," to obtain full information about "this island, the quality and supposed quantity of the guano, and the character of the harbor."[23]

There was no suggestion of territory grabbing. Mervine simply perceived a different function for his vessels in this distant theater: protection of American commerce and whalers. Boutwell was instructed to conclude his exploratory mission to Baker and Jarvis islands (Mervine had probably even anticipated his findings, having visited Baker Island), then to proceed to Pitt Island in the Kingsmill group, and Hull Island in the Gilberts to investigate reports of the massacre of crews of American trading vessels and rumors of the murder of American whalers who had touched there. "You will make a strict enquiry into facts in each case," Boutwell was instructed, "and should allegations be true, you will demand and if necessary enforce the punishment due to the perpetrators of these outrages, which may prevent their repetition in future."[24] Boutwell's report on Jarvis was as unpromising as Mervine's had been on Baker. The singularly inaccurate assessments, both categorically unfavorable, are remarkable in view of the quantity and quality of guano subsequently transported from both islands.

Guano Imperialism

At home, the prospects of winning at a stroke a reduction in the price of foreign-owned guano and at the same time securing an American-owned supply exerted much pressure on the Pierce administration. In March 1856 Secretary of State Marcy was importuned by members of the Maryland State Agricultural Society to protect American farmers from the "odious monopoly" of Peru.[25] Two months later the American Guano Company petitioned the Senate to annex "all islands discovered and settled by Americans, as well as all other islands or lands which may hereafter be discovered and settled by them, and which contain guano."[26] Their motivation was not the acquisition of territory; it was the procurement of the raw material abundant in these scores of Pacific islands. Simple acquisition of the islands was a swift and decisive solution to the enormous problems associated with the Peruvian monopoly, notwithstanding that all were noncontiguous with the mainland United States. It was of "essential importance," their preamble declared unequivocally, that Congress enact legislation immediately to claim the American discoveries as possessions of the United States. Nothing short of outright annexation would satisfy them: not casual or intermittent occupancy and certainly not "occasionally raising a flag or landing for a short time on the shore."[27]

They had even anticipated arguments against their case, noting that the rights to the islands claimed were "in conflict with no other people or nation" and that without the "power of acquiring property beyond its original territorial limits" for protection, defense, or commercial interest, the United States would "present an anomaly among the nations of the earth." At the time, the company was particularly concerned with Baker and Jarvis islands, but its agents were assiduously scouring the seas for other worthy acquisitions.

On 26 May 1856 the question of Pacific guano islands was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and within three months Congress passed the Guano Act.[28] In the ensuing three years more than fifty Pacific islands were absorbed into the Union, with the pledge of full military and naval protection. The guano traders themselves appear to have enjoyed de facto appropriation rights since Baker and Jarvis islands, the very first acquisitions under the act, had not been formally acquired by the United States Pacific Squadron until a year later. As a direct consequence of unabated interest by agriculturalists, shippers, and the press (particularly of New England, Honolulu, and California), the Pacific Squadron commander dispatched Commodore Charles H. Davis to Jarvis once more.[29] This time Davis was specifically instructed to make soundings, examine the quantity and quality of guano, verify its locality, and make "such hydrographical and barometrical observations . . . as may be useful to the interest of navigation." He was further instructed to carry out the same tasks at New Nantucket (as Baker was still identified). "You will," Davis was officially ordered, "in the event of no conflicting claims appearing, take formal possession in the name of your government."[30] The seeds of American empire were beginning to germinate.

On 1 May 1857 the American Guano Company shipped to Boston the first batch of Baker-Jarvis guano along with samples from Howland, just north of Baker Island. "The supply of guano upon these islands is reported as being almost inexhaustible, and of a quality not inferior to that of the Chinchas," the Boston *Daily Advertiser* proclaimed.[31] The extraordinary discrepancies between the reports of the squadron and the hard evidence of the material already in Boston and New York were provoking public comment. The *Baltimore American* asserted that the Pacific islands were as important as "a new El Dorado," and, although they were not literally covered with gold dust, they were covered in material that "will cover our wasted fields with golden grain."[32] The pervasive mood appeared to be enthusiastic zeal for these noncontiguous territories, a mood starkly contrasting with the antiexpansionism of

the later years of the Johnson-Seward administration subsequent to the acquisition of Midway and Alaska.[33]

With the completion of the isthmian railway, some Baker-Jarvis guano was transported across the Isthmus of Panama for national distribution. In August 1857 the *Aspasia* docked in Boston with ninety tons from Jarvis that were seen as "the forerunner of a prolific trade in that quarter," the guano identified as "fully equal to the best Peruvian."[34] This was the first batch ever transported via the Panama Railway. The Pacific Squadron, however, attracted criticism for its continuing opposition to acquisition. "Commander Mervine, it will be remembered," the *Daily National Intelligencer* informed its readers, "pronounced as worthless whatever guano might be found on Baker Island in consequence of its being saturated by heavy rains."[35] Worse was in store for Mervine. In April 1858 the *Daily Mercury* publicly rebuked him for "his superficial examination and unfounded report" on the islands that "retarded the progress of a great enterprise, and affected two or three years' crops in our country."[36]

In February 1858 fourteen shipmasters took pains to rebut the squadron findings, advising the secretary of the navy himself that the Jarvis-Baker region was "seldom if ever visited by gales" and that neither landing nor loading on the islands presented undue difficulty.[37] They also reminded him that Baker Island was particularly important, apart from its guano treasures, since it was the traditional post office depot for American whalers. The shipmasters flatly rejected the navy verdict as in direct conflict with their own experience. For the hardened mariners, anchoring outside island reefs and landing by tender were routine operations, the obtaining of a cargo of guano presenting not half the difficulty they had "often experienced in taking an old and ugly whale."[38]

In July 1858 another four hundred tons of Jarvis guano arrived, prompting the sardonic observation from one newspaper that it had come from an island where "a Government ship" had "reported that no guano existed."[39] Another report of the same delivery observed caustically, "The news from the Pacific in relation to the deposits of guano, which Commodore Mervine could not find, are favorable."[40] With each shipload from the islands there was a diminution of the importance of Peruvian guano. One report at the end of July 1858 noted that during the previous May thirty vessels with over thirty-three thousand tons of guano had departed from the Chinchas with but slightly over one thousand tons headed for the United States. England had imported eleven thousand tons and France some six thousand, but already demand in the United States was dramatically shrinking.[41]

In November 1858 the importance of the island guano to the American economy was accorded official recognition with the award of six thousand dollars, "a present from Uncle Sam," to both Captain Michael Baker, discoverer of the island bearing his name, and the estate of the late Captain Thomas D. Lucas, discoverer of Jarvis.[42] There were numerous references at the time to the new American industry. The *John Marshall* had recently carried a second load of five hundred tons from Jarvis, and the *White Swallow* was about to leave with twelve hundred tons. As well, two vessels, "each with 1200 tons of the fertilizer, were already on their way to New York."[43] There were also indications of expanding American influence in the Pacific associated directly with the trade; Apia, for example, was a reprovisioning stop before the long haul home via Cape Horn. As one correspondent put it in November 1858, the Jarvis Island enterprise had opened up "one more depot at which the commerce of the Pacific may rendezvous, and procure cargoes of this valuable article."[44]

By April 1859 some forty-eight islands had been appropriated, over twenty believed to contain "large deposits," while on the six largest--Jarvis, Baker, Howland, Christmas, Malden, and Phoenix islands--there were reported to be huge quantities of varying quality.[45] To these could be added Johnston Island, southwest of Honolulu, French Frigate Shoals, northwest of Honolulu, and Elide Island, off the Mexican coast. Elide was "nominally owned by the Mexican Government" but recognized by 1859 as "effectively owned by a company of American citizens who are now engaged in shipping large quantities of this valuable deposit."[46]

Contemporary American attitude to the Pacific policies of rival European powers can be glimpsed in public comments about the tiny island of Clipperton, a thousand miles west of Mexico. This rocky outcrop, surrounded by treacherous shoals, posed a navigational hazard for vessels plying between California and Peru (or Chile) and had been viewed as a potential prize during the enthusiastic quest for guano islands after 1856. When France "proclaimed to the world" its ownership of the island in 1859,[47] Americans angrily denounced the government for allowing the prize to be grabbed by a foreign power. "Why don't our Government announce their sovereignty over those Guano islands which our citizens have discovered?" In Massachusetts the *Daily Evening Standard* demanded to know in February 1859:

> By and by we may find ourselves not only dependent upon Peru, but France and England also, for guano. It would look

> well by and by to have the farmers of the United States pay $20 to $30 a ton royalty, for that which they might have had for nothing. It will give them a high opinion of the forecast of our rulers. The time may come when some of our whale ships would like the chance to buy cargoes of guano at low price, and make $20 to $30 a ton freight on it home.[48]

The Guano Annexations

An inside account of the early days of the industry and a detailed account of the rigors of sail are provided by one master of an American Guano Company vessel in 1859.[49] Having left San Francisco on January 19, he arrived in Honolulu nine days later and, after spending four days in hiring thirty-five Hawaiians as laborers, set sail for Jarvis. Twenty-two days out of San Francisco, he reached Jarvis. According to him, the Hawaiians were "the best kind of laborers, being quiet and good strong, fellows to work." On Jarvis, his vessel discharged six hundred tons of ballast, replacing it with fifteen hundred tons of guano loaded in the three weeks spent there. "There was no day while we were there that they could not boat off guano," he wrote. On this trip, Charles H. Judd, unofficial company "governor" of Jarvis, made the visit as well. Judd, chamberlain at the Hawaiian royal court, was the son of the celebrated Dr. Gerrit Parmele Judd, the missionary physician who had become an influential member of King Kamehameha III's cabinet.[50] Dr. Judd and his wife had arrived in the Sandwich Islands in March 1828, with the third company of missionaries, to commence his own personal crusade --taking extensive trips on remote mountain trails and "looking after the sick and studying local diseases."[51] In August 1859 the *Daily Mercury* reported: "Dr. Judd and his sons, who manage the [Jarvis] operations, are on the high road to wealth. People do not regret this as the Doctor is an able and public-spirited man, whose interests are thoroughly identified with the prosperity of the Sandwich Islands."[52]

Three years earlier, in December 1856, Charles H. Judd and Arthur Benson (son of Alfred G. Benson) had forced the hand of the Pierce administration by demonstrating that Baker, Jarvis, and Howland islands "could be landed on" and contained high-quality guano, contrary to the perception conveyed in reports by the Pacific Squadron.[53]

By the beginning of 1859 three other American companies had joined the American Guano Company in the Pacific guano trade: the U.S. Guano Company (with headquarters in New York), the Phoenix Guano Company (based in Honolulu), and the Pacific Guano Company (from

San Francisco). The U.S. Guano Company had shipped only samples from its claims, which included Malden, Christmas, Howland, and Arthur islands, plus a score of others. The Phoenix Guano Company owned the Phoenix Group (hence the name of the company): McKean, Phoenix, and Enderbury islands. The Pacific Guano Company was the smallest, its major claim being Johnston Island.

Howland was one of the few to provoke a dispute amongst the American companies themselves. Lying just north of Baker, it was originally claimed by the American Guano Company along with Jarvis and Baker, but since formal title had never been registered and the island had never been worked, the State Department registered Howland to the U.S. Guano Company in 1860. In 1868 this company sold Howland to an English company, thereby terminating its own traffic between Honolulu and Howland. The transaction in Pacific real estate between a private American company and a British counterpart suggests that Howland, substantially exhausted of its guano, was of little interest to the State Department at the time. Remarkably, with the apparent abandonment of the island by the British operators, Howland was once again claimed by the United States in a 13 May 1936 executive order by President Franklin D. Roosevelt placing it under the jurisdiction of the secretary of the interior.[54] Authority for the action was vested in the Guano Act of 1856.[55]

The United States Guano Company began operations in 1858 with the appropriation of its four main islands. Christmas Island was reported to be "covered in guano from one to ten feet deep," and since it was about forty miles long by fifteen miles wide, its annexation was a reason for exultation. An added bonus was its capacious "land-locked harbor in a lagoon" where hundreds of ships could lie at anchor and "thousands of boats work at once in loading them." The *Boston Daily Journal* applauded the government for its wisdom in "appropriating treasures of this sort."[56] Unfortunately, Christmas Island failed to live up to the extravagant expectations. During the Civil War the Pacific guano trade languished, and the Americans withdrew from Christmas Island. Since it was unoccupied and since it had been discovered by Captain Cook in 1777, the British government considered it as accruing to the Crown and granted to a Dr. Crowther of Tasmania license to dig and sell guano from the island. The venture was doomed to failure, however, as the euphoric reports of vast deposits proved groundless, and Dr. Crowther's license was revoked by the British government in 1869.

Christmas Island, located in the group sometimes referred to as the Washington group, had long been known to American mariners, even

drawing from the United States Pacific Squadron commander in 1842 the recommendation that neither the Sandwich Islands nor the Washington group should ever be allowed to fall into foreign hands. Thomas ap Catesby Jones (1790-1858) was twice commander of the Pacific Squadron, from 1842 to 1843 and from 1847 to 1850, having been relieved of the command on the first occasion in order to conciliate Mexico over his indiscretion in taking possession of Monterey in Alta California. He had actually been the first choice in 1836 to head the United States Exploring Expedition eventually led by Charles Wilkes.[57] Earlier, in 1826, when the Pacific Squadron duties concentrated largely on protecting the western flank from Tierra del Fuego to the Columbia River, Jones had been entrusted with negotiating the first treaty of friendship with the king of Hawaii. By 1842 the American squadron was vigilantly monitoring the other powers, Jones himself reporting that a huge armada of French warships had just sailed from Valparaiso, "destination altogether conjectural," possibly New Zealand, the Sandwich. Islands, the Marquesas, or even California. Jones suspected that the French target was "the Calafornias [*sic*]."[58]

Whereas it was not until 1858 that the United States formally annexed Christmas Island, Fanning Island in the same group had been claimed by Great Britain one year earlier. In 1859 the American Guano Company appropriated Palmyra Island (also known as Samarang) in the Washington group. Palmyra was subsequently annexed by the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1862, when the American Guano Company had exhausted its guano supply. In 1872 Commander Meade of the U.S.S. *Narraganset* formally reclaimed the unoccupied Christmas Island, and the United States subsequently signified its intention to retain possession. In 1879 the British ambassador in Washington sought to ascertain whether the United States had abandoned its claim to the island, as a British concern planned to resume guano mining. Secretary of State Evarts was unequivocal: Christmas Island had been an appurtenance of the United States since 11 May 1857.[59]

Malden Island was acquired by the U.S. Guano Company in 1859 but appears to have been worked but intermittently. Known also as Independence Island, it possessed "a good anchorage," and initially it was promoted as able to make immediate shipments of guano.[60] Just three months after the incident at Fort Sumter, an advertisement in New England offered unlimited supplies of Malden guano, but either its supplies were rapidly exhausted or marketing the guano proved unviable, and the company holding was abandoned.[61] In October 1861 the *Boston Evening Transcript* reported discovery of the "remnant of a

small town" on the island, supposedly "a stopping place for the buccaneers three centuries ago."[62]

The third enterprise engaged in the trade was the Phoenix Guano Company, whose operations centered on the islands due north of the Samoas. It formally entered the trade at the end of 1858, chartering a schooner to hunt out its own empire and claiming Starbuck (also known as Barren or Starve), Phoenix, Enderbury, Burnie, and McKean islands.[63] As well, the company claimed Canton (also known as Mary or Mary Balcout or Swallow), Hull, Sydney, and Gardner islands. Enderbury was the most lucrative of these; some twenty-five laborers, equipped with huts, water, and food supplies, were working there by May 1859.[64] Two months later there were twenty-nine. Honolulu expected to "reap no small benefit from this rapidly increasing guano trade."[65]

McKean, too, was profitable, its first shipment of twelve hundred tons reaching New England at the end of January 1860 and evoking the observation that the Phoenix islands were "a mine of wealth to the lucky owner."[66] Already a wooden railroad had been constructed on McKean, and the guano was conveyed from the diggings in cars drawn by horses or mules. At home it was proclaimed that McKean was a desert "with a soil so rich that a small portion of it stimulates to the highest degree of fertility the land on which it is sprinkled."[67] Its reserves were calculated at some hundred thousand tons. Enderbury, with a permanent colony of laborers, was worked by the company until its abandonment in 1878.

In March 1859 Johnston Island was formally claimed by the newly formed Pacific Guano Company, a corporation formed in California to ship guano direct to the west coast,[68] almost immediately involving the United States in brief conflict with the fledgling government of the Kingdom of Hawaii. Standing alone one thousand miles southwest of Honolulu, Johnston was visited three months later by a vessel bearing the flag of Hawaii. The American flags and crosses symbolic of American ownership were torn down, and the land was reclaimed in the name of King Kamehameha IV and Hawaiian sovereignty reasserted. It was but a trifling footnote to history, the parlous state of Hawaii's own independence in the late 1850s rendering futile such a gesture, and the Pacific Guano Company proceeded without interruption to market the guano. Boston's *Daily Mercury* lauded the acquisition of Johnston Island, emphasizing how "singularly fortunate" the nation was to have "obtained the lion's share in these valuable islands."[69]

Before the year was out, huge improvements had been effected at Johnston Island, now shown to be really two islands, one about fifty

acres in size and the other about thirty.[70] Guano was estimated to be about three to four feet deep on the larger island on which a wharf, some five hundred feet long, had been built along with a railroad track to the diggings. The conflict over ownership was speedily resolved when the company was able to prove to the United States attorney general that its ownership had been "actual, continuous, exclusive" from the time of its discovery.[71]

By far the most important of all guano annexations was Brooks Island, or Midway, actually two large islands (each about four or five miles long by two wide) and a small island. Captain V. C. Brooks came across the islands in 1859 on a routine sealing voyage and formally took possession on the basis of guano found there as well as on account of the superior "advantages for a coaling port" on the line from California to China.[72] It was but another routine guano acquisition until May 1867, when Allan McLane, president of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, requested that the Navy Department undertake proper surveys of the chain of islands stretching westward of Hawaii on the direct trade route to China and Japan.[73] Secretary of the Navy Welles swiftly concurred, instructing Rear Admiral H. K. Thatcher, commanding officer of the newly created North Pacific Squadron, to take possession of the "small island having a good harbor and safe anchorage," making a complete and accurate survey at the same time.[74] Captain William Reynolds of the U.S.S. *Lackawanna* was entrusted with the task. His official report to his squadron commander captures the pomp and pageantry of this formal extension of American empire in the mid-Pacific on 28 August 1867: "Having previously erected a suitable flagstaff, I landed on that day, accompanied by all the officers who could be spared from the ship, with six boats armed and equipped, and under a salute of 21 guns, and with three cheers, hoisted the national ensign, and called on all hands to witness the act of taking possession in the name of the United States."[75]

Aware of the historical significance of the occasion, Reynolds added that it was "exceedingly gratifying" to him to have been involved "in taking possession of the first island ever added to the dominion of the United States beyond our own shores." Was Reynolds unmindful of those other guano islands already appropriated? "I sincerely hope that this will not be the last of our insular annexations," he concluded. There was no indication in his words of dismay that the American way had been subverted, nor of abhorrence of the notion of empire. Nor had that later repugnance toward the annexation of noncontiguous territories revealed itself during the entire guano experience. On the contrary, there had been a deliberateness about the whole guano policy, based as

it was on the inexorable domestic pressure for the fertilizer, wholly at odds with the fundamental thesis of the "accidentalists."[76] Most of the guano islands had been appropriated for their deposits of urgently needed raw material. Midway (or Brooks) Island was annexed for other advantages clearly and rationally perceived at the time. The Peruvian experience had unquestionably fathered the notion that American-owned guano islands would solve the host of disputes involved with foreign-controlled resources, and the United States had simply begun to compete vigorously in the Pacific market. Manifest destiny was virtually irrelevant as an issue in this "curious episode" of the 1850s that saw a dramatic assertion of American influence in the Pacific theater. The *New York Times*, which applauded the acquisition of Midway, observed in 1868: "Our interests and our importance in the Pacific are looming up. They have gained enormously by the acquisition of Alaska, and they would gain still more by the possession of Lower California."[77] For the *New York Times*, the day was not far off when the United States would "become the great commercial and controlling and civilizing Power of the Pacific."[78] At that very time, it was certainly one of the great powers.

Conclusion

The involvement of the United States with the Pacific guano islands did not end with the exhausting of the guano deposits; the underlying question of sovereignty continued well into the twentieth century. When ownership of Clipperton was contested in 1935, the principles of discovery and symbolic annexation were enunciated to decide in favor of France.[79] The award relied not on French discovery of Clipperton in 1857 but on the symbolic act of annexation in 1858. Kingman Reef and Johnston Island were placed under the direction of the United States secretary of the navy by executive order on 29 December 1934. The justification was the Guano Act of 1856. On 13 May 1936 Jarvis, Howland, and Baker islands were placed under the jusrisdiction of the secretary of the interior, again by presidential order by virtue of the powers of the Guano Act. Canton and Enderbury islands were similarly entrusted to the jurisdiction of the secretary of the interior by executive order of 3 March 1938. All of these confirmations of possessory rights were ratified by Congress on 25 June 1938.[80] Added legitimacy, if it were indeed required, was furnished by deliberate colonization of some of these deserted islands now beginning to attract outside interest in view of a strategic usefulness. On these, "permanent" residents were

landed to legitimize occupation. On Howland, Jarvis, and Baker islands, four men were landed by the United States Coast Guard to serve as "permanent population."[81] Moreover, buildings, including a lighthouse on Baker, were erected as evidence of permanent occupancy. On Canton, which was assuming special significance as a mid-Pacific landing and fueling depot for Pan-American Airways, an airstrip was constructed, and Hawaiians were landed as "permanent residents." Howland, too, was given its own airstrip, its initial moment of fame occurring in 1937 with the planned but never achieved stopover of renowned aviators Amelia Earhart and Fred J. Noonan during their doomed around-the-world flight. Johnston Island was occupied in 1934 for defensive purposes, with a seaplane base built soon after. Today the island enjoys a dubious distinction as repository for chemical munitions and poison gases.

The roots of American empire can even today excite spirited debate amongst historians,[82] but the United States still retains sovereignty over Pacific islands acquired under the Guano Act of 1856. Midway is a special case, having been recognized from 1867 to be of critically strategic and commercial importance as a coaling station, but Howland, Baker, Jarvis, Johnston, and Palmyra islands along with Kingman Reef were recognized for intrinsic value apart from guano only in the 1930s. The new nation of Kiribati exercises ownership of most of the former guano islands, but the United States today retains unchallengeable possessory rights to these others. In a critical test case, the United States Supreme Court determined that Navassa, a Caribbean guano island, was "within the exclusive jurisdiction and possession of the United States,"[83] a judgment confirming the view of the U.S. attorney general in 1925 that "the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the United States attached to the territory embraced in the guano islands, as appeared from the list of bonded islands issued by the Treasury Department."[84] In the 1850s, in the remote Pacific Ocean, part of today's United States was born.

NOTES

1. C. Hartley Grattan, *The Southwest Pacific to 1900* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), 460.

2. See J. B. Moore, *Digest of International Law,* vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1906), 556-580, for documents relative to the Guano Act and a list of known bonded islands.

3. J. S. Reeves," Agreement over Canton and Enderbury Islands," *American Journal of International Law* 33 (July 1939): 523.

4. Roy F. Nichols, *Advance Agents of American Destiny* (Philadelphia, 1963), 201. Nichols argues that with the annexation in December 1859 of Navassa, the tiny guano island in the Caribbean, "the American nation took its first step into the path of imperialism" (p. 189). His chapter 10 is titled "The Birth of Empire" (pp. 183-201). On the role of Webster in the 1852 dispute with Peru, he outlines much of the content of Kenneth E. Shewmakers finely detailed articles " 'Untaught Diplomacy': Daniel Webster and the Lobos Islands Controversy," *Diplomatic History* 1 (1977): 321-340, and " 'Hook and Line. and Bob and Sinker': Daniel Webster and the Fisheries Dispute of 1852," *Diplomatic History* 9 (Spring 1985): 113-129. Shewmaker advances the case that Webster's actions in the Lobos affair, which almost resulted in war with Peru, and in the Canadian Fisheries affair, which soured relations with Great Britain, were uncharacteristic as a consequence of "physical and psychological ailments." On Webster and the Lobos Islands dispute, see Kenneth E. Shewmaker, Kenneth R. Stevens, and Anita McGurn, eds., *The Papers of Daniel Webster*, vol. 2: *Diplomatic Papers* (Hanover, N.H., 1987).

5. See Shewmaker, " 'Untaught Diplomacy.' " See also Dan O'Donnell, "United States Pacific Policy, 1840-1870" (Master's thesis, History Department, University of Queensland, 1980).

6. Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, 1955). Chapter 26 of this outstanding work first published in 1936 was titled "The Great Aberration of 1898." Its fundamental thesis exerted a dominant influence on American diplomatic history in ensuing decades, and its residual impact is still discernible in current literature. Bemis's thesis was developed into a virtual dogma that the year 1898 marked a stark rupture with tradition, the events themselves being aberrant and un-American.

7. Arthur S. Link and William M. Leary, eds., *The Diplomacy of World Power: The United States, 1889-1920* (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), 2. The literature abounds in similarly figurative depictions of the events of 1898. Note the following examples: A. Whitney Griswold's "dramatic turning point" *(The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* [New York: Harcourt Brace, 1938], 3); A. K. Weinberg's "plunged into the sea" *(Manifest Destiny--A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History* [Gloucester, Mass.: Smith, 1958], 253); G. F. Kennan's "a turning point" *(American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* [New York, Mentor Books, 1959], 18); A. Weinstein's "broke with tradition and annexed an overseas empire" *(Origins of Modern America* [New York: Random House, 1970], 207); Daniel Aaron's "a breach in their traditions and a shock to their established values" *(America in Crisis: Fourteen Crucial Episodes in American History* [Hamden: Archon Books, 1971], 173); Alexander DeConde's "intensified spirit of expansion . . . based on belligerent nationalism . . . recently acquired wealth and notions of superiority" *(A History of American Foreign Policy* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971], 317); and Ernest R. May's "having been for a hundred and twenty-two years the world's leading champion of independence for colonial people, the nation suddenly became itself a colonial power" *(From Imperialism to Isolationism, 1898-1919* [New York: Macmillan, 1964], 10).

The unresolved nature of the historiographic dispute is evident in the ongoing saga of debate. See James A. Field, "American Imperialism: The 'Worst Chapter' in Almost Any Book," *American Historical Review* 83, no. 3 (June 1978): 644-668; Thomas C. Osborne, *"Empire Can Wait": American Opposition to Hawaiian Annexation, 1893-1898* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1981). Osborne, who' acknowledges a debt to his mentor Charles S. Campbell (author of *The Transformation of American Foreign Relations,*

1865-1900 [New York: Harper and Row, 1976]), argues that the end of the century confronted America "with the prospect of abandoning her hallowed tradition of continental expansion and opting for a policy of imperialism" (p. xi). The concept of a natural movement westward on the American mainland has been explored by Charles Vevier, "American Continentalism: An Idea of Expansion, 1845-1910," *American Historical Review* 65 (1960): 237-253.

8. Joseph A. Fry, "In Search of an Orderly World: U.S. Imperialism, 1898-1912," in *Modern American Diplomacy,* ed. John M. Carroll and George C. Herring (Wilmington, Del., 1984), 1. Fry himself qualifies his critique of "some historians [who portrayed] America's end-of-century as a 'great aberration,' " arguing that "never before" had territory beyond the continent been annexed (p. 1). Editors Carroll and Herring appear to concur with the view in their introductory essay, pointing out that while "a policy of aggressive expansionism was not new for Americans," what was new "was that the territories were non-contiguous lands abroad" (p. ix). Robert L. Beisner, in *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898-1900* (New York, 1968), had cautioned against uncritical rejection of continuity in American foreign policy: "But it would be foolish to dismiss the [end-of-century events] as an aberration, a meaningless sport in the evolution of American history" (p. xv). See also his *From the Old Diplomacy to the New* (New York, 1975).

9. Ernest S. Dodge, Introduction, in *American Activities in the Central Pacific, 1790-1870,* ed. R. Gerard Ward, vol. 1 (Ridgewood, N.J.: The Gregg Press, 1966), 50. Among the numerous works by this prodigious Pacific scholar and director of Salem's prestigious Peabody Museum are *Beyond the Capes: Pacific Exploration from Captain Cook to the Challenger, 1776-1877* (Boston, 1971), and *New England and the South Seas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). His unstinting help to Ward in tracking down valuable Pacific documents is acknowledged in Ward's preface.

10. On 30 December 1842 President John Tyler sent a message to the House of Representatives respecting American trade and commerce with Hawaii (U.S. Congress, H. Exec. Doc. 35, 27th Cong., 3d Sess., pp. l-4). The complete document is usually known as the "Tyler Doctrine." See also Sen. Exec. Doc. 77, 52d Cong., 2d Sess. (1892-1893), vol. 8; H. Exec. Doc. 47, 53d Cong., 2d Sess. (1893), and Sen. Rep. 681, 55th Cong., 2d Sess. (1897).

11. Secretary of State Blaine restated Tyler's "doctrine" in a message to the American minister at Honolulu on 1 December 1881: "The position of the Hawaiian Islands, as the key to the dominion of the American republic, demands their benevolent neutrality." He pledged that any change to Hawaii's "benevolent neutrality" would result in "an avowedly American solution for the grave issues presented." In 1897 President McKinley described formal annexation of the Hawaiian chain as "the necessary and fitting sequel to the charge of events which, from a very early period in our history, has controlled the intercourse and prescribed the association of the United States and the Hawaiian Islands" (Sen. Rep. 681, 55th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 66). Hawaii's pivotal role in American Pacific policy is examined in depth in O'Donnell, "United States Pacific Policy."

12. U.S. Congress, Sen. Misc. Doc. 60, 34th Cong., 1st Sess.

13. Secretary of the Navy J. C. Dobbin to Commander William Mervine, 20 October 1855, ibid., p. 3. James C. Dobbin had become Pierce's secretary of the navy on 8 March 1853.

14. The notion that Secretary of State Webster's efforts to force Peru into line in 1852 was attributable to his mental state becomes less credible with an examination of Webster's exchanges with Peruvian officials. They were cogently and rationally argued, supported by intensive research to back up the official American stance that the offshore islands did not belong to Peru at all and that they had been discovered by an American. Sheer weight of public opinion at the prospects of war with an impotent but outraged Peru appeared to force Webster and Pierce to reconsider their position. In Peru itself, the United States chargé d'affaires desperately urged Webster not to "despoil Peru of her just rights" by annexing the Lobos Islands, describing the proposed course as a dramatic turning away from American traditions and incompatible with its dignity and honor. J. Randolph Clay to Webster, 7 August 1852, in W. R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860,* vol. 10 (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1935), 251.

15. *Daily Evening Standard,* 15 November 1855, cited in Ward, ed., *American Activities in the Central Pacific* 3:364. I have consulted the *New York Times,* the *Daily Alta California* (imperfect on microfilm, with March and April 1859 missing), *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, The Friend,* and the *Daily National Intelligencer.* For other newspapers cited I am indebted to the monumental scholarship of R. Gerard Ward, whose eight-volume work *American Activities in the Central Pacific 1790-1870* has advanced our knowledge of the region and the period enormously. In notes below, I observe Ward's convention of referring to the *Alta California,* rather than *Daily Alta California* as proclaimed on its masthead. There was also the *Evening Alta California.*

16. Dobbin to Mervine, 20 October 1855.

17. *Daily Evening Standard,* 13 January 1856, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 3:365.

18. *New York Times,* 8 October 1852. This article reprinted from *Dicken's Household Words* (n.d.) described the huge waste of time caused by Peruvian regulations: every foreign vessel was forced to enter and depart from Callao, thereby "sailing some one hundred and fifty miles beyond the guano islands" simply to register at Callao, then to sail against a headwind to Pisco, the port of entry to the Chincha Islands. After a wait of some days, they sailed west some nine or ten miles to the islands where they loaded with guano before returning to Pisco, thence to Callao, and finally homeward. Sheer time lost in this run-around averaged about a month per vessel, an attendant problem with the inactivity being the desertion of crew in Callao.

The exasperation of the author manifested itself in such lines as "[There is] invariably more formality in petty principalities and dwarf republics than in States which are more able to enforce respect." Also, "Peru is by no means a tremendous power, and it is a token of good in the way of civilization that the huge merchantmen should let themselves be bullied by her."

19. *Daily Mercury,* 5 March 1856, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 3:366.

20. R. F. Nichols cites a capitalization of only $1 million, comprising one hundred thousand shares of $10 each. Of these, Captain Edward W. Turner, a former whaler with intimate knowledge of the region, was allotted thirty thousand and Alfred G. Benson thirty thousand (actually giving ten shares to each of seven friends), with forty thousand shares "held in the treasury for promotional purposes" *(Advance Agents,* 176-177).

21. Mervine to Dobbin, 30 June 1856, United States Pacific Squadron Letters (hereafter PSL), vol. 38.

22. Mervine to Boutwell, 13 March 1855, PSL, vol. 37. The accepted consensus, a corollary of the "aberration" thesis, is that the United States only became a great power with the War of 1898. See Archibald C. Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power (New* York, 1908, reprint 1971); Robert E. Osgood, *Ideals and Self-Interest in America's Foreign Relations: The Great Transformation of the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 1953); and Ernest R. May, *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America as a Great Power (New* York, 1961).

23. Mervine to Boutwell, II July 1856, PSL, vol. 38.

24. Ibid. See especially G. S. Smith, "An Uncertain Passage: The Bureaus Run the Navy," in *In Peace and War: Interpretations of American Naval History, 1775-1978,* ed. K. J. Hagan (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 81. Smith argues that Perry's forcible opening of Japan in 1852 "symbolized the U.S Navy's persistent stimulation of American expansion throughout the nineteenth century." Consensus historians generally accept the proposition that Alfred Thayer Mahan's celebrated works on navalism at the commencement of the 1890s themselves marked the emergence of America as a naval power. See O'Donnell, "United States Pacific Policy," for an examination of the role of the United States Pacific Squadron in the much earlier period of 1840-1870, along with a survey of the literature.

25. Charles B. Calvert to Secretary of State Marcy, 14 March 1856 (U.S. Congress, Sen. Exec. Doc. 25, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 25).

26. Sen. Misc. Doc. 60, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1.

27. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

28. Ibid., p. 1.

29. Mervine to Davis, 12 June 1857, PSL, vol. 38. An extremely useful account of the incident is given in Eleice Aiman, "American Acquisition and Development of Minor Pacific Islands" (Master's thesis, History Department, University of Chicago, 1944), 67-68.

30. Mervine to Davis, 12 June 1857, PSL, vol. 38.

31. *Daily Advertiser,* 1 May 1857, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 3:374.

32. *Baltimore Advertiser,* 9 May 1857, cited in ibid. 3:376.

33. See D. M. Dozer, "Anti-Expansionism during the Johnson Administration," *Pacific Historical Review* 12 (1943): 253-275. The *New York Times* by 1870 was ridiculing the "annexing humor" it perceived in the nation, describing America as "your true World's Fair, the bazaar where islands are hawked, kingdoms put up at a bargain, and republics knocked down to the highest bidder" (24 January 1870). See also Ernest R. Paolino's superb study *The Foundations of the American Empire: William Henry Seward and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), which emphasizes the importance of Seward's Pacific "way stations of empire"; and Milton Plesur, *America's Outward Thrust: Approaches to Foreign Affairs, 1865-1890* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), which depicts the so-called Gilded Age as a quiescent period in which the "appetite for new territory" was dormant "rather than entirely non-existent" (p. 10).

34. *Daily Mercury,* 15 August 1857, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 3:376.

35. *Daily National Intelligencer,* 5 December 1857, cited in ibid. 1:200.

36. *Daily Mercury,* 1 April 1858, cited in ibid. 1:201.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. *Daily Evening Standard,* 30 July 1858, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 3:378.

40. *New Bedford Mercury,* 30 July 1858, cited in ibid. 3:379.

41. Ibid.

42. *Daily Mercury,* 18 November 1859, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 1:204.

43. *New York Times,* 29 October 1858. The *New York Times* carried a promising report from Honolulu: "The guano business appears to be making good progress. Fine clipper vessels from San Francisco are frequent visitors here on their way to Jarvis and Baker Islands to load up with the elements of corn and wheat in Eastern and Middle States land" (23 January 1860).

44. *Daily Mercury,* 20 November 1858, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 3:381-382.

45. *Alta California,* 20 April 1859, cited in ibid. 1:214-215.

46. The *New York Journal of Commerce* produced a report on the scores of islands annexed, published in the Boston *Daily Evening Traveller,* 20 April 1859. Actual lists of the islands were published by the *Alta California,* 20 April 1859, Honolulu's *The Friend,* April 1859, and the *New York Tribune,* 5 March 1859. See Ward, *American Activities* 1: 212-214. The *Alta California's* list identified Baker, Jarvis, Howland, Malden, Arthur, Christmas, Caroline, Anne, Starve, Flint, Bauman, Rogwein, Gronique, Frienhaven, Quiros, Low, Clarence, Favorite, Duke of York, Farmer, Birnick, Phoenix, Mary, Enderbury, Sydney, Penryn, Pescado, Ganges, Rierson, Sideron, Humphrey, Frances, Flint, Nassau, Danger, Mary Letitia, Kemins, Walker, Sarah Anne, America, Prospect, Samarang, Danger, Makin, Mathews, David, Barber, and Palmyra. An identical list, with minor variations in spelling and a caution that some of the islands might have been fictitious, was published in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* 51 (July-Dee. 1859): 476.

47. *New York Tribune,* 5 March 1859, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 1:209. See Friedrich A. F. von der Heyfte, "Discovery, Symbolic Annexation and Virtual Effectiveness in International Law," *American Journal of International Law* 29 (1935): 463.

48. *Daily Evening Standard,* 18 February 1859, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 2:195.

49. Perry B. Bowers, master of the *Black Hawk,* in a letter to *Whalemen's Shipping List,* 28 June 1859, cited in ibid. 3:391.

50. The Judds figure prominently in Hawaiian history. See particularly Ralph S. Kuykendall's valuable trilogy *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1947), *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874: Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1966), and *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893: The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, *1967); see* also Sylvester K. Stevens, *America's Expansion in Hawaii, 1842-1898* (Harrisburg: Archives Publishing Company of Pennsylvania, 1945); and James J. Jarves, *History*

of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands (London, 1843); Nichols, *Advance Agents;* and Ernest S. Dodge, *Islands and Empires: Western Impact on the Pacific and East Asia* (Minneapolis and Oxford, 1976).

51. Dodge, *Islands and Empires,* 127.

52. *Daily Mercury,* 13 August 1859, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 3:398. The other son referred to was A. Francis Judd, later to serve as attorney general and chief justice in the government of the Kingdom of Hawaii.

53. Nichols, *Advance Agents,* 191. It is noteworthy that the dispatches to and from successive Pacific Squadron commanders from 1840 until 1870 do not fully show the vigorous American quest for Pacific guano. One vital function of the squadron was to monitor the rival squadrons of both Great Britain and France and to report home. It is abundantly clear that in the disciplining of recalcitrant islanders, American gunboats exercised an efficiency in no way inferior to that of their European counterparts. See W. R. Herrick, Jr., *The American Naval Revolution* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1969), in which it is argued that "the strategic implications of naval warfare had virtually no influence on American policy prior to 1890" (p. 3). In the remote islands, punitive and exemplary action had to be taken swiftly and decisively if the lives of American traders and whalers were to be saved. In China and Japan, American gunboats extracted concessions identical to those accorded the other powers. There was keen appreciation among American naval commanders of the coercive influence of a warship's cannons and their usefulness in making treaties. Thomas ap Catesby Jones complained bitterly in 1842 about French superiority vis-à-vis his own squadron equipage (31 August 1842, PSL, roll 31). Complaints from the frontier did indeed effect updating in the equipage and size of the squadron. See O'Donnell, "United States Pacific Policy," 417-452.

54. See J. S. Reeves, "Agreement over Canton and Enderbury Islands," *American Journal of International Law* 33 (July 1939): 525; and Beatrice Orent and Pauline Reinsch, "Sovereignty over Islands in the Pacific," *American Journal of International Law* 35 (July 1941): 456-458.

55. Orent and Reinsch conclude that once the guano resources were depleted and "the islands apparently lost their commercial value," the United States considered it not worthwhile to maintain expensive colonies simply to maintain title. However, "as the strategic importance of the islands has become increasingly evident, both Great Britain and the United States have taken steps to prevent their title being questioned' ("Sovereignty," 461). The Guano Act constituted the legal basis of American claims in the 1930s.

56. *Boston Daily Journal,* 23 December 1858, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 4:107.

57. W. P. Strauss, "Preparing the Wilkes Expedition: A Study in Disorganization," *Pacific Historical Review* 28 (1959): 221-232. See also Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia, 1845). Dr. G. P. Judd had accompanied Wilkes on his voyage to Hilo, on the occasion of the expedition's visit to Honolulu in 1842.

58. Thomas ap Catesby Jones to Secretary of the Navy, 21 May 1842, PSL, roll 31.

59. Evarts to Thornton, 1 April 1879, U.S. Congress, House Exec. Doc. 517, 2d Sess., 50th Cong. 1888-1889. Included in *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs,* vol. 1 (Washington, 1888), 714.

60. *Weekly National,* 25 August 1859, cited in Ward, *American Activities* 4:110.

61. *Lynn Weekly Reporter,* 20 July 1860, cited in ibid. 4:414.

62. *Boston Evening Transcript,* 10 October 1861, cited in ibid. 4:111.

63. *Daily National,* 19 April 1859, cited in ibid. 6:504. *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine,* June 1861, listed these islands as gazetted by the State Department as "appertaining to the United States," cited in ibid. 6:504.

64. *Alta California,* 5 May 1859, cited in ibid. 4:88.

65. *The Friend,* July 1859. Also cited in Ward, *American Activities* 4:90.

66. *Daily Mercury,* 19 February 1860, cited in ibid. 4:93.

67. *Daily Evening Standard,* 13 February 1860, cited in ibid. 4:95.

68. *Daily National,* 14 February 1859, cited in ibid. 3:424.

69. *Daily Mercury,* 13 May 1859, cited in ibid. 3:427.

70. *Mercantile Gazetteand Prices Current,* 19 November 1859, cited in ibid. 3:431-432.

71. Aiman, "American Acquisition," 49-50.

72. U.S. Congress, Sen. Exec. Doc. 79, 40th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 4.

73. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

74. Welles to Thatcher, 28 May 1867, in ibid., pp. 5-6.

75. Reynolds to Thatcher, 30 September 1867, in ibid., p. 7. See also Aiman, "American Acquisition": "Thus Midway was the first noncontiguous territory acquired by America, preceding the purchase of Alaska by seven weeks" (p. 31).

76. See the introduction to Richard W. Leopold's essay "The Roots of Imperialism," in *Origins of Modern America, 1860-1900,* ed. A. Weinstein (New York: Random House, 1970), 205-206. Weinstein distinguishes between the "accidentalists" and the "planners" in United States foreign policy. The chasm between those who perceived continuity in U.S. foreign policy and those who regarded 1898 as a cataclysmic break with American traditions and ideals is amply demonstrated in the virulence of the critiques of so-called New Left, or revisionist, interpretations of 1898. For an insight into the genre, see particularly William A. Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1959) and *The Roots of the Modern American Empire: A Study of the Growth and Shaping of Social Consciousness in a Marketplace Society* (New York, 1969); Walter F. LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); L. C. Gardner, W. F. LaFeber, and Thomas J. McCormick, *Creation of the American Empire: U.S. Diplomatic History* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973); Thomas J. McCormick, *China Market: America's Quest for Informal Empire* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967); C. Lasch, *The Agony of the American Left* (New York: Knopf, 1969); G. Kolko, *The Roots of American Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Power and Purpose* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969); and Irwin Unger, *The Movement: A History of the American New Left* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1967). Unger succinctly described the genre as pursuing flaws "in the consensus historians' celebration of the United States" (p. 19).

77. *New York Times,* 22 July 1868.

78. Ibid. See Roger Bell, *Last Among Equals: Hawaiian Statehood and American Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), in which it is argued that in the 1890s "ideals of national mission and economic self-interest propelled America outwards' (p. 17). In another comparatively recent study, Ruth Tabrah describes 1898 as "a turning point in both Hawaiian and American history," the epicenter of the upheaval being in Hawaii itself, where a handful of ambitious oligarchs on the frontier of empire achieved a bloodless revolution *(A Bicentennial History of Hawaii* [New York: Norton; Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1980], 5). Throughout this challenging chronicle of events after Hawaii became "the first overseas possession of the United States" runs a theme of unrequited hope (p. 10). Even in 1979, the bicentennial of Cook's first Western contact, *aloha aina,* that distinctive Hawaiian ideal embodying a profound love for both the island archipelago and its Polynesian inhabitants, past and present, appears to have evaded comprehension by the nation that annexed Hawaii in that "aberrant" flurry at end of century.

79. See Orent and Reinsch, "Sovereignty," 461: "In its decision of the dispute between France and Mexico, the court was not willing to admit rights of sovereignty arising from mere discovery. The island was awarded to France on the ground that an act of possession had been performed by a French naval commander and that notification of the act was given." The authors emphasize that in the evolution of sovereign rights over uninhabited Pacific islands, "the practical exigencies of the time" prevail.

80. J. S. Reeves, "Agreement," 526

81. Ibid., 525. Orent and Reinsch also detail the specifics of colonization in the 1930s ("Sovereignty," 450, 458).

82. See particularly, John M. Carroll and George C. Herring, eds., *Modern American Diplomacy* (Wilmington, Del., 1984). In their prefatory essay, the authors argue that on "the eve of the new century, the United States embarked on a course of imperial conquest" (p. ix), and "the 'splendid little war' with Spain marked the emergence of the United States as a world power" (p. x). Also, "when conditions were ripe in the 1800s Americans willingly embarked on an imperialistic adventure" (p. x). The interpretation still begs the question of the nature and legitimacy of American expansion earlier, of "manifest destiny," of continentalism, and of the fundamental difference between America's inexorable push across the continent and the behavioral pattern of the other powers. Also unanswered are questions concerning the fundamental differences between the United States and the other powers in such distant theaters as China, Japan, Hawaii, Fiji, and Samoa. The authors maintain that, in 1898, what "was new was that the territories annexed were non-contiguous lands abroad" (p. ix). Clearly, the debate is not resolved. Alaska does not fit their interpretation. Neither do Midway and the guano islands. See also George H. Quester, *American Foreign Policy: The Lost Consensus* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982), in which the author warns against a naive and self-deluding belief that Americans were somehow nobler than the other powers, recommending that a realpolitik approach to foreign policy serves "as an antidote to hypocrisy" (p. 56).

83. Orent and Reinsch, "Sovereignty," 453.

84. Ibid., 453, n. 34.

THE CALLING OF H.M.S. SERINGAPATAM AT RAPANUI (EASTER ISLAND) ON 6 MARCH 1830

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If detailed accounts of callings at Rapanui in the first half of the nineteenth century are exceedingly rare, their publication is even rarer. Yet in order adequately to explain Rapanui culture during this early post-contact period--when the island's ancient social organization had already experienced irreversible collapse and the devastating labor raids that finally set the spear to an already terminally ill society were only a generation and a half distant (1862-1863)--it is essential to avail oneself of each visitor's description of the island during these all-too-brief encounters. The full documentation of such callings is a long-term project currently being pursued.

One memorable calling at Rapanui is that of the forty-six-gun man-of-war H.M.S. *Seringapatam,* commanded by Captain William Waldegrave, on 6 March 1830, although it is seldom included in the published lists of early visits. Captain Honorable William Waldegrave explained the purpose of his historic mission to the South Pacific as follows:

> In December, 1829, whilst commanding H.M.S. Seringapatam at Rio Janeiro, I received the orders of my Commander in Chief Sir T. Baker to visit the Society & the Friendly islands, giving me permission to touch at any islands in the ship's course so as not to retard the object of our voyage. In obedience to these orders the Seringapatam visited Easter & Pitcairns Islands, Noahevah [Nuku Hiva] one of the Marquesas, Tahiti, Eimeo [Mo'orea], Reiateia [Ra'iatea] in the Society islands, Tongata-

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> boo [Tongatapu] & Vavao [Vava'u] in the Friendly islands. The orders embraced many points which would have required a long residence thoroughly to execute. Our time was limited, Seven months only being allowed to sail from Rio Janeiro round Cape Horn to touch at Valparaiso to visit these islands & to return to Lima in Peru. I endeavoured to execute the orders as faithfully as my time permitted, but as much information could only be obtained thro interpreters we may have been frequently mistaken. Nevertheless we have every reason to believe the general tenor of the statement to be correct, as we seized every opportunity to acquire information & judged of its accuracy by observation, requesting explanation when the facts differed from the statements & weighing the difference. It was my determination on our visits never unneccessarily to use force. We were the visitors, we might or might not be welcome & we had no right to use force to obtain our objects, because we were the strangers. We sought to visit then to make their acquaintance, to see them in their own homes, to view their habits, customs, & to learn the natural & physical properties of their islands. Yet however anxious we might be to obtain information, we had no right to compel, to intrude where we were not welcome, or to enter where they chose to exclude.[1]

There are two separate accounts of this voyage to the South Pacific: Captain Waldegrave's official report to the Admiral and the Admiralty in London, an autograph manuscript copy of which remains in the possession of his descendant the Earl Waldegrave and of which extracts were published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (Waldegrave 1833); and Lieutenant John Orlebar's journal, published in London in 1833 in a limited edition (reprinted 1976).

The Waldegrave Report

William Waldegrave, eighth Earl Waldegrave (1788-1859), entered the Royal Navy as midshipman in 1801, was commissioned lieutenant in 1808, and attained his captaincy in 1811. He was a member of Parliament for Bedford from 1815 to 1818. Then, from 1829 to 1832, he captained H.M.S. *Seringapatam* in South America and the South Pacific--his son William Frederick Waldegrave serving aboard in 1830 as midshipman--and, from 1839-1842, the *Revenge* in the Mediterranean. He retired as rear admiral in 1846 and as vice admiral in 1854 to

become the eighth Earl Waldegrave. The calling of H.M.S. *Seringapatam* was not included among the extracts Captain Waldegrave published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (Waldegrave 1833), but it was detailed in his official report to the Admiral and the Admiralty. Its reproduction in the unpublished manuscript "Copy of my report sent to the Admiral and Admiralty, H.M.S. *Seringapatam* in the Pacific," which the Countess Waldegrave has carefully transcribed from the original in her possession and has so graciously agreed to place at the disposal of Polynesian scholars, is given here unabridged. Captain Waldegrave's orthography is maintained, including his own autograph notes penned in the margins, but I have edited the punctuation somewhat for better fluency.

Copy of my report sent to the Admiral and Admiralty.
H.M.S. *Seringapatam* in the Pacific.

[marginal note: Easter Island]

March 5th at 11 P.M. we shortened sail and hove too, on the morning of the 6th at 5 A.M. we bore up and saw Easter Island, bearing West fourteen miles at 8 abreast of the East point bearing North, the West extreme being West *[marginal note:* Latitude 27° OS, Longitude of the West bay 109° 26 W]. Between eight and ten A.M. we ranged along the South shore at the distance of six miles, at 11 rounded the South West point, and at 30' P.M. anchored in the same bay[2] in which Captain Cook anchored in 1777;[3] its latitude is correct but the longitude is 20 miles East of that given by Captain Cook.[4] *[marginal note:* Anchoring marks sandy beach SW point of the island--South point of the bay. Distance off shore one half mile (elsewhere in MS: a mile and a half from the shore). Thirty Three fathoms coarse sand.] We saw the colosall figures spoken of by him--towards the S.E. end a group of five,[5] towards the centre of the island another group of three,[6] both groups near the beach. The East end[7] is bluff; at the top of the cliff the land rises in a gentle slope and then falls in the same angle to the West, covered with thin verdure. On the south side towards the East rises a conical hill and ridge[8] apparently of granite--between this hill in S.W. point of the island we observed huts, cultivated divisions of land, one plantation of Plantains, one of sugar canes. The S.W. point[9] is bluff, covered with thin verdure, the strata horizontal.

FIGURE 1. **"Easter Island. The N.E. point bore N., the S.W. bore W by S at 8 A.M." A hitherto unknown watercolor of Rapanui painted by A. Mathews at 8 A.M. on 6 March 1830, on board H.M.S. *Seringapatam* at a position ca. six miles south of Poike peninsula, right, with Rano Kau volcano on the far left.** (Reproduced with the kind permission of the Earl and Countess Waldegrave.)

FIGURE 2. **"South 'side of Easter Island," The second hitherto unknown watercolor of Rapanui by A. Mathews, painted at 11 A.M. on 6 March 1830, on board H.M.S. *Seringapatam* at a position ca. six miles south of Rano Kau volcano, with the islets Motu Nui, Motu 'Iti, and the crag Motu Kaokao on the far left and Poike peninsula on the far right.** (Reproduced with the kind permission of the Earl and Countess Waldegrave.)

Of the two rocks distinct from the land, the outer rock[10] appeared to be of mountain limestone, the inner[11] of volcanic production nearly perpendicular like a steeple.

Shortly after we anchored, a native man swam on board. He made a very loud noise, shouting excessively. Several others soon followed. In one hour more than two hundred of both sexes had swam on board and many others hung on to the ship's side. Not being admitted they shouted, jumped, danced, appearing to have great confidence in us. The women very liberal in their favours. The men naked; the women a small patch in front. Their features malay, straight black hair, slight maha[?] --about five feet six or eight inches high, one or two of six feet. The hair thick on the head, but little on the chin or elsewhere. The men not circumcised. The women were short, thin, with a long back, narrow hips, short thigh, but plump, good foot and ankle, lively dark eyes, excellent regular teeth, and long loose hair; much fairer than the men, much tattoed covering the thighs, partially down the leg, back and waist. The men all tattoed on the back of the left hand, but they varied in tattoeing: the neck or back and a few on the thighs. They swam well, swimming to and from the ship, distance a mile and a half from the shore; and a few were supported by a bar of rushes between the legs, each carrying a small flat basket of sweet potatoes, sugar or plantain.

We saw five canoes made of drift wood, very slight. Ten feet long by fourteen inches wide, with two outriggers on one side and a long piece connecting the outriggers at the end. They held two or three persons.

The West side of the island appeared to be well cultivated. Boundary stones divided the several crops, which in general were narrow and passable one to the other. The crops appeared in their first tender shoot. Three very heavy showers fell during our visit.

We saw no trees, no animals or poultry.

About three o'clock we compelled the natives to leave the ship. We rowed towards the beach, where were assembled near three hundred persons. About five o'clock another party attempted to land but were prevented by the very high surf as the boat approached the shore. A loud shout was raised, the natives ran from every direction to the landing place. About twenty

women and ten men swam to the boat. They hung on to the boat, various little presents were made.

Not having landed, we can only judge appearance. The coast is very rocky. We saw no place on the south or west side where a square stem boat could have landed. The rocks of Volcanic production, the soil dark coloured, resting on indurated brown clay, interspersed with a red earth which was bare. The division stones were black, with a white covering stone.

The huts were long low arches resembling a waggon tilt--a door at one end. One building we observed: white, with a perpendicular front wall, with a door in the centre and a roof sloping on opposite sides.

No one on board could converse with the natives. On shore we observed many clothed in white or red tunics, extending in front and behind from the shoulders to the ankles.

We were not certain if any chief swam to the ship, as no decided authority was exercised *[marginal note:* one gave orders, they were but partially obeyed], but one native counted the shot, a second the officers, a third the sailors, a fourth measured the ship, a fifth counted the planks, a sixth the nail heads. They ate pudding and meat, but refused grog, bread and biscuit. Their complexion a dark brown; the women, a light brown. Cloth jackets and hats were the chief object of their desire. They are most expert and bold thieves, attempting every thing portable, from a thirty-two pound shot to a pocket handkerchief. We lost two sponge and rammers and two half ports. A cap was snatched from the head of the corporal on the gangway; the thief jumped overboard and managed to throw it from one to another till as a last resort it was thrown to a woman who, upon being persued, let it sink.

Two deeds considered amongst Christians as crimes were openly done: the women admitted the embraces of the sailors in the most unreserved manner; the sexes stole whatever they could take.

Of the first I shall give no opinion until I have visited all the islands. Of the second much is to be said in extenuation: the first thing a native did was to try to barter, his sweet potatoes, plantain and sugar cane were freely offered; but in exchange they demanded a jacket, hat of cloth. No, one* *[marginal note:* *in exchange] felt inclined to barter on such unequal terms.

> They obtained only a few presents of worn-out clothes. Each carried a small mat bag containing five or six potatoes. A large quantity could not have been purchased on board as they were several proprietors who must each have the jacket. As barter failed--not having any thing else to offer--they had recourse to stealing. Every thing they saw was invaluable, the island not producing metal or timber.
>
> Fish hooks of bone with lines of vegetable fibre well twisted.
>
> Two questions of difficulty arise. Small war clubs or spattoons were brought on board: from whence did they come? They were of heavy wood of teak or elm, which does not float. The cloth dresses: from whence came they? We saw no trees or animals. They must have trade, or they were presents.
>
> Of children they appeared very fond. A woman would select a boy of fair complexion, sit by him, coax him in the most endearing manner, making presents of whatever they possessed. The only stone hatchet seen on board, refused to me, was freely given to a volunteer of the 1st Class. A little boy of seven years old was eagerly caught and in the way to be carried on shore when stopped.
>
> We regretted that we did not reach the shore. Not that much information could have been obtained in one day, for until the wonder had worn off we could not have moved, as every article on our persons would, if possible, have been taken by force. Several of the natives on board bore marks of musket ball wounds. They trembled when fire arms were put into the boats, but their confidence in us did not diminish. An eye witness who was present when the officers and crew of the Blossom were beaten off,[12] remarked that the effect of musquetry did not deter or frighten them.

The Orlebar Journal

Midshipman John Orlebar (1810-1891) was the third son of the high sheriff of Bedfordshire. He joined the Royal Navy at thirteen, attained his captaincy in 1861, and retired as admiral in 1887. He was only nineteen years of age when he recorded his 1830 voyage on board H.M.S. *Seringapatam* in the South Pacific. In contrast to those of Captain Waldegrave, his impressions of the calling at Rapanui were subsequently published (Orlebar 1833). They are included here as a complement and counterpart to Waldegrave's account:

On March 6th, at five in the morning, we observed Easter Island, and running down the eastern side of it, at the distance of three or four miles,[13] our spy-glasses, which had for some time been eagerly directed towards the island, discovered close to the beach several low huts and three tall figures,[14] which we at once conjectured to be the statues spoken of by the Dutchman who first discovered the island.[15] About ten o'clock we rounded the south point,[16] a high bluff cliff, and hauled our wind for the anchorage, an open roadstead, but sheltered from the prevalent winds in this latitude. The shore was lined with people, and long before we anchored, the ship was surrounded by shoals of the swimming naked natives. We were anxious for them to come on board, but as there were nearly two hundred in the water, the captain prudently would only allow forty to be on board at a time, to effect which we were obliged to use some harshness. Their surprize and wonder was extreme, and their wild uncouth gestures while saluting us, and their shrewdness and discernment were both equally astonishing. As an instance of which, directly they came on board, parties of them proceeded to measure the length and breadth of the ship by extending their arms along the deck, the size of our fathom;--others counted the number of officers and men, and each as they finished, set up a wild cry of astonishment. Many robberies were attempted, some of which amused us extremely: the corporal of marines lost his cap off his head, and the thief was only discovered, by the splash of water he made, as he dashed overboard, and he eluded all our endeavours to catch him, by dexterously diving, when our boat came up to him, and among the multitudes around we found it impossible to discern the thief. A messmate of mine was pestered by the attention of a native who wished to dance with him, and while amused with his monkey tricks, found he had lost every thing out of his pockets, among which a white cambric handkerchief seemed the great favourite, as it was displayed by the native to his admiring countrymen at the moment he jumped overboard to elude our grasp. Another native, after being detected in one or two thefts, plunged overboard with the end of a coil of rope, the topsail haulyards, and was swimming away with it, but being fast inboard, it checked him suddenly, and after a few ineffectual struggles, he was obliged to relinquish it. For some time, their noise, their eagerness to barter every thing for iron or for

clothes, their joy at receiving presents, expressed by a rude awkward dance, and their extreme animation and good humour, pleased every one; but soon their mischievous propensity to steal and pillage every thing became so annoying, as to oblige us to turn them forcibly out of the ship. For hours afterwards there were hundreds swimming round the ship, and making every good-tempered endeavour to get on board; and it was not till sunset that they returned to the shore. Captain Waldegrave made two attempts to land, but could not succeed from the heavy surf running on the rocky beach, and as we sailed the same evening, we are obliged to remain satisfied with the little we could observe of the island by the aid of our spy-glasses and our acquaintance with the natives on board.

The men are tall and large boned, their features plain, but possessing much animation, and shaded with a quantity of long lank black hair; they are of a dark brown colour and some were much tatooed. The women are very delicately made, of a lighter colour, pretty features, and elegantly tatooed, and would be fascinating if there was not too great a display of charms; both sexes are *sans habit,* but the women have their persons adorned with one narrow strip or girdle of leaves in front. We found that chastity was not in their catalogue of virtues, but certainly, proved with us, I am ashamed to say, their best article of traffic. On shore we observed the natives wore a loose sort of cloak or mantle, made we conjectured from the paper mulberry tree, thrown loosely over the shoulders and extending to the hips. The island seems cultivated with some attention, although their only tools are made of lava, and produces yams, sugar canes, sweet potatoes, and bananas; water is very scarce and very bad, and Perouse mentions that the only spring of fresh water is made undrinkable, by their constantly bathing in it and its exposure to the heat of the sun. We could see no trees of any kind in the island, and we believe there are none; although the very few arms we saw were made of the iron wood; perhaps floated to their shores, for of the whole number that came on board, there were but two short clubs and three small carved images.

We observed the houses on shore were low, of an oblong shape, and seemingly built of stone; Perouse mentions them as containing the inhabitants of a whole village, being sometimes 310 feet long; I think it not at all unlikely as they appeared of

that length from the ship, and were scattered all over the country. Perouse also gives me some information about the statues we saw on the other side of the island,[17] which he found by measurement to be 14 feet in height, but imperfect in all but the features of the face, which are surprisingly well executed. The island from its rugged appearance, and from the lava we found amongst the natives is evidently a volcanic production. Here I think, civilization may perhaps never extend; so far from any land, its inhospitable shores, without one secure anchorage, and devoid of water or fuel,--its inhabitants, the rudest of savages and hardly possessed of the bare necessaries of life, hold out no temptation to polished money-seeking man, and may linger in barbarism for ages.

Their food must be nearly confined to vegetables, for fowls are the only animals on the island,[18] and even their supply of fish which are abundant in these seas must be very precarious, as their contrivance for catching them is awkward and they possess only three canoes. The water seemed their native element; the ease with which both sexes swam, their swiftness, and their remaining in for hours without being fatigued, astonished every body; a few of the women had a bundle of rushes which helped to buoy them up, but it was quite confined to their sex. I should judge from the little we saw of the natives that they were a quiet inoffensive race, and although no one seemed possessed of exclusive authority, from the scarcity of their offensive weapons, I should judge they were peaceable amongst themselves. Of their religion we know nothing, Perouse says they pay no worship to the statues; we observed all along the shore piles of stones, surmounted by one white pebble, and they had two or three small carved images, to which however they paid no reverence.

The island was first discovered by Admiral Roggewein, 1672,[19] and is 35 miles in circumference,[20] and the number of inhabitants seems not to exceed 700,[21] of which I dare say we saw two-thirds, for the shore was lined with them. Here I will gladly bid them adieu, for although I would not have missed seeing them, yet the picture of such men, so little removed from the brute creation, is a painful and disagreeable lesson to our pride, and our pity for them is mingled more with disgust than love. (Orlebar 1833:9-14)

Comments

Sailing along the south shore of Rapanui, Waldegrave noticed the "cultivated divisions of land." He mentioned the plantations of bananas and sugarcane but omitted those of sweet potatoes, yams, taro, white gourds, and the like, remarked upon by nearly every earlier visitor to the island.[22] Both Waldegrave and Orlebar observed no trees, a well-documented characteristic of early Rapanui.[23]

On anchoring, Waldegrave was most fortunate to receive a "Polynesian welcome," with more than two hundred Rapanui swimming out the half mile offshore to greet him. Although Cuming had experienced a friendly reception in 1827 (Fischer 1991:303), the Rapanui could also prove hostile, perhaps as a result of particularly brutal treatment by one group of Americans in 1805 (McCall 1976:92 n. 10, 93). Thus, captains Adams (1806), Windship (1809), Kotzebue (1816), Chapman (1821), and Beechey (1825) all were fearing for their lives at Rapanui; yet cap-. tains Page (1806), Chase (ca. 1820), and Raine (1821) evidently met no hostility. Perhaps each dubious encounter with foreign vessels showed the Rapanui how to conduct the next reception, which might explain why even in the same year (1806) the Rapanui could be described as both hostile and hospitable.

The physical description here of the Rapanui and their behavior corresponds to most earlier accounts.[24] Singularly charming is the nineteen-year-old Orlebar's ingenuous remark that "the women . . . would be fascinating if there was not too great a display of charms." That the men in the water generally were nude and the women wore "one narrow strip or girdle of leaves in front" (Orlebar), identifiable as the Rapanui *hami*, had also been more recently witnessed by Beechey in 1825 (1831, 1:45-46) and Cuming in 1827 (Fischer 1991:305). Waldegrave saw on shore Rapanui dressed in "white or red tunics, extending in front and behind from the shoulders to the ankles"; Orlebar: "On shore we observed the natives wore a loose sort of cloak or mantle, made we conjectured from the paper mulberry tree, thrown loosely over the shoulders and extending to the hips"; these would be the well attested Rapanui *kahu* or *nua* (tapa cloaks) worn by both sexes, although generally preferred by the women, as an indication of wealth (see Métraux 1940:218-219).

If Orlebar observed that the women were "elegantly tatooed" and the men "much tatooed," Waldegrave is somewhat more explicit in his description of the women being tattooed on the thighs, down the leg, back, and waist, and the men on the back of the left hand, with

described variation, an observation in general conformance with earlier accounts (Stolpe 1899), if peculiarly restrained. It is remarkable that in 1830 neither Waldegrave nor Orlebar should notice the Rapanui's blue-stained or tattooed lips, which had been so striking to Beechey in 1825 and to Cuming in 1827. Although Waldegrave attests that the men were not circumcised, he does not qualify this by also mentioning that the Rapanui, like most Polynesians, practiced supercision, which Meinicke alleges the Rapanui were still practicing in the 1870s (Churchill 1912:334).

The Rapanui's celebrated natations, which especially impressed young Orlebar, were facilitated by small *pora,* "floaters" of bulrush mats, a custom first witnessed by Lisiansky in 1804 (1814:58); Orlebar wrongly assumes this to be a strictly female custom. Orlebar noticed only three canoes, Waldegrave five. In 1825 Beechey had also witnessed three canoes onshore (1831, 1:54); two years later Cuming had seen an indeterminate number (Fischer 1991:305). As early as 1722 Roggeveen had, like Waldegrave, estimated the length of these driftwood canoes to be ten feet (1908: 19). What Waldegrave observed as "two outriggers on one side" is unique for Rapanui and rare for Polynesia (see Métraux. 1940: 207-218).

That no animals were evident on the island is understandable, since the only indigenous quadruped was the now-extinct Polynesian rat first attested in 1774 by Cook (1777, 1:288). Waldegrave saw no poultry, and although both Cook (1777, 1:285) and La Pérouse (1797, 1:76) had stressed only their scarcity, not their absence, Beechey, in 1825, had mentioned none at all and Cuming, in 1827, had vouched to have seen no "Tame Fowls" (Fischer 1991:304) either. Orlebar's statement that "fowls are the only animals on the island" must derive not from personal observation but from his study of La Pérouse (1797, 1:76), whom he often quotes, for it could well be the case that there was actually no domesticated poultry left on the island by the 1820s, and it had to be reintroduced in the second half of the 1860s.

Waldegrave's and Orlebar's descriptions of the Rapanui houses indicate both were observing the *hare nui* (community houses) as well as the common thatched *hare* well attested elsewhere.[25] In 1827 Cuming (Fischer 1991:305) had specified a "door at each End exactly alike those of the Island Opara [Rapa]," whereas Waldegrave places "a door at one end." Both claims are unique, because all other sources that mention Rapanui doors locate their position in the center of one side of the hut;[26] perhaps Cuming and Waldegrave were mistaking the small opening near each end through. which food could pass (Routledge 1919:216).

Waldegrave's description of "one building . . . white, with a perpendicular front wall, with a door in the centre and a roof sloping on opposite sides" is likewise unique.

Early accounts of Rapanui "thievery" are legion,[27] and Waldegrave's and Orlebar's earnest vexation at this practice constitutes no exception in the long history of callings at the island. Whereas Waldegrave, tendering an admirable rationale of the Rapanui's behavior, specified that "cloth jackets and hats were the chief object of their desire," Orlebar mentioned first iron, then clothes.[28] That the "women admitted the embraces of the sailors in the most unreserved manner" (Waldegrave) had been stressed during the first European encounter with Rapanui in 1722 (see Métraux 1940:36-37), and it was repeated in each subsequent report of a landing or anchorage here. This ostensibly meretricious conduct, likewise attested on many other Polynesian islands, must not be seen as "prostitution" in the European definition of the word, with all its social and moral connotations, or even as European-induced "barter with women." The custom was practiced on the Rapanui's first encounter with Europeans, which also represented their first encounter with anyone for some 1,700 years, before the commercial advantages of the act could be known. Even though it might have been largely reduced to barter by the first half of the nineteenth century, judging from the oft-cited prominent intermediary role of the Rapanui males, it likely originated in and in part was continued out of the combined necessity to increase the respective descent group's holdings and to enrich its genetic pool, an especially enduring and status-enhancing prospect.

The "small war clubs or spattoons" Waldegrave saw--Orlebar writes of the "very few arms . . . of the iron wood" and "two short clubs"--were doubtless the Rapanui *paoa,* their handles usually carved in the shape of either a human head or a lizard, probably made not of "teak or elm" or "iron wood" as here alleged but of the indigenous *toromiro (Sophora toromiro)* or *mako'i (Thespesia populnea).*

The Rapanui's coaxing of the youngest English boys aboard H.M.S. *Seringapatam* "in the most endearing manner," doubtless including Waldegrave's own son William Frederick, could well have been a ploy to entice or coerce the latter ashore to join their descent group. Such an attempt to raise the respective group's status can be likened to the females' seeming meretriciousness. Their attempted kidnaping of the one seven-year-old lad is, to my knowledge, unique in the annals of Rapanui history.

Waldegrave's remark that "several of the natives on board bore marks of musket ball wounds" attests to the many previous violent encounters

with armed visitors, the most recent having occurred in 1825 when one, perhaps two Rapanui were shot by a harassed British landing party (Beechey 1831, 1:49-50).

Only Orlebar noticed the images--"two or three small carved images, to which however they paid no reverence"--that the Rapanui proffered for barter, priceless examples of which now grace museums throughout the world. Although Cuming had witnessed in 1827 a "parting chorus" upon the Rapanui's relinquishing of "some of the Idols" (Fischer 1991:304), there is no mention here of a similar ceremony.

That Orlebar's "pity for them [i.e., the Rapanui] is mingled more with disgust than love" registers the young Briton's emotional and shallow reaction to an erstwhile glorious and dynamic Polynesian society "with a population too numerous to maintain the social relationships by which it had adapted to its tiny environment" (Mulloy 1991:23), reduced by 1830 to abject poverty, social chaos, and environmental destitution--a lesson for us all at the close of our own twentieth century.

NOTES

I wish to express my profound gratitude to the Earl and Countess Waldegrave for their friendly assistance in making available the relevant passages of the Waldegrave manuscript and the two hitherto unknown watercolors of Rapanui from this 1830 voyage and in allowing the reproduction of this material in the present study.

1. Unnumbered manuscript page prefacing Captain Waldegrave's autograph report (n.d.).

2. Now called Cooks Bay or Hangaroa Bay.

3. The correct year is 1774.

4. Cook records 109º46'20" W, Waldegrave 109°26' W. The correct location is 109°26'14" W (and 27°09'30" S).

5. Probably Tongariki, which once held at least thirty *moai* (statues). That five of these might have still been standing in 1830 is surprising. According to McCoy, "the last report of erect statues [on Rapanui] appeared in 1838" (1979: 162).

6. Perhaps Akahanga (which once had twelve *moai)* or Vaihū (once eight). In 1774 Wales had witnessed three standing *moai* near Vinapu on the far west side of the south coast (Beaglehole 1961, 2:823-824).

7. Poike peninsula.

8. Rano Raraku, the ancient quarry.

9. Rano Kau.

10. Motu Nui and Motu 'Iti.

11. Motu Kaokao.

12. H.M.S. *Blossom*, under the command of Captain Frederick William Beechey, called at Rapanui on 16-17 November 1825.

13. Waldegrave writes it was the south shore, at a distance of six miles. Mathews's water-colors confirm Waldegrave's statement.

14. See note 6.

15. Jacob Roggeveen (1659-1729).

16. Waldegrave writes it was the southwest point (Rano Kau) at 11:00 A.M.

17. This small remark is of immense historical value, because it implies that in 1830 not a single *moai* was left standing at any of the sites visible from the Hangaroa Bay roadstead, i.e., Ahu Tautira, Tahai, Kio'e, Tepeu, Vai Teka, Akivi, and so forth.

18. Orlebar likely has this from La Pérouse's book (London, 1798), his principal source, because Waldegrave specifically mentions that "we saw no trees, no animals or poultry."

19. The correct date is 5 April 1722. "Roggewein" is the earlier, chiefly German spelling of the Dutch name Roggeveen.

20. It measures 160.5 square kilometers.

21. Early population estimates vary greatly (Métraux 1940:20-23). In 1830 there could have been between three and four thousand Rapanui.

22. Roggeveen (1908:21); Gonzalez (1908:90); Hervé (1908:123); Cook (1777, 1:587); Forster (1777, 1:559); Rollin, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 2:238); De Langle, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 1:332-333); Beechey (1831, 1:41); and Cuming (Fischer 1991:303).

23. See the accounts of Roggeveen (1908:21); Gonzalez (1908:101); Cook (1777, 1:285); Forster (1777, 1:559); La Pérouse (1797, 1:318-319); Rollin, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 2:238); Beechey (1831, 1:56-58); and Cuming (Fischer 1991:303).

24. Roggeveen (1908:15); Behrens (1737:136); Agüera (1908:96, 99); Hervé (1908:127); Cook (1777, 1:290); Forster (1777, 1:564, 584-585); La Pérouse (1797, 1:321-322); Rollin, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 2:332-333); Beechey (1831, 1:51-53); and Cuming (Fischer 1991:303).

25. By Roggeveen (1908:17); Agüera (1908:102); Hervé (1908:123); Cook (1777, 1:291-292); Forster (1777, 1:560, 569-570); La Pérouse (1797, 1:323-324); Bernizet, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 2:347-352); De Langle, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 1:331); Lisiansky (1814:85-87); Beechey (1831, 1:41); and Cuming (Fischer 1991:305).

26. Agüera (1908:102); Hervé (1908:123); Forster (1777, 1:570); and so on.

27. Roggeveen (1908:14); Agüera (1908:98-99); Gonzalez (1908:98); Cook (1777, 1:279); Forster (1777, 1:563); La Pérouse (1797, 1:75); Beechey (1831, 1:44, 46-48); and Cuming (Fischer 1991:304). As I have written elsewhere, Rapanui "thievery" and "dishonesty," as depicted by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europeans, must be understood from the viewpoint of historical Polynesian society in general and of local Rapanui exigencies in particular; in the main, "private property" was what one wore or bore, and even this was easily forfeitable (Fischer 1991:312, n. 17).

28. In 1827 Cuming had witnessed the Rapanui's partiality to any object of wood and to (metal) fishhooks (Fischer 1991:303), and Du Petit-Thouars corroborated in 1838 (1841, 2:227).

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EDITOR'S FORUM

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF GROUP DIFFERENCES IN COGNITIVE STYLE: EVIDENCE FROM PACIFIC CULTURES

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Teachers in multicultural settings in the Pacific region report impressions of cultural differences in the ways students learn (James 1983). Educators are concerned about such apparent group differences in learning styles, but more than impressions are needed to improve educational practice. Understanding cultural differences in the classroom requires the use of sound theoretical constructs in their investigation. Such a construct is field dependence/independence (FD/I), one of the most popular and fertile in contemporary psychology. Widespread interest in this approach to cognitive style is indicated by more than four thousand studies assembled and classified in a series of bibliographies issued by the Educational Testing Service since 1972 (Cox 1980; Cox and Gall 1981; Cox and Witkin 1978; Witkin et al. 1973; Witkin, Cox, and Friedman 1976). Furthermore, the many and diverse domains in which FD/I has been explored provide convincing evidence for its heuristic value.

The accumulated research base indicates that FD/I relates to many parts of a person's personality and functioning. The construct can be viewed as a continuum, with a holistic orientation on one end and an analytic orientation on the other. "Field dependents" (persons on the holistic end of the continuum) tend to rely more on others, to be more skilled in interpersonal relations, and to derive their self-identity from people around them. They tend to be strongly influenced by context

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and prefer integrative approaches to problem solving and learning. "Field independents" (those on the analytic end of the FD/I continuum), on the other hand, tend to be more independent, competitive, and self-reliant. They operate without being influenced to the same extent by context, and they prefer more analytical approaches (Witkin and Goodenough 1981). The FD/I construct is said to be "value neutral," that is, different advantages accrue to different cognitive styles. In many educational contexts, however, a bias toward a field-independent orientation appears to put field-dependent students at a disadvantage (Castaneda, Herold, and Ramirez 1974).

The research summarized here uses the FD/I construct as a heuristic in the investigation of cultural differences among university students in Hawaii. The questions addressed in the research are: (1) What are the FD/I tendencies of Pacific region cultural groups? Do the cultures differ significantly in their cognitive styles? (2) What effect does the university experience have on cognitive-style orientation? (3) How does FD/I relate to language learning among these groups? Is classroom language learning enhanced through the matching of student and teacher cognitive styles?

Group Differences in Field Dependence/Independence

Field independence gradually increases through childhood, but from the mid-teens to adulthood an individual's FD/I remains relatively stable (Witkin and Goodenough 1981). Cross-cultural research suggests that the extent to which a field-independent cognitive style is developed by maturity is related to the type of society and home in which a child is reared (Berry 1976; Witkin and Goodenough 1981). Agrarian or authoritarian societies, which are usually highly socialized and have strict child-rearing norms, have been shown to produce more field dependence than democratic, industrialized societies with more relaxed child-rearing practices. The societies compared in previous cognitive-style studies have been classified on a scale of social "tightness" or "looseness" (Pelto 1968). Societies at the tight end of this tight-loose continuum are characterized by an elaborate social structure, considerable role diversity, and pressure on the individual to conform to social, religious, and political authorities. Societies at the loose end have a less elaborate social structure, fewer roles, and more individual freedom. With a high degree of regularity, the results of numerous studies support the hypothesis relating FD/I to the extent of stress on social conformity in the society.

In societies where significant sex differences in FD/I have been found, the males tend to be more field independent. Cross-cultural studies have shed light on the sources of these differences. Sex differences are more likely in tight-conforming than in loose-nonconforming societies (Witkin and Goodenough 1981). The greater role differences between sexes in tight than in loose societies, and the stricter enforcement of sex-role expectations, appear to contribute to a tendency toward greater sex differences in FD/I in tight societies. The lesser value placed on women's contributions and the greater emphasis on obedience in female socialization make field-dependence among women particularly likely in such groups.

Method

The principal site for the research reported here is an English Language Institute (ELI) in Hawaii. The university sponsoring the ELI program has a large proportion of foreign students, most of them coming from the South Pacific and the Asian Rim. In connection with a study of FD/I and second-language acquisition (Hansen-Strain 1989), cognitive-style data were collected from 816 of these students in their ELI classrooms. The subjects were between the ages of 17 and 30 years and represented twenty-two different first-language backgrounds.

In connection with a study on FD/I and language proficiency testing (Hansen 1984), data were also gathered in six Pacific island cultures from 286 students in English-language classrooms in feeder high schools to the above university. These research sites were in Apia, Western Samoa; Nuku'alofa, Tonga; Papeete, Tahiti; Suva, Fiji (Native Fijian and Fijian-Indian groups); and Oahu, Hawaii. The students in the South Pacific samples were in Form 5; in the Hawaii sample they were in grades 11 and 12. In Hawaii, Tonga, and Tahiti two classes were tested, one of them consisting of students with higher scholastic achievement (H1, T1, and Tal on Table 1); that is, they were advanced-placement or college-track classes.

The instrument used for measuring cognitive-style orientation was the Group Embedded Figures Test (GEFT). This measure of FD/I requires the subject to outline a simple geometric shape embedded within a complex design. One must be able to separate the relevant information from the contextual visual field in order to find the correct shape. There are eighteen points possible, and the higher the score the higher the level of field independence indicated. The GEFT has been shown to have high reliability as determined by correlations between

parallel forms, and high validity as assessed by correlations with other established measures of psychological differentiation (Witkin et al. 1971).

Results

As expected, the means for the Hawaii samples (H-l and H-2) are higher than the other Pacific island high school groups tested (Table 1). A statistical significance of .00l for the group differences is substantiated by using a one-way ANOVA to compare the means. A post hoc comparison using the Scheffe test reveals differences at a significance level of .05 between Glass H-l and classes T-2, Ta-2, and both Fiji groups.

A further interesting contrast between the Hawaii students and those tested in the South Pacific can be seen in the comparison of male and female performances on the GEFT. The level of statistical significance of the sex differences was determined by t-tests. The male mean is higher than the female in all of the South Pacific groups, the significance of this difference varying from a level of .05 for T-l, Ta-1, and the Fiji groups; to .0l for Samoa and Ta-2; to .00l for T-2. Neither Hawaii group, on the other hand, shows a significant sex difference in GEFT performance.

TABLE 1. **GEFT Scores of High School Students in Six Pacific Cultures**

Culture	Group Mean	SD	Mean		Sex Difference	*N*
			Male	Female		
Hawaii						
H-l	12.1	4.0	11.6	12.2	-0.57	27
H-2	10.7	3.9	10.8	10.5	0.32	30
Tonga						
T-l	9.4	4.8	11.4	8.4	3.00*	31
T-2	7.0	4.7	9.8	3.8	6.01***	33
Tahiti						
Ta-1	9.1	5.3	12.8	7.9	4.94*	25
Ta-2	5.9	4.2	8.0	3.4	4.62**	19
Samoa	8.3	4.7	10.9	6.5	4.45**	30
Fiji						
Fijian-Indian	7.3	4.0	8.6	6.4	2.23*	59
Native Fijian	6.6	3.9	7.9	5.4	2.53*	32

* $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

As predicted by FD/I theory on the sources of psychological differentiation, the "tight" societies of the South Pacific island cultures do tend to produce individuals who are more field dependent as well as significant sex differences in cognitive-style orientation. The "loose" society found in Hawaii, the setting of the university that many of the subjects in the study would attend, produces individuals who are more field independent.

Among the cultural groups in the university ELI' program (Table 2), the mean scores of students from the Asian Rim are higher than those of the South Pacific students. These group differences are highly significant, as substantiated by a one-way ANOVA ($p < .00l$). No sex differences are apparent within four of these groups: Hong Kong, Micronesia, the Philippines, and Other Chinese. Significant differences between male and female scores were found, however, for the Samoans, at the .0l level, and for the Tongan, Japanese, Korean, and Other Asian groups, at the .00l level.

University Experience and Cognitive-Style Modification

The second question addressed here concerns the effects of university experience on cognitive style. As pointed out above, a gradual increase in field independence develops during childhood, but from the mid-teens to adulthood, restructuring abilities have been said to remain relatively stable. Upon entering the university, then, students will presum-

TABLE 2. **GEFT Scores for University Students from Pacific Island and Asian Rim Cultures**

Culture	Group Mean	SD	Mean		Sex Difference	N
			Male	Female		
Japan	14.1	4.5	15.8	13.3	2.5***	112
Hong Kong	13.7	4.3	13.8	13.7	.1	194
Other Chinese	13.3	3.6	13.7	13.5	2.0	55
Korea	10.4	4.7	12.5	9.3	3.2***	103
Other Asian	10.2	3.9	12.1	7.5	5.6***	13
Samoa	9.9	4.4	10.7	8.2	2.5**	83
Tonga	8.4	5.5	11.0	5.2	5.8***	139
Micronesia	6.8	4.0	6.2	7.3	-1.1	63
Philippines	6.5	4.6	6.6	6.5	.1	42
Other South Pacific	5.7	4.9	6.6	3.6	3.0*	12

*$p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

ably have reached the level of field independence that will characterize their adult lives, with the more field dependent likely finding themselves at some disadvantage in an educational milieu that caters to analytic cognitive styles.

The extent to which adult field dependents may be able to adapt their holistic orientations to the demands of university requirements is not known. We do not know whether relatively field-dependent groups, such as the South Pacific island populations, are able to modify their cognitive styles during prolonged periods in educational environments in which it would be advantageous to do so. Experiments with perceptual training in the manipulation of figure-ground relationships indicate that some development of cognitive restructuring skills in adulthood may be possible (Witkin and Goodenough 1981), but the duration of such training effects is uncertain.

Method

To examine the development of cognitive restructuring abilities in the university population in the present study, a longitudinal research design was used. The GEFT was administered to each of three groups of subjects two times (Table 3). Group 1 comprised 57 subjects from among the high school students who took the test in 1982. It includes those subjects from two of the cultures, Hawaii and Tonga, who could be located and retested in 1987-1988. Of these, 34 had attended college upon completion of high school. When they were retested, the majority were juniors or seniors at our principal research site. The remainder of Group 1, 23 subjects, had not attended an institution of higher learning. Their vocations at the time of retesting included cook, construction worker, grounds maintenance worker, hotel maid, housewife, receptionist, mechanic, missionary, secretary, and waitress.

Groups 2 and 3 are foreign university students who first took the GEFT in their ELI courses within a year of their arrival in Hawaii:

TABLE 3. **GEFT-Change Score for Pacific Island Students**

Group	Mean Change	SD	N
1 (1982 and 1987-1988)			
No College	-0.13	2.05	23
College	3.09	2.19	34
2 College (1984-1985 and 1987-1988)	2.60	2.86	47
3 College (1986 and 1987-1988)	1.79	2.31	53

Group 2 in 1984-1985, group 3 in 1986. They were retested in 1987-1988. For Group 2 this was three to four years after the first test administration; for Group 3 a year to a year and a half later.

Results

Table 3 gives the mean changes in the GEFT score for each of the three groups over the two times they were tested. Group 1 is separated on the table into the two subgroups, those who had attended college and those who had not. Because the GEFT-change scores did not differ significantly between the groups in Tonga and Hawaii, these are combined in Group 1 for the analysis. Of those who did attend the university, the longer they had been there the greater the increase in score on the GEFT. Since higher scores on this eighteen-point test indicate higher levels of field independence, one could interpret this as evidence for a gradual increase in analytic restructuring abilities while at the university. Important evidence for an association of this increase with the university experience is provided by the comparative data from the No College group subgroup: the mean difference between test administrations for them is -0.13. Unlike their former high school classmates who had attended the university, the No College subgroup experienced no change in their FD/I cognitive style over the five-year interval. The group differences in GEFT-change between the College and No College subgroups is shown by an ANOVA to be significant at the .01 level. Thus, maturation alone does not provide an adequate explanation for the gradual increase in cognitive restructuring abilities of the college students.

Field Dependence/Independence and Second-Language Learning

My final question concerns the relation between ELI students' cognitive styles and their language learning success. A growing body of research, all correlational, has examined the relation between FD/I and second-language learning. In these studies, scores on the GEFT have been correlated with scores on a variety of language learning measures. Consistently higher correlations of GEFT scores with those on cloze tests than with other language measures (Stansfield and Hansen 1983; Hansen 1984; Day 1984) suggest that field-independent learners have a slight advantage in performance on this particular type of test, one unrelated to their second-language achievement. There is evidence from these correlational studies that field-independence is associated with success in

second-language acquisition, at least in classroom settings (Chapelle and Roberts 1986; Day 1984; Hansen and Stansfield 1981; Hansen 1984; Hansen-Strain 1987; Naiman et al. 1978), since small positive correlations between GEFT score and language measures have generally been found.

One variable that may affect the relation between field sensitivity and language learning in the classroom is the interaction between the cognitive style of the teacher and those of the students. Dunn and Dunn (1979) suggest that "teachers teach the way they learned." These researchers report that instructors believe that the way they themselves learn best is the "easy" or "right" way, and they therefore direct others toward mastering knowledge in the same manner. Thus, Dunn and Dunn conclude that "teaching style tends to correspond to how each person learned." To the extent that this is true, it would appear that learning advantages would accrue to those students who have the same cognitive style as their teacher.

In a review of studies reported in the education literature that examine the effects of matching the type of instruction to students' cognitive style, Cronbach and Snow (1977) suggested that empirical evidence showing a positive advantage for matched instruction is weak. In another review article ten years later, however, with a decade more of research to draw upon, Willing (1987) claimed that considerable evidence supports the hypothesis that learning is enhanced through matching learning style to type of instruction. The few analyses in the second-language research literature of studies that consider the effects of matching student and teacher cognitive styles (Hansen and Stansfield 1981) or of tailoring teaching to students' styles (Wesche 1981) report trends for students to perform better on language-proficiency measures when their cognitive styles have been accommodated in the classroom.

Method

The GEFT was given to 816 foreign students from twenty-two different first-language backgrounds. In addition, 26 of their ELI writing teachers took the test. As a measure of language learning, the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency (MTELP) was also given to the students. Gain scores for the MTELP were derived by subtracting the equated scores from a first administration, before enrollment in an ELI writing class, from the equated scores on a second administration of the test, at the conclusion of the course. In addition, the students' grades in

the writing class were included as a variable in the study, computed on the basis that A = 4.0, B = 3.0, C = 2.0, D = 1.0, and F = 0.

To look at the influence of the interaction of teacher/student cognitive styles on language acquisition, a cognitive match analysis was done in which both teachers and students were placed in field-dependent and field-independent groupings. For the teachers, those scoring between 16 and 18 on the GEFT (*n* = 16) were considered field independent, those between 5 and 10 *(n* = 8) field dependent. Teachers with scores between 11 and 14 *(n* = 2) were eliminated for the analysis. For the students, approximately the upper third, those scoring between 15 and 18 on the GEFT *(n* = 277) were placed in the field-independent group, those between 0 and 9 *(n* = 269), approximately the lower third, in the field-dependent. Four cognitive matches were then identified for the analysis. In Match 1 both teacher and student tested field independent; in Match 2, both field dependent. In these two groups then, the student is matched with the teacher for cognitive style. In Match 3 the teacher tested field independent, the student field dependent, while in Match 4 the teacher is field dependent, the student field independent. In these latter two groups student and teacher are not matched for cognitive style.

Findings

The mean grades received in the ELI writing classes of the matched groups, groups 1 and 2, were higher than those of the unmatched (Table 4). A one-way ANOVA shows that the difference is significant *(p* < .003), indicating that students who are matched with their teacher for cognitive style tend to receive slightly higher grades in their ESL writing courses than those who are not.

The grade a student receives in a language class, however, can be influenced by many factors in addition to how much language has been

TABLE 4. Cognitive Match Analysis for Course Grade and MTELP Gain Score

Match Group	Mean Grade	SD	Mean Gain	SD	N
1	2.74	11.7	2.54	8.21	229
2	2.55	12.0	3.30	7.60	46
3	2.38	13.1	2.17	9.64	223
4	2.18	13.9	1.89	5.66	48

learned. In measuring gains in language proficiency over time, therefore, results of standardized language proficiency tests, administered before and after completion of a course, could be expected to be a more accurate index of learning. The gain score means for results of such administrations of the MTELP are slightly higher for groups 1 and 2 than for groups 3 and 4 (Table 4), just as the mean grades were higher. For the gain scores, however, the trend of higher means for the matched groups is not statistically significant, as determined by an ANOVA analysis. Although the ELI students with the same cognitive style as their teacher did tend to receive higher grades in their class, these data fail to confirm a correspondingly greater gain in English proficiency.

Summary and Conclusions

The findings reported here show, first, that there are significant group differences in cognitive style among students in a multicultural university in Hawaii; the Asian cultures tend to be more field independent, the South Pacific ones, more field dependent. In some of these groups (Japan, Korea, Samoa, and Tonga) males tend to be more field independent than females.

Second, evidence was presented that suggests a gradual increase in analytical restructuring abilities associated with the university experience. This finding of a significant change in adult FD/I over time, made possible through the longitudinal design of the study, has not been reported in previous cross-sectional research. In future work the stability of the change, as well as its implications for post-university life, should be examined. Research is needed into the effects of a more analytic cognitive orientation on personal characteristics that are known to be related to FD/I. For example, concomitant changes in such areas as interpersonal competencies and autonomy in interpersonal relations could have important consequences for the readjustment of university graduates to field-dependent cultures in the South Pacific when they return home.

Third, cognitive-style effects in second-language classrooms were examined. English-language teachers were found to give higher grades to students who shared their own cognitive-style orientation, even in the absence of evidence that these students had made correspondingly greater gains in subject matter mastery. This suggests that the interaction of teacher-student cognitive styles affects teachers' evaluations of students' progress and may result in a bias against students whose cognitive styles differ most from their own. In connection with these teacher

perceptions, it seems likely that other aspects of affect in the classroom, such as student-teacher rapport and student motivation, may be influenced by cognitive-style interactions as well, and should be investigated. In programs such as the English Language Institute in which most teachers have analytic cognitive orientations, a tendency to perceive students of the same cognitive style more favorably would most often work to the disadvantage of students who are field dependent.

While the present study provides evidence for cultural differences in cognitive style, a cautious approach is urged in making applications of the findings. Cultural differences are never absolute. They are generally expressed as group tendencies towards a particular characteristic or behavior. No matter how much culture influences learning, these influences will be expressed in unique ways in each individual.

NOTE

Support for the research reported here was provided by the Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawaii. Clyde Robinson assisted with the statistical analysis.

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BOOK REVIEW FORUM

Deborah B. Gewertz and Frederick K. Errington, *Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts: Representing the Chambri in a World System.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. Pp. xiv, 264, illus., references, index. US$44.50 cloth; $14.95 paper.

Review: NELSON H. H. GRABURN
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My approach to this excellent ethnography is not based on assessing its contribution to the enthnography of a particular geographical area nor to a particular theoretical paradigm in anthropology. In the spirit of revealing "where you're coming from," I take the selfish point of view of a teacher--of introductory sociocultural anthropology, of upper-division and graduate courses in kinship and social structure (Graburn 1971c), the anthropology of art (Graburn 1971a), and the anthropology of tourism (Graburn 1980, 1983b, 1988)--and of a researcher--of village-based societies "during the period of transition between a regional and a world system," in the words of Gewertz and Errington (p. 20) (Graburn 1969, 1971b, 1981, 1982), of non-Western arts as they become commoditized (Graburn 1976, 1978, 1979, 1984, 1987), and of modern tourism, its motivations and impacts (Graburn 1977, 1983a; Graburn and Jafari 1991).

As a teacher who views this work as a potential case study at both the lower- and upper-division levels, I find it praiseworthy. It might be used for introductory courses as well as those on art and tourism, and it could also be helpful in teaching psychological anthropology, social change and development, ethnographic writing, the anthropology of Oceania, gender, religion, and particularly ritual.

I emphasize ritual, for this book of "collective biography" (pp. 20, 208) is also constructed around a number of accounts of rituals--initiation, environmental magic, community court, funerary, and so on--that tie together the major themes such as social entailment versus "freedom," political and magical power, traditional and new economic relations, and the penetration of the ideologies and institutions of the state and the First World into villagers' lives. These rituals, illustrated by excessively dark photographs, are described in great detail. The authors emphasize the actions (and motivations) of real (named) persons in their historico-biographical context, and the incorporation of a melange of the revered ancestral objects, modern paraphernalia such as paper money and canned fish, and outsiders such as tourists and the ethnographers. These accounts are clear, accessible even to nonanthropologists, thoroughly unnostalgic and believable, and analytically satisfactory in making the connections within these "twisted histories" without resort to didactic paradigms.

The same qualities apply to the rest of the ethnography, which consists mainly of *parts* of biographies carefully chosen to illustrate the authors' aims in making understandable the recent history and personal experiences of a sample of the Chambri. For instance, we have "mythopractical" ancestral accounts from men used as claims to land and power (p. 239), the biography of two sacred drums illustrating the commoditization of artifacts, and histories of bride-price debts, tangled marriages, and infidelities. These accounts show the "anomie" of town life *and* the inevitable connections to prior village relationships. The sad tale of the life and death of Nick Ambri, "a Chambri James Dean" (pp. 128-145), illustrates the predicament of young people who challenge the existing patriarchal gerontocracy. Another instance is the story of Godfried Kolly who, inspired by the ethnographers, attempted to write his own complete history and ethnography of the Chambri, not only to record dying knowledge but to syncretize Catholicism and Chambri religion and to augment his own personal power by gathering together all the closely guarded knowledge of the clan elders. Still another is the reaction to the murder of a daughter of Chambri in town, which illuminates Chambri conceptions of their relation to "the State."

However, all these wonderful, lively, and readable accounts do not add up to a complete ethnography. I feel that concordant with postmodern fashion, the authors have left the text, however good, a "thing of shreds and patches" (Lowie 1920:441), hence their enigmatic title, *Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts.* As already noted, this book is not really a "collective biography" or even a collection of biographies. It is a

collection of selected, rich part-biographies woven together with "thick descriptions" of key events. What is missing? Could it be remedied? Does it matter? These were questions I asked as I perused the book. The reader never gets a complete enough description of the Chambri villages or of life there to form a mental picture of the society. Surprisingly, I find myself with a better grasp of Chambri Camp, the "fourth village," in the town of Wewak.

By contrast with more "classical" structural-functional ethnographies (e.g., on Dobu, the Tikopia, the Nuer, the Plateau Tonga, or the Takamiut Eskimo), one can see that certain topics of present anthropological concern and interest are foregrounded. These include village-town-state relations, the generational break in values, the constitution of persons and identity in a plural society, the interactions with and sales of artifacts to tourists. On the other hand, present only as background data, if at all, are matters that used to loom large in anthropological ethnography and theory, such as the layout and economic workings of the villages, the "imponderabilia" of everyday life, the domestic arrangements, material culture and styles of housing, and the complex kinship and marital alliance system. I was intrigued, for example, by the multiple but scattered references to the functioning of the system of patrilineal clans, the two moiety systems (marital and initiation), and the system of marriage negotiations and bride-price. I thought it would be a good exercise to ask my students to try to construct these normative structural-functional systems from these provocative but disconnected data.

I am even more surprised at the omission of some key data that could reveal instruments of acculturation. For instance, the authors make clear that the Chambri are staunch Catholics and occasionally note the use of the mission radio and of the presence of priests in the village. But one is never told about the history and nature of conversion; the place, shape, size, and uses of the mission; its effects on education and literacy; and the residence or frequency of visitation of Catholic priests (or other white people except the tourists and ethnographers). In a sense, the data selected might even be said to exoticize the acculturated lives of the Chambri. What else is missing? Possibly my observations and questions are unfair, because the missing topics may well be presented in the authors' prior publications (which are referred to about twice a page throughout the book). If so, this overreferencing does little to increase the book's suitability for use as a case study in undergraduate courses.

As would be expected, the authors are best at elucidating the subjects on which they focus. These include the overlapping topics of develop-

ment, art, and cultural identity. Particularly valuable is their presentation of both the complex local and the "etic" points of view. The Chambri are all in favor of the nationally (and internationally) promoted idea of "development," but what it means to them depends on their place within the Chambri system. The older men want to use new economic opportunities to bolster their power in the ancestrally-based big-man system by building men's houses and holding ceremonies that attract tourists (who pay entry fees and buy made-for-sale ancestral carvings). The parental generation is convinced of the value of literacy and formal education. In addition to "exam-passing" and "job-getting" values, literacy (itself a symbol of development) has high prestige in the never-ending competition for claims to power in village politics.

School education, which most Chambri see as a road to lucrative positions outside the villages (over 40 percent of the adults live outside of the three Chambri villages), should, in turn, lead to flows of remittances for the support and development of the villages. Yet the younger generation finds the demands for repayment of old obligations through remittances-- even from other town Chambri--to be so burdensome that they almost sever their ties from their families back home. The younger generation, both men and women, see development (and moving to town) as a means of enhancing their freedom and individualism; they try to avoid the entailments of the old system, of repayment of generations of debts, of deference to elders and threats of sorcery, of the politics of bride-price and of arranged marriages of women to older men. The meanings of development are presented through vignettes and mini-biographies and by presentation of many written documents (Chambri school essays, recently composed songs, political tracts, ethno-ethnography, and so forth).

Surprisingly, perhaps, the meaning of development to Chambri women is less thoroughly explored, for we are told that "Chambri women . . . sought to achieve worth through reproductive closure--by reproducing those who had given [them] life. . . . In contrast to women, Chambri men sought to achieve worth by competing with other men in terms of relative power" (p. 110). Thus men can achieve in any sphere--traditional, business, town living, or state employment--whereas we are led to believe women are still bound to reproduction.

Chambri notions of personal and ethnic identity are similarly multiple and well explored, yet all share the conviction that they are still Chambri. Whether in Wewak or Port Moresby, all descendants of the villages still speak Chambri, though they may also be fluent in pidgin and English. Whether they consider themselves as nostalgically tradi-

tional or modern and developed--and even in their rebellion against the old men whom they consider to be coercive anachronisms--they all use the homeland as the geographical and ideological reference point in their lives. Only one person--a young man who plays the guitar in tourist hotels in town--seems to doubt the primacy of his identity as Chambri. Regardless of status, all fear the threat of sorcery, and most try to make at least some remittances in response to the never-ending village-generated entailments.

Why this unshaken sense of ethnic identity persists is partially explained: Chambri for the most part do not see themselves as diminished by development, education, or monetary success. Indeed, they have successfully incorporated these elements into their ritual and political life. They still see themselves in opposition to other ethnic groups, both as historical fact and in terms of modern competition for land rights, political influence, and economic progress. Most Chambri have a marked disdain for identity-eroding "town life," with its increasing rates of drunkenness, violent crime, anomie, and real poverty. Even renegade young Chambri look to the villages for stability and personal roots.

Less explored are the alternatives, the obverse of ethnic identity. The authors paint a picture of "the New Guinea state [as] only partial and ineffectual" (p. 191). Except for a few very elite, there is no meaningful identity available at the national level and only the secondary identity as "a Sepik" at the regional level. There is no sense of general citizenship and civil rights; there is no dominant ethnic group for minority peoples to emulate or join (such as the Ashanti in Ghana or the Russians in Russia). What else could one become but a "modern Chambri"?

Above and beyond the ethnographic and analytical goals of the book, the main aim of the authors is to explore the possibility of writing a politically correct ethnography. They are sensitive to the recent attacks on ethnographic authority, citing nearly all the appropriate sources--Bourdieu, Clifford, Fabian, Gramsci, Marcus, Sahlins, Taussig, Wolf and Worsley; and they know all the postmodern choices for postcolonial ethnographers, briefly exploring and rejecting them (e.g., "although Chambri lives may be viewed as texts, we must not be so preoccupied with textual concerns focussing on representation as to forget that they were also lives" [p. 18]). They counterattack and point out that "many of those most active in the development of the critique are no longer engaged in non-Western ethnography" (p. 18) and "ethnographers may be part of the problem of hegemony, but not to write ethnography is not part of the solution" (p. 209; cf. Fardon 1990 [uncited] for the most

comprehensive and incisive consideration of the many critiques of ethnographic authority).

Within this self-conscious and relatively successful "self-critique" they do not cite other successful reflexive explorations (e.g., Dumont 1978; Rabinow 1977), but they do assert that "we have intentionally written ourselves into this ethnography." This is true, especially in their assertions of "kinship" with selected informants, their descriptions of the part that their command of literacy has played in individual claims and power struggles, and their financial and material support and employment of many Chambri.

Nevertheless, there are two matters that disturb me. The first parallels my above-mentioned complaint about what is emphasized and what is slighted in the overall ethnographic picture: I cannot make out clearly what the ethnographers did apart from gathering these vignettes; for example, where did they live and what were their general relations to most Chambri? There are numerous statements such as "when we got to the village" and "when we arrived in the middle of . . . ," which leave the reader wondering where they were and what they were doing most of the time. Secondly, even when they "wrote themselves in," their generally good descriptions leave an impression of flat, or no, affect. They make themselves sound like Malinowski's "rational [straw] man" (1935), and, in contrast to the Chambri themselves, they appear entirely emotionless and mechanical. Perhaps they should have read more of Dumont, Rabinow, and Malinowski.

To conclude, this is a wonderful, sensitive, and rich ethnography. It leaves the reader with neither the possibility of picturing the Chambri as faceless culture-bearers nor of feeling either completely nostalgic and antithetical to or fully supportive of "development." These are prime reasons, in spite of the unsettling highlighting and downplaying of certain topics, why this book should be read by professional and student anthropologists alike.

As ethnographers who must have felt increasingly "under fire" from all sides during their period of long-term research with the same peoples (cf. Colson 1979, which they cite), Gewertz and Errington's book has given us a rousing example of the value garnered by withstanding the attack and emerging victorious both on the "scientific" front and in the eyes of the Chambri: "As they saw it--and we agreed--allowing and helping us to do anthropology among them had socially entailed us to them: they had extended a generosity to us, for which we should reciprocate. This book has been intended as an acknowledgement of our relationship" (p. 202).

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Review: BRIGITTA HAUSER-SCHÄUBLIN
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This is an admirable book on the Chambri in Papua New Guinea--as were the ones published earlier by these two well-known anthropologists. And each time a new book appears I am impressed by its bold the oretical outline, the brilliance with which evidence is provided, and, finally, by its rhetorical power.

In *Twisted Histories* the authors deal with "changes, choices and constraints in the lives of the twentieth-century Chambri" and the way "they were caught up in world processes of social and cultural change" (pp. 1, 19). They try to show how the Chambri who had been living in a regional system (interacting in a system that consisted not of equals but where at least the differences were commensurable) were now moving to a world system (in which the differences are incommensurable).- It is the encounter of the regional system, represented by the Chambri, with the world system that is the main focus of this book. Gewertz and Errington discuss the relationship between regional system and world system on a broad level and have therefore chosen different fields of Chambri life: in the village, interactions with tourists who buy artifacts and are allowed to attend initiation ceremonies, Chambri living in towns, the role of literacy, and the Chambri negotiating with the state.

I shall limit myself mainly to discussing the first topic. The conceptual framework in which the twisted relationships of the Chambri are represented is, as briefly mentioned, one constructed on the opposition of "regional system" and "world system." At the same time these are identified with notions of Third World and First World respectively, the Chambri being put into the former category, the anthropologists and the tourists into the latter. These notions expressing hierarchical relations are used as fixed points of reference. Only by accepting these does it become understandable how the paying audience at an initiation can

be called a "first-world audience" (p. 32) and why the authors call themselves "members of the first world" (p. 209). The Chambri would probably oppose such a classification, at least when they perform ceremonies to which tourists and the anthropologists (although "they had struggled to become insiders," p. 27) were admitted only after having paid an admission fee. This is clearly the Chambri's demonstration of another hierarchical relationship, one in which the Chambri are a first world and the others classed as a second or third world--or simply as outsiders. The categories of a First and a Third World (created by economists on the assumption that the industrialized countries *are* the "first" world!) have to do with notions of development also, closely related to those of evolution. Gewertz and Errington have noticed the unilinearity even tourists associate with development, as when some of them considered that their visit to Chambri, where they wanted to see a culture less developed than their own, was "like stepping back in time" (p. 39).

The Chambri conceive of development as mainly the opportunity to earn money. Some interviewees who had gone through the schooling system reproduced definitions such as "the capacity to realize basic needs" (p. 121). In the Sepik (as in other parts of New Guinea), unilinearity is not *the* basic principle of thinking concerning processes taking place within the dimension of time. Time is, I would suggest, at least partially conceived to be cyclically organized rather than linear (see also Schuster 1970). Characteristically, there is no term for "development" in Sepik languages. Thus, one wonders if this concept is lacking what development really means for them within their perception of time and processes that take place within it. "Development" therefore has not only two different aspects (those the tourists associate with it and that of the Chambri), but is also a term pretending comparability whereas it disguises two completely different concepts of processes within the dimension of time.

A similar basic assumption of the linearity of time becomes obvious also with regards to carvings, used in the book as a means to exemplify the way stories are twisted among the Chambri themselves and their outer world. The authors tell the story of how some years ago a Chambri man had sold two water drums to get money. The anthropologists later located them in the National Museum in Boroko; the Chambri wanted them back. The loss of these water drums is presented as an element of the regional system having been taken over by the world system, leaving a gap in Chambri culture because "the Chambri no longer made objects that were significant to them because they were filled with ancestral power"; "they no longer carved ritually efficacious fig-

ures and images" (pp. 57, 28). Only in later chapters do readers gradually find out that two new water drums were apparently carved to replace the old ones (the anthropologists had provided the Chambri with photographs and measurements). In their use within initiation rituals the new ones do not seem to be considered simply as pieces of wood; rather, they seem empowered with ancestral spirits again. Thus, the regional system still persists, detached from the world system.

The sudden loss of sacred artifacts without replacements made beforehand is not new to Sepik cultures. In raids (even in those without a "German shotgun," p. 50) *sacra* stored in the men's houses were preferred trophies (if the whole building with its contents was not set afire). Artifacts were not usually copied but were continuously recreated by specialists who had the requisite ritual knowledge and who were at the same time experts in carving and painting. As I have demonstrated elsewhere (Hauser-Schäublin 1983), the old men's consent as well as the approval of the ancestors over the new *sacra* were necessary, Therefore Sepik art (as others as well) had creativity and competence that was not limited to meticulously copying old artifacts but was constantly producing new ones. To make my point clear: There never existed linear, uninterrupted chains of traditions. Traditions could come to an end, only to start anew again, even after years or decades. Middle Sepik cultures may very well continue to produce airport art (in the late sixties the Chambri already produced masks and sculptures shining with black shoe polish, an innovation introduced by the missionary there). At the same time they may create ritually important *sacra.* It is not "no longer" in terms of linearity of time, for traditions may again and again reappear according to their notions of cycles of time. This situation creates histories that are more complicated than assumed.

Gewertz and Errington establish a whole network of implications around the owner of a singular "traditional" spear who allowed others to "copy" it for sale to tourists. The authors maintain that the owner of the original spear used it as the basis of a system to pay debts. *Forms* and *types* of spears were never individually or even clan owned, as were specific patterns and their combinations. Most of the forms were common throughout the Middle Sepik anyway, and it is difficult to imagine how a "right to make the generalized, essentially powerless and valueless derivatives" (p. 51) was transferred to other men with the political and economic implications suggested. There exists, as far as I know, no category of carvings or paintings in the Sepik that has not been reproduced for sale.

My data (on the Iatmul) point in an opposite direction: With the exis-

tence of a market for artifacts (from the beginning of this century), men who had neither the ritual knowledge nor the artistic skill to carve made artistic productions, too, without asking permission or paying for any "rights" at all. Withholding or controlling such "rights" would be difficult, anyway, in situations that are finally determined not by ancestral power but by market demands and the cash economy.

Linearity, the implication that the Chambri histories run from one direction--tradition--to the other--modernization--is found again in the chapter on initiation. "Selling their initiations (and perhaps other ceremonies) as tourist attractions could subtly but profoundly transform both Chambri and their ceremonies" (p. 98). Linearity is implicitly suggested by mentioning that when Gewertz saw her first initiation in the seventies without any tourists present, tradition had persisted at least until then; and, by seeing an initiation in 1987 the anthropologists wanted to know "to what extent, if any, the ceremony would reflect the changes that the Chambri had been experiencing since the time of Deborah's first research among them" (p. 25). Apart from interactions with tourists, the initiation is described as if no substantial changes had affected its course, contents, and meaning.

This touches on a crucial thesis of the book: Change is understood as something that has taken place mainly since the early seventies. But Sepik cultures had suffered fundamental blows, the world system taking part control over the regional system, much earlier. Initiation had been hit most seriously in the early twenties when headhunting was banned. At that time, initiation and headhunting formed an unseparable complex of rituals and meanings. Those who continued to practice headhunting were chased like criminals, prosecuted, and finally hanged in Ambunti before a large audience from all over the Sepik.

A second serious blow, the literal invasion of the world system into the regional system, was caused by the Second World War, when the Japanese fought their desperate retreat battles in the Sepik. The Sepik people did not know what the fighting was about. Both sides threatened to kill them if they conspired with the other. Some villages helped the Japanese, others the Australians and their allied troops (it was the first time Sepik people saw there existed other peoples with black skins, such as the Americans and Indians). The villages were driven to play one off against the other, resulting in the Japanese executing about one hundred men in Timbunke--a dreadful story that spread throughout the Sepik. It was also the first time huge amounts of supplies and modern technology (mainly all sorts of weapons) were dropped from planes. The Second World War was a shock to Sepik cultures. During the fifties and the early sixties few initiations took place and men's houses were allowed to

deteriorate. Only in the late sixties and early seventies, after almost twenty years of interruption, did a cultural revitalization set in. Initations were held and men's houses built again. These sequences of events, prior to the mid-seventies, reveal cyclical structures and, at the same time, the tendency of the regional system to detach from the world system again and again.

Therefore, I do not know what to think of the initation described so extensively in *Twisted Histories* because no further comments concerning change, apart from that caused by tourism, are given. According to my view, ceremonies of this kind as well as men's houses built ("most architecturally complete," p. 30) especially to attract tourists (the first one of a whole series in the Sepik was built in Kamanebit at the beginning of the seventies) are phenomena that cannot be understood without an outline of the larger historical context, the interactions of the outside world with the Middle Sepik (and vice versa).

Or, to cite another example: it was 1909 (and not during Margaret Mead's stay in Chambri or in the seventies) when Otto Reche, a member of the German South Sea Expedition, noted with surprise that Middle Sepik people brought for sale all kinds of artifacts and even skulls-in their canoes to the Peiho without having been asked to do so (1913: 18). During the first decades of this century, tens of thousands of artifacts from Middle Sepik villages were bought for museums and private collections all over the world. Within a relatively short period, a large portion of the most beautiful artifacts, made with stone and bone tools, disappeared from the region. Some artifacts were replaced by new ones.

Nowadays, judging from my own experience and the pieces I have seen in recent collections, "old" pieces date no further back than the fifties. Thus the role and the meaning of the artifacts described in Gewertz and Errington's book to demonstrate twisted histories have to be considered in the context of a much longer and complex history: Artifacts were bartered for artifacts (with the first Germans and, even later, with the Australians for knives and steel axes), were reproduced and sold for money, and were again produced for the Chambri's own use (with obviously new meanings attributed to them as in the case with the *mwai* mask). Gewertz and Errington's approach is, therefore, rather a synchronic one, dealing with a period of fifteen years. The diachronic perspective--how this period has to be understood in a wider historical context full of interactions and struggles between the Middle Sepik people and the outside world--is only occasionally applied.

Before concluding, let me briefly discuss another subject mentioned in the book: gender. It is another track of twisted histories. Male initiations in New Guinea in general were all-men events, women being

strictly excluded. If, among the Iatmul, women were caught in spying on men's secrets they were gang-raped or initiated like men or both (Hauser-Schäublin 1988). Gender seems, by now, to have become a less-strictly defended social category: not only was the woman anthropologist allowed to witness initiation in the early seventies but informants on the two important original water drums were obviously women, too (p. 9); the people who were carrying the *mwai* masks were all women (unthinkable in former times); and all tourists, men and women alike, were allowed to enter the men's house and even inside the initiation fence. I do not know how to interpret these changes; gender is, or perhaps was, according to my experience, one of the most persistent social categories in the Sepik. But it is certainly another of the aspects that, taken together, form such complicated coils. To disentangle them when each of them has its own history is a complex task. *Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts* is a significant and admirable attempt to answer such important questions.

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Response:

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Responses from the Field

In this postmodern world of information overload (a colleague in philosophy recently mentioned to us that the average number actually reading any article appearing in the major journals in his field was 2.3

persons), it is a privilege to have such thoughtful responses to *Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts* as those from Nelson Graburn and Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin. Both have read our work with care and have, from somewhat different perspectives, given us much to think about concerning ways to modify, extend, or elaborate our argument. Both call for (among other things) additional contextualization: In particular, Graburn asks us to position ourselves more completely as ethnographers, while Hauser-Schäublin asks us to position the Chambri more fully as historical agents in long-term processes. (In these circumstances, we realize how useful a "turbo-merge" program would have been, enabling information included in previous publications to appear in one's latest, in a manner both informative and not unduly distracting!)

A possible way to answer their criticisms would be to engage in a "rhetoric of motives" (Burke 1969), familiar to all academics. To the extent that we could make the case, we might well argue that our work was, in fact, not properly read and evaluated: that we did not omit adequate coverage of specific areas; that we did not make any but trivial errors of detail; that we should not be criticized for not doing what we did not intend to do; that the criticism derives from an antiquated-or otherwise unsound theoretical position, and so forth. It is, of course, familiarity with such rhetorical devices that marks us as practitioners of an academic field. That we engage--that we vex--each other in this manner as colleagues is possible because the differences among us are essentially commensurate. That is, we can (largely regardless of our various academic positions) all be playing the same game. Indeed, the presence of such conventions--and the assumption that they lead to intellectual progress--underlies the existence of such scholarly institutions as this Book Review Forum.

Yet, in this instance, taking seriously [editor] Rob Borofsky's offer of "considerable leeway" in framing our reply, we wish to move the debate forward in a somewhat different way. We wish to answer Graburn and Hauser-Schäublin by joining their reviews, especially as they call for increased contextualization, to another response from the field. We find this latter response challenging to deal with, in part, because it comes from colleagues of a different sort than Graburn and Hauser-Schäublin: It comes from those for whom differences so great as to be incommensurate often characterize their relations with those of the "first world" --whether mining engineers, tour operators, tourists, or anthropologists. We reproduce below (in translation) a recent letter from Francis and Scola Imbang, two Chambri who 'appear in *Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts.* The Imbangs were our closest neighbors at Chambri

and among our best friends there. Francis--the uncle of a young woman who was beaten to death in the town of Wewak by the jealous wives of police--confronted the Papua New Guinea state in the "story" we tell about him (pp. 178-188); Scala--the mother of the three boys who taunted our elderly friend Yorondu as anachronistic--attended the course about nutrition in the "story" we tell about her (pp. 198-199).

The Imbangs' initial response to our book arrived recently:

> Here now, Francis and Scola Imbang would like to tell you about everything that you sent to us. The book, letter, and three keys [sent so that they could open the patrol boxes we had left in the field and use the enclosed gear] we received at the time we went to Madang when Godfried [Godfried Kolly, the "indigenous ethnographer" who also appears in the book, pp. 154-168] gave them to us. When we go back to the village we will open the two boxes and we will take care of everything you asked us to in your letter.
>
> We are all OK. Tia and Angela [their daughters] are married and each has one child. Donald is in school, but he doesn't have enough money for his school fees. The box containing things and the money for Donald was lost; we didn't receive it. [They refer here to gifts and money we had earlier sent.] Later, we will hear about why they were lost. Desmond is in Grade Three and Leopold is in Grade One. Rudolph [their eldest child, who graduated from Technical College] is at the Dami Oil Palm Project. His phone number is 93 . . .
>
> Here now, I, Francis, would like to ask you to give me something because I gave you good understanding. I am asking both you and Rudolph to help and I have given you his phone number. You two should buy me an outboard motor or a fifteen-seater bus: this is instruction to you, Deborah, and to your son, Rudolph. As well, you must answer this letter concerning your thoughts.
>
> We have left Chambri and have gone to Madang. The clock you sent to us stopped. You must send batteries for the clock and also send a flash camera. We will be happy to see your reply. Goodby and God bless.
>
> Yours faithfully
> Scola and Francis Imbang

Most anthropologists working in the "third world"--certainly in

Papua New Guinea--have, we venture, received communications rather like this upon returning home. It is, in some regards, an "ordinary" letter, evoking the reciprocal entailments on which long-term fieldwork usually depends. We have, over the years, often received requests from Francis and others for such items as outboard motors. However, at least in our reaction to it, this letter is a bit different than previous ones because it refers explicitly to our book--they received the copy we sent them and take credit for having given us the "good understanding" without which we could not have written it. Their reminder that we owe them has, under these circumstances, a particular sharpness that highlights the complexity of our position as ethnographers--as those who are writing about the Chambri in a world system.

As we have said, we know the conventional structure of response to academic critics that marks us as collegial equals. But how do we respond to the Imbangs, given the complexities--especially the relative economic and political inequalities--of our relationship? Do we consider that their request for a fifteen-seater bus is exorbitant: that, for instance, the information they gave was very helpful, yet, without our analytic and literary skills, would have amounted to little? Do we conclude paternalistically that a fifteen-seater bus would not make their lives much better? Do we assume that their request was largely rhetorical and that they do not actually expect a very substantial recompense --that, as is frequent in Papua New Guinea, they were only testing us? In other words, do we send the clock, perhaps the camera, and forget the rest? Or, do we, in fact, owe them (or Chambri collectively) a fifteen-seater bus?

We mean this example as instructive not only of the political complexities of positioning ourselves, as Graburn wishes us to do more completely, but, also, of the degree to which one may, in focusing on these complexities, become self-indulgent. The Imbangs' letter is revealing of real dilemmas concerning the social and economic inequalities often inherent in the position of the ethnographer in relation to his or her indigenous colleagues. However, the nature of our eventual response to the Imbangs, as well as our continued emotional agonizing over that response, would likely have limited anthropological significance: whether, for example, we mortgaged our house to buy them the bus, or simply sent a clock, would not ultimately be, for our professional colleagues, more than a matter of curiosity and gossip. After all, our ethnographies of (e.g.) the Chambri should be far more about them than about us. (We worry, in this regard, about the possibility of self-indulgence for those who might wish to pursue Reddy's [1992] fascinating

suggestion that a truly historical ethnography must take into active consideration the academic politics that gives rise to our research agendas.)

This is not to say that we should be absent from our writings: We should, to be sure, delineate the politics of our writings and thereby assume responsibility for them. Beyond this, the primary justification for talking in detail about our ethnographic presence among the Chambri concerns the effects we have on a social field. As we elaborate at length in *Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts,* our ethnographic presence becomes significant in that we may embody certain sorts of significant power relations: that we, like the tourists who visit Chambri, can come and go as we choose, send or not send clocks and cameras and buses, evinces differences between ourselves and the Chambri that are incommensurate. We should, in other words, try to take into account the implications of these power differentials, including the possibility that, for example, the Imbangs regard us, as they regard the tourists, with ambivalence. They might, thus, have engaged with us in part because they hoped we would send them something they very much wanted but would probably not be able to acquire on their own.

That the Imbangs view as desirable the acquisition of a fifteen-seater bus brings us to Hauser-Schäublin's concern with long-term historical processes. We agree, of course, that the more historical context that can be provided the better. We do think, though, that a *focus* on long-standing assumptions and concerns about knowledge, power, and material goods might predispose one to overlook important colonial and postcolonial transformations that have shaped local peoples' agendas and their capacities to pursue their agendas. Indeed, we argue in *Twisted Histories* that many of the Chambri we knew were *preoccupied* with the increasing degree to which their regional system was being encompassed by national and international ones. In particular, Chambri were enthusiastic about the possibilities associated with "development" as well as distressed by some of its aspects, including the possibility that they might be left behind: that they might become anachronistic or backward.

This changing world--to which Chambri react with both excitement and misgiving--is the one the Imbangs inhabit and disclose in their letter to us. Not only does their letter reveal the complex position anthropologists assume with respect to local people, but it demonstrates that these people are participants in an equally complex and rapidly transforming historical context. Without denying that important continuities with the past exist--and are analytically important--contemporary Papua New Guineans like the Chambri are also absorbed by

matters such as phone numbers, school fees, college educations, outboard motors, buses, trips to Madang. If Chakrabarty is correct that the idea of "history" and its concomitant concept of "anachronism" were "absolutely central to the idea of 'progress' (later 'development') on which colonialism was based and to which nationalism aspired" (1992:57), then an *emphasis* on long-term continuity might be to misconstrue social process--especially as that process is shaped by contemporary social concerns.

The Imbangs' letter clearly suggests that positioning ourselves as ethnographers while making sense of this changing historical context is extraordinarily problematic. Moreover, we must emphasize, both this positioning and this making sense should also be understood as significantly political. As we stress in *Twisted Histories,* at least at this historical juncture those of the "first world" affect Chambri lives more than the reverse: Certainly what we as "first world" anthropologists write about the Chambri currently has (even with limited readership!) more, weight in the world than their reponses to us. Although we have grappled with these issues in *Twisted Histories,* the formulations concerning positioning and historical context raised in Graburn's and Hauser-Schäublin's perceptive reviews suggest that these topics are well worth further consideration.

In *Twisted Histories,* we sought to write a politically grounded ethnography of change: to take adequate account of the past, yet catch the moment; to relate local preoccupations (both long- and short-term) to world processes; to contextualize ourselves as anthropologists in the field (ethnographically, disciplinarily, and politically), while still conveying the lives of others as they are caught up in rapid change. Such an ethnography remains, we think, a valuable, but obviously a difficult, project.

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REVIEWS

Harriet Ne, *Tales of Molokai: The Voice of Harriet Ne.* Collected and prepared by Gloria L. Cronin; illustrated by Terry Reffell. Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawaii; distributed by University of Hawaii Press, 1992. Pp. xliii, 171, illus., index. US$12.95 paper.

Reviewed by June Gutmanis, Mountain View, Hawaii

Tales of Molokai is a collection of stories about life on the Hawaiian island of Molokai, from ancient to modern times, as related by Harriet Ne. Told with countrylike simplicity, they evoke the sweet sense of nostalgia of tales shared while sitting on an old front porch. The tales as collected by Gloria L. Cronin may provide an evening or two of light, pleasant reading and perhaps be the basis for some retelling; but the collection, more importantly, provides an interesting example of the present state of evolving, native Hawaiian literature.

Mrs. Ne, who was known as a *kumu hula (hula* teacher) and for her knowledge of Hawaiian culture, was also an entertaining storyteller. Early in the 1980s Cronin became interested in the tales told by Ne and, between 1982 and 1988, she collected forty-three of them. They are wide-ranging, from Hawaiian traditions of creation and manifestations of humans who could take many forms to stories of *'aumakua* and night marchers, as well as tales of the Mu, Menehunes and famous chiefs, and homilies with a moral. Whether based on ancient or modern happenings, the stories reflect Ne's own approach to life, minimizing violence and avoiding duplicity. To Cronin's credit, the stories always remain Ne's.

The book is divided into five sections. The first two, "Tales of the Beginning" and "Tales of Naming," contain stories largely involving

supernatural beings and set in some vague ancient time. As indicated by the title, "Tales of Naming" tell how various Molokai place names came into being.

The section called "Tales of Long Ago" are largely stories about Kamehameha I and Kamehameha V. Molokai people will not be surprised to find that tales of Kamehameha V, who maintained a home on Molokai, receive more attention than those relating to Kamehameha I. In Ne's eyes Kamehameha I was less than the larger-than-life hero usually portrayed by other storytellers. In "The Attack of the Three Hundred Canoes," for instance, Ne tells of a battle between Kamehameha's forces and the people of Molokai, who counterattacked using slings and stones. Not familiar with this technique, Kamehameha lost the battle. In "The War Strategy of Kamehameha I," Ne says that more than once, Molokai ingenuity outwitted Kamehameha in other battles, but in time the people of Molokai "loved him and they submitted to him" (p. 59).

The remaining sections are mixes of stories based on the exploits of ancient supernatural beings and of historical personalities, as well as the experiences of Ne, her family members, and acquaintances. In these stories Ne, as do many traditional storytellers, gives authority to her tales by often adding, "I myself have seen, or heard . . ."

About midway through the section titled "Tales of the North Coast," the book becomes increasingly personal; and the stories found in the latter part of the book are the best of the collection. Typical of the incidents Ne recalls is a passage from the story "The Valley of Pelekunu" where she describes the clothing commonly worn by the people who were living in the valley when she was a child. "The women wore 'taro-patch pants,' the trousers their husbands had worn through at the knee which the women cut shorter and wore with a rope tied around the waist or with suspenders. On the top they would wear *pale ʻili,* or short-sleeved clinging cotton shirts, also borrowed from their husbands" (pp. 95-96).

As with many Hawaiians of an older generation, Ne thought of the Menehune not as mystical, night-working, little people given to disappearing before sunrise, but as a people of small stature who had come to Hawaiʻi before the Hawaiians and who were often friends with local families. According to her, once, while visiting on Kauaʻi, she went to a cave where the Menehune were said to live. After waiting for a time, she met a group of Menehunes returning to their home. She described them as being short and quite fair. Both men and women wore long hair made into pugs with sticks through them.

On another occasion, while visiting a Mrs. Johnson in Puna, Hawaiʻi, Ne met two Menehunes who came to visit her friend. As a favor, they

caught a special kind of fish for their hostess. Ne relates that when the Menehune were talking together, they spoke in a strange language that she had heard before.

Unlike some, Ne's family had a friendly relationship with the *huaka'i po,* night marchers, and did not hide from them. She tells of twice witnessing marches, which she said occurred regularly during October and November. The first incident Ne tells about happened one evening when she was helping her school teacher. Hearing the marchers approach, the two sat on the floor by the classroom door and watched as they went down the trail that passed the schoolhouse. In keeping with a tradition that the night marchers always follow the same route and never turn to the left or right, they marched right through a house that had been built across the path to their fishing grounds. Sometime later, after an aunt had purchased the same house, Ne celebrated her birthday by watching the ghostly ones, with torches ablaze, march and chant their way through the kitchen. At the same time her mischievous brother, lying on the floor, tried to grab the legs of a marcher as he went past. The marcher just lifted his leg higher and kept on marching.

This collection, when compared to that made some seventy years earher by Laura Green, provides a basis for exploring changes in Hawaiian storytelling techniques, content, and subjects. Green's collection was based on stories from Mary Kawena Pukui and the Reverend L. K. Kalawe, published in 1923 and 1926 as *Folk-tales from Hawaii* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y. : Vassar College). The two collections deal with the same range of stories: "myths, legends, and folk-tales." Looking through some. older traditional stories such as those collected by Abraham Fornander and even older stories that appeared in Hawaiian-language newspapers, it appears that this style of brief stories draws upon incidents that on occasion might have been included, abbreviated, or left out of longer stories, at the whim of an individual storyteller.

A generation apart, the tales collected by Green are slower moving than those of Ne and have a hint of formality while Ne's stories, despite their nostalgia, have a brisk feeling and more "modern" speech patterns. Some of this difference in styles may be due to the fact that the tales collected by Green were recorded mostly in Hawaiian and later translated by Green, while Ne's stories were told in English.

Comparing the two collections, both adhere to the same concepts of acceptable social behavior and the possibility of transcending measurable reality. Ne's stories, however, include more details taken from her own personal experience, such as her Christian beliefs, than the stories collected by Green. On the other hand, Pele is the focus of many of the stories told by Pukui and Kalawe, but is mentioned only in passing in

the stories by Ne, who does deal with a wide range of other beings. Interestingly, only one tale shares the same identifiable story line. That is the story of a woman who loved a man who at night took the form of a caterpillar and ate the people's crops. In both versions, the man is destroyed to save the crops. Ne's story is set on Molokai and is titled "Pe'elua Hill," while that collected by Green is set in Ka'u, Hawai'i, and is titled "The Women Who Married a Caterpillar."

On the average Ne's stories are much shorter than those in the earlier collection, with only the details necessary to make her points, points frequently those that might have been found in a fable by Aesop. Although brief, the details in Ne's stories often provide clues to some aspect or the other of Hawaiian culture. For example, in the first story of the collection she tells of the path of "flight" used by Hina, the Mother of Molokai, when visiting that island. Today, Hina's path is observable as that of the rain as it moves from Pelekunu, over the island, and then out to the ocean. Two other examples of this type of information can be found in the story of Puakea. There the heroine discovered that *'awapuhi* ginger is an effective and pleasant shampoo when the hero, rudely if gently, hits her on the head with a ginger stalk. In the same story her father-explains that sugarcane needs a full year of growth to be effective as medicine. Still another story describes a bit of gift-giving ritual, when a chief gives a piece of white tapa to a newborn child. "As was the custom, he [the chief] breathed upon the tapa, then gave it to the lesser chief [the father], who, in turn, breathed on it" (p. 48).

Those looking for historical and anthropological facts may be frustrated with Ne's manner of storytelling, for she freely mixed time periods, ancient and modern aspects of culture, and fact with fiction. At times she also combined two or more traditional stories or created completely new tales.

An example of how Ne moves back and forth in time, much as in a science-fiction script, can be found in the "The Old Warrior of Hanakeakua." There Kailau, a friend of Ne's, meets the ancient warrior of the title in the Kipu area. For months Kailau visits the old warrior, whom he always found "sitting on the side of a little hill, puffing on *kapaka,* a cigarette made from a roll of tobacco leaves" (p. 121). As their friendship grows, Kailau gives the warrior a special stone, which the older man wears as a neckpiece. One day when Kailau goes to visit the old warrior he finds him gone and goes to the village of Hanakeakua to look for him. There Kailau is told that the warrior had been killed in a battle two weeks earlier. The battle had obviously taken place long ago as when Kailau went to look for the old warrior, he found the battlefield scattered with bones that from the description must have been

there a very long time. Identifying the warrior's remains by the stone he had given him, Kailau gathers them up and takes them to the hillside where he buries them. Sometime later, while Ne was riding with her parents and Kailau, the old warrior appears, sitting in his usual place on the hillside. But only Kailau, Ne, and her mother see the warrior. Kailau explains why Ne's father cannot see the old warrior: "Your mother can see because she is Hawaiian, but your father is a true Christian. He cannot gaze on the past and the present for it has no importance to Christianity" (p. 123).

In several stories that seem to be set in ancient times, relatively modern articles appear: goats, coffee, pots and pans. Stories that also seem to be set in ancient, *kapu* times, a period during which women never cooked, have women busy preparing food.

Cronin's preface, though brief, provides an excellent capsule introduction to traditional literature. She explains how Ne's stories illustrates both the traditional Hawaiian classification of literature--as *ka'ao,* "a category of stories in which the imagination plays an important part," and as *mo'olelo*, "stories about historical figures and events" and which "now includes tales of gods"--as well as the Euro-American categories of myths, legends, and folktales (pp. xii-xiii). Throughout the preface, Cronin also weaves reminders of the important role of storytelling in human culture: "All artistic and human endeavors, including story-telling, are attempts to understand individuals and cultures," says Cronin (p. xiii).

The introduction is a personal history of Mrs. Ne, based on interviews by Cronin and Dr. Kenneth Baldridge. The two used a question-and-answer format to lead Ne through her life story. And it is a unique story. The granddaughter of two Hawaiian women, one married to a Chinese man and one to a *haole* ship's captain, Ne's life was an interesting blend of her three-culture heritage. At various times she lived with her parents, grandparents, uncles, brothers and sisters, a Chinese godfather, one or the other of three husbands, five children, various grandchildren and great-grandchildren, in homes in remote Pelekunu valley and Kalua‘aha on Molokai, and on O‘ahu at Pauoa, in Kaimuki, and Pawa‘a, and later back on the homesteads at Kalama‘ula, at Ho‘olehua, and Kamalo. She taught hula, worked as a babysitter and an assistant to a dental hygienist, cared for the retarded, developed photographs, worked at a blood bank and for the cancer society, was ordained as a minister, taught Hawaiiana in elementary schools and adult education classes for Kamehameha Schools and Maui Community College, was commissioned as historian for Molokai, and worked with 4-H clubs for nearly twenty years. But the real difference was her approach to life.

She did not blame, envy, or complain. Every event was an adventure and those that were unpleasant she reports so briefly that they may be missed before she continues on with another story. Her philosophy of storytelling is an obvious outgrowth of her philosophy of life. She says, "I like to tell stories with a moral to them. I especially like to tell stories about family love and reconciliation in the community or about obedience. . . . I want them [our young people] to be proud of being Hawaiian, and to accept the traditions and the *kapus* of old and apply them in modern life" (p. xxxvii). Ne also understood the techniques of communications, saying that "the good storyteller speaks with his eyes and motions with his hands. His eyes must reflect sadness and joy at the right time. . . . A storyteller is also a sort of teacher and preacher to the Hawaiian society. He is a teacher because he has to do research to get the specific information he needs. And then he preaches. Sometimes there's no existing story, but the tale-teller gets information, puts it together, and makes a new story out of it. . . . You combine the history and the traditional elements of story" (p. xxxix).

While the introduction fulfills Cronin's wish that it provide the "context for a fuller understanding of the tale-teller, her tales, and her culture," one is left wishing for even more details of Mrs. Ne's life, especially her training in hula, and Molokai's hula traditions.

Although Baldridge contributed only a portion of the interviews with Ne, which were the basis for the Introduction, it seems he might have also been credited on the title page. His name is mentioned only once and that is in Cronin's preface.

The illustrations by Terry Reffell are happy companions to Ne's stories. Reffell uses small areas of well-executed, finely detailed drawings contrasted to comparatively large blank spaces. They suggest rather than shout.

Alice Pomponio, *Seagulls Don't Fly into the Bush: Cultural Identity and Development in Melanesia.* Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing, 1992. Pp. xxvi, 242, maps, photos, figures, bibliography, index. US$17.75 paper.

Reviewed by Marty Zelenietz, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

Alice Pomponio's *Seagulls Don't Fly into the Bush* is a welcome addition to Wadsworth's recently introduced anthropological series. The Modern Anthropological Library series aims to acquaint students with the

breadth of modern cultural anthropology, and thus *Seagulls* is geared to the undergraduate audience. Through her use of lucid language and concise explanation of selected anthropological concepts, Pomponio succeeds in making the contemporary Melanesian experience accessible to readers.

Pomponio focuses her attention on the dilemma of development and change facing the Mandok Islanders of Papua New Guinea's Siassi Islands: Why do people who have excelled in the modern educational system fail so abysmally in the modern economic system? The origin of this dilemma, as well as its solution, lies in the Mandok self-image, a cultural theme portrayed in the legend of Namor, the hero-trickster.

Namor traveled from New Guinea to the Siassis and to New Britain, and perhaps beyond. Wherever he went, he used knowledge to create artifacts: foods, objects, ceremonies, even people. He also created ties between people, relationships between groups. Knowledge the Mandok value; ties between groups they provide and exploit.

The Mandok are, and see themselves as, mobile maritime middlemen. Their small island offers no land base for gardening, and the land available to them on the larger island of Umboi cannot feed their rapidly growing population. They have adapted to their circumstances by becoming traders: They fish to exchange their catch for Umboi garden produce,- and ply the Vitiaz and Dampier straits between New Guinea and New Britain to fuel their prestige exchange economy (Harding 1967). But the introduction of a cash economy, the demise of the two-masted Siassi voyaging canoes, and unreliable shipping schedules altered relations between the Mandok and their clients. Formerly the center of a web connecting peoples and cultures on New Britain and New Guinea, the Mandok (and other Siassi Islanders) now find themselves marginalized by a money economy predicated on cash crops. Pomponio explores Mandok attempts to maintain their cultural identity as mobile traders in the face of government attempts to convert them into smallholding agriculturalists. The Mandok self-image of the independent trader doomed those attempts to failure.

As Pomponio explains, the Mandok did not reject the imposed economic structure out-of-hand. Rather, they searched for the knowledge to participate on their own terms. Thus education came to play an important role in Mandok definitions of "development." During the immediate postwar decades, education provided access to employment and income. Parental investment in a child's education paid dividends in the form of remittances from educated and employed children. And the Mandoks' operative definition of development was access to cash. So

parents enthusiastically supported the local school. But the support dwindled as basic education became devalued in a marketplace flooded with highly educated people emerging from the expanding educational system. Paying for an education no longer produced a return. In their quest for "development," the Mandok, like the peripatetic hero Namor, moved on.

Pomponio chronicles a series of attempts to "develop" the Siassi communities. Government-backed development models, stressing cash cropping, proved ill-suited to a people without land, people who saw themselves as voyagers, not horticulturalists. Given an ethos where wealth derived its value from distribution rather than accumulation, trade stores collapsed. More recent, locally based attempts to "develop" have also encountered difficulties, many of which Pomponio connects back to Mandok social organization. She also documents one enterprise that, at least for the time being, has succeeded in a fashion acceptable to the islanders.

Seagulls Don't Fly into the Bush updates and complements Harding's *Voyagers of the Vitiaz Strait* (1967). By looking at a single island (one dare not use the word *community)* in the Siassi cluster, Pomponio illuminates the processes and motivations at work on an individual as well as group level. She reinforces the sense of change by avoiding that curious (and timeless) anthropological tense, the "ethnographic present."

The books ethnographic strength is somewhat diminished by its abbreviated ethnology. The Siassi Islanders are, after all, the hinge in a far-flung trade system. The legend of Namor is not the only feature shared by those cultures and communities bound together through Siassi voyaging: A more extensive exploration and comparison of other levels and modes of cultural sharing and integration might have proved beneficial. But given the aims of the book and the intended market, *Seagulls* succeeds in providing a solid and coherent introduction to a fascinating Melanesian culture. By reiterating important questions about the nature and role of "development" and "education" in Papua New Guinea, Pomponio offers the newcomer to the field a firm grounding in issues of contemporary concern.

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1967 *Voyagers of the Vitiaz Strait:* A *Study of a New Guinea Trade System.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Marjorie Newton, *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia.* Mormons in the Pacific Series. Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawaii, 1991. Pp. 283, illus., bibliography, index. US$12.95.

Reviewed by Peter Lineham, Massey University

The Mormon pattern of religious growth seems quite different from that of most Christian denominations. In nineteenth-century Australia Mormon missionaries struggled desperately, and the Australian side of the Australasian mission was abandoned for a mission to the Maori of New Zealand. Since 1945 Mormon conversions in Australia have increased dramatically, in sharp contrast to the decline in the traditional churches. So a study of the Mormons raises interesting questions, and Marjorie Newton's analysis of the Latter-day Saints in Australia makes a contribution not just to Mormon historiography, but also to Australian religious history. She writes as an Australian and as a Latter-day Saint, and her account of the Australian mission is interpreted by sophisticated contemporary Mormon views of their history; but this is no narrow denominational history, for she sees the church in the general context of the religious tone of her country.

The book, like the thesis on which it was based, is organized on a thematic basis. Chapters focus on such topics as missionary methods, converts, and the gathering of Zion. The reader at times hankers for a more chronological approach, and waits until chapter 7 for the story of Mormon nineteenth-century development. Given the huge changes in Mormon impact after World War II, thematic comparisons between the 1850s and the 1960s sometimes seem strained.

The strength of Newton's work is its analyses of members, based on the detailed records of the Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. These data are carefully compared with those of other churches and other areas of Mormon missionary work, and our understanding of those who emigrated to Utah in the nineteenth century is greatly extended. The church was so small in the nineteenth century that its age structure and family patterns can only be compared cautiously with others, but Newton recognizes this.

Newton tentatively interprets the Mormon's experience of Australia as comparable to that of other churches, and its struggles as a by-product of Australian godlessness. This is well-said, although it does not really explain the contemporary growth. Arguably Australian Mormons in the nineteenth century were part of the sectarian, millenarian, and

revivalist traditions, although the church was far removed from traditional Christianity. In the twentieth century they detached themselves from these associations. Newton prefers to emphasize the American character of the church as what made it different; and her section on Australian Mormons' frustrations with this must be read for sheer enjoyment. I'm not convinced that American links were the key factor; the Jehovah's Witnesses, who are comparable in many respects, were shunned and were successful above all for their heterodoxy, not their Americanness.

The book is beautifully presented with a number of attractive photographs, endnotes, and an excellent index. Altogether it is a very useful work.

BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY-JUNE 1992

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, South Pacific Commission Library, and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau 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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